EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF
CEYLON
EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

BEING
LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF CEYLON

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
DON MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE

IN FOUR VOLUMES
1904-1934

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H.W. CODRINGTON

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H.W. CODRINGTON

AND

S. PARANAVITANA

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VOL. III
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ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
NEW DELHI ★ MADRAS ★ 1994
PREFACE

The Epigraphia Zeylanica which was started about three decades ago through the initiative of Mr. Bell, the former Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon, continued to be published, till 1928, under the able editorship of Dr. D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe. During this period, Dr. Wickremasinghe has brought out two volumes of the journal and the first part (pp. 1–50) of the present volume; and has thus placed at the disposal of scholars a large number of documents equally indispensable to the historian as well as to the philologist.

As Dr. Wickremasinghe could not, owing to reasons of health and the multifarious duties at the University of London, devote as much time for epigraphical research as the exacting nature of the work demanded, his connexion with the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, as its epigraphist, came to an end in 1929.: and the continuation of the work of editing this journal was, in the main, entrusted to me. Mr. H. W. Codrington, till recently of the Ceylon Civil Service, took upon himself a part of this responsibility by contributing four very scholarly papers to this volume.

Dr. Wickremasinghe, in the first two volumes of the Epigraphia Zeylanica, has set up a very high standard of scholarship; and I have, so far as it lay in my power, endeavoured to maintain this high standard, with what success it is for scholars to judge.

In transcribing the texts of the inscriptions, I have made a slight departure from the system followed in the two previous volumes. The mediaeval prototypes of the modern ligatures ω, ο, ξ, and κ have been transcribed as ſg, ſd, nd, and mb instead of ſg, ſd, nd, and mb. We are not certain that the nasals in these combined consonants were only half pronounced in the ninth to twelfth centuries, as they are in modern Sinhalese. On the other hand, there are certain indications that, during this period, they were fully pronounced. The same symbols which have been transcribed as ſg and ſd when occurring in Sinhalese words of the mediaeval inscriptions have also been used in writing such words as Kālīnga and narendra occurring in Sanskrit passages; and it is against the accepted usage to transcribe these Sanskrit words as Kālīnga and narendra. In such words as maṅg and sand, where these combined consonants are found without a vowel being added to them, it would be an impossibility to
pronounce the nasal only half. Therefore I have throughout transcribed these symbols showing the fully pronounced nasal as Dr. Wickremasinghe, too, has done in part 1 of the first volume.

Mainly due to considerations of economy, the practice of giving the texts of inscriptions in Sinhalese characters, in addition to the transcripts in Roman, was given up, except in the contributions by Mr. Codrington, in parts 2 to 5 of this volume; but at the request of several local scholars, who consider this feature to be essential, it was re-introduced in part 6.

I wish to express here my indebtedness to Mr. A. M. Hocart, the late Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon, not only for enabling me to pursue epigraphical and archaeological studies connected with the island, but also for the guidance that he offered me with his invaluable criticisms and suggestions in my earlier work. I have, in various places, mentioned the assistance that I have received from Mr. Codrington, but it is scarcely possible to have acknowledged all the help he has rendered me. His unrivalled knowledge of the history, social and political institutions, and the numismatics of the island was always at my disposal; and an appeal made to him in the course of solving a knotty problem has hardly ever been in vain.

I am also indebted to Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle, the Assistant Editor of the Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary, for many valuable suggestions as regards the interpretation of certain words and phrases and also for the help rendered in reading the proofs of parts 4–6. Dr. G. P. Malalasekara and Dr. G. C. Mendis have also been helpful to me in this direction. Such other assistance as I have received has been acknowledged in the body of the work.

Finally, I must thank the authorities of the Oxford University Press for the care they have bestowed in the production of this volume.

S. PARANAVITANA.

Office of the Archaeological Survey, Colombo.
June, 1933.
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ABBREVIATIONS

A. = Apabhraṣṭa.
AMg. = Ardha-Māgadhi.
Arch. Surv. = Archaeological Survey.
A. S. C. = Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.
A. S. S. I. = Archaeological Survey of Southern India.
A. S. W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India.
B. = Bell's Text. c. = current.
Ca. = Ceylon Antiquity.
C. I. I. or Corp. Inscript. Ind. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C. J. Sc. G. = Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G.
Dh. = Dhammapada (Fausboll's edition. 1885).
Ds. = Daśādīśītīta.
Dv. = Dipavālītā.
E. I. or Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.
E. S. = Etymologie des Singhalesischen, von Wilhelm Geiger. München, 1897.
Gram. = Grammar or Grammaik.
He. = Hēmācandra.
Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquity.
J. or Journ. = Journal.
JM. = Jaina-Mahārāṣṭri.
JŚ. = Jaina-Sārasāṇi.
Lit. = literally.
M. = Mahārāṣṭri.
Mg. = Māgadhī.
Mp. = Müller's plate.
Mr. = Mahāśāmata-Rājāvalīya.
Mt. = Müller's text.
Nam. = Namāvāliya.
Nar. = Narendracariśvalokana-pradīpīka.
Nik. = Nikāyasānagraha.
Or. Soc. = Oriental Society.
P. = Pāli. p. = page. par. = paragraph.
Piyum. = Piyumala.
Pkt. = Pākrit.
Pūj. = Pūjavālīya.
R.A.S. = Royal Asiatic Society.
Rp. = Rajavikrama-pravītī.
Rr. = Rajaratnakara.
Ruvan. = Ruvanmalī.
S. = Sāurasāṇi.
S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East, edited by F. Max Müller.
Sr. = Saddharmaratnakāra.
T. = George Turnour.
W. = L. C. Wijesinha, translator of the Mahāvaṃsa.
EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

VOLUME III, PART 2

CORRIGENDA

Page 51, l. 3—For ஏண் read ஏன்.

" 78, l. 13—For Gon Samidi read Samidi Gon.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 2, line 22, read Gunawardhana.

Page 6, No. 20, read 44–17.

Page 29, foot-note 2, read Gunawardhana.

Page 30, foot-note 1, read Gunawardhana.

Pages 39–45. For an understanding of the historical value of R and Mv, for this period, consult Schurhammer-Voretzsch's Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhu- vaneka Bāhu und Franz Xaviers, Leipzig, 1928, pp. 25–28 and 51–53.

Page 41, No. 173 According to Portuguese authorities, No. 173 whose reign is omitted in Mv. seems to be identical with No. 172. If this is not the case, No. 173 probably held the Köte sovereignty for about ten years only (1506–1516 A.D.).

Page 43, line 16, read after a reign probably of ten years.


Page 43. Before Jaya-vira Bandara insert Dom Manuel; for about 20 years read about 41 years; for 2085 and 1542 read 2106 and 1563. This ruler was born in 1486 A.D. (ib. p. 425), still reigning in 1551 (ib. p. 555) and in 1562 (ib. p. 49).

Page 44, No. 175. For 21 years read 30 years; for 2072–2093 and 1529–1550 read 2064–2087 and 1512–1551 (ib. pp. 283, 584, 585, and 675).

Page 44. Before Kumāra Bandara insert Dom João; for 45 years read 19 years; for 2085–2130 and 1542–1587 read 2106–2125 and 1563–1582 (ib. pp. 49 and 152). This prince was born in 1526 (ib. p. 152).

Page 44. Delete and his grandson was made a Christian with the title Don Juan Dharmapala; for Dec. 1550 read May 1551.

Page 45, No. 176. Read Dom João Dharmapala. This king was baptized in 1557 (ib. p. 643).
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

2. Ere 22, read Gunawardhana.
6. No. 20, read 44-17.
9. Nos. 42-44. Regarding the identification of these three kings with the rulers mentioned in the Maharattale Rock-inscription, compare p. 156.
12. No. 68, read Farinda.
20. Nos. 118, 120, and 121. Regarding the relationship of these three monarchs, see also pp. 141-142, 296, and 262-264.
29. footnote 2, read Gunawardhana.
30. footnote 1, read Gunawardhana.
39-45. For an understanding of the historical value of R. and Mr. for this period, consult Schurhammer-Voretzsch's Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Baha und Franz Xaver, Leipzig, 1928, pp. 25-28 and 51-53.
41. No. 173. According to Portuguese authorities, No. 173, whose reign is omitted in Mr., seems to be identical with No. 172. If this is not the case, No. 173 probably held the Kotté sovereignty for about ten years only (1506-1516 A.D.).
43. line 16, read after a reign probably of ten years.
43. No. 174. For 2074-2071 and 2071-2072 read 2046-2059 and 2059-2064; for 1511-1528 and 1528-1529 read 1503-1516 and 1516-1521. See pp. 283, 428, and 582 of Schurhammer’s work cited above.
43. Before Jaya-vira Banđara insert Dom Manuel; for about 20 years read about 41 years; for 2085 and 1542 read 2106 and 1563. This ruler was born in 1486 A.D. (ib. p. 425), still reigning in 1551 (ib. p. 555), and in 1563 (ib. p. 49).
44. No. 175. For 21 years read 30 years; for 2072-2093 and 1529-1550 read 2064-2094 and 1521-1551 (ib. pp. 283, 584, 585, and 675).
44. Before Kunâra Banđara insert Dom João; for 45 years read 19 years; for 2085-2130 and 1542-1587 read 2106-2125 and 1563-1582 (ib. pp. 49 and 152). This prince was born in 1526 (ib. p. 153).
44. Delete and his grandson was made a Christian with the title Don Juan Dharmapāla; for Dec. 1550 read May 1551.
45. No. 176. Read Dom João Dharmapāla. This king was baptized in 1537 (ib. p. 643).
48. lines 18-19, for two gāthās, each containing two nineteen-syllable lines read a gāthā in the Saddūlaviikṣīti (Skt. Svādīśavikṣīti) metre.
49. line 15, for epitaph read epigraph.
51. line 3, for दृढ read दृढ.
54. footnote 1, for Ulukudaya read Ulukudaya.
55. line 23, for kākkan madhava read kākkan madhava.
57. line 6, for Śandhaya read Śandhaya.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 67, transliteration, line 14, for Dâna read Dâna.
72, line 8, for Horaborâvawas read Horaborâvâwa was.
77, text C, line 27, for isâ read isâ.
77, lines 43-44, for kenekun read kenekun.
77, text C, line 49, delete full-stop after van.
77, text D, line 22, for Samdaruvan read samdaruvan.
78, text D, line 52, for Golabâgama read Golabâgamu.
78, line 15, for Gon Samidi read Samidi Gon.
78, line 30, for mandrâjî read mandrâjî.
79, line 5, for mandrâjâs read mandrâjâs.
79, line 10, for vâlâkma read vâlâkma.
81, line 33, for Samidi — read Samidi =.
82, line 2, for Samadâ read samadâ.
82, line 15, for ayyan read ayyan.
84, lines 30–31, for Uâdi Siri Sangabo read Sirisaâbo Uâdi.
85, line 21, for on read in; for Hopitigam padiya read Hopitigamu-padiya.
88, footnote 4, delete bracket before Mayâ.
90, footnote 5, for Mc Crindle read Mc Crindle.
91, line 27, for of the exaction read with the exaction.
91, footnote 1, for vyavahâranâm read vyavahâranâm.
94, line 7, for Äppâvala read Eppâvala.
96, line 7, for manavan read manavan.
97, line 8, for nâlî read nâlî.
97, line 19, insert full-stop after mentioned.
99, line 18, for Nisåanka read Nisåanka.
103, lines 6–7, for Bahadurusen read Bahadurasen.
103, text A, line 16, for avu read âvû.
104, text C, lines 18–19, for vadana read vadnâ.
105, text D, line 3, insert hyphen after pe.
105, text D, line 4, insert hyphen before râhârit.
105, text D, line 29, for Bahaduru-sen read Bahadura-sen.
105, text D, footnote 1, for Filaviţi read Filaviţ.
106, line 10, read Mâdifigirïya.
106, line 24, for gâl read gâl; for sakata read sakata.
109, footnote 3, for Dañhabalagama read Donhabalagama.
112, line 17, for kiri vara, tel vara read kiri-var, tel-var.
117, line 6, for amuna read amuna.
123, footnote 3, for the Duñthâ-gâmañi read that Duñthâgâmañi.
125, line 30, for Jaggâyapañã read Jaggâyapañã; for Peta read Peta.
127, text A, lines 5–6, for para puren read parapuren.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 133, lines 2 and 13, for Mahāpāli read Mahāpāli.

135, line 23, for Jetavana read Jetavana.

139, text A, line 26, delete hyphen before Baga.

141, footnote 5, for 13 read 60.

143, line 30—page 144, line 2. Regarding the Sinhalese ge- name Ratnāyaka, Mr. Codrington thinks that it might be derived from rat(na) + nāyaka. He also adds ‘Ratnāyaka seems to be a temple officer and is still in use in Sabaragamuva. It thus would more naturally be rat (≈ rathe) + nāyaka. The car is still used at Saman Dēwälē to my own knowledge. But at Uggal Atunuvara Dēwälē, the duties of the ratnāyaka include giving out the usual clothes, taking charge of the keys of the dēwälē chests, taking care of the money and clothes, etc., while the attanāyaka mohatiya keeps accounts of things taken out and in at the perahēras and takes the lead in drawing the car. Possibly the duties of the two offices have got mixed up. But if not, I think rat must be equivalent to ratna’.

(Letter dated May 15, 1932.)

146, line 13, for pappu read pappu.

152, footnote 4, for bhirit read bhirit.

154, line 14, for Kujakâna read Kudakâna.

155, text, for sagasa read sagasa.

156, footnote 5, delete full-stop after pula; for Puñakana read Puñakâna; for Devanâpiva read Devanâpiya.

157, line 3, for Abaya read Abhaya.

164, line 19, for Äppâvala read Ēppâvala.

168, l. 30, for Ski. kruittā read P. kruittā.

175, line 6, for lavana read lavana.

175, lines 25–26, delete the sentence ‘In the . . . the Pāli’.

176, line 25, for gena read gena.

179, line 8, insert ‘in the variant form pavana’ after ‘word’.

180, line 25, for Krtesu read Krtesu.

181, lines 24 and 25, for Mahatubaka read Mahatabaka.

183, line 28, for Äppâvala read Ēppâvala.

184, line 16, for ammanā read ammanā.

187, line 20, for lavana read lavana.

187, lines 25–30. The word vitiyāla also occurs in the Kāvyāśākhara, xii. 69, where it means provisions. I am indebted to the Hon. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka for this reference.

187, footnote 2, for Yāgum read Yāgum; for annail read annail.

188, line 6, for vaṭṭâvalaka read vaṭṭhavataka.

188, line 16, for Nikinni Sand, Mādin Sand read Nikinnee-sand, Mādin-sand.

198, text B, line 1, for lena read leṇa.

198, text B, line 23, insert His Majesty before Siri Sarâbo.

220, line 15, read word.

223, lines 20–21, for Dambdiâ read Dambadiv.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 224, lines 5–6. The word Hir-got-kule can also be translated as ‘from the family of Hir-Got (P. Suriyagutta)’. One of the Maurya princes who came to Ceylon, in the reign of Devanampiya Tissa, with the Bo-tree, was named Suriya-gutta; and if Mahinda traces his descent from this prince, the title lāmāni given to him may well be considered to have the meaning attached to this word in later Sinhalese literature. Compare also footnote 6.

224, line 9, for Ruhunu read Ruhunu.
225, footnote 6, for Vāriyan read Vāriyan.
228, footnote 7, for Doraṇu read Doraṇu.
233, line 1, insert full-stop at the end of the line.
233, line 2, for minisun read Minisun.
241, line 10, for Visuddhimargga read Visuddhimagga.
250, line 14, for kahapayas read kahavayas.
251, line 9, for nikita read nikata.
251, line 16, for geneya read geneya.
251, line 17, for gene read gana.
252, footnote 2, for Rāṭhika read Rāṭhika.
260, line 13, for Kalavāli read Kalavāli.
260, footnote 7, for Koṭagama read Koṭgam.
273, line 14, read Kālingarāyār.
276, line 6, for Valvīj read Valvit.
276, footnote 4, for Sāṅgha read Sāṅgha.
280, text B, line 12, for tunaruvangē read tunuruvangē.
280, line 13, for aţaya read āţaya.
281, line 25, for Sīṅhala sāṅgē read Sīṅhala sāṅgē.
281, footnote 7, for Childer’s read Childers’.
282, footnote 4, for Sāṅgha read Sāṅgha.
284, line 15, for Kūrugama read Kūragama.
THE chronological problems that have been raised in the past numbers of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* make it indispensable that we should have some sort of a settled chronological table of Ceylon kings, to which we could consistently refer in our future discussions. We propose, therefore, to prefix to this number such a one, which, though probably subjected to criticism, we feel sure, will none-the-less be welcome to the readers of this publication.

In the history of Buddhism in Ceylon there are some outstanding events, which, by reason of the sanctity a devout people have invested them with, and the importance of the part they have played in the rise and progress of Buddhism, have come to serve as landmarks in the history of the Island. Not only the circumstances connected with these events, but their dates as well, are matters of general agreement among the Buddhist chroniclers of Ceylon and elsewhere; so much so that we find later writers have often gone to the extent of adjusting the lengths of reigns of kings so as to fit in with these universally accepted dates.\(^1\)

As an instance, there is the old synchronism of Devānampiya-Tissa with Asoka, whose date is fixed from external sources, with the result that the nibbāna of the Buddha falls in 483 B.C.\(^2\) Upon this synchronism some of the later landmarks of Buddhist history are based; so that when we are told, for example, that at the beginning of Sirī-Meghavāṇṇa’s (No. 59) reign, 845 years have nearly elapsed since the death of the Buddha, the chroniclers had not the vaguest idea of the existence of a Christian era, and it was of no consequence to them whether according to this era the Buddha’s nibbāna fell in 483 B.C. or in 544 B.C. They simply adhered to the traditional Buddhist date, already widely known, without any other calculation whatsoever.

The contention\(^3\), that the dates of these landmarks were probably arrived at by the computations of historians who lived after the establishment of the 544-543 B.C. era, holds good, if at all, only in such cases as are not corroborated by external synchronisms.

But there exist external synchronisms which do corroborate not only the 483 B.C. era, e.g. the embassy to Samudragupta in the reign of Sirī-Meghavāṇṇa (No. 59), the arrival of Fa-Hian in the reign of Buddhāsā (No. 61)

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\(^1\) For example, see below, p. 5, note 1.


\(^3\) As adduced by Fleet, *ibid.*, pp. 5 and 333.

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and Kassapa I's (No. 74) embassy to China\(^1\), but also the newer one, namely, the 544–543 B.C. era, e.g. Māna-Vamma's (No. 99) first unsuccessful attempt to gain the Ceylon crown soon after 642 A.D. in the reign of Hatta-
dātha I (No. 95); the invasion by the Sinhalese and the Pāṇḍyas, of the Coḷa country in Kassapa V's (No. 115) reign; and the invasion of Ceylon by Parāntaka I about 943 A.D.\(^2\) These synchronisms, as will be seen from the chronological table, agree with the older era of 483 B.C. up to the time of Kassapa I (No. 74) 526–552 A.D. On the other hand, from the time of Hatta-
dātha I (No. 95) 642–651 A.D. they seem to follow the dates based on the era of 544–543 B.C. How this excess of about sixty years in the Buddhist reckoning, came into existence within a period of nearly 125 years (526–651 A.D.)—whether by the accumulation of errors in the computation of regnal years, or by the deliberate adjustments made by later historians\(^3\), or through the introduction of a new era from some other Buddhist country—we are unable at present to determine\(^4\).

In drawing up the following table, we have more or less followed the model suggested\(^5\) by the late Dr. Fleet, to whom we owe so much for his labours in the field of Indian epigraphy. We have also carefully considered the duration of each king's reign, and made due allowance for expired and current years. The importance of the latter consideration, in achieving accuracy of chronology, is obvious and has been already demonstrated by, among others, the Gate-
Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana in his Introduction to the English translation of the Nīkāyasāṅgāhā\(^6\).

Our chronological table, calculated on these lines, shows where the compilers of the Mahāvamsa\(^7\), for example, have attempted the adjustment of lengths of reigns in the manner stated above. It will, moreover, bring to prominence the places where the dates from external sources are in agreement with those calculated from the Sinhalese chronicles, and based on the landmarks of Buddhist history.

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\(^1\) See below, p. 11 and Sylvain Lévi, Journal Asiatique, 1900, pp. 316 et seq. and pp. 401 et seq.

\(^2\) For these three synchronisms, see Hultzsch, J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 525.

\(^3\) By means of adding or omitting reigns or making two contemporaneous kings rule one after the other instead of simultaneously in different parts of the Island. This supposition is not improbable when we consider that the Therī Dhammakītī who wrote this portion of the Mahāvamsa or rather the Cūlavamsa lived in the thirteenth century A.D. when 544–543 B.C. era was well established in Ceylon. See below, p. 25.

\(^4\) In this connexion we venture to suggest that this discrepancy of 60 years may be accounted for, if it can be proved that there were variations in the calculation of the Christian calendar since the death of the Macedonian king, Alexander, in 323 B.C., as the difference appears only after the fifth or the sixth century A.D., when Buddhist dates of synchronous events are compared with Christian dates.


\(^6\) pp. xiii and xiv.

\(^7\) We use the title Mahāvamsa to include the second part of this work, namely, the Cūlavamsa.
A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
OF CEYLON KINGS
A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CEYLON KINGS

**Abbreviations:** — \( R \) = Rājāvikrama-pravṛtti. \( Mv \) = Mahāvaṃśa including Cūḷa-vaṃśa. \( c \) = current. \( MR \) = Mahāsammata-Rājāvaliya. \( R \) = Rājāvaliya.

- \( Rr \) = Rājaratnākara. \( Sr \) = Suddharmaratnākara. \( Pūj \) = Pujāvaliya. \( Dv \) = Daṇḍāsīrīta. \( NV \) = Nikāyasangraha. \( Nvr \) = Narendracarītāvalokana-pradīpikā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha’s death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronismus and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1   | Vijaya
Son of Sinha-Bāhu, king of Lāla in India. | 38 | 38 | A.B. 1-38 | B.C. 483-445 | — | Tambāpanṇi-nagara (Sinh. Tammānā-nuvara) natural death | Uppatissa-nagara
The chronology from Vijaya to Devānampiyī-Tissa is purely traditional, and is not trustworthy for reasons adduced elsewhere; cf. Geiger, Mahāvaṃśa, Translation, p. xxi; Flett, J.R.A.S., 1959, pp. 339-340; Pradhan's Chronology of Ancient India, pp. 243-244. |
| 2   | Pāṇḍuvāsudeva
(Sinh. Pāṇḍuvas-dev)
Son of king Sumitta of Lāla, brother of No. 1. | 30 | 30 | 38-39 | 445-444 | — | natural death | " |
| 3   | Abhaya
Son of No. 2. | 20 | 22 \( R \) | 69-89 | 414-394 | — | abdication | " |
|     | INTERREGNUM (Prince Tissa, brother of No. 3 as regent). | 17 | — | 89-106 | 394-377 | — | " |
| 4   | Pāṇḍuka-bhāya
Nephew of No. 3. | 70 | 30 \( R \) | 106-176 | 377-307 | — | Anurādhapura natural death | " |
| 5   | Gana(pa)-Tissa
Son of No. 4. | — | 40 \( R \) | — | — | — | " |
| 6   | Mutasaiva
Son of No. 4 or, according to \( R \) and \( Rp \) son of No. 5. | 60 | 60 | 176-236 | 307-247 | — | " |

Note: No. 5. \( R \) and \( Rp \) make Gana-Tissa to have been a son of No. 4, and allow him a reign of forty years, and his predecessor thirty years. \( Dv \) and \( Mv \) omit him altogether.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Devānampiya-Tissa</td>
<td>Devana-pā-Tissa</td>
<td>276-247</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Uttiya</td>
<td>Pāj</td>
<td>107-197</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mahāsīva</td>
<td>Pāj</td>
<td>197-187</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sūra-Tissa</td>
<td>Savanna-pā-Tissa</td>
<td>187-177</td>
<td>deposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sūra-Tissa</td>
<td>Coronation</td>
<td>177-155</td>
<td>slain or deposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sena</td>
<td>Tamil usurper</td>
<td>306-328</td>
<td>slain or deposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Guttaka</td>
<td>Sons of a horse-dealer</td>
<td>155-145</td>
<td>slain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Asela</td>
<td>brother of Nos. 7 to 10 or son of No. 6</td>
<td>328-888</td>
<td>slain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Elāra</td>
<td>Eḷa</td>
<td>338-382</td>
<td>slain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Duṭṭhagāmaṇi</td>
<td>Dutagama</td>
<td>382-406</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Saddhā-Tissa</td>
<td>Rāja</td>
<td>406-424</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Mahāvamsa who wrote this portion of the Mahāvamsa in the sixth century A.D. (see p. 12 below) was evidently trying to adjust the lengths of the reigns of the kings who ruled between two well-known epochs of Buddhist history, namely the reign of Devānampiya Tissa (No. 7) 236-276 A.B. (247-207 B.C.) and that of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (No. 15) 382-466 A.B. (101-77 B.C.)—a period of 106 years. The length of Elāra’s reign (No. 14) may be accepted as correct, but those of Nos. 8 to 13 look like pure guess work. In any case we cannot very well identify Asela, the ninth son of No. 6, for in that case the latter would have been at least 92 years old at his accession and 102 at his death—such longevity being improbable.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and Relationship</th>
<th>Buddhist era</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C.</th>
<th>Other sources</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Mahasena?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Thasala-Palane (Sinh. T.-al.)</td>
<td>444 A.D.</td>
<td>59 B.C.</td>
<td>50-44</td>
<td>X, 184</td>
<td>11 years to days</td>
<td>1 month to days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Samattha or Dhamma-Tissa (Sinh. Laminig-TH. in. Dechantiy-P.)</td>
<td>444-183</td>
<td>59-50</td>
<td>50-44</td>
<td>X, 184</td>
<td>11 years 14 days</td>
<td>1 year 8 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kaliyagrama Naro</td>
<td>433-39</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>9 years 8 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Vatta-Ganapti-Abhaya (Sinh. Vatta-Gam-al. in. Dechantiy-P.)</td>
<td>433-39</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>9 years 8 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>PalagARBha</td>
<td>438-408</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>5 months</td>
<td>6 years 8 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>PalagARBha</td>
<td>438-408</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>5 months</td>
<td>6 years 8 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Tamile Gavray</td>
<td>438-408</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>12 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Tamile Gavray</td>
<td>438-408</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>12 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Tamile Gavray</td>
<td>438-408</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>12 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>King Name</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Reign Duration</td>
<td>Age at Accession</td>
<td>Accession Date</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>Cause of Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mahācōlī Mahā-Tissa</td>
<td>(Sinh. Mahāsiliv-Maha-Tiss; also called Mahādālīyā-Tissa) Son of No. 19.</td>
<td>14 years</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>488-490</td>
<td>17-3</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Cora-nāga</td>
<td>Son of No. 20.</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>490-492</td>
<td>3 B.C.</td>
<td>poisoned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Tissa (or Kuṭā-Tissa)</td>
<td>Son of No. 26.</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>492-495</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>poisoned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Queen Anulā1</td>
<td>With Siva 1 year 2 months With Vaṭuka 1 year 2 months With Dārubhatika-Tissa 1 year 1 month With Nilīya 6 months Alone 4 months Widow of No. 27.</td>
<td>4 years 3 months 5 years 4 months Pāj</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>495-500</td>
<td>11-17</td>
<td>slain by No. 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Kuṭakanna-Tissa</td>
<td>(Called also Makalah-Tissa or Kājakāṇṇi-Tissa) Son of No. 26 or brother of No. 28.</td>
<td>22 years</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>500-522</td>
<td>17-39</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Bhātiṅkābhaya</td>
<td>(Called also Bhātiṅka-Tissa or Bhātiṅya-Tissa) Son of No. 30.</td>
<td>28 years</td>
<td>18 R</td>
<td>522-550</td>
<td>39-67</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 It is wrong, we think, to identify this lady with Anulādevi, the queen of Nos. 19 and 20. According to Pāj, No. 29 was the wife of No. 28, but Mv. states that she was only the wife of No. 27, and that she poisoned both No. 27 and No. 28.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 32  | Mahādāthika-Mahā-Nāga  
(Sinh. Mahādāthi-Mānā)  
Younger brother of No. 31. | 12 years | 556-562 | 567-79 | Anurādhapura  
natural death | Date of accession agrees with Nar. |
| 33  | Āmaṇḍa-Gāmāṇi Abhaya  
(Sinh. Gāma-Gamunu)  
Son of No. 32. | 9 years 8 months | 562-572 | 79-89 | Einthoven |
| 34  | Kaṇirajānu-Tissa  
(Sinh. Kipiriridāja)  
Younger brother of No. 33. | 3 years | 572-575 | 89-92 | natural death |
| 35  | Cūlābhaya  
(Sinh. Kūḷā-Abā  
or Sūḷ-Abā)  
Son of No. 33. | 1 year | 575-576 | 92-93 | natural death |
| 36  | Queen Sivalli  
Daughter of No. 33 or younger sister of No. 35. | 4 months | 576 | 93 | deposed |
| 37  | Ija-Nāga  
(Sinh. Ehunā)  
On the throne, 1 year,  
Deposed by the Lambakanniya, 3 years,  
Back on the throne, 6 years  
Bhāgirīnyya or nephew of No. 33. | 10 years | 576-586 | 93-103 | natural death |
| 38  | Candamukha-Siva  
(Sinh. Sanda-muhuçu)  
Son of No. 37. | 8 years 7 months | 586-595 | 103-112 | Einthoven |

It was in the first year of Ija-Nāga that the Lambakaṇnas deposed him. Both Geiger and Fleet omit recognition of this fact in their list of Ceylon kings.

Date of accession agrees with Nar.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Yasagala-Tissa (Sinh. Yasagala)</td>
<td>679-698</td>
<td>Daughter of No. 37 or brother of No. 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Vassabiya</td>
<td>699-709</td>
<td>6 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Dona, also a guide, Vassabiya</td>
<td>709-717</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Vassabiga</td>
<td>718-736</td>
<td>22 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Gajabhotra-Garatte (Sinh. Gajabhotra-Garatte)</td>
<td>737-743</td>
<td>Son of No. 41, descendant of the Lankan dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Mahakala-Niga (Sinh. Mahakala-Niga)</td>
<td>744-750</td>
<td>Father-son relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Mahakala-Maha-Parakrama (Sinh. Mahakala-Maha-Parakrama)</td>
<td>751-757</td>
<td>Father-son relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Mahakala-Maha-Parakrama (Sinh. Mahakala-Maha-Parakrama)</td>
<td>758-764</td>
<td>Father-son relationship</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Continuation of expired years makes it necessary to treat this reign as having commenced in this year.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha’s death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha’s death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Kuñca-Nāga (Sinh. Kudā-Nā) Younger brother of No. 47.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mahāvihāra 1</td>
<td>730-731</td>
<td>247-248</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Deposited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Siri-Nāga I (Sinh. Sīri-Nā or Kuđa Sīri-Nā) Brother-in-law of No. 48.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mahāvihāra 19</td>
<td>732-751</td>
<td>249-268</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Vohārika-Tissa (Sinh. Vēra-Tissa) Son of No. 49.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Mahāvihāra 22</td>
<td>752-774</td>
<td>269-291</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Slain by No. 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Abhaya-Nāga (Sinh. Abā-Sen, and Abbā-Tissa) Brother of No. 50.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mahāvihāra 8</td>
<td>774-782</td>
<td>291-299</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Siri-Nāga II (Sinh. Sīri-Nā) Son of No. 50.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mahāvihāra 2</td>
<td>782-784</td>
<td>299-301</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Vijñya-kumāra(ka) (Sinh. Vilāyādā) Son of No. 52.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mahāvihāra 1</td>
<td>784-785</td>
<td>301-302</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Slain by No. 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Saṅgha-Tissa I Of the Lambakānyya clan.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mahāvihāra 4</td>
<td>785-789</td>
<td>302-306</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Poisoned</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Continuation of expired years makes it necessary to treat this reign as having commenced in this year.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Sirī-Saṅghabodhi I</td>
<td>(Sinh. Dāhāmi Sirī-Saṅgabā)</td>
<td>790-791</td>
<td>306-308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Of the Lambakantha clan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>abdication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Gotthabhaya, called also Meghavānapāhuja (Sinh. Golu-Abhā)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>791-805 309-322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Of the Lambakantha clan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Jethā-Tissa I</td>
<td>(Sinh. Kalakaṇ-Deṣa-Tis or Makalan-Deṣa-Tis)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 56.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Mahā-Sena</td>
<td>(Sinh. Mahā-Sen)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Younger son of No. 56.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Sirī-Meghavāna (Kittiapī-Sirī-Meghavāna I)</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>845-872 362-389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sinh. Kittapī-mēvan)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Jethā-Tissa II</td>
<td>(Sinh. Deṣa-Tis)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Younger brother of No 59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Buddha-āsā</td>
<td>(Sinh. Bujas)</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 60.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Continuation of expired years makes it necessary to treat this reign as having commenced in this year.

2 Or Deṣa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha’s death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha’s death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Mahānāma</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>951–973</td>
<td>468–490</td>
<td>&quot; natural death</td>
<td>Buddhaghosa’s visit and the commencement of his commentaries on the Buddhist canon in Mahānāma’s reign (No. 63). See <em>J.A.,</em> xxxvii. 243–244.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Sotthi-Sena</td>
<td>1 day</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>&quot; poisoned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Chatta-gāhaka Jantu</td>
<td>1 year c.</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>&quot; natural (?) death within the year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Mitta-Sena</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>973–974</td>
<td>490–491</td>
<td>Slain by No. 67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Pandu</td>
<td>5 years c.</td>
<td>974–978</td>
<td>491–495</td>
<td>&quot; natural death</td>
<td>Six Tamil usurpers No. 67–72. According to R seven usurpers apparently counting from No. 66. Dhātu-sena (No. 73), all the time waging war against the usurpers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Parinda</td>
<td>3 years c.</td>
<td>978–981</td>
<td>495–498</td>
<td>&quot; natural death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Khudda-Pārinda</td>
<td>16 years c.</td>
<td>981–996</td>
<td>498–513</td>
<td>&quot; natural death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Reign (Years)</td>
<td>Actual Rule (Years)</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>-----</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Tiritara, Tamil usurper.</td>
<td>2 months</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Dāthiya II, Tamil usurper.</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td></td>
<td>slain by Dhātuseṇa (No. 73)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Pithiya, Tamil usurper.</td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Dhātuseṇa, Tamil usurper.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On the throne probably</td>
<td>18 years c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In captivity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sinh Dā-Sen-Kūkīya)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Of the Mūriyan dynasty.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>actual rule of No 74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Kassapa I, Sinh. Kasuba or Sigiri-Kāsaci</td>
<td>18 c.</td>
<td>18 years</td>
<td>1008-1035</td>
<td>526-552</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 73.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Moggallāna I, Sinh. Mugalan</td>
<td>18 years</td>
<td>18 years</td>
<td>1038-1053</td>
<td>552-570</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 73.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Kumāradi-Dhātuseṇa, Sinh. Kumāra-Dāsa or Kumāra-Dāsa.</td>
<td>9 years c.</td>
<td>9 years</td>
<td>1053-1062</td>
<td>570-579</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 73.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) A Dipavamsa-pakaraṇa was compiled in Pāli by Mahānāma, the incumbent of Dighāsana-or Dighasanda-vihāra (Mvr. Mv. xxxiv. 42): obviously the first thirty-seven chapters of the Mahāvaṇīsa. This Mahānāma Thera was Dhātuseṇa's mother's brother (Mv. xxxv. 16 and 59). Kassapa I (No. 74) took his father Dhātuseṇa prisoner and ascended the throne (Mvr. xxxvii. 84-85). So he reigned while No. 73 was alive. Hence part of reign of No. 73 is included in No. 74. It is improbable that both 73 and 74 reigned the same number of years each.

(b) Kassapa's embassy to China, 527 A.D. (see Geiger, Mv. Tr. Introd., p. xl). Moggallāna's invasion was in the eighteenth regnal year of Kassapa I according to Mv. xxxix. 20, but we are not sure
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Kitti-Sena (Sinh. Kit-Sen) Son of No. 76.</td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>9 years R 6 years MR</td>
<td>1062-1071</td>
<td>579-588</td>
<td>518-527</td>
<td>Anuradhapura slain by No. 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Siva I (Sinh. Madi-Siv) Uncle of No. 77.</td>
<td>25 days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1071</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Upa-Tissa II (Sinh. Lami-nya - Upa-Tissa) Father-in-law of No. 80.</td>
<td>1 year 6 months</td>
<td>1 year 6 months Puj 2 years 6 months Nar</td>
<td>1071-1073</td>
<td>588-590</td>
<td>527-529</td>
<td>died through grief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Amba-Samañerädi-Sila-käla (Sinh. Lami-nya Ahma-herana - Salamévan; called also Lami-nya-Akbo in R) Moggodhima I’s sister’s husband, also husband of daughter of No. 79.</td>
<td>13 years c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The introduction for the fourth time of the Vatulya canon Dhammadhātu = the twelfth regnal year of this king (No. 80) = 1088 A.D. current = 832 after the introduction of Buddhism (Nih. and Me. xli. 37); therefore accession = 1076 c., a discrepancy of only about two years, which will almost disappear if we follow Nar and take diyaddha-vassu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Dāṭhāpabhuti I (Sinh. Dāpu-lyu-Sen) Second son of No. 80.</td>
<td>6 months 6 days</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td></td>
<td>1086</td>
<td>603</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>reign</td>
<td>age</td>
<td>start</td>
<td>end</td>
<td>notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Moggallana II or Cula-Moggallana (Sinh. Da-la-Mugalan)</td>
<td>20 yrs c.</td>
<td>20 yrs</td>
<td>1086–1105</td>
<td>60 yrs</td>
<td>natural death</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Kittu-Siri-Megha (vanna) II (Sinh. Kud-la-Ki-Siri-Mewa)</td>
<td>19 days</td>
<td>19 yrs R, Puj</td>
<td>1105</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>slain by No. 84 A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84 A</td>
<td>Mahanaga (Sinh. Senevi-Mana) Of the Muniya-vahra.</td>
<td>3 yrs c.</td>
<td>3 yrs</td>
<td>1105–1108</td>
<td>622–625</td>
<td>561–564 natural death or slain by No. 84 B (R and Puj)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84 B</td>
<td>Layami-Sinigana (Called also Layami-Sinha and Salada-la-bona)</td>
<td>9 yrs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Aggabodhi I (Sinh. Akbo) Mahanaga's nephew.</td>
<td>34 yrs c.</td>
<td>30 R</td>
<td>1108–1141</td>
<td>625–658</td>
<td>564–597 natural death</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Aggabodhi II (Sinh. Kud-la-Akbo) Son of sister of No. 85.</td>
<td>10 yrs c.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1141–1150</td>
<td>658–667</td>
<td>597–606 natural death</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Sangha-Tissa II (Sinh. Asiga-Saha-Tissa) Brother of No. 86 R and Puj</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>2 months R, Puj</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>606 slain by order of No. 88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Moggallana III or Dalla-Moggallana (Sinh. Lami-Bo-nya-Mugalan, or Mudila-Bu-Mugalan) (General of No. 86 (Mvu. xlv. 2–3)</td>
<td>6 yrs c.</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
<td>1150–1155</td>
<td>667–672</td>
<td>606–611 slain by No. 89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We do not think that the length of the reign of No. 84 as given in R and Puj can be correct, considering that No. 84 A was a contemporary of Nos. 80, 81, and 82. The text of Mvu. xli. 91 is, moreover, ambiguous. It may be inferred from it that the day on which Mahanaga (No. 84 A) killed No. 83 was the nineteenth from his departure from Rohana. This might or might not have been the nineteenth day after the accession of No. 83.

No. 84 B is omitted in the Mahawana and Nor, but appears in the Puj and all the Rajahaliyas. The Sinhalese authorities seem to indicate that Nos. 84 A and B were two different persons, and not one and the same individual.

No. 87 is probably identical with Sanghababadda; see Mvu. xliii. 42.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Silameghavanna, called also Aniggaха(ка) (Sinh. Salamеvan) Son of Masyavajja (Mv., xlv. 53-56)</td>
<td>9 years 9 c.</td>
<td>9 years</td>
<td>A.B. 1155-1163</td>
<td>A.D. 672-680</td>
<td>611-619</td>
<td>Anuradhapura death through illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Aggabodhi III, called also Siri-Sanghabodhi II (Sinh. Siri-sanga-bu) Son of No. 89.</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>1163</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>619</td>
<td></td>
<td>ousted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Jettha-Tissa III (Sinh. Lamsi-Katusa Dea-Tisa) Son of No. 87.</td>
<td>5 months</td>
<td>1163</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>619</td>
<td></td>
<td>suicide on battle-field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aggabodhi III (throne recovered)</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>16 Paj</td>
<td>1163-1175</td>
<td>680-692</td>
<td>619-631</td>
<td>dethroned and driven back to India, finally died in Rohana through illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Dathasiva, afterwards called Dathopu-Tissa I (Sinh. Lamsi-Dejupa-Tisa) At war with No. 90 A general of No. 91.</td>
<td>4 years 16 c.</td>
<td>16 Paj and R</td>
<td>1175-1178</td>
<td>692-695</td>
<td>631-634</td>
<td>killed by No. 93 in battle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Kassapa II (Sinh. Pasu-Kasubu) At war with No. 92 As paramount king Younger brother of No. 90.</td>
<td>8 years 1 year</td>
<td>9 years 9 c.</td>
<td>1178-1186</td>
<td>695-703</td>
<td>634-642</td>
<td>death through illness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf. Mahawansa xlv. 126-131 and 143-144.

Dathopu-Tissa's (No. 92) reign of twelve years is made up of four years' war with No. 90 and eight years' war with No. 93. Nar rightly omits this king.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Reign Start</th>
<th>Reign End</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Dappula I</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1186</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>Three years in Rohana and seven days at Anuradhapura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sinh. Déppula)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Mahāvamsa xlv. 80–81).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second son of Mahā-Tissa (Mr., xlv. 38–41).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(d) Mānavamman’s (No. 99) first attempt with the help of the Pallava king Narsimhabarman I (c. 630–668 A.D.) to gain the Ceylon crown, repulsed by Dāthopa-Tissa II (No. 95) (see Mr. xlvi. 30–43 and Hultsch in J.R.A.S. 1913, pp. 528–529). This synchronism proves that the Buddhist Era of 544–543 B.C. was in use in Ceylon in the seventh century A.D.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Hattadāthi I, called also Dāthopa-Tissa II (Sinh. Lāmālī Dājupe-Tis) Nephew (‡) of No. 92 (Mr., xlv. 154)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1186-1188</td>
<td>703-710</td>
<td>642(‡)–651</td>
<td>death through illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Aggabodhi IV, sur-named Sirisāṅgha-bodhi III (Sinh. Sirī-Sāṅgabō) Younger brother of No. 95</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1195-1210</td>
<td>712-727</td>
<td>651–666</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Datta</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1210-1212</td>
<td>727-729</td>
<td>666–668</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sinh. Valiṣṭi-vālī-Dat) Mr., xlvi. 41.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Unhanārāsara Hattadāthi II (Sinh. Hunassarar-sara-dal)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1211-1217</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>slain (Mr. xlvi. 57–58)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Mānavamman</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1212-1247</td>
<td>729-764</td>
<td>668–703</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sinh. Mahali-pāgō) Sen of No. 93 (Mr., xlv. 6 and xlvii. 2–3)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Aaggabodie V</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1248–1254</td>
<td>765–771</td>
<td>704–710</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sinh. Akkō)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 99 (Pāj and R)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Kassapa III</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1254–1261</td>
<td>771–778</td>
<td>710–717</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sinh. Kasubu) Brother of No. 100.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Mahinda I as ṛājāpāda (Sinh. Mīdil-raja or Mīdil-raja-pāgō) Brother of Nos. 100 and 101.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1262–1265</td>
<td>779–782</td>
<td>718–721</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Continuation of expired years makes it necessary to treat this reign as having commenced in this year.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Aggabodhi VI, surnamed Silamegha (Sinh. Akbō-Salamēvan) Son of No. 101.</td>
<td>40 years c.</td>
<td>40 years</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>721-761</td>
<td>Anurādhapura natural death</td>
<td>Silamegha's (No. 103) embassies to China in 742 and 746 A.D. (Journ. Asiatique, 1900).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Aggabodhi VII (Sinh. Kudā-Akbō) Son of No. 102.</td>
<td>6 years c.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1305-1311</td>
<td>[822-828]</td>
<td>761-767</td>
<td>Polonnaruva natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Mahinda II, surnamed Silamegha (Sinh. Saلامēvan Mihindu) Son of No. 103.</td>
<td>20 years</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1311-1331</td>
<td>[828-848]</td>
<td>767-787</td>
<td>Anurādhapura natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Dappula II, called also Udaya-rāja (Sinh. Dāpula and Udā-raja) Son of No. 105.</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1331-1336</td>
<td>[848-853]</td>
<td>787-792</td>
<td>Polonnaruva (?) Mv., xli. 9. natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Mahinda III, surnamed Dhammika Silamegha (Sinh. Hīlligāravil His-kā-sō-Mihindu) Son of No. 106.</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>7 years R</td>
<td>1336-1340</td>
<td>[853-857]</td>
<td>792-796</td>
<td>Anurādhapura (?) natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Dappula III (Sinh. Dāpula) Younger brother of No. 108.</td>
<td>16 years</td>
<td>12 years R 16 years Pāj.</td>
<td>1351-1367</td>
<td>[868-884]</td>
<td>807-823</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Aggabodhi IX (Sinh. Pāsulu Akbō) Son of No. 109.</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1367-1370</td>
<td>[884-887]</td>
<td>823-826</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Reign Details</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Ruler</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Sena I, surnamed Silamémegha (Sinh. Matva Sen or Salamévan-Sen) Younger brother of No. 110.</td>
<td>20 years</td>
<td>1370–1399</td>
<td>846–846</td>
<td>Polonnaruva natural death According to Mtk the accession of No. 111 = 1361 a.e., a discrepancy of about six years.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Sensa II (Sinh. Muyavva Sen; inscr. Abba-siri-sahgabó or Buddas-siri-saangbóy-Abhay) Son of Kassapa, brother of No. 111.</td>
<td>35 years c.</td>
<td>1390–1424</td>
<td>846–880</td>
<td>natural death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Udaya I (Sinh. Udā; inscr. Udā-Abha-Salamévan) Brother of No. 112.</td>
<td>11 years c.</td>
<td>1424–1435</td>
<td>880–891</td>
<td>Anuradhapura (Mv. li. 126) natural death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>Kassapa V (Sinh. Kasup or Pāsulu Kasubu; inscr. Salamevan Abhay) Son of No. 112?</td>
<td>10 years c.</td>
<td>1452–1462</td>
<td>908–918</td>
<td>natural death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Dappula IV (Sinh. Dāpulu) Son of No. 112 or half-brother of No. 115 (E.Z., I. p. 184).</td>
<td>7 months c.</td>
<td>1462</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>natural death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>Dappula V (Sinh. Kuđā Dāpulu; inscr. Buddas Abhay Salamévan Dāpula) Brother of No. 116 (Pañj and R)</td>
<td>12 years c.</td>
<td>1462–1474</td>
<td>918–930</td>
<td>natural death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the reign of No. 117 the Pandyyan king crossed over to Ceylon to enlist assistance against the Colombas, but as this was not forthcoming he de-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era based on 483 B.C. or 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha’s death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha’s death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Udaya II</td>
<td>3 years c.</td>
<td>1474-1477 A.D. [991-994] 930-933 A.D.</td>
<td>Požonaruva natural death</td>
<td>posited in Dappula’s care his crown, &amp;c., and went over to the Rēvalas. This statement of the Mv. is confirmed by the inscriptions of Rajendra Cōla I (Hultsch, l.c.).</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Sena III</td>
<td>9 years c.</td>
<td>1477-1486 [994-1003] 933-942 natural death</td>
<td>”</td>
<td>The Cōla invasion during the reign of No. 120 was probably that of Parāntaka I in or shortly before 943 A.D. (Hultsch, l.c.).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Udaya III</td>
<td>8 years c.</td>
<td>1486-1494 [1003-1011] 942-950 natural death</td>
<td>”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Sena IV</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>1494-1497 [1011-1014] 950-953 natural death</td>
<td>”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Sena V</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>1515-1525 [1032-1042] 971-981 death through drink</td>
<td>”</td>
<td>”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Reigns</td>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Mahinda V</td>
<td>36 years c</td>
<td>1528-1581 c.</td>
<td>Poḷonnaruva and Anurādhapura</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sinh. Mihiliṣu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In his thirty-sixth regnal year Mahinda V was captured by the Cēla forces of Rājendra Cōja I in about 1017 A.D. (Hultsch, <em>J.R.A.S.</em> 1913, p. 523).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Half-brother of No. 123</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(E. Z., i.e.)</em></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INTERREGNUM, while the Cēlas were ruling at Poḷonnaruva, and Mahinda V in captivity in India.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>Kassapa, afterwards called Vikkama Bāhu, whose authority was upheld by the Sinhalese, while the Cēlas ruled at Poḷonnaruva. Son of No. 124.</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>1573-1585 c.</td>
<td>Rōhana death through illness</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>According to <em>Nar</em> all these rulers held sway contemporaneously and not one after another.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Kitti</td>
<td>16 years Nar</td>
<td>1585-1588 c.</td>
<td>1041 c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A general.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>slained by No. 127</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Mahālāka Kitti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>committed suicide on being defeated by the Cēlas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sinh. Mahāleśi)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Vikkama-Pāṇḍu</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>1588-1589</td>
<td>1044-1045 c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kalutara slained by No. 129</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Jagatipāla or Jagatpāla</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>1589-1593</td>
<td>1045-1049 c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rōhana slained by the Cēlas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>Parakkama-Pāṇḍu I</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>1593-1595</td>
<td>1049-1051 c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 128.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Loka or Lokissara I</td>
<td>6 years c.</td>
<td>1595-1601</td>
<td>1051-1057 c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kataragama natural death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Kassapa</td>
<td></td>
<td>1601</td>
<td>1057</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Chief of the Hair Relic.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>slain</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name and relationship</td>
<td>Length of reign</td>
<td>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</td>
<td>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</td>
<td>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</td>
<td>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</td>
<td>Synchronisms and Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Kitti, called afterwards Vijaya-Bahu I</td>
<td></td>
<td>Correctly 2 c.</td>
<td>1658-1660</td>
<td>1114-1116</td>
<td>Polonnaruva, natural death</td>
<td>The Mahavamsa leaves ambiguous whether fifty-five years were the period of Vijaya-Bahu's reign, after coronation or include, as they should, the period of rule in Raha as well. <em>Mv.</em> lx. 91. See also <em>E. Z.</em>, II, p. 207.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Rohana</td>
<td>15 years</td>
<td>(a) 15 expired</td>
<td>(a) 1602-1617</td>
<td>(a) 1058-1073</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Before Coronation</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>(b) 2 &quot;</td>
<td>(b) 1618-1620</td>
<td>(b) 1074-1076</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) After Coronation</td>
<td>55 years</td>
<td>(c) 38 &quot;</td>
<td>(c) 1620-1658</td>
<td>(c) 1076-1114</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brother of No. 133</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Vikkama-Bahu I</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>1660-1681</td>
<td>1116-1137</td>
<td>&quot;natural death&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 133</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>Gaja-Bahu II</td>
<td>16 years</td>
<td></td>
<td>1658-1697</td>
<td>1137-1153</td>
<td>&quot;natural death&quot;</td>
<td>This date agrees with the Saha Salla inscription of Polonnaruwa, Nik, and Rajaratnakan. See <em>E. Z.</em>, II, p. 205 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On the throne.</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>At war with No. 137</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 133</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>Parakkama-Bahu I</td>
<td>27 years</td>
<td></td>
<td>1697-1730</td>
<td>1158-1188</td>
<td>&quot;natural death&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of Mandhabhara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(<em>E. Z.</em>, II, l.c.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Vijaya-Bahu II, called</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1730-1731</td>
<td>1186-1187 c.</td>
<td>&quot;poisoned?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>also Pañjita Vijaya-Bahu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 136 (E. Z., II, l.c.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>Mahinda VI</td>
<td>5 days</td>
<td></td>
<td>1731</td>
<td>1187 c.</td>
<td>&quot;slain by No. 140&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sinh. Kithi-kes-dä-Mihindu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Reign</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>Kitti-Nissaakha-Malla</td>
<td>Of the Kālinga race</td>
<td>1731-1740</td>
<td>1187-1196</td>
<td>Natural death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Vira-Bāhu I</td>
<td>Son of No. 140</td>
<td>1740</td>
<td>1196</td>
<td>Slain?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>Vijjama-Bāhu II</td>
<td>Younger brother of No. 140</td>
<td>1740</td>
<td>1196</td>
<td>Slain by No. 143</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>Codagaṅga</td>
<td>Nephew of No. 140</td>
<td>1740-1741</td>
<td>1196-1197</td>
<td>Deposited</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>Lilāvati</td>
<td>(through the minister Kitti)</td>
<td>1741-1744</td>
<td>1197-1200</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>Sāhasa-Malla</td>
<td>Half-brother of No. 140</td>
<td>1745-1746</td>
<td>1200-1203</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Kalyāṅavatī</td>
<td>Queen-dowager of No. 140</td>
<td>1746-1752</td>
<td>1202-1208</td>
<td>Polonnaruva deposed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>Dhammāsaka, a prince</td>
<td>3 months old, with the above-mentioned minister as regent</td>
<td>1752-1753</td>
<td>1208-1209</td>
<td>Both the prince and the regent slain by No. 148</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For this king's full name see E. Z., II, p. 221.


This minister is identical with Áyusmat-pṭaṅg-putri in Sāhasa-Malla's inscription and with Elaḥu Abā Senevirat in Paj and R, and also probably with Lak-Vijaya-Śīŋga-Senevi Abōnāvan, see E. Z. II, pp. 100-101 and 221.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and Relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha’s death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha’s death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>Anikaṇga, Mahādiṇḍa (Sinh. Abhayā) Usurper. }</td>
<td>17 days</td>
<td>17 days</td>
<td>A.B. 1753</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>A.D. 1209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[144]</td>
<td>Lilāvatī Restored by Caṇānakka</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1209</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Lokissara II Usurper</td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>9 months Nar 5 months R</td>
<td>1753–1754</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1209–1210</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[144]</td>
<td>Lilāvatī Restored by Paraṇa of the Caṇānakka-gaṇa-varṇa</td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>7 months Nar 4 months R</td>
<td>1754</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1210</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Paraṇa off Pāṇḍu II (Sinh. Paraṇa Pāṇḍu) Usurper</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>1754–1757</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1210–1213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Maṅgha, afterwards called Kāḷīṅga Vijaya-Bāhu, and Jayā-Bāhu Usurpers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19 R</td>
<td>1757–1778</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1213–1234</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contemporary rulers:
(1) Subha-Sesāpati
(2) Bhuvaneka-Bāhu
(3) Saṅkha-Caṇānakka

Subhappabhata (Sinh. Yīparau) Govinda-pabbata in Rohana Gaṅgādōṇi-pabbata in the Maṇimekhāḷā country
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Vijaya-Bāhu III</td>
<td>1763-1767</td>
<td>Jambudoni (Sinh. Daṁbadeniya) natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Parakkama-Bāhu II</td>
<td>1766-1778</td>
<td>Daṁbadeniya and Polonnaruva natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1779-1809</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1808-1812</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1225-1235</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1236-1266</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1266-1269</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Buddhist scriptures revised and copies of them made; a Kātikāvata was issued; the Tooth-relic was brought from Kotmale to Daṁbadeniya and was enshrined on Beligala rock; so Buddhism was restored. This ruler had two sons, Parakkama-Bāhu and Bhuvaneka-Bāhu, and one daughter.

Pūjivalīya being a contemporary record, we accept 33 years as the correct duration of this king's reign reckoned from his coronation in 1779 A.D. (1236 A.D.) referred to in the Atlahanagalaivansa. Dhammakittī Thera (Brit. Mus. Cat. of Sinhalese MSS., Introd., p. xvii) to whom the authorship of the first portion of the Cūlavāhāsa is traditionally ascribed, seems to have stopped his account with the reign of Parakkama-Bāhu I (1153-1186 A.D.). See Geiger's Preface to Cūla-vāhāsa, pp.ii-iii. Possibly death or political disorders may have prevented his continuing the chronicle to his own time, namely, 1236-1269 A.D. The second coronation at Polonnaruva (Mv. lxxxix. 10) took place probably.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronismus and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Vijaya-Bahu IV, called also Bōsat Vijaya-Bahu&lt;br&gt;Eldest son of No. 153.</td>
<td>2 years&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1813-1815</td>
<td>A.B.</td>
<td>1270-1272</td>
<td>Polonnaruva slain</td>
<td>Shortly after his retirement in 1809 A.D., see Nikāyaṣāvāra and Rājaratnaṇa; vanquished Māgha and Jaya Bāhu, rulers at Polonnaruva; repulsed two raids by Candabhānu, a Malay or Jāraka chieftain (Mr. lxxxiii, 36 and lxxxvii, 62-75); held a convocation and restoring the purity of the Buddhist Church, had a fresh Katikāvata issued. He had five sons, Vijaya-Bāhu, Bhuvaneka-Bāhu, Tiloka-Malla, Parakrama-Bāhu, and Jaya-Bāhu, called in R Sri Vijaya-Bāhu and a nephew named Viras-Bāhu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Bhuvaneka-Bahu I, called also Lokaka-Bahu (Rṛ and Daḷ)&lt;br&gt;Brother of No. 154 or son of No. 153.&lt;br&gt;INTERREGNUM (Ārya-Cakravarti)</td>
<td>11 years&lt;br&gt;3 years?</td>
<td>1815-1826&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>1272-1283</td>
<td>Daṇḍādeniya and Yāpavu natural death</td>
<td>This king (No. 154) was slain at the instigation of a general named Mitta who attempted to usurp the throne, but was in his turn killed, and the army placed Bhuvaneka Bāhu I of Yāpavu on the throne. Soon after or just before this king's death (comp. Mr. and Dalpatāśirī) a famine arose in Ceylon, and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> His first invasion took place in 1236 A.D., the eleventh regnal year of this king according to Mr. apparently reckoning from 1235 A.D., the second in 1236 A.D. See Bijdragen tot de taal-land-en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, Deel. 83, p. 472 and J.R.A.S. (C. B., No. 58, p. 110.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Parakkama-Bāhu III</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>1829–1836</td>
<td>1286–1293 Polonnaruva deposed?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 154 or grandson of No. 153.</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>but from calcul-</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ation approxi-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mately 7 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>Bhuvaneka-Bāhu II, called also Vat-himi-</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>1836–1845</td>
<td>1293–1302 Kurunegala (Hatthisela-pura) natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhuvaneka-Bāhu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 155.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24 years Rr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>more probably</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Parakkama-Bāhu IV, called also Pandita</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>1846–1876</td>
<td>1303–1333 natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parakkama-Bāhu II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 157.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Calculated from</td>
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<td></td>
<td>facts shown in</td>
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<td></td>
<td>remarks column</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>about 30 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arya Cakravarti made a raid and was successful in carrying away the Tooth-relic (Dalada) from Yānapu, which he delivered over to his king Kulačekkara, who has been identified with the Pāṇḍyan king Māra- varman Taibhuvana- cakravartin Kulačekkara- deva, c. 1268–1308 A.D. (see Madras Epigraphy, Report for 1907, p. 70, and Hultzsch, J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 531).

Recovered the Tooth-relic from Kulačekkara by friendly negotiation and deposited it in the Tooth-relic temple at Polonnaruva.

According to the Dalāda-sirita, both No. 156 and No. 157 ruled contemporaneously at their respective capitals until the latter, for some reason or other, deposed the former and brought the Tooth-relic from Polonnaruva to Kurunegala. The Mr. text is corrupt here.

We are indebted to Mr. Codrington (Ceylon Antiquity, x. 2, p. 89) for drawing attention to the Tamil poem Sarabhai- málai. The king mentioned in its colophon should in our opinion be
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|     |                       |                | A.D.                                                     | A.D.                                                          | A.D.                                                          |                                               | identified with Parakrama-bahu IV for the following reasons:—  
Like anurā for anurā, mātā for māla or sapātī for sahā, tambā or dambā can in Tamil stand for tambhā or dambhā but not for tamba or damba, besides the Tamil equivalent for jambu is jōvu. We may, however, take jōvu as a misleision for either jōva (war) or jōva (elephant); and we may interpret the latter as a Tamil abbreviation for Hatthi-sela-pura ('elephant-rock-city,' Kurungala) the capital of Parakrama-Bahu IV (No. 138).  
So according to this poem, No. 138 was on the throne in Čaka 1332 (1310 A.D.) and this being his seventh regnal year, his accession was in 1303 A.D. According to the Daladassiriya composed by this king himself or at his request, he was still on the throne in Čaka 1247 expired (1326 A.D.). He had the Bodhisansa also translated into Sinhalese by Vilgammula Mahā |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Relationship to Father</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Death</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Bhuvaneka-Bahu III, called also Vanni Bhuvaneka Bahu</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>approximately 14 years (1876-1890)</td>
<td>— (1333-1347)</td>
<td>Kurunegala?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Vijaya-Bahu V, called in Mr. Jayas-Bahu and in Sinh. works Savulu Vijaya-Bahu</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Bhuvaneka-Bahu IV</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>Relationship not stated; probably son of No. 158.</td>
<td>at least 10 years (1885-1890)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gaṅgasiri pura (Gampola) natural death?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Wielding equal power with the king, as suggested both by Mudaliyar W. F. Goovavardena and Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mahāvahṣa</td>
<td>Other sources</td>
<td>A. D.</td>
<td>A. D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>Parakkama-Bāhu V</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>at least 11 years</td>
<td>As āpi 1 1891-1895</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1348-1352 1352-1359</td>
<td>Dātiyama² and Gampola not stated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sinh. Sāvutu Pārākumraja)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1895-1902</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This king. Therefore the former may be the date of his assumption of the office of āpi of No. 160, and the latter 1890 A. D. (1347 A. D.) the year of his accession to the throne. The Vēgiri-devāle inscription, however, states that Çi Pārākrama Bāhu āpi made a grant in the tenth regnal year of this king (No. 161). Counting from 1885 A. D. (Çaka 1264) the date of the grant would fall in 1895 A. D. (1352 A. D.).

Hapugastānme inscription gives Çaka 1281 expired as the eleventh regnal year of No. 162.

1. His accession = 1281-11 = 1270 = 1891 A. D. = 1348 A. D., but according to Vēgiri-devāle inscription quoted above he was holding the office of āpi in 1352 A. D. So 1348 A. D. was most probably the year of his appointment to the office of āpi shortly after No. 161 became paramount sovereign.

² Or Dātiyama, the intervocal ᵣ being pronounced as its voiced equivalent ᵣ according to the usage of Tamil and certain Prākrit dialects.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vikkama-Bahu III</th>
<th>Relationship not stated. Probably a nephew of No. 162.</th>
<th>1557-1369</th>
<th>1360-1375</th>
<th>Gampola</th>
<th>not stated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Niyangampaya inscription gives 1916 A.D. expired in the seventeenth regnal year of No. 162. Therefore his accession was in 1900 A.D. Vigilavatta inscription makes Caka 1272 expired as the fourth regnal year, which gives Caka 1279 (1900 A.D.) as the date of accession. Thus the two inscriptions agree, and they both count from the date of the assumption of the rank of sub-king. Vinukli-sangraka was composed in the eighteenth regnal year of this king.

During the reign of No. 163 Nippana Alagakkonara of Amaragiri, otherwise Alakepyara, an intrepid warrior of the Girivanha lineage, who was allied by marriage to Senalankadrikara Senavirat, a minister of Bhu. B. IV (No. 161), came into prominence, rose to the rank of minister and pudde-rajya, and dwelt in Peradeniya. With a view to check the ever-growing domination of the Tamils under their ruler Arya Cakravarti of Jaffna, he commenced war preparations and had strong fortresses built at Rayigama and Kota. In 1912 A.D. (1369-70 A.D.)

1 For a full account, see Mr. Edward W. Perera's contribution to J.C.E.R.A.S. 1904, and Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka's Introduction to his edition of the Parakramabahu-sirita.

2 See Nikayasangraha, p. 28.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mahāvāsīsa</td>
<td>Other sources</td>
<td>A. D.</td>
<td>A. D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year Range</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1360-1371</td>
<td>An āpā</td>
<td>At least 30 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1371-1375</td>
<td>An āpā-rajā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1375-1391</td>
<td>An king</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gampola and</td>
<td>Natural death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kotte</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bhuvaneka-Bāhu V
Relationship not stated: probably related to Senālankadhikāra, prime minister of No. 161.

According to Vīḍā, the fifteenth regnal year of No. 164 was 1929 A.D. Therefore the year of accession probably from āpā to the rank of ābāraṇa (sub-king) was 1914 A.D., because No. 163 was alive in 1918 A.D. as shown above. In the twentieth regnal year of No. 164 āpā Vira-Bāhu (No. 162) ascended the throne (Vīḍā and Mīr). Counting from 1914, i.e. the year of accession of Bh. B. V (No. 164) to ābāraṇa rank, the end of his reign may have been in 1934 A.D. The statement in the Vēgirīya inscription that a grant was made by this king in his thirtieth or thirty-fourth regnal year may be explained by counting the regnal years from the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era</th>
<th>Christian era</th>
<th>Christian era</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</td>
<td>based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</td>
<td>based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</td>
<td></td>
<td>possible date of his assumption of the rank of əpā in 1903 A.B. (1360 A.B.). See, however, Mr. H. C. P. Bell's explanation in J.C.B.R.A.S., 1912, pp. 292-295. After this Tamiil war, Niçćanaṅka Alakeṭvara, the prabhu-rājā, with his brother Artiṇṇāyaka, lived for some time in Rayigama, and afterwards the former settled down for the rest of his life in Kottle, the city he had himself built, where No. 164 also held his court for reasons explained above. At Rayigama, the family seat of the clan, the prabhu-rāja's son Kumāra Alakeṭvara may have, in the usual course, assumed the reins of government. Shortly afterwards, probably on the death of the prabhu-rāja and his son (c. 1925-1930 A.B., 1382-1387 A.D.), his nephew (sister's son), Vīra-Alakeṭvara, became the governor of Rayigama, while his other nephew, Vīra-Bāhu, who had distinguished himself</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
as a soldier, succeeded him as ḍīpa of Bh. B. V (No. 164), and lived in Gampola. But on the death of No. 164 in about 1934 A.D. (1391 A.D.) Vira Alakeṇvara, being the elder of the two nephews, challenged Vira-Bāhu's right to succeed No. 164 to the sovereignty of the Kēṭte kingdom. As a result there was civil war in which Vira-Alakeṇvara was vanquished and was compelled to flee the country. We may add that Senālakāchikāra Senevirat of the Mehana vara clan, a close relative of the royal family, may have married the prabhu-rāja's sister. The two nephews were the issue of this marriage, and that is why they are referred to as scions of the Mehana vara clan and Vira-Bāhu (No. 165) as sālaka (Sinh. sthuru-badu) of No. 164. The last reference lends, it is true, some colour to the statement in the Rājarajēkāra and in the Mahāvahsa that Niṃpana Alagākānāra became Bhuvaneka-vēhu V (No. 164), but contemporary records are quite against this view.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>Vira-Bāhu II</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>1934–1940</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>Gampola and Köttë? ousted by No. 166</td>
<td>In 1939 A.D. expired (1396 A.D.), another con-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brother-in-law? (vālaka) of No. 164.</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vocation of the Elders of the Buddhist Church was held under the patronage of No. 165. It was of-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Vira-Alakeçvara, probably called also Vijaya Bāhu VI</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>1940–1952</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1397–1409</td>
<td>Köttë taken captive by the Chinese</td>
<td>presided over by Dhammakitti II, author of the Nīkiyasahgraha and other treatises. No. 165 had two sons, namely, Vijaya āpā and Tunayesaya. The for-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elder brother of No. 165.</td>
<td>12 years Sr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mer, on his father's accession to the throne, may have become āpā, being the heir-apparent to the crown. The fate of these princes, or even of their father, is not known. We stated above that No. 166 was defeated in battle by his younger brother Vira-Bāhu II (No. 162), and had to flee the country. But he returned with a large South Indian army, probably in about 1397 A.D., and ousting No. 165 from the Köttë throne reigned there for twelve years (Sr.). It must be remembered that at this period the kings of Köttë, no doubt through the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
late prabhú-rája's military achievements, were recognized as the paramount sovereigns of the island. So, No. 166, on ascending the Kótté throne, may have taken the binda title Vira Vijaya-Báhu as many a Sinhalese sovereign had done before. But the evidence so far adduced in support of this probability is not sufficient to settle the point. Neither the inscriptions nor the Sinhalese works of the period help us much. For further discussion, see J.C.B.R.A.S., 1912.

In 1405 a.d. the Chinese eunuch Tcheng Houo arrived to take away the Tooth-relic of the Buddha, but his plans were frustrated and he himself was plundered by Alagakkónára (obviously No. 166). Four years later, in 1409 a.d., he came again—this time with a large army—and managed to capture Alagakkónára with his queen, children, &c. (Spolia Zeylanica (June 1912)).

Tcheng Houo returned to China in 1411 a.d. together with the Ceylon king and his family as captives. So, from the end of 1409 a.d., Ceylon was with-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
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<th>Synchronism and Remarks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mahāvamsa</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td></td>
<td>out a king, but according to Saddharmaratnādikara, a grandson of the above-mentioned Suvālakādhikāra Senavi, by name Parakkama-Bāhu and by rank an āpāt, held sway during the interregnum. If this was the case, then this Parakkama-Bāhu was a member of the Alakegyara family, possibly a son of the captive king or of his brother Viyakama, who made several attempts to kill the young Lambakantha prince (a great-grandson of No. 162), whom Visidagama Theragena had arranged to place on the throne as Parakkama-Bāhu VI (No. 168). Vira-Alakegyara and the other captives were released in about 1471-1472 A.D. by the Chinese, but in the night after their return to Ceylon, Vira Alakegyara is stated to have been murdered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Parakkama-Bahu VI
Son of Lāmāyi Jaya Mahālāya or great-grandson of No. 162.1

52 years

57 years

As king elect in hiding
1053–1055

As ruler of Rayigama and at war with No. 167
1055–1058

As crowned king of Kotte
1058–2010

Rayigama and Kotte
natural death

1410–1412

1412–1415

1415–1467

(a) The year of accession according to Mā. xci. 15, and Nār = 1953 A. D.
(b) The year of accession according to [Pānākhā Pradīpa
Ganitāsinhe and
Namāvaliya
= 1955 A. D.
(c) The year of accession according to Sr. Ruvanmala,
Kāvyāsākhara
= 1958 A. D.

1 See Parākumbūsirīta, v. 27.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>Jaya-Bāhu II, called also Vira Parakkama-Bāhu (R) Son of princess Ulakudiya-Devi or grandson of No. 168.</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>about 2 years</td>
<td>A. D. 2010-2012</td>
<td>A. D. 1467-1469</td>
<td>Kotte slain by No. 170</td>
<td>another—a solar prince of the Gampola royal family—to rule over the district. The king, moreover, dispatched a naval expedition and destroyed the piratical Malabar prince Vira Rāma, who had seized some Sinhalese trading vessels. On receiving the news of the death of No. 168 and the accession of No. 169 to the throne, Prince Sapumal, the rightful heir, came down from Jaffna with a large army, and killing No. 169 ascended the throne under the title Bhuvaneka-Bāhu VI. His brother, the prince of Ambuluwala, quelled a rebellion in the South raised by Ćivardhana Patiraja and Kāragama Himi. The Kalyani Upasampada ordination was held as stated in the Kalyani inscription (Ind. Antęp., vol. xxii. 1893). Prince Ambuluwala rose against the king, killed his generals in battle, and entering Kotte, killed No. 171 at midnight. The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>Bhuvaneka-Bāhu VI, previously called Senānāyaka Sapumahamanna Eldest brother of princess Ulakudiya-Devi or son of No. 168 (R).</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2012-2019</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1469-1476</td>
<td>natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Parakkama-Bāhu VII, called also Pañjila Parakrama-Bāhu Adopted son of No. 170.</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>about 8 years</td>
<td>2020-2028</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1477-1485</td>
<td>slain by No. 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Reign Years</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Parakkama-Bahu VIII, called also Vīra Parākrama-Bahu</td>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>2028–2048</td>
<td>1485–1505, natural death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>previously known as Ambulugala-Rāja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Parakkama-Bahu IX, called also Dharma Parākrama-Bahu</td>
<td>Elder son of No. 172</td>
<td>2049–2071</td>
<td>1506–1528</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The Munnesaram Sannasa, which has been condemned as not genuine (J.C.E.R.A.S. xix, p. 399 note), gives in fact the correct Buddhist date for 2060 A.R. expired, being the twelfth regnal year of No. 173, his accession must fall in (2061–12) 2049 A.R. (1505–6 A.D.) as given in the next morning he ascended the throne under the title Vīra Parakkama-Bahu. No. 172 had one daughter and six sons, namely: (1) Dharma Parākrama-Bahu, (2) Čiri Rajasīṅha, (3) Sakkāyudha, (4) Rayigam Bandara, (5) Tanjēvam Vallabha, and (6) Sakalakaḷa-Vallabha. Of these the second and third lived at Mānikkada-vīra as fellow husbands of a Kiravalla princess; the fourth at Rayigama; the fifth and sixth were sons by a second wife; the former lived at Madampe, and his daughter had two sons, Vidiya Kumāra and Tamnita-Bandara, by a Malabar prince; the latter settled himself at Udugampola. On the death of No. 172 his eldest son Dharma Parākrama-Bahu ascended the Köṭte throne.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha’s death</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A. D.</td>
<td>A. D.</td>
<td>A. D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under orders from the king, his two brothers Sakalakala-Vallabha and Taniyan-Vallabha attacked and destroyed the Moors (yeng-sarea) who had come to Chilaw for the pearl-fishing, led by their captain named Kafira of Kannam, Uppanna, while the third brother, Çri Kārakatta of Mannakadawa, brought the ruler of Udarriata to subjection. Some time later this ruler became again recalcitrant and had to be subdued by Sakalakala-Vallabha of Udagampola. The Ratnavaliya speaks of the arrival of the Portuguese in 1522 A.D., but according to Portuguese authorities they seem to have come to Colombo.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reign Details</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Vijaya-Bahu VII, previously called Sakkāyudha (Cakrāyudha) Brother of No. 173.</td>
<td>over 15 years R. (probably 18 years)</td>
<td>1511–1528 Kōṭṭe murdered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Jaya-vira Bandāra, king of Kanda-uṭarata, married d. of Sakalakalā-Vallabha.</td>
<td>about 20 years</td>
<td>1522 (?)–1542 (?) Kandy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

either in November 1505 or in September 1506 (J.C.R.R.A.S., xix. 1907, p. 320). As soon as No. 173 heard of their arrival, he summoned to his presence his four brothers, took counsel with them, and on the advice of his brother Sakkāyudha, who had secretly seen the strangers, he entered into a treaty of peace and friendship with them. No. 173 died after a reign of 22 years. His brother Čī Rajasimha being dead, the throne was offered to Sakalakalā-Vallabha, but was declined as Sakkāyudha (No. 174) was the rightful heir. No. 174 and his late elder brother Čī Rajasimha were associated husbands of a Kiravalla princess at Mānikkādañvara. To them were born four sons, namely: (1) Mahā Raygam Bandāra, who died when young, (2) Bhuvaneka-Bahu, (3) Parā Rajasimha, and (4) Māyādunne. No. 174 married a second time and brought up a stepson or a brother-in-law called Deva-rāja Kumāraya, whom he nominated for the throne, overlooking the claims of the three.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha’s death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha’s death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 175 | Bhuvaneka-Bahu VII  
Son of No. 174. | *not stated* | over 20 years R.  
(probably 21 years) | 2072-2093 | — | 1529-1550 | Kötte  
(accidentally shot) | This led to a civil war, with the result that the brothers with the assistance of Jayavira, king of Udara, captured Kötte, had their father murdered, and placed their eldest brother Bhuvaneka-Bahu on the throne. For a discussion on the date and duration of the reign of No. 175 see *J.C.B.R.A.S.* for 1912. This king had a grand-son (afterwards called Don Juan Dharma-pala) whom he nominated for the throne. This caused the brothers with Jayavira, king of Kandy, as their ally, to rise against him. He, on the other hand, secured the assistance of the Portuguese. Ambassadors were sent to Lisbon, and his grandson was made a Christian with the title Don Juan Dharma-pala. The war continued with varying success until in Dec. 1550 the king (No. 175) was accidentally shot by a servant of the Portuguese viceroy. |
|     | Contemporary rulers: |   |   |   |   |   | See also the B. M. copy of *Rājalekhanaya*, Or. 6606 (104). |
|     | (a) Rājāsinha, called  
also Rayigam Bandhara  
Younger brother of No. 175. |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|     | (b) Māyādunne (P. Mā- 
�ādhanu)  
Second younger brother  
of No. 175. |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|     | (c) Jayavira Bandhara,  
mentioned above. |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|     | (d) Kumāra Bandhara  
Son of (c), probably  
identical with Virabha- 
Vikrama (Mu. xcii. 6-10). |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 176 | Don Juan Dharmapāla  
Grandson of No. 175. | not stated | 40 years | 2094–2130 | — | 1551–May 27, 1597 | Kotte and Colombo  
natural death |
| 177 | Rājasiniha I, called also  
Ťikiri Rajaruvo  
Son of Māyādunne. | not stated | about 12 years | 2124–2136 | — | 1581–March 1593 | Siāvaka  
natural death |

Thereafter the Portuguese placed No. 176 nominally on the Kotte throne. Māyādunne as leader of the national party took the field again against the Portuguese. This time he was assisted among others by his own sons, notably Ťikiri Rajaru Banjāra, whose military achievements got him the appellation Rājasinīha. According to Rājalekhaṇa Māyādunne died in Čaka 1503 on Sunday the twelfth day of the waning moon in Nikini (i.e. 1581 A.D.), and Rājasiniha, who in May 1578 was vested with regal power, carried on the war successfully until he made himself master of the whole interior of Ceylon. In August 1587 he laid siege to Colombo, and in March 1593 (on Wednesday the fifteenth day of the waning moon in Mādin-dina, Čaka 1514) died of illness. His grandson Rājasīrya Kumāraya succeeded him on the throne of Siāvaka. But soon afterwards Siāvaka fell and Konappu Banjāra assumed paramount sovereignty in the interior under the title of Vimala Dharma Siyaya.

| 178 | Vimala Dhamma Śūriya I, previously called  
Konappu Banjāra  
A prince of the Gampola dynasty. | not stated | about 11 years | 2136–2147 | 1593–1604 | Kandy  
natural death |

1 See Rājalekhaṇa and Pieris’s Ceylon and the Portuguese, pp. 113–114.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and relationship</th>
<th>Length of reign</th>
<th>Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.</th>
<th>Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death</th>
<th>Seat of Government and cause of end of reign</th>
<th>Synchronisms and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>Senaratna (Sinh. Senarat) Brother of No. 178.</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>about 31 years</td>
<td>A.D. 2147-2178</td>
<td>A.D. 1604-1635</td>
<td>natural death</td>
<td>(No. 178). He, moreover, strengthened his position by marrying Dona Catherina, the admitted heiress to the Kanda-Uda-Rata. No. 176 died in Colombo on May 27, 1597. No. 178 died in Caka 1526 (1604 A.D.), on Monday the second day of the waxing moon in the month of Vesak, having appointed Senaratna as Regent during the minority of his son Asihana Bandara. Senaratna, however, married the widowed queen and assumed the crown in 1609 A.D. In the same year he formed an alliance with the Dutch. In 1628 he divided his kingdom among his two stepsons Kumara Sinhha (i.e. Asihana Bandara) and Vijaya Pale and his own son MahA Asihana, called afterwards Rajasinha II, to whom fell the Uda-Rata. According to Rajalekmana king Senaratna died in Caka 1557 (1635 A.D.) and Rajasinha II in Caka 1609 (1687 A.D.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Rajasinha II Son of No. 179.</td>
<td>52 years</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2178-2230</td>
<td>1635-1687</td>
<td>natural death</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See Rajalekmana and Fieris's Ceylon and the Portuguese, pp. 113-114.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Age 1</th>
<th>Age 2</th>
<th>Year 1-2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>Vimala Dharma Surya II</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2230-2250</td>
<td></td>
<td>1687-1707 Kandy natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 180.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>Chī Vīra Parākrama</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2250-2282</td>
<td></td>
<td>1707-1739 natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Narendra Simha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of No. 181.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Chī Vijaya Rājasimha</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 c.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2282-2290</td>
<td></td>
<td>1739-1747 natural death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brother-in-law of No. 182</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>Kīrtī Chī Rājasimha</td>
<td></td>
<td>35 c.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2290-2323</td>
<td></td>
<td>1747-1780(?) accidental death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brother-in-law of No. 183</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Chī Rājadhi Rājasimha</td>
<td></td>
<td>18 c.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2323-2341</td>
<td></td>
<td>1780-1798 c. deposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brother of No. 184.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>Chī Vikrama Rājasimha</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>2341-2358</td>
<td></td>
<td>1798-1815 deposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of the sister of No. 185</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

on Friday evening the second day of the waxing moon of the month of Unduvap.

No. 181 caused an ordination ceremony to be held in 2240 A.D. (1696-7 A.D.). He died in Čaka 1629 (1707 A.D.) on Friday the fifth day of the waxing moon in Vesāk.

No. 182 died in Čaka 1661 (1739 A.D.) in the month of Vesāk.

No. 183 died in Čaka 1669 (1747 A.D.) on the fifth day of the month of Nikīni.

No. 184 ascended the throne in 2290 A.D. (Mv. xcix. 2) and died in Saka 1703 (1781 A.D.) on Wednesday the third day of the waning moon in the month of Unduvap. According to Mr. H.C.P. Bell, he died in 1778 by a fall from a horse (Kagalle Report, p. 11).

Deposed by the English on Feb. 8, 1815, and died in captivity in 1832.
No. 2. (Reg. No. 4). Polonnaruva: Laṅkātilaka Guardstone Inscription of Vijaya-Bāhu IV (1270-1272 A.D.)

In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* for 1910–1911 (p. 37), Mr. Bell mentions the discovery of this epigraph on the inner face of the left guard-stone¹ of the east entrance to one of the buildings in the group of ruins now, rightly or wrongly, known as Jetavanārāma². He speaks of it as follows:—

'The inscription (every letter of which was separately enclosed in a square formed by perpendicular and horizontal lines) is too much weathered in the middle lines to yield that portion of the record with any certainty. But the greater part of its text is clear enough. Like the pillar inscription at "Pot-gul Vehera"³, this too was couched in Pāli.'

The letters are shallowly engraved in seventeen lines, each line consisting of five akṣaras of one to two inches in size each. They resemble those of the Pot-gul Vehera record and are in keeping with the type of the Sinhalese alphabet of the thirteenth century.

The language is Pāli as stated above and the composition is metrical, the whole record being framed in two gāthās, each containing two nineteen-syllable lines. Two conventional signs of a conch-shell mark the end of the text ⁴.

The subject-matter is quite simple. The first half of the first gāthā records the building of the Laṅkātilaka Vihāra by Parakkama-Bāhu; the second half which is illegible seems to deal with some repair or other done to a wall. The second gāthā tells us that this temple had remained in disrepair for 100 years when king Vijaya-Bāhu had it completely re-built.

Now on consulting the *Mahāvamsa* for confirmation of these facts, we find the following reference to the building of Laṅkātilaka:—

¹ He [i.e. Parakkama-Bāhu I, 1153–1186 A.D.] made also a beautiful image-house with five stories, that contained the likenesses of gods and Brahmans and other beings, and workmanship of flowers and plants, and adorned with pinnacles and caves, and inner rooms, halls, and chambers—an image-house, which bore

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¹ For a clear illustration, see *A. S. C. Annual Report, 1920–1921*, Plate XIV.
² See plan of Polonnaruva facing p. 84 above, Vol. II.
⁴ See Plate 1.
Lankaitaka Guard-stone.  From an ink-impression supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.
worthily the name of Laṅkā-Tilaka, which signifies the jewel of Laṅkā. And he made there a standing image of Buddha of the full size, which was delightful to behold, and called it Laṅkā-Tilaka.'

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. Bell is, therefore, quite justified in identifying the ruin with the Laṅkātilaka 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 building. Possibly the guard-stones only are in their original position.

The Mahāvaṁsa 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 Polonnaruva. This goes to confirm what our inscription records in the second gāthā. We cannot, therefore, be wrong, if we count Laṅkātilaka 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 stampages 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 1910–1911.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT.</th>
<th>TRANSCRIPT.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (ब) सत्तिकृति</td>
<td>1 (Yam) Laṅkātila-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 अः धारित</td>
<td>2 -kaṁ Parakka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 अः तुषार अः</td>
<td>3 -ma-Bhujo kāre-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 बलिकृतत्</td>
<td>4 -si Laṅkissa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 का [§] रुदिरस्य</td>
<td>5 -ro [§] ku(dhaṁ mā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ... ... ...</td>
<td>6 ... ... ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ... ... ...</td>
<td>7 ... ... ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ... ... ...</td>
<td>8 ... ... ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Ch. lxxviii, 52–55. Wijesinha’s translation.  
4 Ch. lxxviii, 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.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT (continued)</th>
<th>TRANSCRIPT (continued)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9  .. (තෙමි) [ළ] (තම්) මේ</td>
<td>9  .. (bhave) [ත] (tam) මේ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (පිත් මී)හික්</td>
<td>10 (-ro Vijayādi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 යා මිරිස්</td>
<td>11 Bāhu-vasudhā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 මහා මිරිස්</td>
<td>12 nātho māhi-ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 (ද)ැටි [්] මේ මේරේ</td>
<td>13 (ŋḍa)naṁ [ŋ] jīṁṇam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 ගෙශකාණ්ඩා</td>
<td>14 vassa-sataṇm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 මතිංගු මිරිස්</td>
<td>15 tad eva bhava-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 මට් මිරිස්</td>
<td>16 -naṁ kārāpayī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 සාධුකම් [ළ]</td>
<td>17 sādhukaṁ [ත]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TRANSLATION.**

Parakkama-Bāhu. Lord of Lanka, 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.
THE ORUVALA SANNAŞA

By H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

The document now published is an oblong copper-plate 10 1/2 inches long by 5 1/2 inches broad, with a thickness of 1/8 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 Vishnu’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 piled 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 Pålattarun, purports to have been granted in the fourth year of Siri Saṅgabo Śrī Parākrama Bāhu at Jayavaruddhanapura or Kōṭṭē, and rehearsing that two Brahmins, one Potā Ojjhalun and his nephew Avuhaļa Ojjhalun of the Šāndilyya 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 Oruvala in Aturugiri Kōrale. Subsequently another king made this village a perpetual danaḳṣetra in favour of the nephew and also granted him another village in the neighbourhood. Avuhaļa 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 danaḳṣetra subject to an annual payment of fifteen fanams to the god Vishnu.

Oruvala is situated in the Aturugiriya pēruwa of Palle Pattu of Hēvāgam Kōrale, about three miles SSW. of Navagomuwa. I am informed by the Kōrale Mudaliyār that the eastern and southern boundaries as given in our document are correct and that Pōre and Koratoţa 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 κανεκα, διλις and ἄνα.

(A) Line 4. κεκογισσα, &c. A similar phrase occurs in the Kuṭumirisa inscription, which grant was made at the ‘Sumaṅgala prāśāda’.

Line 5. The names Avuhaļa Ojjhalu Paḷaiporokkul Perumālu of the Kauḍūdinya gotra and Šēnā Ojjhalun of the Harita gotra are found in the Kuṭumirisa record. These people appear to have been Vaishṇava Telugu
Brahmans. The continued existence of the office of purohita in the Kotṭē period is worthy of notice.

Line 6. Mahā Parākrama Bāhu viḍa vun tena oṭunu pas-fanun 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).

The Kotṭē 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 Brahms 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 Rājāvaliya 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 Vidyodhya 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.D.  

The Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner draws my attention to the following passage in the Thāpavamsa (Colombo ed., 1926, p. 108) relating to King Kāvan Tissa, who is said to have reigned for sixty-four years: Kāvan Tissa rājuruvō 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. Kāvyāśekhara. Thirty-fourth year. (? Accession) 1958 A.D.
   ii. Pāpiliyana I and Saman Dewālē. Thirty-ninth year. Accession 1958 A.D.

The Saddharmaratnakaraya 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 Sirīta 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  Thumbnail error! 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.D., 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 Śri 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 Kāvyāśekhara was written in the thirty-fourth year and at the beginning mentions the year 1958. The astronomical data in the Salalihini Sandēsaya yield a negative result, as they fit the thirty-sixth year reckoned from 1955, or 1958. But the Moggallāna Pārukaśrādīpa is dated in the forty-fifth year, Śaka 1379, with the initial year falling in 1955 A.D. 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 Śri 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  Thumbnail error! or  Thumbnail error!. It occurs in the Kuṇumirisa inscription towards the end of the record, where it appears to refer to the grantor's father mentioned in the earlier part ( Thumbnail error!}
It is also found in the Demaladuva copper-plate, and in the Denavaka sanussa, fragments of which still exist at Pāpiliyāna. Here the Aramanapola Vihāre is said to have been built, to acquire merit for the queen, on the orders of ‘Seliyadarayarun vāda un tān’ (سةライدارياررن ىمان ىر رن ىمان ىد). The expression literally should mean ‘the place where he was’, but as in line 8 of the present document it is qualified by ى, must be understood analogous to the later vasala, maha vasala; it clearly refers to a person. The Kandy Natha Devalē inscription uses it of the reigning king; thus it is ‘His Majesty’, ‘His Highness’. Seliyadarayarun probably was a prince¹. The spelling ى is found occasionally in the Pāpiliyāna documents and elsewhere.

Line 7. sēladiwala. In later times this would imply a land held for military service. This cannot be the case with Brahmans, and sēva must have its original meaning of ‘service’.

Line 8. sahajitā putra rājakumāravārayan. 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 sanussa was Parākrama Bāhu VIII, the first gift as dānakṣetra may have been made by Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI.

Lines 11, 12. A few notes are required as to the procedure adopted in the grant of land. The Baṅgama Oruvala was first given to the two Brahmans as sēladiwala 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 Vishnu. With this procedure may be compared that commonly

¹ Selīya = Pāṇḍyan. The Portuguese Tomba, vol. iii, fol. 14, 14 v. mentions that Madampe Pandar, son of Vira Parākrama Bāhu (VIII) married a daughter of the king of Pandy, called Cholia Pandar. According to Couto, Ulukūḷāya Devī married ‘Cholca Raya’ of ‘the race of the ancient kings’. The same writer makes Saṇumāl Kumāra’s father to be a ‘panical’ from the Coast, ‘of the caste of those kings; he married a woman of rank. Perhaps he and Ulukūḷāya Devī’s husband both were Pāṇḍyan princes. Ulukūḷāya is a Tamil name.
adopted in Kōṭṭe saunas, by which paraventi 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 Demaladuva saunas, 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 Doratīyāva 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 यो नि यो यो is obscure.

(B) line 2. Kapurā Kumāraya. Compare Couto's 'Caipura Pandar', the son of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI, that is Pāṇḍita 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 Vishnu, the grantees being Vaishnava Brahmans. For the same reason we find his caakra and chank-shell on the reverse of the plate, For pāśīda 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-avuda bālaya. 'Young men' or 'inferiors' armed with hand-weapons. Compare अति वद बलिति of the Ganegoda saunas (Report on the Kegalla District, p. 93). Dādavantdu is a well-known term; 'hunters armed with sticks or clubs' (danda), as opposed to 'hunters with dogs', the later kikkam maduva people.

Line 8. mevarak patak dādak mudak. I take the second word to be derived from prāpti, 'profit', 'gain', or perhaps from prattā, 'given'. The expression dada muda is still in colloquial use and may belong to the same class as idam kadam and the like. If muda is to be translated by itself, Mr. H. Gunaratna Mudaliyar suggests its derivation from munda, 'shaving'; if so, it would mean 'shearing', 'exaction', 'extortion'.

Paliya 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'. Maralaya was a death duty, amounting to one-third of the moveables of a deceased if he left a son, and to the whole if he had none.

1. At-avuda Mudiyansēlāgē people in Daṁbadeni Hatpattuva are said to have been of the royal body guard, armed with kastana.
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. Mudaliyar Rasanyagam 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 Brahmins 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 Kumāraya, on receiving news of the accession, left Jaffna, slew the new king, and ascended the throne as Bhuvaṇika Bāhu VI. But the **Buduguṇa Alankāraya** has:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{බඹාලාකාරා පුත්රයේ අතුරත් ගැන්නා කියීම} \quad 5 \\
& \text{බජාලාකාරා පුත්රයේ අතුරත් ගැන්නා කියීම} \quad 5 \\
& \text{බජාලාකාරා පුත්රයේ අතුරත් ගැන්න කියීම} \quad 5 \\
& \text{බජාලාකාරා පුත්රයේ අතුරත් ගැන්නා කියීම} \quad 5
\end{align*}
\]

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.D. 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 Koralēs, 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 Mayādunnu-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 Rajāvaliya to Aṁbulugalara Raja, Sapumal Kumārayā’s brother, during the latter part of Parākrama Bāhu’s reign must be assigned to his predecessor in the Mayādunna principality. Secondly, Valentyn, dealing with the reign of Vira Parākrama Bāhu, states that Aṁbulugalara Raja was the youngest son of the king’s mother’s sister. The king’s mother was Ulakudāya Devī and Aṁbulugalara’s mother perhaps was her first cousin. But whether this was so or not, it is clear from Couto that Aṁbulugalara and his brother were of the same generation as Vira 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 ॐ आँ खो in the Dādigama record has to be explained by adoption.

To Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI is assigned a reign of seven years by the Rajāvaliya. But the Dādigama inscription is dated in his ninth year, and if the Demaṇḍuva sanasa 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, Paṇḍita 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 Rajāvaliya implies that his reign was short. If this be so Aṁbulugalara or Vira 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 Rajāvaliya 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 Vira 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 (Aiguns 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 Kālanīya inscription as having occurred in 2051 A.D. 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 saunasa, 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 Āśāḍha, 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 saunasa. 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 Vira Parākrama Bāhu VIII or Aṁbulugala 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 saunasa 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.D. and Śaka 1357 (current) or 1414 A.D. (Bell, plate 11) and as **termini ad quem** the Dondra and Kālanjya 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 ġ approximately is of the ‘pear’ shape, though in certain instances it is open at the top. In the ō the head is large and bold, its bottom left-hand corner forming a distinct point, and the tail being 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 ġ 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 ō 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 sanuasa II, thirty-ninth year, and Denavaka grant, forty-fourth year; my plates A, B), the ġ may be said to have assumed the ‘tadpole’ shape definitely, the open-topped ‘pear’ surviving very occasionally. The ō 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 sanuasa (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 Dādīgama inscription of the ninth year of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI (Report on the Kegalla District, plate opposite p. 81). The ġ generally speaking is of the ‘tadpole’ form, but open at the upper right. A minute tail, however, also appears; with this should be compared the ġ of the Demaladuva sanuasa (e.g. lines 2, 6, 8; J. R. A. S. C. B., xxii, No. 65, plate V, inserted after p. 290).\(^1\) The ō is assuming a more modern form, the pro-

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\(^1\) The **attestation of the Demaladuva** grant by Sanhas Tiruvaraṅgan Perumāl proves little as to the reign. The same name appears in the Kāragala record of Parākrama Bāhu VI as well as in the Kālanjya inscription of Paśākrama 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 Bahu VII and that comprising the reign of Bhuvanaika Bahu VII. For the reign of Vijaya Bahu VII we have three documents, the dated stone inscription from Dondra (c. 1513/14 A.D.) and the copper sannas of Udugampola (1517 A.D.) and Dondra (c. 1519 A.D.). The first named document (my plate D) is of some interest. The Ǝ assumes several shapes (lines 4, 5, 7), on the whole not unlike the Đādīgama forms. But it is the ő 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 'tail' being carried to the right of the head or commencement of the letter. The form of ő 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 Udugampola sannasa has a fairly uniform ő, though the 'tail' slightly varies in length. The ǝ has the open as well as the closed head, and its tail is carried well over the centre of the 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 ő 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 so developed as in the Ganęgoda sannasa. In the ǝ 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 Udugampola plate. We may also notice the appearance of the Malayalam ǝ, e.g. in lines A 5 and B 7. In the Kāḷāniya inscription (Ceylon Antiquary, i, p. 153) the 'tail' of the ő usually is longer than in the Dondra copper-plate; the ǝ has the open head, often nearly closed, but it retains the sharp point on the left, and the tail is somewhat less pronounced than in our Oruvala grant.

We now come to the periods of which the epigraphy is unsettled. Of the Kuđumirisa inscription I was not fortunate enough to obtain a satisfactory estampage 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 ॐ 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 Demaladuva letter. The Kudumirisa ॐ is distinctly later than the Pāpiliyāna. Kudumirisa, however, agrees with Pāpiliyāna in the shape of the ॐ. 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 Śri Parākrama Bāhu’ (ष षण्यशि ॐ षण्यशि ॐ षण्यशि षण्यशि). 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’ (Y.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 Oruvala sannasa, if granted by the same king, is some six years earlier in date. Yet the script differs from that of Kudumirisa. The ॐ with the closed head lies midway between one form of the letter in the Dādīgama 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 अष्ट्व्य, the initial ॐ in line 8, and ऋ in line 9. For the sharp point on the left, the reader is referred to B 9 षण्त्रा, 10 षण्त्रा षण्त्रा षण्त्रा, 11 ऋ, and 12 ऋण्त्रा, and the last words of 15. With the Dondra plate form the Oruvala ॐ agrees. The ॐ 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 ॐ with a minute ‘tail’, as at Dādīgama and in the Demaladuva grant, is seen in A, line 2 अष्ट्व्य, 4 अष्ट्व्य, and 13 अष्ट्व्य and in B 8 अष्ट्व्य and 11 अष्ट्व्य. A form of the ‘tadpole’ occurs in B 10 in the ॐ of अष्ट्व्य; this also is in Dādīgama A 2. We now come to the variants of the peculiar ॐ 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 अष्ट्व्य, 2 अष्ट्व्य and ऋ, 4 ऋ and the ऋ in ऋण्त्रा, and 7 ऋण्त्रा. 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 अष्ट्व्य; this form is of interest, as it connects the later ॐ 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 Kudumirisa inscription, of a later regnal year, in some ways shows an earlier style of writing, as, for example, in the formation of उ.

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 Hapugastinna 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 Kudumirisa inscription and the Oruvala plate to the same king, Parākrama Bāhu VIII.

Before concluding, a word may be said on the subject of the Ganēgoda 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 ख and ख 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 Ganēgoda 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.D. (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 खखख 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 Palkuṁbure Vihārē sannasa. The grant of Śri Vikrama Rājasināha apparently attributes it to Jayavira of Kandy. But the fragment itself is of the reign of a Bhuvanaika Bāhu, whose regnal year is missing, and conveys land in Divigoda in the Galle Körāle, 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 ORUVALA SANNAISA

The cross over the ☞ in the Ganegoda saunasa 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 Sitawaka saunasa 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 Ganegoda 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 Sitawaka document. This new era coincides with the practical disappearance of the Köttē monarchy; the younger generation would have found the Court of Sitawaka, the national centre, more congenial to their aspirations, and such literary activity as existed would have secured royal patronage there. Yet this saunasa and the Dondra and Ganegoda copper-plates as well as the Nākolaganē record (line 17) are linked together by the presence of the Malayam ☞¹.

Finally the Beligala saunasa 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 Rajavaliya gives as that of the deportation of Vijaya Bāhu. The script differs totally from that of genuine documents of Parakrama 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 saunasa must have been executed then. The forgery of royal documents is no new thing, witness the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.

POSTSCRIPT.

Ganegoda Sannasa. Plates I and II of Schurhammer’s Ceylon give the signatures of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII and Mayādunne. That of the first named is ☞, i.e. ☞☞☞, the subscript letters having disappeared; that of his brother and rival is ☞. The signature of Bhuvanaika Bāhu appears on the Demaladuvu copper-plate. The Ganegoda saunasa, however, has ☞ on one side and ☞ on

¹ This ☞ is found also in the Hapugasteṇa inscription.
the other. Perhaps it was issued by Māyādunne 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 Māyādunne 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. Māyādunne's letter of 26 October 1547 in Schurchammer's book is written in Portuguese. Thus, Portuguese and Christian influence was not absent.

TEXT.

A. 1 ći gey dothetb elu vārath te hē tāthi māthihē kāthuñu kāthuñu yēnu
    2 ćenētunugāw tēmakānēnu1  tē tē dēlātunugāwētētēkāmēnu tētē
        3 ćenētunugāw tēmakānēnu tē tē dēlātunugē tētē
    4 ćenētunugāw tēmakānēnu tē makānēnu tē dēlātunugē tētē
    5 ćē nattē yēmakēnu tē dēlātunugē tētē ćē tē makānēnu
    6 ćē makēnēnu tē dēlātunugē1 ćēmakētunugēnu tē makēnēnu
        7 ćē makētunugēnu tē dēlātunugē1 ćēmakētunugēnu tēmakēnēnu
    8 ćē makēnēnu tē makētunugēnu tētē ćē makēnēnu tē makēnēnu
    9 ćē makēnēnu tē makētunugēnu tētē ćē makēnēnu tē makēnēnu
    10 ćē makēnēnu tē makētunugēnu tētē ćē makēnēnu tē makēnēnu
    11 ćē makēnēnu tēmakētunugēnu tētē ćē makēnēnu tē makēnēnu
    12 ćē makēnēnu tē makētunugēnu tētē ćē makēnēnu tē makēnēnu

1 Subscript letter.
13 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මතින් අදහස් ගොඩ හේතුවෙන් ගැටි අඩු වන්නේ දෙවැන්නේ මෙයින්
14 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මතින් අදහස් ගොඩ හේතුවෙන් මෙයින් මෙයින් මෙයින්
15 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මතින් අදහස් ගොඩ හේතුවෙන් මෙයින් මෙයින් මෙයින්

B. 1 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මෙයින් මෙයින් මෙයින් මෙයින් මෙයින් මෙයින් මෙයින්
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4 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මෙයින්
5 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මෙයින්
6 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මෙයින්
7 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මෙයින්
8 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මෙයින්
9 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මෙයින්
10 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මෙයින්
11 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මෙයින්
12 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මෙයින්
13 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මෙයින්
14 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මෙයින්
15 මෙම මධ්‍යම ප්‍රශ්න මෙයින්

* Subscript letter.
TRANSLITERATION.

A. 1 Svasti śri Vaivasvata Manu saṁkhyata Mahā Sammata paramparānyāta suryya-vaṁśotbhūta Sumitra rājaputra pavitra
2 gotraḥbhijāta mahārājādhi rāja Tri Śimhalādhiśvara navaratnādhipati Śrimat Sīri Saṅgabo Śri Parākkrama Bāhu cakravartti svā-
3 mīnvaraneṣṭa tuṇvannen matu avurudu Āsala pura visenya sakala nagarāṅga sampattiyen samurdha-vū Jaya-
4 varuddha-puṛēhi Maṅgul prāśadayehi āmāti gaṇayan pirivarā simhā-
5 sanehi vāḍa hīṇḍa lova kalamanā vávasthā vicarā vadārana samaye-
6 hi Śaṅḍilya gotrayen ā Bamuṇu Potā Ojjhalun meku byāṇa Avuhaḷa Ojjhalun me ki denna palamu a-
7 page rājādhirāja-vū Tri Śimhalādhiśvara Bodhisatvāvatāra Mahā Parā-
8 krama Bāhu vāḍa vun tena oṭuṇu pas-panas dharana turu kra-
9 mayen me ki denna agra purohita teva karana kal-hi mekuṇṭa sēvādi-
10 valaṭa dun baṅgagama Oruvaḷa me ki ayaṭa-
11 ma pāvata ena prasthāvata maha vāḍa vun tena ikut va vadāla tena sahaḥṣa putra rājakumārayan karanā sudusu aparakri-
12 yē tēva me kiyana Bamuṇu Avuhaḷa Ojjhalu purohitayan kaḷa nisā boho prasaiṃā koṭa santoṣa-vā vadā-
13 rā mekuṇṭa pāvata ena gama tibādi dānakṣeta koṭa amuṭuva venin gam sālasmak niyama kara vadāla tena
14 e kiyana purohitavaruṇṭa kīpa avuruṇḍak tibū baṅgagamye yana Oruvaḷa
tamba pata devā vadārantayayi kiyā sā-
15 la kaḷa tena me ki Avuhaḷa Ojjhaluna dānakṣeta koṭa sitā vadāla Aturugiri Koraḷe bada baṅgagamaṭa him
16 nāgenahirin Vāndurāmullē Karaṇdagasā-āḷa hā dakuṇu digin Oru-
17 vaḷa-piṭiye-āḷa hā basnāhirin Ba-
18 llāvila Aggona Porē ima Paragasa atmaga hā uturu digin Korato ima
diyavuṇṭu matorana mīgas
19 silpān dola Ambuḷuvāye Kuduvaḷa gati yāyōn me ki satara māhi-
20 maṭa atulat-vū sariya hā me

B. 1 kiyana Oruvaḷa gamasta paḷamu paṭan venin pāvata gena ā Udavelin
2 kuṭiburu ekamuṇu de-pāḷak bijuvaṭa sari-
2 yat Sirivinna eka pāḷa pa(lla)sak Aturugirigama māiḍa Kapurā kumā-
3 rayāgē vatta hā mehi bada kuṇiburu ekamuṇu

1 Subscript letter.
3 de-pālak ātiḷu-vū val vil kuṃburu āviṭi gam-mudala ge-vatu gasa koḷa ādi siyallama Utpalavaraṇa divya-
4 rājottamayāṆavanahanseta avurudu ekakaṭa paṇam paśalosak bāgin pāsida me kiyana ¹ Avuhaḷa Ojjha-
5 lu purohitayangē daru munuburu paramparāvaṭa ā candrārkka sthāyīva pavinā paṇataṭat salasvā svastīra-va
6 pat liyā denneyayi me kiyana gamaṭa raja yuvaraja mahā amātyādi kena-
kungen-vat bāhira-vū koralakarannan-vat
7 betma at-āvuda-bālayan visin-vat āttalayin balu-vāddan daḍa-vaddan me ki noyek denāgen-vat batak bula-
8 tak mevarak patak dadak mulak paḷiyak marālayak avulak uddaraṇayak kala ki kenek ātnam kiyālā kā-
9 ra-vū ayek ātnam Saṅjiva Kāḷasūṭrādi aṭa mahā narakayēhi pāśi goḍa no dāka ananta jātīsmaśa-
10 na preṭa-vu upadināhū nam veti me lesa no vi apagē maha paramparānu-
yāṭa maharaja kenek idiri pāmu-
11 ūnunohot me gamaṭa sahāyā-vu nila lā balē lā dun maharaja-ruvanēk āt-
am apē maha Bodhisatva Parākrama Bāhu
12 maha rājottamayāṆavanahanse pas-panas oṭunu Lāṅkāve pāḷaṇḍa pin koṭa me maṅgul sakvala cakravala cakravartti-
13 raja-vu keḷavara maha bo vaḍā lovutūra Budu bava siddhavunāhū nam veti kiyā me lesa vadaḷa mehevarin me sa-
14 nhas tāṃbra patriya liyā dun bavaṭa Pāḷāṭarumha—Dānna pālanayor-
mmadhye da-
15 nārcreyāṇupālanam Dānāt svarggam-avāṇoti pālanād accutam padam

TRANSLATION.

Hail! prosperity! On the fifth of the waxing moon of Āsaḷa in the year following the third of Our Majesty the Overlord Śrīmat Śri Sangabo Śri 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 Simhaḷa 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 Jayavardhana-pura, which is perfect with all the necessary qualities of a city.

¹ Subscript letter.
The two Brahmans Potā Ojhalun and his nephew Avuhala Ojhalun of the Śāṇḍilya clan first of all served as chief domestic chaplains (purohitā), one after the other, until His Majesty our king Mahā Parākrama Bāhu, sovereign of Tri Simhaṇa and an incarnate Bodhisatva, had worn the crown fifty-five times⁴, and received as maintenance for their service the baṇagama Orovaḷa. While he was continuing to possess, on His Majesty's demise this aforesaid Brahman Avuhala Ojhalu 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 Orovaḷa, which these domestic chaplains had held for a number of years, We have contemplated making the same a dānakṣetra in favour of the aforesaid Avuhala Ojhalun, 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 Avuhala Ojhalun the following lands:

The baṇagama in Aturugiri Korale, to wit, the extent from Kuḍuvaḷa gati yāya of Aṁbuḷuvāya within these four boundaries:

East, Vaṇḍurāmule Karāṇḍa-gasa āla,
South, Orovaḷa-piṭiyē āla,
West, The boundary of Ballāvila, Aggonā and Pora, and the Para-gasa atmaga.
North, The boundary of Koratoṭa, Diyavuṇu matoranā mi-gasa, and Silpān-dola.

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

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

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

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

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⁴ Literally, had worn fifty-five crowns.

² Taking Ṣāṭī as a clerical error for Ṣāṭī.
administrators of kōraləś, 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, paliya, 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 Saņiva, 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.

1, Pāḷattarun, [certify] that this sānhas 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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>B.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(1)ක්‍රීඩාකරු විශේෂී (ශ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>(2)දිවානාම් විශේෂී (ශ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>(3)උපකාන්තය කිරීම (ශ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>(4)පරාසීය කිරීම (ශ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>(5)උපකාන්තය කුරුම (ශ)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>(6)උපකාන්තය කුරුම (ශ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>(7)උපකාන්තය කුරුම (ශ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>(8)උපකාන්තය කුරුම (ශ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C.

තලපු තර

D.

1. දහි දහි වන්න මාතිවේ
   බහා වූ මාති කාරය කුළු
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   මාති මාති මාතිකරන්න

5. සාමාන්‍යේ සාමාන්‍යේ
   විදෙහි මාතිවේ මාතිවේ
   මාති මාති මාතිකරන්න

E.

(a) 1. මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්
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    මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්
    මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්
    මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්

5. මාතිවේ මාතිවේ මාතිවේ මාතිවේ
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    මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්
    මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්

10. මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්
    මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්
    මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්
    මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්

(b) 15. මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්
    මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්
    මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්
    මාතිකරණයක් ලබා දිවෙයින්

Malayalam යු.
Nikolaganē Inscription
At side:

20.

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 Mahiyāṇaṇa, 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 Uva. This tank, though it does not equal the great reservoirs of the northern part of the island, is still a work of the first magnitude. Mr. John Bailey, the

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1 Mahiyāṇaṇa 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 Mahāvaṁsa Chapter I, vv. 21-43.) Many references to this place are found in the Mahāvaṁsa, for which see Mr. John Still's Index to the Mahāvaṁsa s.v. Mr. Herbert White in his Manual of the Province of Uva (p. 25 ff.) gives a good account of Mahiyāṇaṇa. He says: 'Mayiyāṇaṇa is literally the alpha and omega of the Mahāvaṁsa. 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 Dootooamunu. 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 subject.' The Horaborawawas restored by the Government in 1870, when this pillar was removed to Badulla and set up near the junction of the Kandy and Bandaravela roads, a few yards distant from the local Kaccri. 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 deciphered.'

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 1902, 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 10 3/4 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

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 aksaras, 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 Ʇ, Ꭓ i, Ꞵ, Ꞷ, ꞷ, Ꞹ, ꞹ, Ꞻ ba Ꞹ, Ʝ, Ꭓ. 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 Ꞷ occurring in second-century records. The conjoint consonants Ꭓ ndra and Ꞷ gra have not yet been noticed in any other Sinhalese inscriptions of this period. Attention may also be drawn to the form of da Ꞷ 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, d, 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 place. But in the present record, it does not occur even where a nasal is to be expected etymologically, as in the case of madapaya and abu (Skt. maṇḍapā and ambika). The writing of the Sanskrit vaniggrāma with a single ga and the svarabhakti in savami are other points deserving notice. As regards grammar, the following are peculiarities worthy of note. Ukāvas and upādī are older forms than the more frequent okāvas and īpādī. With regard to the former, it may be interesting to compare it with uk (Skt. iksu). The contracted form vēr occurs side by side with vēher. The change of ka to ta in sut (Skt. suka) 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. 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

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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 synchronisms, 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 Hōpiṭigamu 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 Sorabara have already been commented on. The maps do not give any place named Hōpiṭigama 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 kāṭ-ku-
2 -la kot Ukāvas-
3 rad-parapuren ba-
4 -† Lak-div-polo-

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1 *J. R. A. S.* for 1913, p. 524.
2 The *Mahāvaṁsa* (lxx, v. 187) mentions a place named Sobara where the army of Mānabharaṇa of Rohana encamped itself before advancing towards Polonnaruva to check the victorious career of Parākramabāhū in the Rājaraṇṭha. This Sobara seems to have been the same as Sorabara of our record.
BADULLA PILLAR INSCRIPTION

5 yon parapuren hi- 27 no sirit paduru ga-
6 -mi vū e me kulen ba- 28 -tha gamin piyeyi-
7 -t Šamidi 1 Gonbiso 29 -si vādi tānā dānvū-
8 tu[mā] kusū upādā āpā-ma- 30 tānin Satalosā (va-
9 -hayā-siri vidā pilīve]a 31 -hāse) davaśā kāla siri-
10 se rādā pāmiṇā rādā ka- 32 -tak misa annayen
11 -la Sirisaṅgo Udā ma- 33 karana dāyak nokara-
12 -ha- radahu tumā sat lā- 34 -nā sātiyaṭ vāvas[thā]-
13 -nīgu devana havurudū- 35 -vāk liyāvā taba[nn]-
14 -yehi Nikinni Sa[nd]- 36 -t vādalen sabhāye
15 ava viseniyī [t*] Sora- 37 lekam-gehi sam-da[ru]-
16 -barahi āvū Hopiṭi- 38 -van hind[a si]ṭ vū vāva-
17 gamu padiya 2 vāpāra[yā]- 39 -sthā siriti [t*] Me Hopiṭiga-
18 -n kudin vat- himiya[n-] 40 -mu (padi lad) kenekun
19 vahanse Miyagun-ma- 41 gāttan gamaṭ ā [ka-
20 -ha-vēr vādi kāla gi- 42 -lā] mandraṇḍin vanigrāma-
21 -ya davasa padi-lad da- 43 -n 3 Mahāgrāmayan hindā
22 -danāyakayan gāṭa- 44 Satalosā- piriniviya-
23 -n Satalosā pirinivi- 45 -n vahanseyi davaśā
24 -yan vahanse davaśā 46 vāvastha se pere-siri-
25 kāla vāvastha ikmā a- 47 -t dada ganut misa ani-
26 -nnayen dada gat-ha

B.

1 [yā] no karanu isā 10 -vat misa kuḍin
2 gam-laddan gatṭa- 11 gāmin piṭat koṭā
3 -n mandraṇḍin hindā [vi]- 12 no genā yanu īsā
4 -ṭāra koṭ piri-kapā da- 13 no pirikāpū dadaṭ
5 -kvā dun dada ganut 14 vālakme no gan-
6 misā gam vaṭā genā 15 -nā koṭ īsā li
7 ge tirā genā dada 16 daḍaṭ savāmi īnu-
8 no ēlvanu isā 17 -t misā abu-daru-
9 dada gāmā hindā e[l-] 18 -van vālakme no

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1 Can be read as samādā also.
2 Can be read as vādi also.
3 Read ṭanig-grāmayan.
19 gannā isā gama-
20 -t ā radolan raha
21 mas di 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 kalakuge-
28 -n vāpudayaṭ te-
29 -l paddak gannā
30 isā Miyugun-ma-
31 -ha veherā vāpuda
32 pavatvanu isā vā-
33 -pudayaṭ no lābuṇā-
34 -kugen pere sirit
35 daḍa vāpudayaṭ ga
36 gannā isā ba-
37 -du genā gam van
38 goṇi-gon no ga-
39 -nā isā me gāmā si-
40 -tā raṭ-dag no gannā
41 isā vālātā vana
42 ulvādu kaṇakka-
43 -run gamat āku-
44 -la no karanu isā
45 mekuṇ gattan ga-
46 -maṭ vadnā raha ma-
47 -s di gitel² pāhā-
48 -rā no gannā i-
49 -sā padi³ vadnā ba-

C.
14 pā viki bādiyehi diṇa
15 sut-vat ganut misā
16 ākula no karanu isā
17 no pāṭu⁴ madadliyen (no
18 yen⁵) nokiranu isā su-
19 -t-baḍu notänā hindā
20 no vikuṇṭanu 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 si miyā⁷ vāṭena masu
26 unu koṭā no gannā-

¹ This syllable seems to be superfluous.
² Can be read as ḍhi-ṭel also.
³ Can be read as rāḍi also.
⁴ Can also be read as novāṭa.
⁵ The three symbols nöyen are evidently a clerical error, and should be considered as a repetition.
⁶ Mr. Codrington reads, kaḷa masu, see Ceylon Coins and Currency, p. 198.
⁷ [y]ī misā according to Mr. Codrington.
27 koṭ isā bulat pu-
28 -vak madapaye tabā
dā
29 vikuṇanu koṭ isā no-
30 tanā tabā vikka duṭu-
31 -vā radolan haravā ga-
32 -nnā isā demulā ba-
dā
33 valvalā daḍu pat no
34 kapanu koṭ isā me-
35 -he-karuvaṇat ākula
36 no karana isā mega-
37 -mi aṭadēn ā ge navata-
38 -n no gannā isā

39 vat-himiyan vahan-
40 se vādiyā āpā rad-
41 daruvān vādiyā pere
42 sirit pāḍuru denu i-
43 -sā gamlad-nayaka ke-
44 ņekun padi ā kalā Sa-
45 -talosā pirivinīyan
46 vahanse davasā
47 pere sirit pāḍuru pa-
48 -s vissa no genē
49 annāyen van.

D.

1 . . . . . . gamitī ku-
dā
2 -dī[hi pirikapā]
3 vādi tāna dān-
dā
4 -vū tānin Pere
5 sirit pas-vi-
dā
6 -ssa gamneya yi
7 vadāla tānin padura-
dā
8 -t pas-vissa ga-
dā
9 -nnā koṭ isā
10 me gamhi lā mini ko-
dā
11 -tā yet radolanṭ [lā-
dā
12 bi] navatnā se[kī-
dā
13 -n navatnā isā
14 demelan(ta raṭa nā)-
dā
15 tān daru avā
16 no denu isā ma . . .
17 -vuṭīyen bolā
dā
18 si [n] kiravu a (ga)
19 me lā hā kra ra [ṭṭu]
20 . . . isā kudin ge
21 kāruṇā ākula-
dā
22 -t Samdaruvan lābi
23 ākula haravanu isā

24 sam-daruvaṇa no lā-
25 -buṇu kuṭiyak āta
26 lagaḍu hoḍ daḍu no si-
27 rit karana (para)kapā
28 . . . . . bat no de-
29 nu isā veladām go-
30 -vi-kam . . . . a gāmi-
31 -n pīṭat kā . . . .
32 no vādā . . . . .
33 . . varada noved ga[m]
34 aḍāviya aṭadēnā
dā
35 . . ma [nigaha] lābuvaṇ
36 (rad-daḍa) aṭa-denā pirivah-
dā
37 nā hindvā illanu i-
38 sā me varadāt vādā
39 . . . . . no (na) ganu isā
40 me vāvasthā ikmā ga-
41 -maṭ radolan ani-
42 -yā kaḷa sabhaye leka-
43 -m geyi daruvān ta kiyā
44 [a] vul haravā . . . .
45 dun . . . . yuktī . . . .
46 [me pahaṇ hindvannaṭ ā]
47 sahaye hindu Tak-
48 naru Udagi is Ma[u]s[asa]
49 Sen isa . . . .
50 -la var Mekapar Ma[ti]-
51 -la Kiliyem isa . . . la
52 . . . Golobagama Ni-
53 -la devu is Ma[ngul Ma-
54 -hale Samanna Araksa-
55 -nan var Ku[da]salat vat-
56 kamidevu atulvametuv-
57 -k sam-darvan avud [me sa-]
58 [m]vatapahanhi[ndvanu ladi][i*]

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 Sira-Sa[u]gb Udâ, descended from the lineage of king Ukâvas (Iksvâku) the pinnacle of the illustrious Kâstriya race; who is by right of descent lord of the soil of the island of Laûkâ [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, 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 Hopitigamu, that in days gone by, the subordinate officials of the magistrate in charge of the market transgressed the regulations enacted during the time of the Lord who expired at Satalosa, exacted fines illegally and received presents contrary to custom; and, whereas, it was ordered [by His Majesty] that a decree should be passed and promulgated prohibiting the unlawful acts committed in violation of the institutions established in the time of 'the Lord who expired at Satalosa', the following rules and observances were established by the officials of the Secretariat (tekame) connected with the Council of State (sahà).

[Lines A 39–B 1] When the subordinate officials of the magistrate in charge of this market of Hopitigamu come to the village, they should hold session with the manda[ri], the corporation of the merchants and the Mahâgrâmas, and levy such fines as are in keeping with former custom, and according to the regulations

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1 Pâli Mahiyàgàna.
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.'
of the time of ‘the Lord who expired at Satalosa’; 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 manadādías 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 15–19] For fines imposed, only the master [of a house], and not his wives and children, should be put in the vālākma.

[Lines B 19–26] Royal officers who have come to the village should not receive liquor, meat, curd, 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 whoever trades on sabbath (pōya) day, a pudda of oil should be levied for the offering of lamps; and this offering of lamps should be done at the great monastery of Miyagun. 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] Rat dag should not be levied from this village.

[Lines B 41–C 3] [The officers named] accountants of the ulvadu 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 lahassa.

[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 dehi 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 madūdi 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?) ac-
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 arrested ¹ in the same manner as he would be arrested when en-
countered by royal officers.

[Lines D 14–16] The office of district headman (raṭa nā?) should not be 
given to Tamils; [and] daughters ² 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. dāraba, ‘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 pirivahanā 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] Takanaru Udagi and Mulavasā Sen, Members of the State Council, Mañitilā Kili of the body-guard and. . . Golabāgamu Nilādevu [both] in the service of. . . and Kudasalā Vatkāmi Devu in the service of the Chief Secretary Samannā Araksamana having come [to this village], this Edictal Pillar was set up.

COMMENTS

[Lines A 4–6] Lak-div polo yon parapuren 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 bhinnna-līṅga in Sanskrit poetics, a feminine noun polo has been introduced to the compound. The similar phrase Lak-div-polo mehesana parapuren himi occurring in the Vessagiriya slab of Dappula V 1 is also to be translated in the same manner equating mehesana with Skt. mahiṣi and not with maheśana as taken by Mr. Wickremasinghe. The occurrence of the word mehesuran in a similar phrase in the Aṃbagamuva inscription 2, 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

2 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 213.  
3 Compare also the phrase Loṅkā pathavi yobbanāya aloṅkata vadane viya in the Mahāvamsa-tīkā, p. 208.
then be Samiddhidevi, 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 mahaya are equivalents of the words adiṇḍa and mahādiṇḍa 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 prince. Aṣṭāṅga (Skt. āryya-puṭra) is the title by which royal princes, governors of provinces, are referred to in the inscriptions of Aśoka. In the Mahāvamsa (chapter xxii, v. 15), Uṭṭiya, the brother of the king of Kāḷanīya is called āyya. To this princely title āya was added, in later times, the honorific suffix paya or 产出 (Skt. pāda). The Tamil ayyiy-ṇadigal, occurring as the title of a prince in the Koṭṭāyam plates of the Chera king Sthānu Ravi has precisely the same significance. The word ayapaya thus formed was contracted, on the one hand to āpā and on the other to ōpā. The intermediate form ayapaya is preserved in the 'Jetavanārāma' inscription of Mahinda IV. Mahāyā is a contraction of the compound maha-āya and mahāpā of maha-āya-payā. The author of the Cūḷavamsa, 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 ādi was in common use, he adopted adiṇḍa as equivalent to āpā; whereas it ought to have been rendered by ayyapada. Thus, etymologically, āpā means 'prince' and mahāyā 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 that

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1 See A.S.C. Annual Report for 1911-12, p. 95 and Parker's Ancient Ceylon, pp. 444, 451, 454.
2 Hultsch, Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. 176.
4 The word mahaya is found in a second-century inscription from Vessagiriya (E.Z., Vol. I, p. 21), and in a record from Kandegamakanda 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 keep-
off his brother's son, did not make an adhipada 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 mahaya, 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 mahaya sīri viṇā (having enjoyed the ranks
of āpā and mahaya) before the statement pilīvela se rādā pāniṇī (having attained
the sovereignty in regular succession). In unsettled times, of course, enter-
prising 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 jyutarāja 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 kaṭa = Skt. rājya 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
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 (kaṭa) 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 Sinha 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
of state and the monks who dwelt in the eight chief vihāras ‘took counsel together and with one mind anointed the sub-king’. 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-kartṭāraḥ) 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 him. The passage in the Mahā Govinda Sutta which mentions the ‘king-makers’ (rāja-kartṭāra) 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] Sirisāṅgā 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 viśudha of Siri Saṅgabo—has to be identified with Siri Saṅgabo Udā of our record. The statement that he visited Mahiyāna-gañā in the Rohana country might, at first sight, seem to give us a clue. But on reference to the Mahīvamsa, 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’ Forest; and the other flying before the victorious arms of the Colas. Therefore, we have to decide this question by other evidence. From the Puliyāṅkula-ma slab inscription, we learn that Udaya II’s parents were Mihind Mahāyā 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

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1 Mv. i, v. 1-3.
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. 733.
5 Ibid., ch. iii, v. 44.
6 Mv. iii, v. 20.
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 Śrāvaṇa. In the inscriptions of the fourth century, the name is written as Nikamaniya, which form may be connected with P. Nīkkhamana ‘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 ṣ 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 and translated by Prof. Rhys Davids by ‘village street’ or from Skt. patha, ‘a road’. Compare Skt. vanik-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 Kautilya. Padi in Tamil means ‘a town’. In a grant of Dhruvasena II, king of Valabhi, the word pathaka connotes ‘a territorial division’ (Kālapaka-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 Anhilvād pretty frequently. If the padi of the present record is equivalent to pathaka, the Hopitgam 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-vadi, Paramēśvara vadi, Vayirmēga-vadi, &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 vidiya (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 vidiye āracci. The word pāra (road) is also used in some districts to denote the local market.

[Lines A 18–19] Vat-himiyavahanse. This has been interpreted as ‘master

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2 Dr. Samasāsira’s edition, p. 63.
3 Ibid., p. 334.
4 South Indian Inscriptions, vol. iii, p. 324.
5 Ibid., p. 337.
of religious ceremonies', by equating it with Skt. vrata-swāmin and again as 'Lord of Property' (Skt. vastu-swāmin). 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 Dharmapradīpikā (p. 98) 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 dāḍanāyaka was evidently an officer whose duty it was to look after the affairs connected with markets. Compare the office of the kada goṣṭiyehi ātto mentioned in the inscription on one of the pillars of the Audience Hall of Niśāṅka Malla at Polonnaruva. In the sixteenth century, there was a prince named Vidiye-bauḍāra. 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 dāḍa-nayaka of our record? Dāḍa-nayaka 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 Lanākāpura Dāḍanāthaka. This term (dāḍa-nayaka) occurs also in the Jetavanārāma slab-inscription of Kassapa V (Vol. I, p. 47).

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

[Lines A 23-24] Sataḷosā piriniviyavan vahansā 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 Sataḷosā as a place-name and translate the phrase as 'the Lord who died at Sataḷosā'. 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 Ārūr tuṇjiga dévar (the lord who slept or died at Ārūr) in the epigraphs of later kings and Parāntaka II, alias Sundara Choladeva, was known by the posthumous title of Poṇ-māligai tuṇjiga dévar (i.e. the lord who

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died in the golden palace). In the early Tamil poems of the third saṅgam, a king of Madurā is named the Paññyan who died at Kūṭágāram. A point of interest in this phrase is the use of the word pirinīvi (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 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.

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.

[Lines 28–29] Piyeysi. This word is not given by Clough; nor does it occur in the Ruwanmala and other Sinhalese lexicographical works. Considering that ya and va are sometimes interchangeable in Sinhalese, we may connect it with the word piyavisi which is given in Kassapa V's glossary to the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā as equivalent to Pali sāmañja (Skt. sāmājya). This last word occurs in the Asoka edicts as samāja, samaje and in various other forms and is

1 Puranāṇārū, iii. 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 Lāṅkā'.
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 dīvura and dīvur; dīvura and dīvur. (Skt. śēṣa and śēṣa.) See also Geiger, 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 records\(^1\),
I have adopted V. A. Smith's rendering as suited to the present context. Of
the two forms *piyavisī* and *piyeyisi*, I take the former to be the earlier form, and
the change of the *va* to *va* in the latter to be owing to the influence of the pre-
ceding syllable *ya*. Another Pāli word which has a kindred meaning to that of
*samajja* is *pekka\(^2\)*, 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 *visāka* of similar meaning and the word *piyeyisi* or *piyavisī*
a *devanda* 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 Hopiṭigamu, for the entertainment of the king, when
he visited Mahiyaṅgana. The modern word *hevisi*, applied to the beating of
drums in Buddhist temples, seems to be a further corruption of *piyavisī*, by the
contraction of *ya* to *e* and the change of *pa* to *ha\(^3\)*. (*Piyavisī < *pekka* < *hevisi*).

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 *piyavisī* of our inscription and may be derived
from P. *pāda visūka* 'wriggling of the feet' i.e. dancing.

[Line A 37] Lekani-gehi. This term occurs here for the first time. It may
be compared with such expressions as *Mahayā gā būlātun* and *rad gehi būlaya*
in the Puliyankulama slab-inscription, and *Muge Gōngyan* in the Vessagiriya
Slab No. 2\(^4\). In these words, I think, we can recognize the beginnings of the
use of *gā* or family names such as the modern *Liyanage*, &c.

[Lines A 37–38] Sam-daruwan literally means 'nobles' though I have
rendered it by 'officials'. It is equivalent to Pāli *sāmīputta*. The use of the
word *daru* (P. *daraka*) is similar to that of *putta* in Pāli words such as *gahapati*
*putta*, *sēṭhiputta*, &c. Compare also the use of *ṭillai* 'son' in such Tamil words as
*kaṇakapillai*. By this term ḍi is evidently meant the scions of good families
whom the Sinhalese kings brought up in the palace to be trained for filling state
offices\(^5\). The modern representatives of this word *handuru* and *hāmuduru* are

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

2 For Prof. Rhys Davids's interpretation of *pekka* see the *Dialogues of the Budhā*, vol. I, p. 7, n. 4.

3 For the change of *pa* to *ha*, compare Sinhalese *herabat* (erabat) for Sanskrit *pārabhada*.

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-gāt*. Compare the expression (*Māyā-gehaṇātha* occurring in
the *Mahāpiṇḍa* (lx–lxxii)) as the title of one of Parakramabahu I's generals.

5 *Ms. ix*, 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] **Mandranjī.** 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 *maunradi* 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. *vaidurū* (Hindi *bandar*) for Sanskrit *vanara* and *ānbul* for *amla*. The Tamil *maunradi* 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 *mandranjis* 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 *mandranjī* of our record are herdsmen; and therefore the word is left, for the present, untranslated. There is another possible interpretation. *Maunra* in Tamil means ‘the village assembly’ and *adi* a ‘servant’. Hence *maunradi* or *mandranjī*, 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 *mandranjis* are associated in the sentence immediately following.

[Line A 42] **Vanigrāma** for Skt. *vaniggrāma*, ‘a guild or corporation of merchants’. See Böhtlingk’s *Wörterbuch*, s.v., where reference is made to the *Datukumāraracita* (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 Vaniggrāme rājā sañjāta-vismayaḥ,
kinetadi papaśccha sa tām Devasmitāṁ 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 Virarāghava. Other references to the same guild occur in the Cochin plates of Bhāskara Rāvariṇman, in a copper-plate grant of Sthānu Ravi, another ruler of the West Coast of South India, and in a Tamil inscription found at a place named Takopa in Siam. 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 maḥāgrāma might signify a general assembly. Compare the word maḥājana used in the same sense in the Tamil inscriptions. Perhaps, the maḥāgrāma 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 Maḥāgrāma. 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 (Mahāvālīgaṇa). 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 Mahawelligam.’ 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.


[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 Trincomalee Archaeological Series vol. ii.
3 J. R. A. S. for 1913, p. 337.
5 Ceylon, Vol. i, p. 536, n. 2.
enumerating the different kinds of law courts, Nārada says: ‘Family meetings (kula), corporations (śrenī), village assemblies (gāna), 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 order.’

[Line B 2] Gamladdā, the headman of the village, Skt. grāmaśī; Pāli gāmabhōjaka.


[Line B 8], Elvanu, demand. Compare denavītaka denā tek ungen elavāmak nu vā heyin (as there was no demand made from them until such time as they would themselves return) in the Saddharmaratanāvali.

[Line B 14] Vālākma (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 Kandyam 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 Damamava or placing under inhibition.

In the present record, the practice of putting in the vālākma 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 vālākma 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

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1 Kulāni śrenayaścasaiva, ganaścaśadhitko nṛpaḥ, pratiṣṭhā vyavahārānāṁ gurvesbhyaśtattaranāṁ.

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 vālākma 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 revenue.

Knox gives a similar account of the second method of the vâlakma, and illustrates it by a drawing. Dr. P. E. Pieris tells us that this custom prevailed in the maritime districts under the Portuguese rule. 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 extortion. From lines 15-19 of our record it appears that sometimes women and children were also thus put in the vâlakma; 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 dharnâ 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 Mṛcchakatā, 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

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1 D'Oyley's Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom, Archaeological Survey Library Copy, p. 59.
2 Knox, Historical Relations, p. 104.
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 dyāta-maṇḍali (circle of dice)¹. For a very similar practice see the Gāmanīcaṇḍa 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 Rasavahini 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:


‘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 Pali 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 Ruwanmala 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 Mṛchakatika, Act ii. For the practice of dharmā, see Jolly, Recht und Sitt, p. 148.
³ Colombo, 1892, p. 27, v. 175. Buddha vihāryaṁ te tuṇ tabana tāṁ sal nam vē. The Piyanmala also explains it similarly. Sal pana vihāryaṁ te tuṇ tabana tāṁ naṁ nami.
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-pājā). 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
Budhaṭ vāt telat dun dusa kaṭāṇḍak ṛṣi in the Vessagiriya record of Dappula V.

[Line B 29] Padda is evidently derived from Skt praśhna through an inter-
mediate Tamil form. Hence, it is synonymous with pata derived from the same
word direct. This word also occurs in an inscription from Āppāvala: sūnu
paddaṭ atuṭā netuvām dā.

[Line B 33] No lābhuṇakṣeṇa ‘From whom receipt is not made’. The
grammatical construction of this phrase is somewhat unusual.

[Line B 38] Goni-gou. Goni (Skt. goṇi) means a sack. The same word
occurs in the inscription on the stone Canoe near the Gedige at Anuradhapura.

[Line B 40] Rat-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 jāg (in jāggati, &c.), and would therefore
mean ‘watching or guarding’. Raṭ of course, is Pāli raṭṭha and is applied to
a territorial division corresponding to a modern Kōrale. 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 tax.

[Line B 41] Vāḷāṭa. Not given by Clough. It is the same as vāḷāṭa
occuring in the Sikhavolaṇḍa Vinisa (p. 24) and the Dhammmapradīpiṇa (p. 92).
The Ruvanmala has the slightly different form of vāḷāṭa. Its etymology is
not clear.

[Line B 42] Ulvāḍu or Ulpāḍu. 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. Ulvāḍu, probably same
as hulvāḍu basket weavers (Ruvanmala, p. 59).’ But it appears from our record
that the ulvāḍu were a class of officers. Most probably it is the same as Tamil
ulpāḍaṭ 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 ulpāḍaṭ and perumudiyāṭ should

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3 Edited by D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1924.
4 Colombo, 1892, p. 65.
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 temple. 'Kaṇakkar means an accountant, and the whole compound ulvādu kaṇakkar might signify ‘the accountants in charge of the temporalities belonging to a religious establishment’. The occurrence of the word kusālan 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] Kusālan. 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 convincing, 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 44. I have taken the word nositāk as it is found on the stone; but, on the other hand, if it be taken as a clerical error for nosirītāk, which is likely, the translation ought to be modified by substituting ‘nothing contrary to custom’.

[Line C 8] Gana lahassa. In this word, too, the reading gana 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. Vidēl Vidugu kal1, Rajakēsiari Nāli2 or Rajakesari 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 gana 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).

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1 Travancore Archaeological Series, vol. iii, p. 64.
2 Ceylon Antiquary, vol. x, p. 6 ff.
5 See No. 140 of the Madras Epigraphist’s Report for 1912 and No. 361 of 1913.
[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 imposed.

[Line C 14] Dīna a contraction of diyunā (Skt. dviguṇa), 'double'.

[Lines C 17-18] Nopātu is formed of the negative prefix no and p. p. p. of the verb pātanu which most probably means 'stamped', in this place. Compare the phrase san ota maṇavaṇ sanin pātvay in the Mihintale tablets. Maṇḍi is a rare form of maṇḍa or maṇḍi (Tamil maṇjādi, Pāli maṇjeṭṭhi Skt. maṇjiṣṭha) the name of a weight, the twentieth part of a kalāṇḍa. 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 Arthasastra 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. varvita. After the word maṇḍiṇ你看 we read nṛṇṇu, 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:—Kalāmasu admits of two renderings. It may be derived from Pāli kāḷa māsa and translated 'black beans'. Or kāḷa 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 senmel which means good paddy i.e. paddy husked and cleaned. Cf. also the phrase mayā katānāṁ seta tīlānāṁ in the Jātaka ii. 279, where the word katu (Sin. kāla) has the same significance.

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

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1 Manu, viii, 400.
2 E., Z., Vol. I, p. 87. Mr. Wickremasinghe translates pātanu 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 (sam, cf. asam) ought to be affixed.
3 For fuller information about maṇḍi see Codrington, Ceylon Coins and Currency, p. 3.
4 Dr. Shamasasatry's translation, 2nd edition.
past participle of a verb which occurs in modern colloquial forms such as hī rena-
vā. Its aorist is kūṇu and it may perhaps be connected with the Pāli verb
sidati. Miyā is the locative singular of the word mī (Skt. māti), ‘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 nāṭi is to be given extra for 600 nāṭis 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 Mahāvanisa informs us that Mahinda IV⁴ built a betel
hall (ṭāmbūla manḍapa) and spent the revenue thereof for the medicine and diet
of the brethren that belonged to the school of the elders⁴. 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 assembly⁵.

vadi saṅgūṇi 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 ubhayaśāsa 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 kal (ssān).

[Lines C 36–37] Megamhi aṭadēnā ‘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 illā⁵ occurring in the
slab-inscription of Kassapa V already referred to. From the Uttaramallūr

¹ Travancore Archaeological Series iii, p. 176.
² Mv. iv. v. 47.
³ See inscription No. 23 of the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1893, see also Mookerji, Local
Government in Ancient India, p. 166.
⁵ Ibid., p. 46.
inscriptions

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 (samvatsara 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 aṭadana which may by translated as ‘(the Committee) of Eight in Charge of the Forests’. In the Mādirigiriya pillar-inscription

there is reference to a committee of five entrusted with the management of work appertaining to the fields (velā yut pasdenā).


[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 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 countrymen.

[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.

[L ine D 22] ‘The expression samdaruvan tābi is peculiar. It means literally, ‘having received the officers’ and might signify, ‘having got the officers to inquire into the matter’.

[L ine D 26] Hol dādu. Hol means pain. See the Puliyankulam inscription of Udā Mahayā (Vol I, p. 186) and also Sidat Saṅgarava (Dhammārāma’s edition p. 114). This word appears to me to have been derived from Pāli hettha. Dādu (Skt. danda) means ‘punishment’ and holodādu 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

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1 Annual of the D. G. of A. in India, 1904–5, p. 131 ff.
3 See above p. 84.
4 Tuma koḷa vutta hoḷa.
should be treated as an outcast and his entry to the village not permitted on any account.

[Line D 36] Pirivahanā (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, was an official title which is found, in these documents, to have been applicable to the Chief Secretary (mahalē). In a pillar inscription from Sigiriya, we come across the variant form Araksāmiṇā which shows us that the second member of this compound is formed of sani (Skt. svāmin) with the addition of the honorific suffix aṇa and means ‘master’. Arak represents Skt, arakṣaka ‘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 bhanḍāra-rakṣāvehi sīṭi yammasa kenekun occurring in an unpublished epigraph of Niśāanka Malla may be compared with advantage. Mr. Codrington suggests that there might have been some connexion between this title and the office of Arakmēna given to the chief who guarded the Bodhi tree.

[Line D 55] Kudasala 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, Kudasala 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 office; 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 Kudasāḷā, which, according to late Kandyen usage, was a pleasure-house of

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1 See the Buddhane-hāḷa Pillar quoted above. Mr. Wickremasinghe derives this from P. Rakkhasamaṇa.
the king. But in the seventeenth century, as Dr. Pieris informs us, Kundasāla 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 Kudasāla occurring in the names of the dītalakas in the medieval inscriptions, as ‘treasury officer’. The fact that their chief was very often the mahālī might give some support to this theory, as in later times the officer in charge of the treasury was called a Lēkam mahatmayā.

[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, Manililā 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 INSCRIPTION (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 Tirukketiśvaram, the site of the ancient seaport Mahātitha. It measures 7½ inches by 8 inches by 5 feet.

1 Portuguese Era, vol. i, p. 320.
2 Maha aranudale 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 (vaṭahapata). 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ga} \quad 1. \text{ A} 12 \varepsilon \quad 1. \text{ A} 21 \varepsilon \quad 1. \text{ C} 27 \varepsilon \\
&\text{da} \quad 1. \text{ A} 5 \beta \\
&\text{la} \quad 1. \text{ C} 4 \varepsilon \\
&\text{ya} \quad 1. \text{ A} 14 \varepsilon \quad 1. \text{ B} 10 \varepsilon
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(\varepsilon\) 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 \(\text{na} \beta\) 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 \(\text{va} \varepsilon\) of our inscription supplies the intermediate form between \(\varepsilon\) of the second century and the usual symbol for that letter in the tenth century \(\varepsilon\). Two methods of attaching the medial vowel sign \(\nu\) may be noticed in the letters \(\text{ru}\) and \(\text{ku}\). Compare \(\varepsilon\) in line A 14 with \(\beta\) in line C 10 and \(\beta\) in line A 3 with \(\beta\) in line B 23.

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

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

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\(^1\) Cey. Ant. vol. iv, p. 102 ff.
itself, on the one hand into ica\textsuperscript{1}, the precursor of īsā (modern Sinhalese ḫā) and on the other to ja\textsuperscript{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 Puliṅkūlam\textsuperscript{3} 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 Āṁbagamuva rock inscription of Vijayabāhu I\textsuperscript{4}, 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 flourish\textsuperscript{5}. 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 Māndinda (March–April) in the twelfth year of King Śrī Saṅgbo\textsuperscript{6} who, by the form of the script employed, may by identified either with Sena II (circa 844–879 A. D.), or his brother Kassapa IV (circa 890–907 A. D.)\textsuperscript{7}. Mr. H. C. P. Bell identified him with the former\textsuperscript{8}, and the archaic nature of the script, as well as of the language, seems to favour this view. But, the executor of this grant,

\textsuperscript{1} As in an inscription from Tōṅigala in the Kuṅcutṭu Korale, North Central Province, belonging to the reign of Śrī Megha Varṇa (352–379 A.D.) No. 34 of 1892.
\textsuperscript{2} In an inscription from Kayikāvala in the Pahalavisidekē Korale in the North Western Province (No. 82 of 1911–12).
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{6} The dates given here are calculated by deducting from those given by Wijesinha the difference of twenty-two years which Dr. Hultsch has pointed out in his article on Sinhalese Chronology, J. R. A. S. for 1913, p. 939 ff.
\textsuperscript{7} A. S. C. Annual Report for 1911–12 p. 118.
Mannar Kaceeri Pillar Inscription
Panḍirad Dāpulu, figures, in the same capacity, in records of the third year of Kassapa V. 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 Baha-
durusen (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:—padimeheya, kiravar, telvar, tārikiṭi, avalin, sadā laddan and Mahapuṭu laddan.

TEXT.

Side A ².

1 Sva[s*]ti śrī[s*]
2 Sari ³ Saṅg-
3 bo Mapuru-
4 -mukā dolos-
5 vanne Mādi-
6 -dninā a-
7 -va dasavak
8 davaś Ma-
9 -ha voherā
10 Bahadura-
11 sen piya-
12 -ngalā ba-
13 -da uturu-
14 karāye Ku-
15 -da kadavu-
16 -kāye avu
17 Pepodatu-
18 -da Kumbal-
19 hala Tum-
20 pokon me
21 tun-gāmā
22 satara sī-
23 -māyen a-
24 -tul vu tā-
25 -k tāṇaṭ
26 vadāla e-
27 -k tān sa-

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 Śrī.
Side B.

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

Side C.

1 no vadanā ca
2 gāl gon vā-
3 -riyan bila² ba-
4 -t bili sāl
5 kiravar³ tel va-
6 -r nogannā ca
7 perenāṭu-
8 -vam no vandnā ca
9 megam hun
10 tāri kudin
11 avalin no-
12 gannā ca sa-
13 -dā laddan no
14 vadanā ca Ma-
15 -hapūṭu⁴ lad
16 -dān no va-
17 -dnā ca kabhāli
18 lad no va-
19 -dana ca Nā-ve-
20 -hērā vās-
21 -san no vad-
22 -nā ca Raka-
23 vēhera-vāssa-
24 -n novadnā ca
25 me tuvāk deta
26 no vadanā
27 koṭ megama-

¹ This is most probably intended for Mayind (Pāli Mahinda).
² Read bili-baṭ.
³ Read kirivar.
⁴ Could be read as Mahapuṭu also.
Side D

1 -t api cede-
2 -namo at-
3 -tan pe

4 rahara dun-
5 mahayi [u*]

TRANSLATION.

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

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 Pepodatuḍa, Kumbalhala and Tumpokoṇ, situated in the Kuḍakadavukā [division] of the Northern Coast, belonging to the meditation hall (piyangala) named Bahadurasen (Skt. Bhadrasena) of the Great Monastery, we, two of us, [namely] Pilavīṭ Mayind and Koḷabā Sivu ¹, commissioned by Paṇḍirad Dāpula 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 melassī, headmen in charge of districts and of provinces shall not enter. The employees at the two offices, deruvani, pereläki, 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 perenattuvam shall not enter. The ferrymen residing in these villages should not take avalin (oars?) of (or from) the tenants. Sadaladdan shall not enter. Officers in charge of kabhāli shall not enter. Officers in charge of Mahapuṭu (i.e. Mahātitha) 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.


¹ In these and other names of the officials occurring in inscriptions of this period, a village name is prefixed to the personal name. Pilavīṭ Mayind means Mayind of Pilavīṭ and Koḷabā Sivu, Sivu of Koḷabā.
² The epithet Paṇḍirad appears to be a viruta.
⁴ Vol. III.
of Kassapa V and the Mädiligiriya pillar inscriptions of the same king. Parker, in his *Ancient Ceylon*, (p. 425) gives a short record from Kurundankulam in the Mullaitivu district in which also this word is met with. The variant form *piyanhala* occurs in a mutilated record from a place named Saṅgili Kanadarāva. Dr. E. Müller and Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara both take this word to mean a ‘stone ceiling’ Mr. Wickremasinghe, at first took it to be the proper name of a monastery, but later changed his view, and surmises that it is ‘applied to certain important buildings of a monastery set apart for a special purpose’. Mr. Bell, too, is of opinion that it is a proper name and that the *piyangala* at Mädiligiriya was named after a monastery of a similar name at Mihintale. Mr. Wickremasinghe has already pointed out the etymological connexion between this word and *patana-gala* in the Perumaiyāṇkulaṃ rock inscription of Vasabha; but this latter word he leaves untranslated though he equates it with a Sanskrit form *prārthanāśāla*. 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 *padhanasāla*. The word *patan bhūmi* in the Saddharmarātnakara, 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 phonetics, 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 *mahila* and *sīngu* for *sīha*. Sīn. *gāl* derived from Skt. *sakata* and *gal* for Skt. *śāla* (śala < ḫala < gala) are other examples of this phonetic change. The words *padhāna-sāla* and *padhāna-ghara* occur more than once in the Mahāvaṁsa and an inscription at Amaravati mentions a *padhāna maḍava*, which word, however, has been translated as

3 No. 81 of 1898–1900.
5 Cey. Ant., vol x, p. 83.
6 Colombo, 1923, p. 313.
7 In an unpublished cave inscription from a place named Baṅbarahela.
8 In the Galpota Inscription of Niśānāka Malla, E. Z., Vol. II, p. 112.
9 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.
10 See Geiger, L. S., p. 44.
11 For example, *Mv.* ch. 37, v. 182, ch. 42, v. 46, and ch. 46, v. 11.
a chief (?) pavilion. The Sinhalese glossary to the Dhammapadāthakathā explains the Pāli Andhavana by Ainda-vana piyangal. As the legends represent Andhavana as a place frequented by the disciples of Buddha for purposes of religious meditation (padhāna), this would be in accord with the above interpretation of piyangal.

A meditation hall named Bhadravena 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, and named after himself and his master.

[Line 14] Karâye. Locative singular of karâ from Tamil karai (coast). Compare Nīkāya Saṅgraha (Wickremasinghe’s edition, page 19) karaya vaṭṭi rākaval lavā ‘having placed guards round the coast’. This word, in its present context, throws light on the proper interpretation of the phrase satara karave mārū, &c. occurring at the end of the Kitsirimeyan Kālandiya slab inscription. Satara karâ means ‘the four coasts’, i.e. of the four oceans. Similarly sat karave in the Waharakgoda Copper plate grant of Parākramabāhu 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 tūn 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’; but its exact significance still remains obscure. The occurrence of the word sabhāyen, itself meaning assembly, immediately following ek tūn samiyen, in the Ayitigevāva pillar, militates against this interpretation. The last member of the compound occurs in the form of samuyen in the Aṁbagamuva rock inscription, and also in an unpublished epigraph from Dorabāvila in the Kurunāgala District. Samuyen and samiyen are both the instrumental singular of samu, equivalent to Pāli sammuti or Sanskrit sammati and means assent or ‘approval’. Ek-tūn is taken by Mr. Wickremasinghe as a derivative of eka-āsthāna ‘the one (or supreme) assembly’, and if we adopt

\footnote{1} Burgess. Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayapeta, p. 105. \footnote{2} See Dhammapadāthakathā, vol. iii, p. 146. \footnote{3} See Mv. l, v. 82. \footnote{4} Cey. Ant., vol. ii, p. 190. \footnote{5} Bell, Report on the Kegalle District, p. 83. \footnote{6} E. Z., Vol. I, p. 206, note 2. \footnote{7} Ibid., Vol. II, p. 34. \footnote{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. hābīyehi from hābā (Śūkṣmavāhana vinīta, p. 55) and bādiyehi in the Badulla Pillar inscription. See above p. 76. \footnote{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-sthita_, 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 Rājendra Deva, tells us that a decree of the king was ‘unanimously approved of’ by the chief secretary and three citizens who are named in the document.

In phrases like _pahan hinduvannat vadāla ektān samiyen_, this word occurs in the form of a noun, and in other places such as _ektān samiyen vaṇḍā vadāleyin avut_ 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’.


[Line B 3] _Varā_ occurs also in other records as _vaṇ_ or _vaṁ_ or _varin_. 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 _dātaka_ (messenger) whose name follows it. But a consideration of the following facts leads one to doubt this interpretation.

(1) In the Īripinninyāva pillar inscription of Udaya I, 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 _vaṇ vane_, one of the signatories to this grant, Guliγamu Arale is said to bear the name and official title of this general as his patronymic. This Guliγamu Arale could not have been further removed from the general than the third generation, and the natural mode of referring to

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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.

(9) The ‘founders of families’ of those officials who were members of the body-guard (mekappar) are very often mentioned as being commanders of the body-guard (mekappar-vādārum) or some other military commander, while those who held the office of kudasaṣṭā had invariably, as their ‘ancestors’ a chief secretary (mahāle) or the kudasaṣṭāṇavān.\(^1\)

This uniformity throws some doubt on the accepted interpretation.

(c) Officers, when they are said to belong to the Council of state (saṅha), are invariably referred to without the so-called family name.\(^2\)

(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 davaśā which means ‘in the time of’ or ‘in the day of’\(^3\) and this helps us to connect varā 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 Kandyen court who were known as Kaṭupulles\(^4\) were divided into two sections each under the superintendence of one of the two Adigārs\(^5\), 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 Kandyen period—\(^6\)—which is quite probable as the name for a royal messenger in the Kandyen times is also met with in an inscription of this period—we may interpret varā by ‘in the service of’. In

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\(^1\) For the interpretation of this word, see the article on the Badulla pillar inscription; above, p. 99.

\(^2\) See the Vēṭātitiya, Kukurumahandamana and Ayitigavā inscriptions.

\(^3\) As in the Bihāva pillar inscription, where, however, Mr. Wickremasinghe reads it as dā varā 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 davaśā in a similar context occurs also in an unpublished record from Dān̄bavalamāna.

\(^4\) 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 Kandyen kingdom.

\(^6\) For other parallels to Kandyen 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 varinā as 'come during the period of service'. Thus the phrase Paṇḍirad Dāpuḷā varā Mekāppar Pilavit Mayind of our inscription would mean 'Pilaviṭh 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 ajñapti. In Indian documents, the ajñapti is very often the commander of the military forces (senaḍhipati\(^1\) or baladhipīṭa\(^2\)) and sometimes the king's private secretary (rahasika\(^3\)). In Ceylon grants, the so-called ancestors of the dātakas are, very often, either military officers (mekāppar vādārum\(^4\), Senevirat\(^5\), Baṁba Senevi\(^6\) &c.) or the Chief Secretary (mahālē). Occasionally, the royal treasurer (Kuḷasalanaṇca\(^7\)) takes the place of the latter official. Is it not reasonable, with the Indian parallel to guide us, to take these as the ajñapti?

[Lines B 14–15] piyo-vadāran. Evidently the same as piyo vadāran naṇa 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 vadāran naṇa '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 Dhanumaṇḍula-nātha (Sin. dunumaṇḍula na) 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 melāṭsi; other variants are melatī, melatti, melatī and melakṣi. Muḍaliyar B. Gunasekera equates it with the Sanskrit mleccha\(^8\) and translates it by 'barbarians', and Mr. Bell, too, favours this interpretation\(^9\). Mr. Wickremasinghe at first adopted the same view, but elsewhere leaves the word untranslated. In

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\(^1\) Ep. Ind., vol. xvii, p. 295.
\(^2\) See Bühler's Palaeographie, p. 95.
\(^3\) As in the Buddhahenāḷa pillar inscription.
\(^4\) As in the Iripaṇḷīva and the Rambahāva pillar inscriptions.
\(^5\) See the Vesagirīya slab inscription, above Vol. I, p. 34.
\(^6\) As in the Puḷḷomuravā Raja-māḷīga pillar inscription.
\(^7\) See the Index to E. Z., Vol. I, where references will be found to each of these forms. E. Z., Vol. I, p. 53, n. 10.
\(^8\) Cey. Ant., vol. x, p. 84.
a pillar inscription found near Mihintale (A. I. C. No. 115), following the mention of melassi along with some other names which are equally obscure, we have the phrase sesu rat-kol-kamiyan novadna isā ('and not to be entered in by other royal officers') which would lead us to the inference that the melassi 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 ātsi, e.g. miyatsi, nātātsi and urātsi. Ātsi is a verbal noun from the root āt and means 'proprietorship' or 'overlordship'.Melvaram is the name by which the state share of the produce of the land is designated in South India. In this word varam stands for share, and mel which ordinarily means 'above' is apparently used as an honorific way of referring to the king. I think mel in melātsi, 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 melātsi is followed by the verb nā戛nā and in others by novadnā; in the first instance it means 'the melātsi should not be levied', and in the second 'the melātsi 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 (nagarā) or a citizen (nagarika). It is only in the declension of the word that the difference becomes marked.

[Lines B 19–20] Pasladden. According to Mr. Wickremasinghe, 'keepers of district records'. From its being always found together with raflada, 'chiefs of districts', one would prefer to take pas as derived from Pali passa, 'a province', as in dakkhina-passa. We know that there were in the Rajaraja four such divisions which were subdivided into raflus. The Sinhalese pas and rafla 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. karmasthina) is used in the sense of 'an office' or 'a place where business is transacted'. Compare kamtaṇ ledaruvak in the Mihintale tablets. Hence de kamtaṇ means the two offices or two places of business. What these two

2 See Tamil Lexicon s.v.
4 E. Z., Vol. I, p. 108. For this suggestion I am indebted to Mr. Codrington.
were, we cannot say with certainty. In the inscription No. 115 of *A. I. C.*, already mentioned, the word *ākamtaṇu* 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, (*samāhārtīa*) mentions revenue (*āyaśārīra*) and expenditure (*vyaya-śārīra*) as two of the principal heads into which the administration was classified.

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

[Lines B 25–26] *Padi-mchevā.* This term has not been met with elsewhere. *Padi*, which is of Tamil origin, means ‘pay’ and *mchevā* ‘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 ‘ferrymen’ 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 Bengal ².

[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* ², the

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¹ Dr. Shamasasstry’s translation, p. 64.
² See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 325.
³ See Jolly, *Recht und Sitten*, 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.

[Lines C 14–15] Mahaputu laddan, officers of Mahaputu, or Mahavutu was another name for Mahatitha. It appears that there was a special officer in charge of this important seaport.

[Lines C 17–18] Kabbali lad. The ‘recipients’ or the officers in charge of the kabbali, a variant form of kabhali occurring in other records. The word kabbali is of frequent occurrence in the ninth- and tenth-century records and has been translated as ‘allotments’, but its exact significance is not quite clear.

[Lines C 19–20] Na vehera vassau. The word vassau 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 velvassau, veda halvassau and pahavasi occurring in the inscriptions of the same period. An analogous word is the Malayalam ambalavasi, the name given to people who perform services in the temples in the west coast of South India. As the employees of the Nagavihari 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 Mahatitha. It was probably the Nagavihari mentioned in chapter xiv, v. 58 of the Mahavansa. In the Rasavahini, we have a reference to a Nagavihari in North Ceylon.

[Line C 22] Raka-vehera may be the same as the Rakkha Vihara built by Dalla Moggallana in the seventh century.

[Lines D 3–4] Perihara = Skt. parihara. Kauṭilya defines this term as follows:

Jater viśeṣeṣu pureṣu caiva
grāmeṣu deśeṣu ca teṣu teṣu
anugraho yo nṛpater nideśāt
tajñāḥ parihāra iti vyavasyet 1 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. Shamsastry’s translation p. 81.)

1 It is possible that sadā had some connexion with the Pali 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 Mahavutu see Cey. Ant., vol. x, p. 94.


No. 6. THŪPĀRAṆA SLAB INSCRIPTION OF GAṆABĀHU I

(A. S. I. No. 368)

By S. Paranavitana.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

This inscribed slab was discovered in October 1926, while clearing the foundation of the western side of the enclosing wall of the Thūpārāṇa dāgāba. It was set up vertically on the inner face of the foundation; and only about 1 ft. of the slab was above the original ground-level. The slab measures 6 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 10 in.; and the inscription covers an area of 5 ft. by 2 ft. 10 in.; a portion of the stone on its right being left undressed and uninscribed. There are seven lines of writing of which the first two are badly weathered. A part of the stone containing about three letters has been chipped off at the left-hand bottom corner; the rest of the record is tolerably well preserved.

The letters, not taking into account the long tails of a, ka and ra, range from 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. to 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. in height and are shallowly but regularly incised on a dressed surface. They represent the normal type of the southern variety of the Brāhmi alphabet of the second century and call for no special remarks.

The orthography is in keeping with the style of the period; and, as regards grammar, in addition to the features already pointed out by previous writers dealing with contemporary epigraphs, the present document furnishes us with examples for the following rules:

Ga changes to ka in the middle of a word, but retains its original form otherwise. Compare, for example, nakara for Skt. nāgarā, gamini for Skt. grāmnāṇi and saga for Skt. saṅgha. In compounds, when the second member has an initial ga, it does not change into the corresponding mute, e.g. Gōṇa-giri. The change of ma to ba in arabā is due to the preceding ra. The cerebralization of dentals is noticed in padavaya.

Coming to the inflexion of nouns the most important point to note is the form which the accusative singular takes in this form of Sinhalese speech. In Sanskrit the majority of words have the accusative singular ending in m,

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2 For other examples of ma changing to ba see Geiger L.S.S., p. 48.
and in the Prakrits of the middle Indian stage, this had given place to the anusvāra. The Sinhalese language, from the very start of its career, seems to have lost this sound, and hence the accusative singular, as well the nominative singular of neuter stems¹, presents the same form as that of the crude stem. An understanding of this fact is essential to have a correct idea of the construction of the sentences in the early Sinhalese records. The present record furnishes the following examples to this rule: patti for Pāli pattiṁ, daka for Skt. udakaṁ. In kutarani we have the instrumental singular in ni as in classical Sinhalese and in Vahabayaḥ² the genitive singular in yaha. As regards the last named phonetic change, it may be observed that the old Indian termination sya, while it assumed, on the one hand, the form of ssa, sa and ha, it seems to have been transformed, on the other hand, to saya by svarabhakti and then to yasa and yaha by metathesis and the substitution of ha for sa. The medieval suffix yahu in the word Mihin dysahu, occurring in an inscription of Dappula V³, seems to be a direct descendant of this second-century termination. In vaśya, we have an example of the genitive singular of feminine stems, ending in ya. Compare Skt. vāpyah and Pāli vāpiyā. Dr. Wickremasinghe takes the ya in similar words as a corruption of the pleonastic ka⁴, but in most of the cases where this form occurs, the genitive is required by the rules of syntax.

The language is in keeping with that of the other epigraphs of the same period, and does not call for any special remarks.

The king who issued this grant was Gajabahu I (circa 171–193 A. D. according to Geiger) and is referred to, as in all the other records of his, save one⁵, by the name of Gaminī Abaya. The present epigraph supplies us with no further historical information regarding him. For an account of his reign, the reader is referred to vv 115–122 of the xxvth chapter of the Mahāvaṁsa and the Rājāvaliya (Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara’s translation, Colombo, 1900) pp. 47–49.

The contents tell us that the king granted certain incomes derived from the Gōnagiri-utaviya (a tank or a tract of paddy fields) to the monks of the Rataṇa Araba monastery. The royal grant ends after the fourteenth letter of the sixth line where traces of two short vertical strokes used as punctuation marks are seen. The rest of the record is in the nature of a postscript added later—but

¹ Compare the word Ariṭa Maha-gama in an inscription from Ritigala (See E.Z., Vol. I, p. 152).
² Dr. Wickremasinghe takes the form Vahabaya as the stem.
³ See below, pp. 126 ff.
⁵ The Ruvanwälisāya slab-inscription, No. 5 of A.I.C.
not far removed in time from the original grant, as there is no appreciable
difference in the script—to the effect that the city accountant, whose name is not
preserved, gave in exchange the water-revenue of the Nakaravavi tank (Nuvara-
váva).

TEXT.
2 Tisa-Maharajaha puti Maharaji Gamiṇi
3 Abaya Nakara(hi) G(o)nagiri 1-utaviya daka-pati ca
4 bojaka-pati ca Rataṇa-araba viharahi bikusaga-
5 -haṭaya sovana-kutaranı daka atu padavaya.
6 [ca]tara-paca paribujana koṭu dine [4] Nakara-gaṇaka Na-
7 . . . . . Nakara-vaviya daka-pati parivavaṭa koṭu dine [4].

TRANSLATION.
Hail! The great king Gamiṇi Abaya, son of the great king Tisa and
grandson of the great king Vahaba, having poured water from the golden vase
into the hand [of the donee], gave, to the community of monks at the Rataṇa-
araba monastery, the water rates (dakapati) and the royal dues (bojakapati) of
the Goṇagiri-utavi, [situated] within the city, that they might enjoy the four
requisites. Na . . . . the accountant of the city gave in exchange the water rates
of the Nakaravavi [tank].

REMARKS.
[Line 3] Goṇagiri-utaviya is a somewhat difficult form. From the analogy
of other instances, the word coming immediately before dakapati and bojakapati
ought to be the name of a tank or of a field. Compare Nakara-vaviya dakapati in
line 7 of this inscription and Varakaviya bojakapati in the Ruvanviliśaya slab-
inscription already referred to. In the Galvihāra rock-inscription², there are
several names of fields ending in vi, e.g. Tulataravi-keta, Acavi-keta, Mahavi-
keta, Vajabuti-galakavi-keta. In an inscription from Nātuṁkanda, several names
of fields ending in viya, viz., Čulatisaviya, Karajaviya, Sivalaviya, are noticed³;
and similar names are also met with in some of the unpublished records of this
period. From a comparison of these examples, it becomes evident that viya in

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¹ The medial o sign is not preserved; I have adopted this reading as it enables us to equate it
with Goṇagiri.
² A. J. C., No. 54
³ A. S. C., Seventh Progress Report, p. 48.
Thapara Slab Inscription of Gajabahu I
this compound connotes a field. If this interpretation be adopted, the term *utaviya* would be equivalent to the expression *uta-kubara* occurring in the 'Jethavanārāma' slab-inscription of Mālu-Tisa'. The precise meaning of the word *uta*, too, is not definitely settled. Dr. Wickremasinghe thinks it means a grain tax; but this meaning does not suit the context here. In Niśāṅka Malla's inscription at Daṁbulla, occurs the phrase *uttē amuṇa*, which has been translated 'an amuna of the best soil'¹. The *Ruvanmala* and *Piyammala* lexicons give the word *uta* as a synonym for 'the best'². From a comparison of these examples it becomes clear that *uta*, *utu*, and *utta* are all derived from the Sanskrit *ud* meaning 'superior'. *Gonāgiri*, of course, is a place-name, and the whole compound *Gonāgiri-uta-viya* may be rendered 'field of the first rate at Gonāgiri'. This would show us that at this time the fields were divided into different classes according to their degree of fertility. That it was so during the twelfth century we learn from the inscriptions of Niśāṅka-malla⁴. As regards *Gonāgiri*, which according to our record was situated within the area included in the city, it may be interesting to note that the *Mahāvamsa* mentions a place by the name of *Gonāgiri* in the eastern quarter of the city, where a *vihāra* was built by King Sūratissa.


[Line 4] *Bojakapati*. The precise meaning of this word, of which the variant forms *bojapati* and *bojiyapati* are known from other records, is not clear. Dr. Wickremasinghe's rendering³ 'income enjoyed by the *gāmabhojaka* 'village headman' does not seem to be feasible. Several inscriptions of this period mention donations, to religious institutions, of *bojakapati* pertaining to fields and tanks by kings as well as by private individuals. It is inexplicable why these donations were made at the expense of the village headman. A distinction which is noticed in connexion with the mention of this word in royal grants as opposed to those by private individuals might afford us a clue to its interpretation. In the first class of documents occurs the phrase *bojiyapati-kara kāḍaya*⁶ 'having freed from the tax of *bojiyapati*’ which is substituted in private grants by the causative form *bojiyapatiya kara kāḍavaya*⁷ 'having caused to be

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⁴ See the Habarana rock-inscription, *A. J. C.*, No. 61. Dr. Müller reads these words as *karakala woya* and translates 'the Karakala tank'. See also Dr. Wickremasinghe's comments, *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 257, n. 1.
made free from the tax of bojiyapati'. This shows that bojakapati was some kind of revenue due to the king. In Sanskrit, bhoga has the meaning of revenue (see Monier Williams s.v.), and as bhoga and bojaka or bojiya are both derived from the same root bhuj, we may assume that bojaka has the same significance as bhoga. In South Indian documents, the term rāja-bhoga and rakṣa-bhoga denote the ruler's share of the produce from the fields. In Rajputana, the state share of the produce of the land is called bhog. Pati has been equated with Pāli patti and rendered 'revenue'. It could as well mean 'a share'. Compare, for example, the sentence, Tē satamattā 'pi vānijā ekakami sahassam datva tena saddhinā nāvaya pattikā kutvā (Each man of the hundred severally gave him a thousand pieces to buy a share in the ship), where the word patti has this meaning. Etymological considerations and the context in which this word occurs give support to the interpretation of this word as 'king's share'.

[Line 4] Rātanā Arabha. (Pāli Ratana Arāma). A monastery of this name does not figure in the chronicles. Perhaps it was the monastery attached to the Ratna caitya (Ruvanvālā sāya). The proximity of the place where the inscribed slab was discovered to that monument may give some support to this view.

[Line 5] Sovana-kutarani daka atan padavaya, 'Having poured water from a golden vase into the hand'. With this compare ran koturuyen...Budun ata diya ata, in the Amavaturo. In this sentence, the word koturu stands for Pāli bhinkāra, the corresponding passage in the Nidānakathā being 'Suvanṇa bhinkāren... Dasabalahā hattle udakam pātesi'. Pouring water into the hands of the donee when making a gift of land is a well-known Indian custom. In addition to the Pāli passage above quoted, the account of the dedication of the Mahāvihāra in the Mahāvaṃsa (xx. 24) and the expressions nīrōd-attī, and udakapūrvam occurring in Indian inscriptions may be compared.

Sovana is Pāli sovanna and means 'golden'. As stated above, koturu stands for Pāli bhinkāra; but its etymology is not clear. This word also occurs in the slab-inscription of Gajabahu I from Ruvaṇvālāsāya (A. I. C. No. 5) and in another

2 See Baden Powell, The Indian Village Community, p. 199.
3 Cf. Hindi patti 'share' and patidār 'a shareholder'.
5 Jātaka, vol. i, p. 85.
6 For the use of the word Ratnacaitya instead of the more familiar Ratnamālā caitya see E. Z., Vol. II, p. 83.
7 Richard de Silva's edition, p. 35.
record from Molâhiyavelgala, published by Mr. Bell in the Ceylon Antiquary, vol. iii. p. 76. Duka is Pâli and Skt. udaka and means ‘water’. Ata is the same as Skt. hasta and Pâli hattha. The elision of the initial k, a common feature in the later Sinhalese speech is noticed here, so far as I know, for the first time. It is not clear whether the correct reading is ata or ati. If the latter be the case, the locative singular termination i standing for Skt. and Pâli e (as in hatthe) is noteworthy. In the case of the reading adopted in the text, the crude form of the stem does duty for the locative singular.

Pañcavaya, (Pâli patāpayita), is the past participle of the causative form of the root pat, ‘to fall down’, and means ‘having poured’. In the cerebralization of ta in this word, the Sinhalese follows the Mahârâṣṭri and other Prakrit dialects1.

[Line 6] Nakara-gaṇaka. Other possible renderings of the word gaṇaka are:—the leader of a gaṇa, the name given to a small battalion; an astrologer; an overseer. In the last sense it is used in the Vinâya Piṭaka, iii. 43. Compare also the word gaṇaka mahâmacca occurring in the Digha Nikāya, iv. 64. M. Senart’s notes on a similar word gaṇâpaka occurring in an inscription of the Ābhira king Jâvarasena at Nâsik may also be compared in this connexion2. Nakaragaṇaka can also signify a member of the city corporation (gaṇa). It might also mean a native of Nagarâṅgaṇa, a place of which name is given in the Mahâvânisa (chap. xxi, v. 81).

[Line 7] Nakara-vâvi (Pâli Nagara-vâpi), ‘city reservoir’ is equivalent etymologically to Nuvaravâva; but we cannot be sure that the large irrigation work near Anurâdhapura, known by this name, is meant here, as its ancient name has not been determined as yet. It is remarkable that the Mahâvânisa, which contains so many references to the Tisâvâva (Tissa-vâpi) and Basavakulam (Abhaya-vâpi), does not mention the reservoir which is the largest among the irrigation works in the immediate vicinity of the old city.

[Line 7] Parivâvaṭa has been taken to be the precursor of the medieval pirul and the modern colloquial pirivaṭa. Compare the word parivaṭa occurring in the inscription No. 3 of Nâsik (Ep. Ind. vol. viii, p. 65). The occurrence of two va’s in the present form shows that it goes back to a Sanskrit word like parivâvarita. No such word is given in the Sanskrit dictionaries, but is met with in the Dampiya-atuṇâ gâṭa-pada-sannaya a Sinhalese glossary to the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathâ, dating from the first half of the tenth century.

1 See Pischel, Gram. der Pkt. Spr., p. 156.
2 Ep. Ind., vol. viii, p. 89.
No. 7. RUVAŅĖLISĀYA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE
REIGN OF BUDDHADĀSA (388–416 A.D.)

(A.S.I. No. 374.)

By S. Paranavitana.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

About midway between the western and southern altars of the Ruvaņēl-
sāya in Anuradhapura, a few yards from the stone votive dāgāba, are two
fragments of a broken pillar lying on the pavement, amidst a heap of debris and
some fragments of sculptured stones. The base and the capital of the pillar are
missing, and the two fragments together measure 10 in. square by 4 ft. 6 in.
in length. In all probability, this pillar belonged to one of the many small
shrines which once stood on this spacious platform, and its missing pieces may
perhaps be buried in the debris lying about. The stone is smoothly dressed;
and the letters boldly and beautifully engraved.

The inscription consists of three lines vertically engraved on the pillar, and
the preservation of the writing on the two remaining fragments is excellent.
The missing portion probably contained four letters at the beginning of each
line. The letters, the average size of which is about 2 in., introduce us
to a type of script which differs in many essential particulars from that of the
other epigraphs of the period; and, therefore, are not without interest to the student
of Ceylon palaeography. A comparison of the script of this record with that of
the two Vēragoda āgala inscriptions\(^1\), of which one belongs to the reign of
Buddhadāsa and the other to that of his son Mahānāma, will make the fact clear
that though all these records are, more or less, of the same period, the present
one shows a more developed and more florid type of writing than that of the
other inscriptions. The juxtaposition of some letters from the present record
with the corresponding ones of the Vēragoda āgala epigraph will illustrate this
statement.

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<th>This Inscription</th>
<th>The Vēragoda āgala Inscription</th>
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<td>a.</td>
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\(^1\) Published by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in the *Cey. Ant.*, vol. iv, p. 207.
On the other hand, the sa ඩ of the present record is of a more archaic nature than the same letter occurring in the Vēragodagala inscription. The sa ඩ shows the intermediate stage of evolution between the second century ත and the ninth century ත. The ligature tra ḷ and the letter dhā ṣ are noticed here for the first time in an epigraph of the early Christiant centuries. Attention may also be drawn to the mode of attaching the medial vowel sign u in nu ṭu and tu ṭ, which may be contrasted with pu ṭu and pu ṭu.

The language is no less interesting than the script. As regards phonetics, the replacing of a sonant by the corresponding surd is represented by such examples as meka for megha, Apaya for Abhaya and nakaraka for nagaraka. The vowel a is changed to e when followed by a syllable ending in i as peta for Pāli pattī and vedha for Pāli vaddhi. In modern Sinhalese the e in many such words has assumed the form of ā, e.g. vidā representing vedha of this record. The use of cerebral u in nakara owing to the influence of the following ra is noteworthy. The general tendency of the Sinhalese language is to do away with cerebrals at the beginning of a word; and, therefore, this form is not met with in the language of later times.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Buddhāsā (388-416 A.D.) son of Jeṭṭhatissa (379-388 A.D.). He was one of the most famous of Ceylon kings and is best remembered for the hospitals which he instituted throughout the island. The king himself was a physician of great repute, and many remarkable cures are attributed to him. He is also credited with the authorship of a medical work named Sārārthasaṅgraha which is still in use among native physicians. Only one inscription of this king has yet been published, and that, too, is a fragment. There is another slab from the Northern Dāgāba area, now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Anuradhapura which ought to be attributed to him. The name of the king is given there as Mahāsenā, son of Jeṭṭhatissa, and besides the regnal year and date, very little of the record is preserved. The object of our inscription is to record the gift of the pillar on which it is engraved, by certain individuals of the town of Mahila.

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1 See Geiger L. S. S., p. 35.
2 See Mr. xxxvii, vv. 112 ff.
3 This work exists only in manuscript. The language in which it is written does not support its attribution to Buddhāsā.
4 No. 16 of the list of inscriptions given on p. 73 of the A. S. C. Annual Report for 1911-12. Another slab from the same locality contains the name Budadasa (Dupara)-deva maharaja. I am not certain whether this, too, has to be ascribed to the same monarch.
TEXT.

1 .. .. [Siri]² Meka Jeṭatisa Maharaja Apayaha puta Budadasa Mahasena Maharaja
2 ³ .. .. [Ma]hilaka nakara Sumanayaha puta Mahilaka nakara Sivayaha Makalka nakara
3 .. .. .. jitra Kama[la]⁴ Aba karavika ūtabi [℡]
    Sava-satanaṭa peta anumovatā [℡]
    Mapuramakahaṭa vedha vayu [℡]

TRANSLATION.

............... (In the reign of) the great king Budadasa Mahasena (Pāli Buddhadasa Mahā Sena) son of the great king [Siri] Meka Jeṭatisa Apaya (Pāli Sirimegha Jeṭṭhatissa Abhaya). The pillar caused to be set up by Siva of the town of Mahila, son of Sumana of the town of Mahila and Kamala Aba daughter of ........ the town of Makalaka. May the acquiescence in [this] merit be for the benefit of all beings. May increase [in prosperity] be to the great king.

REMARKS.

[Line 1] (Siri) Meka Jeṭatisa (Jeṭṭha-Tissa II) was the younger son of Mahāsena. The Mahāvaṁsa tells us very little of him except that he was proficient in the art of ivory carving⁶. From the present record we learn that the name Śri-Megha, by which his elder brother is known in the chronicles, was applied to him as well. The use of the word Jeṭṭha, meaning elder, as part of his personal name, though he was the younger son of Mahāsena, demands some words in explanation. In my opinion, the Jeṭṭha in this and other similar names does not signify seniority of birth, but is an old official title which, in

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¹ See Plate No. 8 facing p. 126.
² There is no doubt that the missing letters contained the auspicious word Siddham, and Siri the first part of the word Sirimeka.
³ The first two letters of this line were most probably jahi (rajahi), and a ma ought to be supplied before hilaka on the analogy of the word which is repeated later in the same line.
⁴ The right-hand stroke of this letter appears too short for a la and too long for a pa, but is closer to the latter. However, I have adopted this reading, as Kamalā is more appropriate for the name of a female than Kamaṇa.
⁵ There is a stroke resembling the medial vowel sign e attached to sa. If this be taken as a part of the letter and not a mere crack in the stone, this word ought to be read setāṇaṭa.
⁶ See Mv. xxxvii, v. 100 f.
course of time, came to be used as a proper name. In early records, the kings of Ceylon are sometimes referred to by the title of Mapurumuka (Skt. Mahā-
pramukha, medieval Sinhalese mapurmukkā) as, for instance, in the last sentence of the present record. Numerous cave inscriptions of the pre-Christian centuries contain the names of private donors to which the title parumaka is prefixed. The Sanskrit pramukha (Pali panukha), of which parumaka is a corruption was the designation by which the head of a guild or corporation was known in ancient times.

Another of the commonest regal titles of early Sinhalese kings, Gamaṇi, is the same as the Vedic Grāmaṇi, the headman of the village corporation. On the analogy of these, it follows that jetṭhaka itself is of similar origin and meant the head of a corporation, or alderman, in which sense it is found used in the Jātakas. With these names it may also be interesting to compare the word Sēniya (Skt. Śrēṇika), a title of king Bimbisāra of Magadha, the contemporary of the Buddha. It is connected with the Sanskrit śreni, 'a guild'. These names are also of interest in giving us an idea of the notions of kingship prevailing in those early days. If the etymology of these words tell us anything, the early kings of Ceylon seem to have been the leaders, though hereditary, of popular assemblies; and when, later, they assumed the role of absolute monarchs, the old names, now meaningless, continued to be used as personal names.

It is also possible that the kings of Ceylon were not of Kṣatriya but Vaiśya origin, though they professed to belong to the Kṣatriya caste. Some of the most famous among the royal families of India during historic times were of Vaiśya origin.

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2 The Vedic grāmaṇi seems to have been an official of far greater importance than the village headman in later times; for he is included among the eight āstras (heroes or friends of the king) the others of this class being the royal chaplain, the queen, the charioteer, the chamberlain, and the collector-general. He is also included among a list of officials called the rāminis who take a conspicuous part in the Rājaśāya ceremony (see Ancient Indian Polity by N. N. Law, pp. 87 and 170).
3 The Mahāvamsa expressly tells us the Dutthaγamaṇi was given this name on account of his being the chief of Mahāgama (Mahāgāme nayakattam, &c.). See Ch. xxii, v. 71.
4 See Jātaka (Fausböll) ii. 18; iv. 137; ii. 335; &c.
5 Another similar name is, perhaps, Gothā in Gothābhaya. It may be equivalent to Skt. gosṭika, the head or member of a guild. See the Bhattiprōṣu inscriptions (Ep. Ind., vol. ii, p. 327) where the word gothi occurs in this sense. In the case of Gothā Imbara, one of the warriors of Dutthaγamaṇu, the Mahāvamsa explains this word as meaning 'short'. But this could be explained as a popular etymology invented at a time when the real meaning had become obsolete, and perhaps also influenced by the tendency noticed in folktales which delights in representing heroes of prodigious strength as having possessed diminutive bodies.
Apaya (Pāli Abhaya). In this and other records of the period, this name is used as an honorific suffix after maharaja and not as forming part of the personal name. It occupies about the same position as of pā in rajapā of medieval records. It is also probable that instead of being derived from Abhaya, it may be representing Skt. āravāna.

Buddadāsa Mahāsenā. It will be noticed that Buddadāsa used the name of his grandfather as part of his own name. From the chronicles and the contemporary records, it appears that among the kings of Goṭhābhaya’s line, as a rule, the grandson adopted the name of the grandfather. The Mahāvamsa tells us¹ that Goṭhābhaya was also known as Meghavanṇa Abhaya. One of his grandsons is known in the chronicles by this name, and the present record informs us that Jetathatissa II, another grandson of his, had the same name. Buddadāsa, according to this record, uses the name of his grandfather in addition to his own; and in the inscription from the ‘Jetavanārāma Area’ referred to above, he is mentioned by the name Mahāsenā alone. Again, from the Tissamahārāma slab now in the Colombo Museum², we learn that Mahānāma, a son of Buddadāsa, had the full title of Mahanamika Jetatissa, thus showing that he, too, had the name of his grandfather in addition to his own. The following pedigree will bring out the facts more clearly.

Goṭhābhaya or Meghavanṇa Abhaya

Jetathatissa I          Mahāsenā

Siri Meghavanṇa Abhaya  Siri Megha Jetathatissa II

Upatissa II              Mahānāma Jetathatissa

Mahilaka nakaraka may be equivalent to Pāli Mahelaka-nagara, a town of which name, the Rasavāhinī informs us, was situated not far from

¹ Chapter xxxvi, v. 98.
² A. I. C., No. 67. Dr. Müller does not ascribe this to Mahānāma but, in my opinion, there is no doubt that Mahānāma was the author of this record.
Anurâdhâpura. A place called Mahela also figures in the campaign of Duṭṭha-
gâmanî against Elâla.

[Line 2] MAKALAKA. If this is a variant form of Mahilaka, the change of ha
to ka is noteworthy. Compare Sinhalese kitul for Skt. hitâla. In Tamil
ka and ha are interchangeable sounds being represented by the same letter s.

[Lines 2–3] Owing to the fact that some words are missing, the construction
of the sentence from Sivayaha to Kamala Abâ is not clear. Therefore, the
translation offered of this part is only tentative. I have taken Sivayaha, which
is in the genitive case, as expressing the agent. The genitive is often used in
this sense in the language of the period; and in classical Sinhalese, it has become
the rule. Compare phrases like muniûduhu desu daham (‘the law declared by
the Buddha’). The absence of a conjunction after Sivayaha and the fact that
Kamala Aba is neither in the genitive nor in the instrumental militate against this
view.

[Line 3] JÎTRA, taken to be identical with Skt. duhitâ. In the earliest
inscription of Ceylon this word occurs in the form of jìla. I am not certain
whether it is a contraction of jìtara representing a colloquial form *duhitara
for the grammatically correct duhitâ or with the instrumental singular form duhitrà.
The occurrence of a form viharya for viharaya, showing a similar phonetic
change, in an inscription of the second or third century at Vēragala, seems to
favour the former.

[Line 3] KARAVIKA. The ka is merely pleonastic. Karavi is the equivalent
to Skt. kârâpita, Pkt. kârâvîa.

[Line 3] TABI, Skt. sthamba, Pâli thambha or ûthambha and Pkt. thabho.
In modern Sinhalese ūthamba. The nominative singular termination i in this
word may be compared with that in words like maharaji occurring in the second-
century record. (See Thûpârama slab-inscription, above p. 116.) This i, I am of
opinion, is a contraction of the earlier termination e.

[Line 3] Sava satasâta, Skt. sarvâ-sattvānam artham. Compare savasatânam
in an inscription at Jaggayapeța (A. S. S. I. p. 110). Peti equals Pâli
patti, ‘partaking of merit’. For M. Senart’s notes on this word see Ep. Ind.,
vol. viii, p. 64. This word occurs in the form of pet both in the Dampiyâ-âtuva-
guṭapada-sannaya and in the modern language. Compare pin-pet. The phrase

1 Rasavâhini, Colombo 1907, p. 166.
2 Mv., xxv, v. 48 f.
sava-satanaṣṭa peta (or pati) occurs at the end of several donative inscriptions of the period. Mr. Parker reads it as siviṣa tuṇaṭa līti, and probably connecting siviṣa with the modern colloquial word sēviṣi renders it by 'written at the totem beating place'. Mr. Bell reads savasa-tanaṭa pati and translates 'granted at the Assembly Site'\(^\text{2}\). In some donative inscriptions from Vessagiriya in Anurādhapura, dating from about the sixth century, this phrase occurs in a slightly variant form as pala savasa-satanaṣṭa, 'the merit (pala) is given to all beings'. Similar formulas are of frequent occurrence in the Buddhist donative inscriptions of India. For example, compare sarvāv-sattvahitakārtham in inscription No. 15 of Nāṣik (Ep. Ind., vol. viii, p. 88) and yadā trài puryam tad bhavatu sarvāv satvānām anuttarā-jñānavāpūrtayastu 'in the Buddha-Gayā image inscription of Mahānāman (Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 279).

[Line 3] Anumovatu. I am not certain whether this represents Pāli anumodatu or anumodanaṃ bhavatu. The latter is more likely, as it suits the syntax better. In either case it is interesting to note the suffix tu of the optative mood, which is not noticed in the medieval dialect, preserved till the fifth century.

[Line 3] vedha, Skt. vrddhi, Pāli veddhi or vaddhi, modern Sinhalese vāda. Vayu, Skt. bhavatu, Pāli bhatu, bhutu or bhavatu. The change of ta to ya in the optative suffix here may be contrasted with anumovatu.

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No. 8. A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION ON A PILLAR DISCOVERED NEAR THE JAFFNA ROAD, ANURĀDHAPURA.
(A. S. I. No. 92)

By S. Paranavitana.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

The subjoined record is engraved on a pillar now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Anurādhapura, and it is said to have been discovered in the jungle to the west of the Jaffna road not far from the town of Anurādhapura. It measures 8 in. square by 6 ft. in height and is surmounted by a beautiful vase shaped capital one foot in height. All the four of its sides were inscribed,

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1 See Parker's Ancient Ceylon p. 530 and Cey. Ant., vol. iii, p. 207.
2 Cey. Ant., vol. iii, p. 207.
Ruvanvalisaya Pillar Inscription
Scale about 1/4 inches to a foot

Jaffna Road Pillar Inscription
but the writing on three of them has been almost completely obliterated. The remaining side which contains the introductory part of the record, has thirty-eight lines of writing, each line consisting of four letters. As may be seen from the accompanying facsimile, the writing on this side, too, is not in a very good state of preservation, but is clear enough to allow of a correct reading.

The letters, which are regularly engraved, vary in height from one to one and a half inches. They belong to the script used during the first half of the tenth century and contain no deviations from the standard type.

As regards grammar, there are two points worth noting. One is the form sili-piya for the more common sulu-piya (Pali cūḷapita)\(^1\) and the other the genitive suffix yahu, which is a development of yaha of the second century\(^2\). The record is dated in the second year of Dāpuḷu Abahay, who has already been correctly identified by Mr. H. C. P. Bell\(^3\) with the fifth monarch of that name (917–929 A.D.\(^4\)). As the preserved part does not contain more than a fourth of the whole record, we cannot speak with any confidence about the nature of its contents, but a few lines on side C seems to mention the boundaries of a certain land, and hence, it is probable that, like the majority of the pillar inscriptions of the period, this too is concerned with a grant of immunities.

It was Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S. who drew my attention to this record, and I also take this opportunity to express my indebtedness to him for many valuable suggestions.

**TEXT.**

Side A.

1 Siri bara
2 kāta kula
3 kot Okā-
4 -vas raja-
5 para pure-
6 -n ā Dāpu-
7 -lu Abaha-
8 -y mahara-
9 -d hu sat
10 lāṅgu deva-

\(^1\) The change of \(u\) into \(i\) is due to the influence of \(i\) in the second member of the compound. For this phonetic change see Geiger *L. S. S.* p. 34. This form of the word occurs in the *Dampiyā aitava gålapada sannaya*, a work contemporary with this record. The form *sulu piya* though standardized in the later language is an older form than *sili-piya*.

\(^2\) See my article on the Thūpārama slab-inscription of Gaja Bāhu I, above p. 115.

\(^3\) See *A. S. C. Report for 1911-12*, p. 73.

\(^4\) According to Dr. Hultsch, see *J. R. A. S. for 1913*, p. 524.
Sides B–D worn.

TRANSLATION.

On the tenth day of the first half of the lunar month of Māndin (February–March), in the second year after the umbrella of dominion was raised by the great king Dāpulu Abahay, descended from the lineage of King Okāvas (Iksvāku) the pinnacle of the Ksatriya race, His Royal Highness Kasub (Kassapa) the son of the sub-king Mihind (Mahinda) the paternal uncle of this [King Dāpulu]; who was nurtured by the queen Maha (Saṅghā), with the same affection as for a son of her [own] bosom; who is established in his own office which has come down in succession from his grandfather . . . . . . . which is being enjoyed by males not violating the order of seniority . . . . . . .

COMMENTS.

In order to make the relationships which the different persons mentioned in the following discussion bore to each other easily comprehended, I give here

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¹ There is room for another letter here. The stone is weathered; but as the word reads all right without it I think the engraver wrote a letter here by mistake, which he later scored off.

² Okāvas is here taken as equivalent to Iksvāku and not Iksvākuvahāsa as in p. 237 of Vol. I. Compare Okāvas putu Bānu Mandatu Pasinadi Sudaśīn Bagtrala in v. 9 of the Pārakumbā sīrīla where the name Okāvas is applied to the mythical emperor of that name and not to the race.

³ For the interpretation of the word mahāpa see above p. 82.
a pedigree which may be compared with that given by Dr. Wickremasinghe in Volume II of this Journal (facing page 59).

Devā = Sena II = Saṅghā  Kassapa V  Dappula V
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mahinda the sub-king</th>
<th>Kassapa (mahādīpāda)</th>
<th>Kittaggabodhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kassapa-ādipāda</td>
<td>Udaya I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This record introduces us to an historical personage, whose identity, though recognized in the Mahāvamsa, has been confounded with that of other contemporary princes who bore the same name. Prince Kassapa of the present inscription was son of Mahinda the juva-rāja, paternal uncle (sula piya) of Dappula V. We know from contemporary records that Dappula V was a son of Sena II, by his second queen Devā; and, hence, there is no doubt as to the identity of Mahinda the sub-king. He was the younger brother of Sena II, mentioned by the same name in the chronicles. The Mahāvamsa tells us that Mahinda had four sons, all by his second queen Kitti. In Dr. Wickremasinghe's genealogical tree already mentioned, all these four places have been filled with different claimants; but no Prince Kassapa is found among them. Neither does Mr. John Still give his name as a son of Mahinda in the genealogical tree No. 4, appended to his Index to the Mahāvamsa. Therefore, it becomes necessary to examine that part of the Mahāvamsa dealing with this period in order to determine Kassapa's place in Ceylon history.

Verse 92 of the fifty-first chapter of the Mahāvamsa mentions a prince named Kassapa who was a son of an elder brother of Udaya I. Mr. Still, guided by Wijesinha's faulty rendering of Pāli kaṇṭṭham sakabhātaram in the previous verse by 'his brother's youngest son', identifies him with Kassapa IV who succeeded Udaya I and was, in reality, his younger brother. Dr. Wickremasinghe takes this prince to be the same as Kassapa V, the son of Sena II, elder brother and predecessor of Udaya².

² Two princesses Tissā and Senā are given as daughters of Kassapa V by Dr. Wickremasinghe, and they are said to have married Kassapa IV and Udaya I respectively. If this is correct, these two monarchs

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This is quite natural as the *Mahâvamsa* does not expressly mention a son named Kassapa, of Mahinda the other elder brother of Udaya. But Kassapa V is almost always referred to, in the chronicle as well as in the inscriptions, by the epithet of ‘the son of the twice anointed’. (Sin. *debisv-dâ. Pâli dvayâbhiseka-saûjata.*) And with the present epigraph to guide us, it is reasonable to take the *yuvarâja* Kassapa, the nephew of Udaya I, as a son of Mahinda, the sub-king, and not of Sena II.

This *yuvarâja* Kassapa figures in the reign of Udaya I as sending his son, the young Mahinda, to quell a rebellion in Rohâna caused by Kittaggabodhi, another son of Mahinda the sub-king¹. In the succeeding reign—that of Kassapa IV—he figures again, this time as a mediator between the king and his own son who had headed a successful rising in the same part of the island².

Unfortunately, the name of the queen who adopted Kassapa is doubtful. If the conjectural reading *Saûghâ* (सृङ्गा) be adopted, she is to be identified with the consort of Sena II.

The grandfather of Kassapa mentioned in line 27 is no other than the *adipada* Kassapa, brother of Sena I who fought valiantly in the Pândyan invasion³ and who was the ancestor of almost all of the royal personages figuring in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The *Mahâvamsa* informs us that when Dappula V ascended the throne, he gave the office of heir-apparent to Udaya and the latter appears, from the Puliyankulam inscription⁴, to have held the office till the close of the reign and succeeded Dappula as Udaya II⁵. He also figures in the same capacity in several of the pillar-inscriptions of Dappula V ranging from the second to the twelfth year of his reign. But if we are to take it that the present record refers to Kassapa as enjoying the office of *mahâpa* (heir apparent) in the second year.

married their own grand nieces; which is improbable. The substitution of Prince Kassapa instead of Kassapa V, effected above, does not alter this relationship. Those passages of the *Mahâvamsa* mentioning these princesses seem to admit of a different interpretation from that which is generally accepted. But as this is an inquiry not quite relevant to the present subject, it is not attempted here.

¹ *Mv. li, v. 94 ff.*  
² *Ibid., lli, v. 4 ff.*  
³ *Ibid., l, v. 46 ff.*  
⁵ Udâ Mahayâ is said to have been a son of Mihind Mahayâ by the princess Kitti. Dr. Wickremesinghe identifies this Mihind Mahayâ with Mahinda, the brother of Sena II and the father of the Kassapa of our inscription. But a pillar-inscription from Girihâle which gives the pedigree of Udaya II (Siri Sangbo Udâ) as son of Mihind Mahayâ, son of Siri Sangbo, son of Abbâ Salamevan by queen... and a record from a place named Ugalâ which mentions a Mihind Mahayâ as living in the reign of a king named Abbâ Salamevan (probably Udaya I) seem to throw some doubt on this identification.
of Dappula, there seems to have been disturbance at this period. The Mahāvamsa tells us that when Dappula was contemplating an expedition to South India, there was a serious rising among the Sinhalese princes, and consequently he had to abandon the projected campaign. It is possible that this rising and the interruption in the heir-apparentship of Udaya, as evidenced by the present record, had some connexion with each other. The style of the inscription which gives unusual details about his parentage and the claims that he had for the office he held, points to a time when he was just asserting his rights. But his success was evidently shortlived, for we find Udaya holding the office of mahapā and sub-king from at least the fourth year of Dappula, and also succeeded him after his death.

No. 9. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE STONE CANOE WITHIN THE CITADEL, ANURĀDḤAPURA. (A. S. C. Nos. 365–367.)

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

ABOUT 200 yards to the east of the ‘Green Path’, at a distance of nearly a mile from the Sacred Bō-Tree at Anurādħapura and some 300 yards to the south of the ruined brick structure named the Gedige, is to be seen one of those huge stone troughs popularly known as kānda oru (gruel boats).1 Near by are the tall monoliths of a ruined shrine, identified by the late Mr. Ayrton with the Temple of the Tooth, and a partly effaced slab-inscription of Mahinda IV.2 The stone trough or canoe ‘is put together with four upright slabs, pitched slightly outwards, the sides huge single stones, 23 ft. 10 in. in length, the ends 5 ft. 3 in., the bottom being formed of four slabs of which the centre two are half the width of the other’. The entire canoe gives an outside measurement of 27 ft. 6 in. by 5 ft. 3 in. and inside of 23 ft. 10 in. by 3 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 3 in. in depth. It lies lengthways N. and S.3 (See Plate 75 of A. S. C. Memoirs, vol. 1.)

1 Other examples of stone troughs in Anurādḥapura are, one near the Alms-Hall close to the post office, two in the vicinity of the Abhayagiri (Northern) Dāgāba and a broken one near the Jetavana (Eastern) Dāgāba. There is also one at Mihintalē, about half way up the hill.
3 Edited by Dr. Wickremasinghe, E. Z., Vol. I, p. 113 ff.
4 H. C. P. Bell, A. S. C. Annual Report for 1897 (Colombo, Govt. Printer), p. 3.
On the outer face of its north end (east side), there are fourteen lines of writing, which constitute two distinct records; one, No. 1 below, of eleven lines and the other, No. 2, comprising of only three. And, on the outer face of the east side, about 5 ft. distant from the two inscriptions already referred to, are three more lines of writing which will be referred to as inscription No. 3 in the sequel.

Inscriptions No. 1 and 2, together cover an area of 2 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. and No. 3, 2 ft. by 8 in. The letters which vary in size from 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. are engraved within ruled spaces about 2 in. apart. Owing to the roughness of the stone, which does not seem to have been smoothed before the writing was incised, the records are not well preserved; and it is with some difficulty that they can be deciphered. As may be seen from the accompanying facsimile, the first few lines of No. 1 and the last line of No. 2 are very much worn; but all the letters, save three or four, can be read on the stone, and the purport of the records is quite clear.

All the three inscriptions belong palaeographically to the same period, namely, to the last quarter of the tenth century; but they do not furnish us with any data enabling us to date them more closely. The following peculiarities of the script are worthy of note. The letter ma $\mathfrak{C}$ has its upper loop open and the lower one angular, thus approaching the twelfth century form. The central stroke of sa $\mathfrak{U}$ is carried higher than the other two arms of the letter. In tu $\text{†}$, the medial vowel sign is attached in the same way as in the case of the other consonants and thus differs from the ordinary type of this letter $\mathfrak{S}$ during this period which was the precursor of the modern type $\mathfrak{S}$. The letters ra, a and the medial vowel sign of u have open lower ends, thus: $\text{†}$, $\mathfrak{7}$ and $\text{†}$.

The orthography and the grammar are regular; but attention may be drawn to the form Mahavuṭiye where the final vowel $u$ of the stem Mahavuṭhu has been changed into $i$ influenced by the $y$ in the locative suffix.

**INSCRIPTION No. 1**

**TEXT.**

1  Me Ma[hapej] bat [ga]-  7  -ṭ ākula kaḷa kenek
2  -nnā tāk denamo  8  raṭa vāssan kaḷa a-
3  a[pa] lada bat [koṭa]-  9  -kusal gattāhā [u$^*$] Ma-
4  -s bat Denā vehe[rā]  10  -havuṭiye eḷumaruva ka-
5  dāgābā karana [kam]  11  -ḷa akusal gattāhā [u$^*$]
6  navāmaṭa dunmo [u$^*$] Me(ya)-

1 The same feature is noticed in the Kiriggāḷa piliār-inscription, E. Z., Vol. II, p. 1 ff.
Anurādhapura, Stone Canoe Inscriptions
TRANSLATION.

We, all of us, who receive rations at this Mahāpāli, have given our shares of rice for the new works being carried on at the stūpa of the Jetavana monastery. Those who violate this shall take [upon themselves] the sins committed by [all] the inhabitants of the land. [They also] shall incur the sins committed by a killer of goats at Mahavutu (Mahātittha),

INSCRIPTION No 2

TEXT.
1 Me Mahapejaṭ nuvara van goṇi
2 ekakin patak vi niya[mi]-
3 -n gannā kuli nom[gena] [r*]

TRANSLATION.

To this Mahāpāli shall be taken at the rate of one pata (Skt. prastha) of paddy from each sack brought into the city; the kuli being not levied.

INSCRIPTION No 3.

TEXT.
1 Damsaṅguṇu-gehi dā raka-
2 -val karana Sala-va[du'-]nā-
3 -van kāravū gal nāvayi. [r*]

TRANSLATION.

The stone boat caused to be constructed by Salavaḍunā ², who guards the relics ³ at the Damsaṅguṇu-gō (Dhammasaṅgaṇi House).

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¹ Can be also read as Salavasu-nā.
² This seems to be the name of an office and not a personal name. It may mean 'the chief stone mason'.
³ In this case not bodily relics. Dhātu or relics are of three classes, sārīrika, pārībhogika, and uddesika. According to this classification, the golden plates on which the Abhidhamma was written belong to the last category.
COMMENTS.

[Inscription No. 1, line 1] Mahāpāla. This word is not completely preserved here; but in the first line of the next record it is quite clear and the reading does not admit of any doubt. Mahāpāla (Pāli Mahāpāli) means a refectory or kitchen; but the word often refers to that alms-house founded by Devānāmpiya Tissa in the vicinity of his palace, and maintained by his successors. This inscription and the one that follows are important, as they confirm Mr. Ayrton’s hypothesis that this stone boat marks the site of the Mahāpāli. Both these records contain the phrase me Mahāpelat ‘to this Mahāpāli’, and thus prove, beyond doubt, that this well-known institution was located here. Mr. Ayrton has collected all the references in the Mahāvamsa to this building, and it may not be out of place here to give the account of it left by the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsiang. The former, who was the earlier of the two, and visited Anurādhapura himself, says of it: ‘Besides these, the king supplies five or six thousand persons within the city with food in common. These persons, when they require, take their alms-bowls and go to the appointed place and according to the measures of the bowls fill them and return.’ Hiuen Tsiang, though he did not visit Anurādhapura himself, but wrote according to the information given to him by the Sinhalese monks whom he met at Kānci, is more explicit. Says he:—‘By the side of the king’s palace, there is built a large kitchen in which daily is measured out food for eight thousand priests. The meal-time having come, the priests arrive with their pātras to receive their allowance. Having received and eaten it, they return, all of them, to their several abodes. Ever since the teaching of Buddha reached this country, the king has established this charity and his successors have continued it down to our times. But during the last ten years or so the country has been in confusion, and there has been no established ruler to attend to this business.’ The facts that confirm the identification of the Mahāpāli, also supply further proof, if any be necessary, for Mr. Ayrton’s location of the Daladāgē.

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1 See Mv. xx, v. 23.
3 The name Mahāpāli may be applied to an alms-hall attached to any monastery. See the Jetavana-nārāma slab-inscription of Kassapa V (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 228) where two Mahāpelas are mentioned. But the proximity of it to the Daladāgē, and hence also to the royal palace, would justify us in identifying the site of the present stone canoe as the Royal Mahāpāli.
6 Ibid., vol. ii, p. 250.
[Lines 6–9] This is a novel imprecation 1.

[Lines 9–10] Mahavuṭu (probably derived from Mahāpaṭṭana) is another name for Mahātitha, the modern Tirukkēṭtiśvaram near Mannār. This imprecation shows that it was considered, at this time, to be a place of unusual sanctity and a sin committed there very heinous. 1 It seems to have been held as a sacred place, more by the Hindus than by the Buddhists. According to the Dāthāvanīśa (Canto 5, v. 1) there was a Hindu shrine at this place during the reign of Śri Meghaṇavaṇa (352–379 A.D.). The Tamil saint Nāgasambandar, in the Tevāram hymns, sings the praises of Śiva who had his abode here.

[Line 10] Eḻumaruva. This imprecation is also met with in the Alutvāva pillar-inscription 8 and on a slab-inscription near the ancient hospital at the foot of the hill at Mihintalē 9. The Vēvālkaṭiya inscription 9 lays down the rule that those who killed goats should be given the penalty of death. From these instances it becomes clear that the slaughter of goats was looked upon as a great offence.

Inscription No. 1 is interesting in another respect. Unlike the great majority of the ancient records of Ceylon which, as a rule, registers gifts made by the laity for the benefit of the clergy, the present record tells us of an act of self-denial on the part of the monks for the benefit of one of their shrines. This fact also might give us a clue as to the date of the record. It is hardly likely, that, in the time of a pious king like Mahinda IV, earlier than whose reign it is difficult to date this inscription owing to palaeographic reasons, there would be occasion for such an act on the part of the monks. The probability is that expensive works were initiated at the Jētanana dāgāba in the reign of Mahinda IV, and his weak successors had neither the funds nor the inclination to carry them through. So, the monks, finding no possibility of the work being completed through royal patronage, had resource to this expedient.

[Inscription No. 2, line 1] Goni, Sanskrit gоṇī used as a tаtsаmа in modern Sinhalese. In all probability, the levying of a pata of paddy on a sack of that grain brought into the city represents a toll due levied at the gate. Sanskrit gоṇī is also synonymous with a dронa, and, as there were 16 prаshаs to a dрона 6, this would work out to be a rate of 6 ⅔ per cent., a rather excessive figure.

2 Cey. Ant., vol. x, p. 94.
6 See M. W. Dict. s. v.
[Line 3] kuli (Tamil kūli) ‘wages’ or ‘fee’. Evidently what is meant by this last sentence is that when paddy was brought to the Mahāpāli, the expenses connected with bringing them there were to be borne by the person who was bound to give it as a due. Similar rules are laid down in the South Indian epigraphs. See Travancore Archaeological Series, vol. iv, p. 50.

[Inscription No. 3] This is the earliest of the three records and was most probably incised in the reign of Mahinda IV, when, according to the Mahāvaṃsa, the Mahāpāli was repaired for the last time 1.

[Line 1] Dam-saṅgūṇa-ga (Pāli Dhammasaṅgani-geha) was built by Kassapa V, ‘born of the twice anointed’, as a repository of the book Dhammasaṅgani 2 which he caused to be written on plates of gold. The Mahāvaṃsa says: ‘And then he (i.e. Kassapa V) caused the Abhidhamma piṭaka to be written on plates of gold, and embellished the book Dhammasaṅgani with divers jewels and built for it a house in the midst of the city and placed it there, and caused feasts to be held in honour thereof’ . . . . . . ‘And the book Dhammasaṅgani, he took in procession in great splendour to the richly decorated vihāra that he had built there and having placed it on a relic altar in the hall of the goodly relic house that was ornamented with divers jewels, he made offerings to it’ 2.

Mahinda IV, (953–969) is said to have repaired this building along with the Mahāpāli, and the temple of the Tooth.

These notices in the Mahāvaṃsa regarding the Dhammasaṅgani house are fully corroborated by contemporary inscriptions. The slab-inscription of Kassapa V near the stone canopy close to the Northern Dāgāba mentions the fact of the writing of the Abhidhamma on plates of gold 4; and Mahinda IV’s inscription at the same place says that he ‘gilded the relic casket for the book Dhammasaṅgani which the great king his grandfather had caused to be written’ 5. No further mention of it is made in the chronicles, and this is due to the fact that Anurādhapura was abandoned not long after and all the sacred edifices, including of course the Dhammasaṅgani House, were neglected and fell into disrepair.

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1 _Ms._ liv, v. 45.
2 The first book of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. For an account of it see Winternitz, Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur, Band 11, p. 136.
3 _Ms._ iii, v. 50 ff.
This edifice which, judging from the above quoted description, must have been one of great splendour, has not yet been identified. But, I think, by the help of the statements in the chronicles, we can do so with some degree of certainty. It has been mentioned above that it was situated within the inner city, where the only other religious edifices of any importance known to us, either from the chronicles or from inscriptions, are the Temple of the Tooth, the Mahāpāli and a nunnery called Mihind Aram Meheṇavara. To these may also be added two hospitals, one built by Kassapa V and the other by the general Sena. Now, the outlines of the Inner City of Anuradhapura have been defined with tolerable certainty by the researches of Messrs. Bell, Parker, and Ayrton. Of the ruins that are situated within this area, the site of the stone canoe and the neighbouring remains have been identified, as we have already seen, with the Mahāpāli and the Daladāgē. From its proximity to both these structures, the Gedigē most probably marks the site of the Royal Palace. The only other ruin of any note within this area is one situated to the north of the Gedigē, a description of the present condition of which will be found on page 3 of the Archaeological Survey Report for 1898. In my opinion, this building can, with good reason, be identified with the Dhammasaṅgaṇī-geha. The other ruins within the citadel are of too insignificant a nature to have belonged to an edifice of such a splendid character as the Dhammasaṅgaṇī house, according to its descriptions given in the chronicles, was.

No. 10. GIRITALE PILLAR INSCRIPTION. (A.S.I. No. 370.)

By S. Paranavitana.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

Among the inscribed stones lying in the premises of the Archaeological Commissioner at Anurâdhapura, there is a broken pillar brought from Girîlale, a village seven miles to the north-west of Poḷonnaruva. The lower portion of the pillar is missing; and the fragment measures 9½ in. by 5½ in. by 4 ft. 7 in. The top has been rounded into a capital 6½ in. in height. The writing on sides B and D is almost completely obliterated and that on the other two sides is also very badly preserved. The inscription was noticed, for the first time, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in his Annual Report for 1905¹. An eye-copy of the inscription, prepared under the direction of Mr. Bell, is also preserved among the records of the Archaeological Survey. I edit the epigraph from the original stone.

The letters, which are very shallow, average 1½ in. in size. They belong to the normal type of the alphabet of the period to which the inscription is assigned and contain nothing noteworthy. The orthography and grammar are regular. The record is dated in the first year of King Udâ Sirisaṅgbo who, owing to reasons which will be given in detail below, is identified with Udaya II (circa 929–932 A.D.). The main interest of the epigraph lies in the genealogy of Udaya II given in the introductory portion. This information is especially valuable as the Mahāvamsa and the other chronicles omit to mention the relationship of Udaya II to his predecessors.

Like the majority of the pillar inscriptions of the tenth century, this record, too, is concerned with a grant of immunities to a certain land. The obscure technical terms with which we are familiar from other records of this class are met with here, too; and, though it is not yet possible to explain them with certainty, an attempt will be made, in the notes attached to the translation, to elucidate some of them.

¹ Page 39, No. 8 in the list of Inscriptions examined between 1901 and 1905.
GIRITALÉ PILLAR INSCRIPTION

TEXT.

A.

1. Sirivat [api-]                                          18. kaḷa Sirisaṅg-
4. mu[lu] Dambadivhi                                     21. -hu daru Udā Si−
5. an kāt [kula]                                         22. -risaṅgbo ma−
6. pā-mili kaḷa Okā−                                      23. -ha rad tumā sa−
7. vas rad parapu−                                       24. -t lāṅgu pala[mu] va−
9. Salamevan maha−                                       26. -Baga sand ava
10. ra[d] haṭ emā ku−                                     27. mashi dasavak
11. -len sama Nā(la)                                      28. davaś pādum (pas)−
12. Gon biso tu−                                         29. -hi (Parisā) kuḷiya−
13. -mā kusā ipā−                                        30. -hi āvu de se−
14. -dā āpā mahayā                                       31. -nāk hulu Demē−
15. -siri vindā pilī−                                     32. -laṭ válādemin ā−
16. -veḷa se dasa [a]                                     33. -vu Purmīganaṭ
17. -thi pāṭirā rada

B.

Worn

C.

1. -van novadnā                                          13. -dnā isā dunu−
2. isā deruvanā                                          14. -vā balatun no−
3. de kamātān no                                          15. vadnā isā ya−
4. vadnā isā                                              16. -han govu ya mu−
5. melāṭi rad−                                           17. -gur gauṭuṇa no
6. kol kāmiyaṇ                                            18. vadnā isā ma−
7. novadnā isā                                            19. -giva pegiva no
8. ulvādu perenā−                                        20. vadnā isā ga−
9. -ṭṭiyam novad−                                        21. -m gōn kir ge−
10. -nā isā arā−                                         22. -ri gāl mīvun no
11. -kan perelā−                                         23. gānā isā vā−
12. -kan nova−
25 no gannā i-
26 -sā tuḍī solī no-
27 vadnā isā ko-
28 -tā vannan gam
29 vādā no gannā
30 isā radolat pi
31 -tutan gamā lā
32 no raknā [sā]
33 Bayavā masna-
   .. .. ..

D.

Worn

TRANSLATION.

A.

[Lines A 1–28] On the tenth day of the waning moon in the month of Baga¹ (March–April), in the first year after the raising of the umbrella by the great king Udā Siri Saṅbo (P. Udaya Siri Saṅhabodhi) son of Mihind Mahayā (Mahinda, the heir apparent) son of the great king Siri Saṅbo who reigned (with fame) wide spread in the ten regions after having enjoyed the dignities of (the ranks) āpā and mahayā² and who was born in the womb of Queen Nā(la) Gon of equal race unto the great king Abhā Salamevan (P. Abhaya Sīūmehavanṇa) who was descended from the lineage of King Okāvas (Skt. Ikswāku) who abounded in a multitude of boundless illustrious qualities and who had reduced the other Kṣatriya families of the whole Dambadiv (P. Jambudvīpa) to the position of vassals³.

[Lines 28–33] Touching the land named Purmigaṇa consisting of two fields (senās) of hulū (fenugreek)⁴, which was included among the Tamil lands and is situated in the Parisākuḷiya of the Eastern Quarter .. .. .. ..

¹ The first month of the Sinhalese year. Sin. Baga = Skt. Bhaga which is a synonym of the constellation named Phalguna. Though the Sinhalese month Baga or Bak is the same as Skt. Cātra, its name after the asterism Phalguna is a reminiscence of the Vedic times when this constellation heralded the new year.

² For the explanation of these two terms see the Badulla pillar inscription, above p. 82.

³ Pāmili = P. pādamālāka. This latter word which occurs in Jaṭaka, II, 300 has been rendered in the Sinhalese translation by dukgal purujaye. Compare the word duggannā rāla in Kandyān usage.

⁴ Trigonella foenum gracum.
shall not enter. Officers of the two treasuries and the two departments (of revenue and expenditure?) shall not enter. The melâtî and the officers of the royal household shall not enter. (The officers named) ulvădu and perenâtiyam shall not enter. Ärâkkâ and perelâkkâ shall not enter. Archers and guards shall not enter. Officers in charge of the (royal) conveyances and bearers of iron clubs shall not enter. The magîva and pegîva shall not enter. Village cattle, milch-cows, carts, and buffaloes, shall not be taken. Labourers who serve by turns and rice given in rotation (by the villagers) shall not be taken. Tudi and solî (drummers) shall not enter. (Royal officers) shall not enter this village and arrest those who have come in after committing assault. Traitors to the royal family shall not be admitted to the village and given protection. The fish in the Bayavâ (tank)...

COMMENTS.

[Lines 8–23] The genealogy of the king who issued this grant is given as:

- King Abhâ Salamevan (Abhaya Silameghavanâ)
- King Siri Saṅgbo (Siri Saṅghabodhi)
- Mihind Mahayâ (Mahinda, the heir apparent)
- King Udâ Siri Saṅgbo (Udaya Siri Saṅghabodhi).

This last named, Udaya, cannot be the same as the Siri Saṅgbo Udâ of the Badulla pillar whose mother was an anointed queen, whereas the present Udaya's father was not a crowned king. He may safely be identified with the Udaya who in the Puliyanâlâm slab is also mentioned as the son of Mahinda the heir apparent and who himself held the office of heir apparent in the twelfth or last year of Dappula V. Dr. Wickremasinghe has rightly identified him with Udaya II who succeeded Dappula V.

As the sub-king Mahinda, the brother of Sena II, had married a princess Kittâ and Mahinda, the heir apparent, of the Puliyanâlâm inscription, was

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1 Virådâl. Mr. Codrington suggests 'rice supplied for the use of the nûriyan (by the villagers).
2 See above p. 84.
4 Mv. liii, v. 13.
5 Ibid., I, v. 13.
also married to a princess Kittā, Dr. Wickremasinghe has naturally identified the two; but the sub-king Mahinda was the son of sub-king Kassapa \(^1\) not of a paramount king like the Mahinda of this inscription. Further, Mahinda the sub-king predeceased Sena II; but a Mahinda, heir apparent, is mentioned in an inscription at Usgala \(^2\) which, on palaeographical grounds, should be ascribed to a date later than Sena II. Mahinda the sub-king, and Mahinda the heir apparent, appear, therefore, to be two distinct persons whose wives bore the same name.

The two throne names Abhā Salamevan and Siri Saṅgbo were borne alternatively by the kings of Ceylon in the ninth and tenth centuries \(^3\). There were three Siri Saṅgbo’s in the hundred years from Sena I to Udaya II’s predecessor—namely, Sena II, Kassapa IV, and Dappula IV. The first two are known from the chronicles \(^4\) and contemporary records to be the sons of the sub-king Kassapa, a brother of Sena I; and, therefore, could not be described as the sons of King Abhā Salamevan. That leaves Dappula IV as the only possible king to be identified with the Siri Saṅgbo who was, according to this record, the grandfather of Udaya II.

In the same period, four kings, Sena I, Udaya I, Kassapa V, and Dappula V, bore the throne name of Abhā Salamevan. Dappula V can be ruled out, as he was the successor of Dappula IV and so could not have been his father. Kassapa V can also be ruled out since the Pūjāvaliya \(^5\) says that Dappula V the half-brother of Kassapa was a maḷu, i.e. younger brother or younger cousin of Dappula IV. The same statement rules out Sena I also. Therefore, it is only with Udaya I that the Abhā Salamevan of this record can be identified.

[Line A 29] Kuliya occurs in several records as a name denoting ‘a territorial division’, e.g. Angam-kuliya in the Vēvālakāṭiya slab \(^6\), Bidervatu-kuliya in the Mādirigiriya pillar \(^7\), Loholuvila-kuliya in the Ayitigevāva pillar \(^8\), and Mahademaṭa-kuliya in the Alutvāva pillar \(^9\).

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\(^1\) Ibid., I, vv. 48 and 60.
\(^3\) See above, p. 130, n. 5.
\(^5\) Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara’s extract from the Pūjāvaliya, p. 28. On this statement, Dr. Wickremasinghe makes Dappula IV, the elder uterine brother of Dappula V. But maḷu does not necessarily mean one’s own younger brother.
\(^7\) Ibid., Vol. II, p. 35.
\(^8\) Ibid., Vol. II, p. 35.
[Lines A 30-31] Desenak hulu: The word hulu (in modern colloquial Sinhalese uluvahal) is the name of a variety of beans. It is apparent from the context that senā was a unit of land measurement. This word occurs in the same sense in the following records: (1) in the Mihintale tablets, vaṭumaha ādurak haṭ Bond zehra senāya īsā; (2) in an unpublished record from Brāhmaṇagama, at senāk hulu ḫaṇḍinnarugama; (3) in an inscription on a pillar in the Colombo Museum, satar senāk hulu Sennarugama; (4) in the Itāva Pillar inscription, tun senāk hulu Kāśāvāgama; (5) in a fragmentary pillar inscription from Sigiriya doło senā. . . . It seems probable that senā is the same as the modern sēna or hēna 'land used for dry cultivation', especially in view of the fact that in all the passages above quoted, except one, the word is used in connexion with hulu, a dry crop. The Pāli khettā in Jātaka VI, p. 336, is rendered senā in the Sinhalese Jātaka of the fifteenth century senā or sēna would thus mean a field. But the word is here used in a technical sense as a unit of land assessment, in the same manner as khet still is in Nepal.

[Lines A 31-32] Demelat vālademīn ā. With this phrase may be compared Demel Kinigam in E. Z., Vol. II, p. 52, gāmā Demela kābālla in a pillar inscription from Polonnaruva and Demela kābālla in a pillar in the Colombo Museum. From a Tamil kābālla there appears that there were lands set apart for the Tamils, probably those in the king's service. The last inscription also mentions a high official designated the Demela Adhikāri. A Damilādhikāri figures in the history of Parākramabahu I's reign.

[Lines C 2-3] Derwanā dekamān: These two classes of officials are invariably mentioned together whenever both occur in the same record. De means 'two' and rwanā is of obscure significance. It may be derived from Pāli ratana 'treasure' and used in a secondary sense signifying 'the house where treasures are deposited', i.e. treasury. Etymologically, the forms rwanā or rwanā might with more reason be considered derivatives of a compound ratna-āya. Āya in Sanskrit means 'revenue' and āya sthāna, the place where revenue is collected. The occurrence of Ratnāyaka as a family or āya name

1 E. Z., Vol. I, p. 97. Dr. Wickremasinghe translates senāya by 'guild' taking it to be derived from Skt. śreṇī.


4 Mv. xxvi, v. 39.
among the Sinhalese, points to the prevalence, in former days, of a compound ratnāya which probably meant 'treasury'¹.

In the Kōṭṭe period there was, in addition to the treasury within the capital, a royal store house or bangasāla at the place where the modern Bankshall Street is². In Kandyan times, there were two treasuries known as the uďa gabaďava and the mahagabadaña³. The practice of having two treasuries dates from ancient times, for Kauṭilya enjoins the king to possess, in addition to the treasure house within the fort, another one at the extreme boundary of the kingdom⁴. Therefore it is probable that in the tenth century the kings of Anuradhapura had two treasuries known as deruvana.

The methods adopted in the administration of the estates belonging to the great monasteries were doubtless modelled on secular institutions. From the Abhayagiri inscription of Kassapa V⁵ and the Mihintalē records of Mahinda IV⁶, we know that the income and expenditure of these two establishments were divided into two branches; namely, the internal and external (ātuḷ bāhāri aya viya). As regards the two royal treasuries, or store-houses, it may be surmised that one of them contained the funds for the king's private use—in modern terms, the Privy Purse—and the other those for the public services.

[Lines C 8–9] Ulavaḍu perenaṭṭiyam: These two terms are also generally found bracketed together. The word ulavaḍu (spelt with a cerebral /) occurs in the Badulla pillar inscription and, in my remarks on it, I suggested that it was the same as Tamil ulpāḍay which, from South Indian inscriptions, appear to have been the name of a temple official⁷. Though the word is here spelt with a dental /, it was doubtless the same as ulvaḍu of the Badulla pillar. This irregularity in spelling is a marked feature in words of Tamil origin. The ulvaḍu mentioned in grants of immunities must be, from the nature of the documents, royal officers and not temple servants. It is well known that in India, as well as in Ceylon, the ceremonial in the king's palace and in the temple were similar to each other, and therefore some of the temple officers must have had the same designation as those of the royal palace who had to perform similar functions.

¹ It was Mr. Codrington who first suggested to me this line of argument.
³ *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. iv, p. 81.
⁴ Kauṭilya, Dr. Shama Sastry's translation, p. 61.
The etymology of the word is obscure, but the first part ul means 'interior' or 'the inner apartments of a shrine or palace' and hence it may be assumed that ulzādu had similar functions with the officers of the antaraṅgadhura said to have been instituted by Parākramabāhu I. The word perenāṭṭu is sometimes interpreted as 'former inhabitants'; but it is evident from the inscriptions that they, too, were royal officers. The first part of the compound pere occurs in other words as perelāki, perevāssu, perevari, and is probably the same as Tamil puravu (cf. puravanvari) meaning exterior and derived from the Sanskrit puras, Pāli pura. This derivation becomes more certain when it is considered that perenāṭṭu is very often bracketed together with a word having for its initial constituent the word ul 'interior'. The retinue of the king in ancient India was divided into two sections called the antovalaijan 'the inner retinue' and bahi valaijan 'the outer retinue'.

[Lines C 10-11] Arakkhan occurs in the Kukurumahandamana Pillar (E. Z. Vol. II, p. 25) and the Raja Māligāva Pillar (E. Z., Vol. II, p. 56) where also it is coupled with perelākan. It is the plural of arāki which could be derived from Skt. ārākṣika, P. ārakkhi 'watcher' or 'guard'. It is not certain whether we have to understand by this term the village watcher mentioned in Sanskrit law books or to take arakkhan as subordinates of the dignitary designated araksamaṇa who, it appears, was entrusted with the care of the royal treasury. The modern word āraccī is of the same derivation as ārāki and from the etymology it seems that this village functionary had originally police duties to perform: though at present his duties are not confined to such.

[Lines C 11-12] Perelākan, the plural of perelāki occurs in many other records, both alone and in company with the arakkhan. If lines C 12-19 of the Timbhirivāva pillar inscription are correctly read, they must have visited villages to collect fines due to the king. Lāki, I think, is derived from Skt. lekhin, 'a writer'. We have already dealt with the form pere. It seems possible that these officers had to supervise the collection, and record the dues appertaining to the royal treasury.

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1 Mr. lxix, vv. 33-35.
3 Ibid., vol. iv, p. 29.
[Lines C 15-16] Yahangovan, too, occurs in other unpublished inscriptions; for instance, in a pillar from Dorabāvila in the North-Western Province and in a fragmentary record from a place named Saṅgili Kanadarāva in the North-Central Province. In both records they are mentioned along with another class of officials named kuṭasalā. This word may be interpreted in two different ways. It may be taken as a derivative of Skt. sāyava gopaka and rendered ‘guardians of the bedchamber’, or it may be equivalent to Skt. yānakopaka and translated ‘officers in charge of conveyances’. I have adopted the latter alternative. Cf. sakata gopaka in Dharmapadaṭṭhakathā, iv. 60, where, however, this word is used in a derogatory sense.

[Lines C 16-17] Yamugurungatuvan ‘bearers of iron clubs’ appear to have belonged to a class which were also included kolpati or kolpatra ‘holders of the sceptre’ (T. kol+parru), vālgattan ‘cane-bearers’ (cf. Skt. vetrakhara) and dāṭu muvāṭdu (club-men). Officers of a similar nature, namely, dandika and daṇḍapāṭika are mentioned in copper-plate inscriptions of the Pāla kings. Their duty was, presumably, to march in advance, when the king or other high nobles were travelling, in order to clear the road of wayfarers and other undesirable persons.

[Lines C 18-19] Maṅgiva, pegaiva: These also occur in the various forms of maṅgdīv piyādiv (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 169) maṅg-giva piyagiva (ibid., p. 97), and maṅgdīv pedīv (ibid., p. 205). Dr. Wickremasinghe derives these words from the hypothetical Sanskrit forms mārgajivin and pādajivin and renders them by ‘tramps and vagrants’. The occurrence, in the Iripinniyaṇa pillar inscription, of these two words along with soruv (thieves) and koṭāvan (those who come after committing assaults) seems to support Dr. Wickremasinghe’s interpretation. But in a pillar inscription from Mhat śirale (A. I. C. No. 115) the phrase maṅgdīv pedīv no vadhā īsā is followed by sesu radkōl kāmiyān no vadhā īsā (not to be entered in by other royal officers). This may be taken as a proof that maṅgdīv and pedīv, too, were royal officers.

[Lines C 26-27] Tudi soli: These two words occur very frequently in inscriptions of the period. Dr. Wickremasinghe leaves them untranslated.

1 Ayuṭegevā pillar. Dr. Wickremasinghe prefers the reading kolpati.
2 A. I. C., No. 110.
3 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 56.
6 Ep. Ind., vol. xvi, p. 325.
Mr. Bell in his *Critical Notes on the Epigraphia Zeylanica, (Ceylon Antiquary, vol. iv, p. 21 ff)*, examines several passages in which these words occur and comes to the conclusion that they mean Tondiyans and Choliams. But other relevant passages not quoted by Mr. Bell, and those noticed by him, when properly understood, make it difficult to accept his view. In the Saṅgili Kana-
darava inscription quoted by Mr. Bell, we have the phrase *tudi soli no gasanu isā* which, if translated according to the above interpretation, would read ‘*tudi* and *soli* should not beat’. But, then, it does not show what they should not beat; in other words there is no object to the transitive verb *nogasanu*. According to its grammatical construction, the translation of this phrase should be ‘*tudi* and *soli* should not be beaten’. In the Itāva record we have the phrase *tudi soli ber *tudi* and *soli* drums’ which makes the passage in the Saṅgili-
kanadarāva record intelligible. *Tudi* and *soli* were the names of particular kinds of drums which it was forbidden to beat within the limits of the village to which concessions were granted. This interpretation receives still further support from an unpublished fragmentary record from Pallēkāgama which has *soli bera tudi-gattan nogadanu isā ‘bearers of *soli* drums and *tudi* shall not enter*. From Sinhalese literature, too, we get evidence to prove that *tudi* was a variety of drums. The *Daṁbadevi Asna*¹ includes this in a list of various kinds of musical instruments. In Tamil, too, *tudi* has the same meaning and occurs in poems attributed to the early centuries of the Christian era². The word *soli*, as the name of a drum, has not been traced in Sinhalese literature, but the Pallēkāgama record quoted above proves that it was so. The Aṁbagamuva rock inscription of Vijayabāhu I (*E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 214) has *tudi nāla rajkol-kāmiyan*. If the word *nāla*, in this phrase, is the same as *nāla* ‘flute’, it gives further support for the above interpretation of *tudi*.

It may be questioned why these two particular drums were singled out for mention in the inscriptions. In the *Bherivāda Jātaka*³ we are told of *issarabheri*, i.e. drums beaten when great men were travelling. In ancient Ceylon when a king wanted to show special honour to a place, one of the ways by which this was effected was by the prohibition of sounding drums, &c., within its limits. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi’s order regarding the tomb of Elāla will occur to the

¹ Edition of 1917, p. 5.
² See *Silappadikaram, Canto VI*, l. 51. In Tamil *tudi* was also the name of one among the eleven varieties of dances.
³ *Jātaka*, i, p. 283.
reader. Similarly, in connexion with those temple lands to which immunities were granted in the middle ages, a like privilege seems to have been allowed.

In the present inscription, the words tudi and soli refer to persons as they are followed by novadnā. They are, therefore, to be considered as derivatives formed without any change in the form of the noun. The words are therefore translated 'bearers of tudi and soli drums'.

In several records, the word rāhān is also mentioned along with tudi and soli. Dr. Wickremasinghe, as well as Mr. Bell, takes rāhān to mean 'nooses'; and this has led the latter scholar to suppose that 'Toṇḍians' and 'Cholians' pursued the trade of elephant catching in Ceylon. In one inscription, we have the expression rāhān no paharanu which means 'ropes should not be cracked'.

We know that in Kandyan times, when the kings and the adicars travelled, the retinue included a band of whip-crackers called kasakarayās. 'Whip-cracking' may still be witnessed in religious processions in Ceylon. What is called a whip is actually a rope, one end of which is thicker than the other; and there is hardly any doubt that the rāhān and balat rāhān of the inscriptions refer to the kasas' of later times.

[Lines C 30–32] Radolat piṭatun gūmā lā no rāknu isā: This injunction seems to have been addressed to the grantee. The number of sanctuaries, in which the royal officers had no authority to arrest miscreants, must have been considerable during the tenth century; and this must have very often helped those who had incurred the wrath of the king to avoid its consequences. Hence the necessity for this clause. In this connexion it is interesting to note that Udaya II, the author of the present record, tried to violate the sanctity of one of these sanctuaries near the capital and this attempt nearly cost him his throne 1.

1 See Mo, iiii, vv. 14 ff.
No. 11. AN INSCRIPTION OF NIŚŚAṂKA MALLA FOUND NEAR THE VĀNĀLA, POŁONNARUVA. (A.S.I., No. 542.)

By S. Paranavitana.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

A mutilated pillar-slab, discovered near the spill (vānāla) of the Tōpāvāva in Polonnaruva, is now preserved in the Archaeological Office in Anuradhapura. The upper part of it is missing; and the present fragment, which is irregular in shape, measures roughly (without taking into account that part which was buried underground) 6½ ft. by 1½ ft. by 6 in. Side A contains sixteen lines of writing completely preserved, and portions of seven more lines more or less damaged. Possibly, there were twenty-seven lines in all on this side. Twenty-six lines of writing on side B are preserved; but, owing to the peeling of the stone, the first letter in each of the lines from 1–8 is missing. Side C, which contains the concluding portion of the record, shows traces of four lines of writing and some symbol used as a punctuation mark. Side D is blank.

The letters on such parts of the stone as are not mutilated are in a beautiful state of preservation; and, their average size is about an inch in height. They belong to the same type as in other records of Niśśaṁka Malla. The language is Sinhalese; and side A, containing the opening part of the record, is in verse and hence is free from Sanskrit words. The rest of the inscription is in prose and contains a fair proportion of Sanskrit words like every other document of this period. The grammar conforms to the standard of classical Sinhalese; but the forms perāṭi in line A 8 and nirundu in line A 21 will be pronounced ungrammatical by purists.

The metre used here is an unusual one. It is not explained in the Eḷu Sāṇḍās Lakuṇa the only work dealing with Sinhalese prosody; nor do I know of its occurrence anywhere in Sinhalese literature. The third stanza, the only complete one preserved, consists of four lines each containing twenty-four mātras with a caesura after the ninth and possibly after the seventeenth. The second quatrains, only three lines of which are preserved, has twenty-three mātras in the second line, while the third and the fourth lines are composed of twenty-two and twenty-four mātras, respectively. On the whole, there is a certain looseness in the observation of metrical rules. In examining the metre, an interesting fact regarding the phonology of the Sinhalese language in the
twelfth century comes to light. In the standard dialect of the Sinhalese language, the half-nasal in the consonantal groups \(ng, nd, nd,\) and \(mb,\) is scarcely audible in pronunciation and does not affect the quantity of the preceding vowel at all\(^1\). To all practical purposes, so far as prosody is concerned, it is as good as non-existent. But here, the nasal requires to be pronounced in full to scan, and the preceding vowel counts as long. This is the more remarkable as it is not observed in the stanza of Parākramabāhu’s Padaviya inscription\(^2\) and in the verse at the end of the Galpota of Niśāṇika Malla\(^3\) himself. Nor is it observed in the Sasadaṅgata, a Sinhalese poem composed in the reign of Lilāvati only a few years after Niśāṇika Malla’s death.

The subject matter of the record is interesting. The king who issued it is referred to as ‘the Kāliṅa Monarch’ who is no other than Niśāṇika Malla. It does not contain any mention of Niśāṇika’s alleged campaigns; nor does the monarch boast here of his own greatness. It is addressed to the officials of the treasury. We do not know how the record opened; but it appears that he prefaced the real edict with three quatrains containing maxims on political morals. Among these is an interesting reference to the mṛṣya nyāya, the metaphor of the fishes who prey upon one another\(^4\). The edict proper tells us that the accountants of the treasury caused suspicion in the king’s mind as to their integrity; hence the necessity of proclaiming it. He exhorts them, in case they are in need of anything, to take them after duly informing the authorities. Those who act otherwise are threatened with the royal disfavour and a hint is given of its dire consequences. It is a sign of the corruption of the times that the king found it necessary to publish an edict of this nature. When Niśāṇika assumed the reins of government, the forces of disintegration had already set in. Towards the end of Parākramabāhu I’s reign, things were not all right and under the weak rule

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1. See Geiger, L.S.S. p. 42.

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Yadi na pranayed rāja daṇḍam daṇḍey-vatandritah
Śūle māsyan ivāpaksyān durbhālān balavattarāh

Also No. 3942 of von Böhling’s Indische Sprüche:
Paraspaṁsitayā jagati bhūna vartmanāha.
Daṇḍabhāve paridhvarās mṛṣya nyāyāh pravatattate.

In the inscriptions of the Pāla kings, the first of their dynasty is said to have been made king by the people in order to ‘put an end to the practice of fishes’ (mṛṣya nyāyam apanīram, see Ep. Ind. vol. iv, p. 251). This and sundry other passages in the Galpota and the Citadel gate inscriptions show us that Niśāṇika Malla, or rather the scribe who composed his epigraphs, had some acquaintance with the Hindu dharmastras.
Niśaṇika Malla's Inscription found near Vān Ala, Polonnaruwa
of his successor matters grew still worse. Niśśaṁka tried his utmost to introduce salutary reforms; but was unequal to the task, for the country was plunged into an anarchical state immediately after his death and became an easy prey to hordes of adventurers from the neighbouring mainland. His own extravagant expenditure in ostentatious displays and the vast sums spent to satisfy his passion for building may have exhausted the exchequer and contributed to this end.

Text.

A.  

1. .. .. .. sakā va ge .. ..
2. .. nā dānā vavu .. ..
3. .. [Ka]liṅgu pīrindu
4. .. .. si mē diya ṣtā (i*).
5. .. navun ṣrā āta pa
6. .. nī dayāyi diya
7. .. ānā masun sē parava-
8. -t genā noyāde pērā-
9. -li karanā [i*] Novā pamā
10. aya vāyā dānā leka-
11. -m sakas karanā anu-

12. -n no eka vavu uvadesi
13. Kaliṅgu -himi nirindu nā [i*].
14. Miṇi mutu nil marā pu-
15. -srā gomēda verālu vi-
16. -durā pabālu nan- ambara-
17. -ṇa salu sувanda mal bu-
18. -lat kapurā (i*) meyin ye-
19. -di hunada anāga no la-
20. -da hē no manahāra batu-
21. -payā Kaliṅgu nirundu nu-
22. -vanin vindu isurā [i*].

B.  

1. .. .. bhaṇḍāra-
2. [po]ṭun bhaṇḍāra-
3. [-ya]ta sāka ipā-
4. [-d]iu heyn u-
5. [-n] pinisā kaḷa
6. [ṣi]ḷa lekha has-
7. [-na]yi [i*] Bhaṇḍāra ra-
8. {kṣā} vehi siṭi-
9. {na} yamā kena-
10. -kun tamange va-
11. -ṛṛga parampara si-
12. -tā dirṛṛga- darśi
13. vā diga balā ta-

14. -mahaṭa vuvamanā
15. ratran riḍi
16. masuran yaka-
17. -da āīvel va-
18. -haḷ sarak
19. ādivu yam-
20. -mā deyak ki-
21. -yā ilvā ge-
22. -nā e amutu [va]-
23. -ḷandat mut [āṣa]-
24. -ven nokiyā
25. bhaṇḍāra genā
26. paścāṭṭāpa

1 As it is not known how many lines are missing from the beginning, the lines are numbered from the first that is visible.
C.

1 namāti śoka gin [ne-]  
2 -n tāvena bava yam  
3 ... ... [sam]pat vargga  
4 ... ... diga ba ... ...  
5 ... ... ... ... ...

TRANSCRIPT.

Side A. ... ... ... ¹ It is not becoming to create discord by taking others’ properties, like fishes who ... ... each other in the water. Not being given to indolence, and understanding [the details] of the income and expenditure the preparation of accounts should be done ². And there should be no association with others ³. Such are the counsels of His Majesty, the Lord of Kāliṅga.

Diverse ornaments [of] gems, pearls, sapphires, emeralds, topaz, gomada (agate ?) lapis lazuli, diamonds and corals, [costly] robes, perfumes, flowers, betel and camphor; with all these may one be adorned; yet, if [he has] not received cosmetics, it is not pleasing. Having earned [means of] sustenance ⁴ enjoy riches by the wisdom of the Kāliṅga monarch.

Side B. As the keepers of the treasury books engendered suspicion regarding [the administration of] the treasury, this edict, inscribed on stone, is promulgated for their benefit.

Whosoever is engaged as custodian of the treasury, being mindful of his own race and progeny, being circumspect and far-sighted, should, in case he requires anything in the shape of gold, silver, money, iron, lands, slaves, or cattle, take permission [from the proper authorities] and enjoy them having made them his own; but ... ... ... be tormented by the fire of anguish called remorse, by appropriating the [funds of the] treasury without due permission ... ... ... 

¹ No coherent translation of lines 1–5 is possible.
² Kārana, if taken as a present participle, does not fit in with the construction of the sentence. I have taken it to be the imperative mood kārana, with the vowel changed so as to suit the metre. Such licences are sometimes resorted to by Sinhalese poets.
³ Anun might here mean, ‘enemies’.
⁴ Batupāya = bat-upāya literally ‘having earned (one’s) bread’. Bat might also be derived from Skt. bhṛti ‘wages’.
No. 12. TWO ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF BHĀTIKA ABHAYA AND MAHĀNĀGA AT MŌLĀHIṬIYAVELEΓALA.

By S. Paranavitana.

Epigraphical Assistant to Archaeological Commissioner.

In his interesting article\(^1\) *Diṃbulāgala, Its Caves Ruins and Inscriptions*, Mr. H. C. P. P. Bell has published several historically important records; and among them is included the subject of the present paper—two rock inscriptions from a place named Mōlāhiṭiyavelgala, near Diṅbulāgala in the Tamankaduva District. Their description may best be given in Mr. Bell’s own words:

‘Of the four rock-cut records, all of the same period, discovered at this site, the first and second were manifestly intended to be read together (being enclosed within outline framing) and were doubtless both engraved during the reign of King Naka named in the last line. The writing of these first two inscriptions is beautifully incised, in four lines of bold, deeply carved characters, clear throughout, save for four aṅkaras of which three are too worn to be read except speculatively. A svastika symbol, to left, precedes both records. The employment of the “Cave type” palatal ē almost invariably rules on rock but not on caves, as, with this one exception, it does in these and the other two inscriptions.\(^2\)

To this, I have only to add that the letter da in lines 1 and 2 of Inscription No. 1, is written facing left, a feature rather uncommon in the script of the early Christian centuries. Compare, however, the same character in the inscriptions of the Śaka satrap Usavadā.\(^3\)

Attention also may be drawn to the dative case singular in ya in the word sagaya (Skt. sanghaya). In early Sinhalese, as in Pāli and the Prakrits, the dative case had almost entirely been merged in the genitive,\(^4\) but in the oldest cave inscriptions, the true dative form in ya is sometimes met with. I do not

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\(^1\) *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, vol. iii, p. 1 ff. and p. 69 ff.

\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 75–76.

\(^3\) See Bühler’s *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel III.

\(^4\) See Pischel’s *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, para. 361.
know of its occurrence anywhere after the second century, when a new dative form was being evolved by the addition of the particle ātā after the genitive case.

The texts and translations of the records given below differ in certain details from Mr. Bell's version. They are based on the facsimile published by Mr. Bell in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. iii, Plate XIII.

**INSCRIPTION No. 1.**

**TEXT.**

1 Siddham[*1*] Devanapiya Tisa maharajaha marumaṇaṇaka Kuḍa[–2].

2 kaṇa rajaha jeṭa-pute Raja Abaye Ataragagahi Gaṇa .. takaha[–3] adī[–2].


**TRANSLATION.**

Hail! King Abaya[*6*, eldest son [*7*] of King Kuṭakana[*4*] and grandson of the great King Devanapiya Tisa[*9*, dedicated [*10*] with the golden vase [*11*] (i.e. having poured water into the hands of the donee with a golden vase), the canal [*12*] of Gaṇa .. ṭaka in the Ataragaga (country) to the monks (residing) in the Pilipavata Monastery.

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[*1*] B. reads *sidham*.

[*2*] The letter āṭa here as well as in adī in l. 2 has been read as āta by Mr. Bell. Dr. Wickremasinghe, too, reads this character similarly in the Maharatmale inscription; but it may be contrasted with āta in l. 2 and compared with āṭa as given in Bühler’s Tafel III.

[*3*] After ataragagahi, ga is quite clear and me partly visible.

[*4*] B. has *velipavata*, but pi is traceable in the plate published by him and the occurrence of this name in the other records of the place supports this reading.

[*5*] The syllable ni after ātur has been supplied on the analogy of other records where this word occurs.

[*6*] Pāli Abhaya.

[*7*] *Jeṭa-pute* has been translated by Mr. Bell as 'son of Jettha Tissa'.

[*8*] Pāli Kuṭakanaṇa.

[*9*] Pāli Devanampiya Tisa.


[*11*] Sovanā-koturuni, for the interpretation of this word, see the Thūpārāma Slab inscription, above p. 118, where the slightly different form kūtaruni occurs.

[*12*] Āṭi; taken to be the precursor of the mediaeval Sinhalese āṭi and the modern āṭa (P. āṭi or āṭi). This word also occurs in an inscription from Koṭavheragala (*Cey. Ant.*, vol. iii, p. 255).
INSCRIPTION No. 2.

TEXT.

Naka Maharaje dine sagasa [11]

TRANSLATION.

The great King Naka (P. Nāga) gave to the community.

COMMENTS.

Mr. Bell identifies the three Kings Devanapiya Tisa, Kuṭakaṇa and Abaya, mentioned in inscription No. 1 with Vasabha, Vaṅkanāsika Tissa and Gajabāhu I respectively, but this makes Gajabāhu a grandson of a king named Tissa contrary to the chronicles, which all agree in saying that he was the grandson of Vasabha (Sin. Vahāp and in the inscriptions Vahaba). He tries to overcome this difficulty by suggesting that Vasabha might have had the alternative name of Tissa or that the word marumana, in this instance, does not actually mean ‘grandson’ but a remote descendant.

This identification rests mainly on the assumption that Kuṭakaṇa (or Kuṭakaṇa) is the same as Pāli Kuṭaghāṇa and this monarch the same as Vaṅkanāsika Tissa, the father of Gajabāhu I. The first equation is possible according to the laws of Sinhalese phonology; but Kuṭakaṇa is closer to Pāli Kuṭakaṇa than to Kuṭaghāṇa; and a king of this name is mentioned in the chronicles. Mahācūḷa Mahātiṣa’s second son who deposed the infamous Anulā and had a prosperous reign of twenty-two years, was known as Kuṭakaṇa Tissa (16–38 A.D.) A rock inscription at Dunumaṇḍalagala in the N.C.P. and the chronicle agree that Bhātiya was a son of King Kuṭakaṇa. Therefore, the Devanapiya Tisa, who was the father of Kuṭakaṇa, has to be identified with Mahātiṣa, surnamed Mahacūḷika (Sin. Mahāsiḷu ‘the Big Crested’, circa 17–3 B.C.), and Abaya, the donor of the present grant, with Bhātiya Abhaya

1 In Turnour’s translation of the Mahāvamsa, as well as in Sumanagala and Ba[v]vantudēva’s edition, this name is spelt Kalakāṇṇhi Tissa; but in Prof. Geiger’s edition of the Mahāvamsa, the correct reading has been adopted. The Tikā also gives it as Kuṭakaṇa. Buddhaghosa, in his Sūratthakāśaṇi, tells that the horse of Kuṭakaṇa was named Guḷavanna and once when he reached the Kālamba river on his way to Ceiyagiri (Mihintale), the horse refused to enter the water. (Kuṭakaṇa rahi Guḷavannasasam viya. Rāja kiri pācina duvēna nikkhamitvā Cetiyaabhatam ganissāmīti Kaḷamba naddāram samacattā. Asso toṭhī udakham oṭarpātim na icchati.)

2 No. 8 of the list of Inscriptions included in the A. S. C. Annual Report for 1892.
(38–66 A.D.), a monarch who, in his piety, tried to emulate the famous Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. The King Naka of the second record, which, on palaeographic and other considerations seem to have been not much later than the first, may be taken to be identical with Bhāṭika Abhaya’s younger brother and successor, Mahānāga, surnamed Mahādāṭhika (Sinhalese Mahadāliyā, ‘the Big Bearded’).

There is another inscription which is intimately connected with this discussion, and a few words about it would not be out of place here. I refer to the rock inscription at Maharatmale ¹ which mentions three sovereigns named Devanāpiya Tisa, Puḍakaṇa ² Gamiṇi Abaya and Devanāpiya Naka. Following Dr. Goldschmidt and Dr. Muller, Dr. Wickremasinghe indentifies them with Vaṅkanāsika Tissa, Gajabāhu I and Mahallaka Nāga respectively; but the record states that the third named was a grandson of the first; while, according to the Mahāvaṃsa, Mahallaka Nāga was brother-in-law ³ of Gajabāhu I and therefore could not have been a grandson of Vaṅkanāsika. Puḍakaṇa, in this inscription, is apparently the same as Kuḍakaṇa ⁴. A short record from a place called Minvila ⁵ (No. 13 of 1897), tells us that Puḍakaṇa Abaya was a son of Macudika, i.e. Mahācūḷika (Mahātissa), thus furnishing us with the information that Puḍakaṇa and Kuṭakaṇa were used indifferently of the same person. It also confirms the above identification of King Kuṭakaṇa. In the light of these facts, it is reasonable to identify the rulers named in the Maharatmale record with Mahācūḷa Mahātissa, Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa and Mahānāga.

These two records, coupled with the Maharatmale inscription, furnish us with the following genealogy which is in perfect agreement with the Mahāvaṃsa, and gives epigraphical testimony to the veracity of that part of the chronicle dealing with the Ceylon kings of the first century after Christ.

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⁴ In the spelling of this name, Ɪ and Ʞ as well as Ʝ and Ʇ seem to have been interchangeable. The former requires no comment; but the latter feature is noteworthy. With this compare the Pāli Kakudha Kaccāna, the name of one of the six heretical teachers contemporary with the Buddha, which is sometimes spelt as Pukudha Kaccāna. See J. P. T. S, for 1908, p. 108 for Trenckner’s note on this phonetical change.
⁵ The inscription runs as follows:

Devanāpiya kulahā Macudikaha puṭa.
Puṭakana Abayaha adi

Translation: The canal of Puṭakana Abaya, son of Macudika of the family of Devanāpiya.
Inscription at Mōlāhiṭiyavelēgala

Mahātissa surnamed Mahācūlika (Macudika)

Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa (Kuḍakaṇṇa or Puḍakaṇṇa Gamiṇī Abaya)

| Bhāṭiṭa Abaya | Mahā Nāga |

As regards the place-names mentioned in the record, Ataragaga is equivalent to Pāli Antaragāṇa and means 'the land between two rivers'. The Mahāvaṁsa tells us that Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa, the father of the donor in the present record founded, in this region, a monastery named Pelagāma Vihāra and a canal named Vaṇṇaka. The Pilippavata of our inscription is most probably identical with this Pelagāma. As it is natural to expect that the record was set up near the monastery which was intended to be benefited by it, we may venture to suggest that the ruins at Mōlāhiṭiya-velēgala mark the site of the Pilippavata or Pelagāma monastery and that the tract of country named Antaragāṇa has to be sought for in that narrow strip of land between the Mahāvāliṅgaṇa and the Maduru Oya and not between the former and the Aṃbangaṅga as suggested by Prof. Geiger.

Unfortunately, the name of the canal is partly obliterated; but it is not Vaṇṇaka that which, as seen above, was founded by Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa.

1 Mr. xxxiv, v. 32.
2 In the two names Pelagāma and Pilippavata, the chief constituents are Pela and Pili. The words gama (P. gāma, village) and pava (P. pabbata, rock) are added when it was meant to emphasize the village or the mountain, respectively, at the place.
4 An inscription at Kotavelėragala in the Tamankaduva District published by Mr. Bell in the same article (Cey. Ant. vol. iii, p. 255 and Plate XIX) mentions a canal named Va...ka aṭṭi. The second letter is imperfectly preserved; but from the traces visible in the facsimile, it could very well have been ạ. In that case, this is a mention of the canal constructed by Kuṭakaṇṇa.
NO. 13. KUCCAVÉLI ROCK INSCRIPTION. (A. S. I., No. 383.)

By S. Paranavitana.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

On the sea-beach in front of the rest-house at Kuccavéli—a small fishing-village in Kadäkukkanam East, twenty-one miles to the north of Trincomali, there is a cluster of gneiss boulders among which are several rock caverns of various fantastic shapes. A few yards to the west of this main group of rocks, there is a small boulder sloping inwards; and two or three yards in front of it is a second boulder. Thus, the area between the two forms a hollow which is now partly filled with sand. On the sloping side of the first boulder, an area of about four feet square has been partitioned into sixteen compartments of equal proportions, within each of which is carved in low relief the representation of a stūpa. The inscription under discussion is engraved to the left of this sculpture. Dr. E. Müller has included this record as No. 108 of his Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon; but gives neither the text nor the translation.

The epigraph which consists of eight lines, covers an area of 11 in. by 8½ in. The surface of the rock was cut smooth before the writing was executed; and the letters though shallow, are, thanks to the sheltered position of the rock, in a fairly good state of preservation. The letters are unusually small—the smallest about one-fourth of an inch in height and the largest less than an inch. Sufficient attention has been paid to calligraphy; and this record is one of the best executed among the hundreds of epigraphs in the island.

The characters used in this record belong to a script not known from any other document and call for special remarks. Some of them bear a close resemblance to the corresponding forms of the early Grantha alphabet of South India; but the script, as a whole, is by no means identical with any of the known South Indian alphabets. The earliest specimens of the Pallava Grantha, as shown in the inscriptions of the Dharmparājāratha at Māmallapuram, show

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1 Dr. Müller’s description of Kuccavéli and its inscription runs: ‘Kucchawelli, 22 miles north of Trincomalee on the sea side. This is a solitary rock close to the sea which bears a fragment of an inscription in the characters of the seventh century. The country is now inhabited almost exclusively by Tamils, but at that time it must have been Sinhalese, as we can see not only from this inscription but also from the remains of a Buddhist temple found at Nattānā Kovil about three miles west of Nilawelli (8 miles from Trincomalee) and close to the bund of the Periyankulam tank.’

2 See Bühhler’s Pallegraphie, Plate VII.
more developed and more florid forms than those of our record. The closest parallel to the script of the present inscription is found, so far as I know, in the votive inscriptions on the pavement slabs of the Yaṭāla dagāba at Tissamahāramā; I give below in tabular form all the characters occurring in this record.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
a \, \text{♀} \\
k\, a \, \uparrow \, k\, a \, \text{♀} \\
k\, h\, a \, \text{♀} \\
g\, a \, \text{♀} \, \text{♀} \, g\, r\, a \, \text{♀} \\
j\, a \, \text{♀} \, j\, i \, \text{♀} \\
n\, a \, \text{♀} \, n\, a \, \text{♀} \, n\, y\, e \, \text{♀} \\
l\, a \, \text{♀} \, t\, a \, \text{♀} \, l\, u \, \text{♀} \, l\, o \, \text{♀} \, k\, a \, \text{♀} \\
d\, a \, \text{♀} \, d\, u \, \text{♀} \, d\, d\, h\, a \, \text{♀} \\
dh\, i \, \text{♀} \\
n\, a \, h \, n\, i \, \text{♀} \, n\, i \, \text{♀} \, n\, e \, \text{♀} \, n\, d\, r\, a \, \text{♀} \, n\, m\, a \, \text{♀} \, n\, v\, i \, \text{♀} \\
p\, a \, \text{♀} \, p\, u \, \text{♀} \, p\, u \, \text{♀} \, p\, r\, a \, \text{♀} \\
bh\, u \, \text{♀} \\
m\, a \, \text{♀} \, m\, a \, \text{♀} \, m\, u \, \text{♀} \, m\, y\, a \, \text{♀} \\
y\, a \, \text{♀} \, \text{♀} \\
r\, a \, \text{♀} \, r\, a \, \text{♀} \, r\, i \, \text{♀} \, r\, u \, \text{♀} \, r\, e \, \text{♀} \, r\, i\, j\, a \, \text{♀} \, r\, t\, a \, \text{♀} \, r\, u\, v\, a \, \text{♀} \\
l\, o \, \text{♀} \\
v\, i \, \text{♀} \, v\, i \, \text{♀} \, v\, y\, a \, \text{♀} \\
\text{ṣa} \, \text{♀} \\
\text{ṣa} \, \text{♀} \, \text{ṣa} \, \text{♀} \, s\, y\, a \, \text{♀} \\
\text{ḥa} \, \text{♀} \, \text{ḥa} \, \text{♀} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[A \, S. \, J. \, Nos. \, 394-396.\]
As a general characteristic, the letters avoid, as far as possible, the horizontal strokes which are a marked feature of the script from the first to the fifth centuries. As a consequence of this tendency, the short horizontal bar at the top of the letters has almost disappeared, while the hook which took its place in the writing of the eighth century and after has not yet developed. Some of the letters such as $a$, $ka$, $ja$, $na$, $va$, and $ra$, are identical with the symbols for these letters in inscriptions of the first five centuries of the Christian era. $Ka$ and $ra$, owing to the absence of the upward curve of the tail, show a more archaic type than even their second-century forms. On the other hand, $na$, $na$, $pa$ and $sa$ have here assumed forms which occur in inscriptions of the ninth century. $Ja$ and $dha$ of our record supply the intermediate stage through which the second-century forms of these letters changed into the mediaeval symbols. Our record, being in Sanskrit, furnishes several examples of conjoint consonants which the Sinhalese inscriptions of the early centuries cannot show. In the early writing, the medial vowel signs for $a$, $i$, $e$, and $o$ were attached to the letter itself. By the ninth century, these are generally detached. The present record furnishes examples of both these methods, though the former predominates.

From the above remarks about its palaeography, it becomes clear that this epigraph is later than the fifth and earlier than the eighth century. The contents do not furnish us with any clue enabling us to date it more precisely; but, judging by the degree of the development shown in the script, we cannot be far wrong in ascribing it to the seventh century. This makes it the earliest Sanskrit inscription known in Ceylon.

As has already been stated, the document is in Sanskrit and consists of two verses in the Upasāti and Vasantatilakā metres. The orthography and grammar are correct and the diction faultless if we leave out of consideration the pronoun tām after jinendratām, which evidently was put in to make up the required number of syllables for the metre.

The contents are of no historical interest. The record merely states the pious wish of the author that by the merit he has gained, evidently by making the representation of the stūpas, he may become a Buddha in the future for the deliverance of suffering humanity. The Bodhisattva ideal thus extolled and the use of the Sanskrit language may perhaps justify us in believing that its author was of Mahāyāna tendencies.
KUCCAVELI ROCK-INSRIPTION

TEXT.

1 Anena duḥkhaṁ vyapaniya sarvvaṁ
2 punyena lokasya sukhaṁ samagram (*
3 dātuṁ prabhur-śjanmani janmani syāṁ
4 sadā kṣamāvi karuṇānviṭo ham (†)
5 Punyena māra-śo doṣa ripūṁ anena
6 jītvā parāṁ samadhitam yinendratāṁ tām (*
7 Sāṁsāra-paṁka-visarādhaṁ-suddhahreya-
8 -msārttaṁ jagansmama mahā-karuṇā-kareṇa (†) 

TRANSLATION.

[Verse 1] By this merit, may I be able, in every succeeding rebirth, to relieve all the suffering of the world and to bestow complete happiness [on humanity]. [May I also always be full of forbearance and compassion.

[Verse 2] By this merit, may I vanquish the foes, Māra .. .. and sin; and having attained to that supreme state of Buddhahood, may I, with my hand of great compassion, deliver suffering humanity from the extensive quagmire of samsāra.

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1 Metre Upajñī.
2 Metre Vasanatīlakā.

VOL. III.
No. 14. ROCK INSCRIPTION AT PAHALA KAYINÄTTAMA.

(* A. S. I. No. 424. *)

By S. Paranavitana.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

This inscription is engraved on a rock on the embankment of the Pahala Kayinättamavāva, in the Udāliyankulam Kūrale of the North-Central Province. It consists of only two lines and covers an area of 4 feet by 1 foot. Below the last letter of the record, there is a representation of a scythe. The letters, which are in an excellent state of preservation, are boldly engraved; and measure, on an average, 3 inches in height. After the symbol si, which stands for the auspicious word siddham, there is a vertical stroke (danda) used as a punctuation mark. The hi in the second line is badly formed; the right arm not being carried as high as it is in the standard type of this period (the second century). The record belongs to a king named Saba and registers a grant to the Ekadoraya monastery. The object of the grant is not stated; but as the record is placed on the embankment of the tank, it is obvious that it was the tank itself. The identity of the king and of the monastery mentioned here will be discussed in the next article on the Vihāregala inscriptions.

TEXT:  

1 Si | Sabaraje Ekadoraya vihara-  
2 -hi biku sagah-aṭaya dine [u*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! King Saba gave to the congregation of monks at the Ekadoraya (Ekadvāraka) monastery.

1 See Plate No. 13, facing p. 165.
No. 15. TWO ROCK INSCRIPTIONS AT VIHAREGALA.
(A. S. I., Nos. 425-426.)

BY S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

About two and a half miles to the north-west of Galenbändunuväva (F 10/32), in the Udūdiyankulam Korale of the North Central Province, and to the east of the village named Mahakâlagama, there are some ruins marking the site of an ancient monastery on an expanse of low, flat rocks skirting the southern end of a range of hills known as Puliyankulam. The site, which is only two miles to the south of Pahala Kayināṭama mentioned in the preceding article, is overgrown with jungle and is known to the villagers as Viharegala. The two inscriptions dealt with in this paper are inscribed on the flat surface of one of the rocks at the place.

They have been examined by Dr. Müller and included in his Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon as Nos. 11 and 11b. They have also been noticed, under the name Mahakâlagamahînna, in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1893, p. 7.

INSCRIPTION No. 1.

This record covers an area of 7 ft. by 2 ft. 5 in., and consists of four lines; the last one containing only two letters. The rock has been dressed smooth and the letters boldly and beautifully engraved within an outline framing.

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1 Wihâragala, 2½ miles west of Galenbândunuwaeva on the 20th mile of the eastern minor road where it joins the Sipukulama road. Two inscriptions, the first bears the name of King Wasâba, of which, curiously enough, the first syllable is omitted ; the second that of Gajabahu, with the usual genealogy. The tank mentioned in both inscriptions is the Uppaladoniyâ tank and there is also made allusion to Pabharâmaya vilâre (A. I. C., p. 28).

2 Mahakâlegamahînna : Two miles from Galenbändunuvaeva. On the reach of flattish rock are clear signs of the former existence of a large monastery—' Chakadaraka vihara' a breached dagaba, pillars of a vihara and other sites of buildings. There is an inscription of eight lines (in reality two inscriptions) legible throughout. The inscriptions belong to ' Wasaba Raja ' and his son (sic) Gamiṇi wâ (Gajabahu I).
Excepting for two or three letters, the epigraph is in an excellent state of preservation.

The letters, on an average, are four inches in height. They belong to the southern variety of the Brāhmī alphabet of the first and second centuries A.D. and contain no abnormal forms. However, it may be remarked that dha in sidha (line 1), is very similar to ba; and bha in line 3 is written with a flourish.

As regards grammar, the words Satehi in line 2, and satehiya in line 3 furnish us with two uncommon inflexional forms. It is doubtful whether the first form is completely preserved; it being possible that a ya has been worn away at the end of the word. In that case, it is identical with the form of the word occurring in line 3. If satehi is the correct reading—which is probable as it suits the syntax—it should be taken as the instrumental plural of the stem sata (cf. Vedic satebhīḥ, Pali satehi). The form satehiya points to the dative plural of the same stem (Skt. satebhīyaḥ). This case, in its new form made by adding the particle atā after the genitive, is used, in the mediaeval and modern Sinhalese, to express the price for which a thing is bought or sold and the expense of getting a task done¹. Compare the phrase Mihind at kalaṇḍakaṣ mat vikinā tibu (‘which Mihind had sold to me for eight kalaṇḍas’) occurring in a tenth-century inscription at Äppāvala and such expressions as kahavanu dahasaka ṭa gat suluva (‘the shawl bought for thousand kahavanu’) and rupiyal dahayaka ṭa karavū vīḍaya (‘work done for ten rupees’). Therefore, it is likely that in the older synthetic stage of the language, too, the dative had this application. In the language of this period, the dative sense is commonly expressed by the analytical method above referred to; but the Sanskritic termination of the true dative is found in an inscription of Bhātiya Abhaya at Māḷāṅtiyavelē gala². And this record now furnishes us with the plural form of the same case. It is noteworthy that this termination, though preserved in Sinhalese of the second century, had already disappeared from Pāli as well as in the Prakrits.

The record belongs to the reign of a king named Saba, who has been identified, for reasons given in the sequel, with Subha of the chronicles (circa 118-124 A.D.). The contents tell us that the king granted a tank named Uppaladāṇika to the monks of the Ekadvāra monastery.

¹ This case can be used wherever the preposition ‘for’ is appropriate.
² See above p. 153.
ROCK-INSRIPTIONS AT VIHÅREGALA

TEXT 1.

1 Sidha 2; Sabaraje Ekadorika 3-Viharahi poha-
2 -takara karavaya Upaladonika-vavi pacasate(hi) 4
3 kiniya paca-satehiya pasu ovaya biku-sagahataya
4 dine 5

TRANSLATION 6.

Hail! King Saba constructed the Sabbath-hall at the Ekadorika Monastery; and, having bought the Upaladonika tank for five hundred [pieces of money] and having removed the silt by [spending another] five hundred, gave the same to the confraternity of monks.

INSCRIPTION No. 2.

This is engraved immediately below the first one and occupies an area of 7 ft. by 3 ft. It has not been executed with so much care as the preceding; the rock is undressed, and the letters shallow. Consequently, it is not so well preserved and the concluding sentence of the record is fragmentary. The letters are somewhat smaller than those of No. 1. Though the two records are separated from each other by a period of about half a century, there is no appreciable difference in the form of the script.

The orthography calls for no remarks. As regards grammar, in the phrase Sabarajaha dinaka, we have an example of the genitive being used in the sense of the instrumental expressing the agent. The record is one of

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1 Müller's text runs: (r) Siddham. [Wa]saba raja Cakadaraka wiharahi papa; (2) takara karavaya upaladonika wavi paca sahasa; (3) kiniya paca satehiya pasu navaya bikusaga hataya; (4) navasa.

2 A short horizontal stroke resembling the medial vowel sign for a is attached to dha. For its significance, see E. Z., Vol. I, p. 21. There are also two dots used as punctuation marks.

3 Müller reads this as Cakadaraka, and Bell, too, follows him. The first letter is clearly an a.

4 It will be seen by comparing it with ca in ll. 2 and 3 that it is not that letter.

5 A letter might have been worn away here.

6 After dine there are three more symbols which appear to be kafavi, inverted and written from the opposite direction.

7 Müller's translation reads: Hail! King Wasamba repaired the dilapidated buildings at the Cakkadhâraka vihara and at the Uppaladoniya tank: five thousand karishas and five hundred (he gave) to the priesthood.
Gajabahu Gamañi Abhaya: and his genealogy is given though not in the stereotyped phrase with which we are familiar from his other inscriptions. It tells us that the king re-granted the Uppaladonika tank, originally given by King Saba, to the Ekadvara Monastery.

TEXT.¹

1 Sidha[†] Vahabarajaha pute Tisara[je] Tisarajaha
2 pute Gamiñi Aba raje Saba rajaha dinaka Upala-
3 donika vavi pohatakarahi jina podavaya biku-sagaha-
4 -taya pañidine .. .. .. Ekadoraya Viharahi .. .. ..

TRANSLATION.²

Hail! The son of King Vahaba was King Tisa. Gamiñi Abaya, the son of (that) King Tisa re-granted the Uppaladonika tank, (first) granted by King Saba, to the confraternity of monks, for the purpose of (keeping in repair?) the Sabbath Hall .. .. .. in the Ekadoraya Monastery.

REMARKS.

[Inscription No. 1, line 1] Sabarajaha: Dr. Müller and Mr. Bell both, assuming that the engraver had, by mistake, omitted the first syllable va, consider this name to be the same as Vasabha. But in the Pahala Kayinatama inscription which was the subject of the preceding article and which, in its subject-matter, is connected with this record; and in the reference contained in Inscription No. 2 to this king, the name is repeated as Saba. As the name is spelt thus in three different documents, it is extremely unlikely to have been a clerical error. In all the inscriptions of Vasabha and in those of his grandson Gajabahu I—of which inscription No. 2 is an example—that monarch's name is invariably spelt Vahaba and not Vasaba. This name is derived from Skt. vrṣabha, 'bull' and there is no recognized phonetical rule by which the first

¹ See Plate No. 13 facing p. 165. Müller's text reads:—Siddham. Wahabarajahi patagapara .... Tisarajaha: (2) puti Gamiñi Abaraji (Wa)saba rajaha dinaka Upala; (3) donika wapi papata kara jina pahawaya para sagaha ta padi dina.
² Müller translates as: Hail! (The grandson) of King Wasaba .... the son of King Tisa, King Gamiñi Alaya, repaired the Uppaladoniya tank which was bestowed (on the temple) by King Wasabha, and gave it to the priesthood.
syllable can be elided to get the form Saba occurring in this record. Therefore, it is clear that the donor of the present grant was not Vasabha. We learn from the second inscription that this grant was confirmed by Gajabahu I; therefore, the King Saba of this epigraph must be one of the predecessors of the former ruler. Of these, the one who is known from the chronicles by a name almost identical in form to Saba, is Subha, the usurper who killed Yasalalaka-Tissa and reigned for six years till he, in his turn, was deposed by Vasabha. The contents of the inscription also show that Saba, its author, and Subha of the Mahavamsa are one and the same person. It records the construction, by this monarch, of the Sabbath Hall of the Ekadorika (P. Ekadvarika) Monastery and the grant, for its benefit, of a tank named Upaladosika (P. Uppaladosika, 'Lilydale'), and, we learn from the Mahavamsa, that King Subha built the Ekadvara Vihara to the east of Anuradhapura. As contemporary documents are more worthy of our credence than literary works written more than three hundred years later and corrupted by a succession of copyists for a period of nearly a millenium and a half, the correct form of this monarch’s name should be taken as Sabha and not Subha.

[Line 1] Ekadorika Vihara: As it is obvious that the inscription can only refer to the site on which it is, so the ruins at Viharegala must be the remains of the ancient Ekadvarika Monastery founded or patronized by Sabha. It is stated in the Mahavamsa Tikã that this monastery was situated at the foot of the Ekadvarika hill to the east of Anuradhapura. This description agrees quite well with the situation of Viharegala. It is to the east of Anuradhapura; and, as has already been stated, the ruins are at the foot of a range of hills, about two miles in length and rising at its highest point to 1,011 feet above sea-level. This range of hills now called Puliyanukulam, is, therefore, the ancient Ekadvrika Mountain. The Mahavamsa Tikã has an earlier reference to the Ekadvara Mountain. Commenting on the fifth verse of the twenty-first chapter of the chronicle, where it is stated that King Sūratissa built a monastery named

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1 *Mt. xxxv, v. 51 ff.*
2 *Mt. xxxv, v. 58.*
3 For another instance of epigraphical evidence for the corruption that has crept into the spelling of a proper name in the MSS. of the Mahavamsa, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 164, n. 8.
4 *Anuradhapurato puratthima disabhage Ekadvarika pabhata mule Ekadvara namakaṁ viharaṁ ca kāraṇi.* *(Mahavamsa Tikã, p. 472 of the printed edition; comments on Mt. xxxv, v. 58.)*
Pācinapabbata on a hill called Vaṅguttara-pabbata, the scholiast says that Vaṅguttara was on the foot-hills of the Ekadvārika range. Therefore, it follows that the monastery named Pācinapabbata—one of the earliest to be built in Ceylon—was not far from Vihāregala.

[Lines 1–2] Pohatakara is a word of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions of the early Christian centuries. It occurs in the Ruwanvāli Slab of Gajabāhu I, (A.I.C., No. 5); but has been wrongly read by Müller as papatakara. He appears to translate it by ‘having strengthened the faith’. In the present record, he seems to translate the word by ‘dilapidated buildings’. This word is also met with in an inscription of Śrimeghavarna at Debalagala. It has been read by Mr. Bell as pahatakara and considered identical with Pāli uposatha kārika, a word found nowhere in the Pāli writings. Pohatakara, is a corruption of Pāli uposathagāra (Vinaya I, 107, and Dhammapada Commentary II, 49) or uposathaghara. The change of an intervocalic ga or gha to ka is familiar enough in the dialect of the early inscriptions. Witness Naka for Nāga and Sirimeka for Śrī Megha. The phonetic changes noticed in pohata (for P. posatha) are too common to call for special remarks.

[Line 2] Upaladonika (P. Uppaladonika) tank admits of being identified with some degree of certainty. In the preceding article, we have included an inscription on the bund of the Pahala Kayināṭtamavāva, which is only two miles to the north of Vihāregala. As the donor in that grant, and the monastery to which the benefaction was made, are identical with those of the record under discussion; and as it is likely that the tank granted to the monastery was not far from the latter, the Uppaladonika tank may reasonably be considered the same as the modern Pahala Kayināṭtamavāva. This tank had already fallen into disrepair in the time of Sabha; and, therefore, the date of its original construction must have been some centuries earlier. For, we are informed that the king bought it for five hundred (kahāpanas?) and had the silt removed by spending another five hundred.

[Line 3] Kiniya = Skt. kṛyātu from the root kṛi ‘to buy’. This root requires the suffix to-vā to form the gerund; but the form kiniya points back to

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1 Mahāvaṃsa Tīkā, Colombo edition of 1894, p. 302.
2 A rock inscription of a king named Gamiṇi Abaya (possibly Gajabāhu I) from Periyakaḍu vihāra in the Kurunagala district mentions the donation of a tank to the Ekadorika Monastery.
an ungrammatical formation by adding the suffix ya, which appertains to a different class of roots. In the modern language, verbs formed from this root are only found with the prefix vi attached, e.g. vikunayi; kini in vikinä is the modern representative of kiniya in this record.

[Line 3] Pasu = Skt. pāṁsu, P. pāṁsu, Modern Sinhalese pas. 'dust, dirt, soil, &c.'

[Line 4] After the word dine, with which the record comes to a close, there are three more letters, va, da, and ka, turned upside down. They are evidently intended to be read from the opposite direction. Seen this way, they read kadai, a word which seems identical with P. khaṇḍapayā 'caused to break' (i.e. 'cancelled'). This might have been engraved when Sabha's grant was forfeited by one of his successors, Vasabha or Tissa, as proved by the next record which says that the tank was re-granted by Gajabāhu I.

Inscription No. 2, line 3, Jina podavaya: I am not able to explain this phrase satisfactorily; and have taken it to be in some way equivalent to the expression jina paṭisatarana keta frequently occurring in the records of this period. Jina may be equivalent to P. jinñaka 'dilapidated' and podavaya a verbal form from the root puṭṭ or puḍ.


No. 16. A NOTE ON THE 'ABHAYAGIRI' COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION.

By S. Paranavitana.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

In the first volume of the Epigraphia Zeylanica (pp. 39-40 and Plate 11), Dr. Wickremasinghe has published an inscription on a copper plate discovered at the so-called Abhayagiri (really the Jetavana) dāgāba. His reading of the text is:

1 Santi pa(nc)ā saya(va)nā[h] santi pār(a)tm скачатьā mātā
Svasti
2 pitā talikkhanti dātave (damayi) kka(maṁ) II
He considers this to be in mixed Sanskrit and translates it as follows:—‘Hail! The mother [and] the father are they who keep off the five desires; they are beyond having illusions regarding the self. They write this [with a view] to offering up (a course of mortification?)'.

I read this inscription as:

1. Santi pakkhā apathanā, santi pādā [a] vañcanā i mātā
Svasti

2. pitā [ca] nikkhanti 3, jātave [da pa] ṭikkama ii

But for one or two clerical errors, this is identical with the verse of the Vaṭṭaka Jātaka 3; and, therefore, the inscription is not in mixed Sanskrit, but in Pāli.

In the syllables from the fourth to the seventh, and the twelfth and thirteenth of the first line and the third, fourth, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth syllables of the second line, my reading differs from that of Dr. Wickremasinghe. They require a few words in explanation.

[Line 1] The fourth letter is read by Dr. Wickremasinghe as nca. A dental n in combination with a palatal is unusual. The syllable nca occurring later in the same line is not well enough preserved for purposes of comparison. Prof. Lüders, to whom I showed this, also read it as kkha. With the fifth letter, a in column XXIII of plate IV of Bühler’s Indische Paläographie may be compared. The sixth is identical in form with the third which Dr. Wickremasinghe reads as pa. The seventh is clearly a tha, if we compare it with specimens of this letter given in columns 6 and 11 of Bühler’s plate V. The convex curve of the twelfth letter is very little developed, and it appears at first sight to be a ra; but the reading da is required by the context and it ought to be considered a cursive form of that letter. The thirteenth is badly preserved; but enough remains to show that it is identical with the fifth; and ought to be a.

[Line 2] The third letter is read in the published version as ta; but a comparison with the ta immediately preceding it shows that it is a different letter. It is a ca with the tail written with a flourish as will be seen on comparing it with ca in column 6 of Bühler’s plate V. The next syllable is clearly a ni, wrongly written for ni. The seventh letter is unlike any of the specimens of ja given by Bühler; but is like enough to be taken as a variant form of that

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1 Should be apatanā. 2 Should be nikkhatā. 3 Jātaka i, p. 214.
letter. It cannot be da as it is different from that letter occurring in the first line. The eleventh is badly preserved, but is clearly enough a pa, smaller in size than the other specimens of that letter occurring elsewhere in the record. For the twelfth letter read as ti, compare Bühler, plate V, column XVI.

We do not know whether this copper plate was the votive offering of a Buddhist pilgrim from North India or of a Ceylon devotee who was acquainted with the Nāgarī script. This alphabet has been used in two stone inscriptions, two or three metal plaques, and many clay votive tablets found in Ceylon. It was also adopted for coin legends about the tenth century. However that may be, this is the only known instance of its being used for writing the Pāli language in mediaeval times. The peculiar formation of some of the letters was probably due to the fact that the scribe was imperfectly acquainted with this script and the orthographical errors noticed may be due to writing Pāli in a script not generally used for that language.

The verse itself was uttered by the Bodhisattva, then born as a quail, when the jungle fire was advancing to swallow him, and when his father and mother had fled. As soon as this was uttered, the progress of the fire was checked; and it is said that the scene of this happening is immune from the perils of that destructive element till the end of the present aeon. This incident is accounted one of the five great miracles in the Bodhisattva’s career. It is, therefore, easy to understand that this stanza should have been considered fit subject to be engraved on copper and used as a votive offering. It may also have been used as a charm against fire.

Lord Chalmers renders this verse into English by the following lines:

‘With wings that fly not, feet that walk not yet,
Forsaken by my parents, here I lie!
Wherefore I conjure thee, dread Lord of fire,
Primaeval Jātaveda, turn! go back!’

1 Jātaka, translation, vol. i, p. 90.
No. 17. TÔNIGALA ROCK INSCRIPTION
OF THE THIRD YEAR OF ŚRĪMEGHAVARNAṆA.

By S. Paranavitana.

About half a mile to the north of the sixth mile post on the minor road from Vavuniya to Horovupotana, just by the boundary line between the Northern and North-Central Provinces, but included within the Kilakkumalai South division of the former province, there is a low flat hummock of gneiss known as Tônigala or Nāgaragala on which are to be seen the ruins of a small stūpa built of rubble. This has been dug into, probably by treasure seekers, during recent times and now consists of nothing but a shapeless mass of debris. On this rock are two inscriptions; one, about eight feet to the south of the mound, is the record now under discussion, the other, some twenty-five feet to the east, is fragmentary or unfinished and contains only the name of the king, Śrīmeghavarnaṇa, son of Mahāsenā.

This epigraph has been known to the antiquarians of Ceylon for a period of over four decades. Mr. Henry Parker, writing in 1886, refers to it as 'a fine and interesting rock inscription of Meghanaṇa Abhaya II (302–30 A.D.) near the Maniarkulam tank'. In 1892, this inscription was copied by Dr. D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, then Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner; and the two records from this place are included as Nos. 34 and 35 in the list of inscriptions contained in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for that year. A very accurate eye-copy, prepared under the supervision of

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1 Strictly speaking, the name Tônigala is applicable to a rock, within the Kuñcutṭu Kōraḷē of the North-Central Province, about one-eighth of a mile to the east of the site of the inscription. Tônī (I. Ṛṇaḥ P. dōṇi) means 'a boat' or 'a trough'; and the name is given to this rock on account of some boat-shaped water-holes which are to be seen there. As such water-holes are very common on rocks in the dry regions of Ceylon, the word Tônigala is frequently met with as a place name. Besides the present instance there are three other Tônigalas where ancient inscriptions are found. Of these, the best known is the Tônigala in the Puttalam District (F 22/35), the Brāhma inscriptions from which place have been published as No. 1 of Müller's A. I. C. The other two are in the North-Central Province, one in the Māmniyā Kōraḷē and the second in Tamankaduva. Mr. Bell, in his Annual Report for 1892 says that the site of the present inscription is in the Kuñcutṭu Kōraḷē; but the Raṭēmahatmayā of Kilakkumalai South informed me that it is within his district. The name Nāgaragala owes its origin to the inscription itself; ancient writings on rock being believed by the villagers to be in the Nāgarī script.

2 This record reads: Pavaya Mahasena Maharaja Abayaha puta Sarimekavana Abaya Mahara-
faha.......

3 See Lewis's Vanni Manual, p. 313. Maniarkulam is a tank near Tônigala.

4 A. S. C. Annual Report for 1892, pp. 6 and 8.
Mr. Bell in 1894, is also preserved among the records of the Archaeological Survey. But, beyond ascertaining that it belongs to the reign of Śrimegha-varṇa, no attempt has been made by any of the above-mentioned scholars towards the proper interpretation of this document.

The rock surface has not been made smooth before the writing was executed; and, in consequence of this, the engraver has avoided such parts of the rock as are unsuitable for writing upon. Hence, the area occupied by the inscription is of irregular dimensions and the lines not of a uniform length. The longest lines, 1-4, are each 9½ ft. in length; lines 5-16 are on an average 7 ft. long; and line 17, consisting of only eight letters, 2 ft. The inscription from the first to the last line measures 10 ft. The letters are, on an average, 3 in. in height; but those in the first four or five lines are of a larger size than those in the rest of the record. The first twelve lines are in an excellent state of preservation; the last five lines are somewhat weatherworn; but with the exception of a few letters in line 12, the entire record can be read with certainty.

The script belongs to the latter half of the fourth century; but there are many points in which the present record shows deviations from the prevailing standard at that period. The letters used in Ceylon at that time were gradually assuming rounded forms; but in this inscription, they, as a general rule, are angular. In the vertical strokes of the letters a, k, r and the medial vowel sign for u, the upward curve which is universal in the second- and third-century script is not seen here. The vowel i, which is not a very common letter in the script of the early centuries of the Christian era, has undergone considerable development and is written here in more than one type (see ll. 5-6, and 8-14). Initial u is of an elongated form and is distinguishable from ra only by a slight curve towards the right. E differs from va only by the absence of the short horizontal bar at the top. Two forms of the letter ga are found; in the symbol for that letter occurring in line 3, the left arm curves inwards to the right; while the same letter occurring in line 1 and elsewhere has a short horizontal stroke at this point and is identical in form with the second-century symbol. The archaic angular ja is preserved in this record; whereas in other inscriptions of the period, it is curvilinear in form ε. So far as I know, this record furnishes the earliest instance of a dha ध occurring in the writing of Ceylon. A short horizontal stroke extends to the left from the centre of the upright stroke of या. This was evidently introduced to differentiate this letter from the dental ना which, owing to its developing a horizontal stroke at the top, assumed a form which was hardly distinguishable from the former letter. In the script of the fifth and sixth centuries, this central
stroke has been extended to the right. This form of na, which was the necessary evolution from the symbol noticed here, became obsolete after the seventh century or thereabouts; and the na of the eighth and ninth centuries, which was the prototype of the modern symbol, can be traced back to the form of that letter occurring in the Ruvanväliśāya pillar inscription of the reign of Buddhāśa. In that record, the differentiation of na from ma has been effected by the curving down of the top bar to the right and left of the central upright stroke. The following illustrations will elucidate the development of this letter from the second century B.C. to the ninth century A.D. and the influence that na had on this development.

Pre-Christian script
First to third centuries A.D.
Tōnigala inscription
Fifth and sixth centuries
Ruvanväliśāya inscription of Buddhāśa

Na of the eighth and ninth centuries

The letter ta, too, is of a distinctly archaic type; the loop which was developed as early as the second century being not seen here. In na, the two short horizontal strokes at the upper and lower ends are of equal length. Ba occurring in line 1 has the two lower angles rounded, in contrast to the same letter occurring elsewhere in the record, where these two angles are sharp. Of the medial vowel signs, only that for i shows any sign of development; the others are practically identical with the second-century forms and avoid curved lines. A comparison of this script with that of the contemporary inscriptions in India shows that the Sinhalese were conservative as regards their system of writing.

This inscription is one of the longest belonging to the early centuries of the present era, and contains a large number of words not known from other documents of the period. It also introduces us to many interesting examples of phonetic changes as well as nominal and verbal forms.

**Phonology: Vowel Changes:**

As usual in the early Sinhalese dialect, long vowels are, almost always, shortened. For example, Mahāsena becomes Mahasena, rājan changes to raja and māsa to māsa.

A followed by an i or the semivowel y in the next syllable changes to e, e.g. legitaka for Skt. laṅghitaka, vedha for P. vaḍhi (Skt. vyddhi), pēni for P.

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phāniya, gena for Pkt. ganjīya, ametī for Skt. amātya. In visiya for Skt. vinīsati, P. vīsati, the a in the second syllable has been changed to i owing to the influence of that vowel in the first syllable. A changes to i when followed by the semivowel y. e.g. siya for Skt. svayam, P. sayam, miya for Skt. madhu (through an intermediate form *mayu). A followed by the semivowel v in the second syllable changes to o, e.g. lona for Skt. lavana, kotu for P. katvā (Skt. kṛtvā). Elision of initial a is noticed in kiniya for akiṇiya (Skt. aksāyaniya). As examples of this phonetic change in the later language, the following examples may be cited: nat far atan (Skt. ananta), ya for Skt. ayas and selu for Skt. acela.

I changes to a in sari for P. siri and nikata for P. nikkhitta. Another example of this change occurs in a sixth-century inscription from Vessagiriya where gari has been used for Skt. giri. In the word vahera for P. vihāra, i in the first syllable followed by a in the second changes to a while the latter changes to e. Metathesis of i and a is noticed in bayali for P. bidala. I changes to e in pekaḍa for P. pitaḍa. U changes to i in miliya for Skt. mulya. This is doubtless owing to the influence of the following svarabhakti vowel i. In padiya for Skt. pradeya, we have an instance of e changing to i.

Consonants: Intervocalic surds change into the corresponding mutes. When such mute is an aspirated one, the unaspirated mute of the same class takes its place, e.g. nakara for Skt. nagara, maka for Skt. megha.

Intervocalic g, t and dh change to y, e.g. niyama for Skt. nigama, pavaya for Skt. parvaya and miya for Skt. madhu. Cerebralization of dentals, owing to the influence of an r or r either preceding or following, is noticed in vatavi for Skt. varitavā or varitave, veda for Skt. vṛddhi, vata for Skt. vṛtti, ata for Skt. artham and kotu for Skt. kṛtvā. In the cerebralization of na in lona for Skt. lavana, the Sinhalese follows the Pāli.

T changes to ḍ in pekaḍa for P. pitaḍa. The change of sa to ha, which is common in every stage of the Sinhalese language from the earliest times to the present day, is illustrated by several examples in the present record; for example, hasa for Skt. hasa and palaka for P. palāsa. In citavaya (Mod. Sin. sītuwa) the root sthā changes to cita. With this compare the form cīṭṭhāi in the Prākrit dialects. (Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, p. 156.) Ciraṭṭi for Skt. cirasthitī occurring in a second-century inscription from Mihintale (A. J. C. No. 20) is an analogous instance. The elision of a whole syllable occurs in vi for Skt. vrihi and di for Skt. dadhi. These two words are identical in form in the modern language and show that in the fourth century Sinhalese, phonetic decay had already made great advance. In the second example, we ought to postulate an intermediate
form dayi by the change of the intervocalic dha to ya to account for the change of the vowel a to i.

In amati for Skt. amatya and made for Skt. maddhyu, we notice an example of samprasāraṇa of ya to i. In akiṇiyā (P. akkhaṇṇīya) the ya has been thus changed to i and the preceding vowel a has been elided. Metathesis of consonants is noticed in pekaṇa for P. piṭaka.

As regards nominal forms, we have examples of the crude form of the stem used as the accusative singular and the nominative singular of neuter nouns; the instrumental singular ending in eni in the word akiṇiyen; the genitive in ha, and the locative singular in hi. In devyāha, the genitive singular does duty for the instrumental expressing the agent. In my article on the Ruvanālisāya pillar of Buddhadāsa, I have drawn attention to this function of the genitive case which is universal in the modern Sinhalese language. This feature is also found in the oldest Pāli. In the phrase viharaki dina, the context shows that viharaki which is in the locative singular is used in a dative sense. The Pāli equivalent of this phrase would be viharassa dināmi; and it might be possible that the termination hi in this instance does not denote the locative; but is a corruption of the genitive suffix sya into si by samprasāraṇa and then to hi by the change of sa to ha. In the Pāli and the Prakrits the genitive does duty for the dative. In divasa, the crude form of the stem is used in a locative sense, a feature not uncommon in the modern language.

As in other records of the period, the verbal forms most frequent in this document are passive past participles, examples of which are legiṭa, nikata, dina, etc. In dini, this form is used with the force of a finite verb. Examples of gerunds in this record are cīṭavya, gena and koṭu. The form vaṭavi, perhaps, goes back to a dative infinitive form of the root vṛt. If so, it is interesting, as this mood, which was common in Vedic, has disappeared in the classical Sanskrit language, though preserved in the Pāli.

In the conjunction ica for Sanskrit ca, an initial i has been inserted, doubtless for easier pronunciation. This form ica is the prototype of the mediaeval iza and the classical Sinhalese ihi. It is noteworthy that the older form ca was preserved in the eleventh century dialect, side by side with more developed forms.²

The record is dated in the third year of Śrīmeghaṭārṇa, the son of Mahā-

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1 Cf. Mahāduggalassā dārubam phālitakāle in the Dhammapadaṭṭhimakathā, ii, p. 130; Rājasaṭṭhe māṇito in the Dīgha Nikāya, i, p. 114, and no pujho in the Majjhima Nikāya, ii, p. 176.

2 See above, p. 103.
Tonigala Rock Inscription of Śrimeghavarman

Scale about 1 inch to 1 foot
sena. It is a private document, and the king’s name is introduced only for purposes of dating. It confirms the statement of the chronicles that Śrīmeghavarnaṇa was Mahāsena’s son. Meghavarnaṇa was the contemporary of the great Indian emperor Samudragupta¹ and is best known in history as the monarch in whose reign the Tooth Relic was brought to Ceylon. The chief interest of the record is philological; but the contents also afford us some information about the economic conditions in Ceylon during the fourth century. It records that a certain minister deposited some quantities of grain and beans with a guild in the northern quarter of the city with the stipulation that the capital should remain unspent and the interest should be utilized for providing meals to the monks of the Yahisapavata monastery during the vassa season of every year. The interest on the deposited quantity of grain is specially mentioned, and this works out at the rate of 50 per cent. per annum in the case of paddy and 25 per cent. in the case of beans. The interest on paddy was to be collected at three different harvests of the year. The record also enumerates the different kinds of provisions that had to be supplied for the feeding of the monks; and as it was customary to supply the monks with the richest available food, we can learn from this record the nature of the menu of a well-to-do person in Ceylon during the fourth century. It is noteworthy that among the different dishes enumerated, fish or meat does not find a place.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, Yahisapavata was evidently the ancient name of Tōṇigala. Others do not admit of identification.

TEXT.

1. Si [n+] Puviya Mahasena-maharajaha puta Sarimekavanaṇa-Aba-maharajahā cata legi-
2. -taka tiṇavanaka-vasahi[n+] Nakaraṇhi utarapasaṇi Kalahumanaka-niyamatanahī siya a-
3. -viya s kiṇiyeni nikata Kāḍubalagamekehi vasanaka-Ameti-paheja-
4. -ha puta-Devayaha Yahisapavaya-nava-vaherakehi dina ariyava-
5. -sa vaṭāṇa de hakada dasa a manoṣaṇa ḫa sa a manoṣaṇa
6. udi ḫa bayali dasa a manoṣaṇa ḫa [n+] Me de hakada dasa a-
7. -moṣaṇa ḫi piṭadaṇa-haṣahi veḍa akala-haṣahi veḍha ma-
8. -de-haṣahi veḍha pacavisayam a manoṣaṇa ḫi ḫa sa a manoṣaṇa udhiḥ
9. veḍha eka a manoṣaṇa de pekaṇakā ḫu ḫa ḫa a manoṣaṇa bayaliḥi veḍha de a-

¹ Journal Asiaticque for 1900, pp. 316 ff., 401 ff.
10. -maṇa de pekādaka bayali ica [u*] Me vataka-vanahī gahe kiṇīya ciṭava-vaya ve-
11. -dha geṇa tiṇade hakaṭa dana-vāta ica atarakajaka-vāta ica atarakaja-
12. (parikara-yapeni ica di 1 miya-vāta peṇi tila ica bunatela 2 ica loṇa ica
13. palaha-vātā ica veṭayala ica vahera . . ga sara pa . . pacaṇahi
14. miliya padiya ica [u*] Meva [taka] vedhavataka geṇa vanaya va[na]ya
15. atovasaḥi Nikamaniya-cada puṇamasā dolasa-paka-divasa
16. [a]riyavasa karana maha-bikusagahaṭa niyata koṭu Yahisapava[ta-
17. -va-vaherakahī dini [u*]

TRANSLATION

[Lines 1–2] Hail! In the time of the third year after the raising of the umbrella by the great king Sirimekavāna Aba 3 son of the great king Mahahena 4.

[Lines 2–6] Two hakaṭas 5 (cartloads) and ten amaṇas 5 of paddy, six amaṇas of udi 6 and ten amaṇas of beans were deposited [with the stipulation that the capital should] neither be spent nor decreased, by Devaya the son of Sivaya, a member of the Council of Ministers, residing at the village of Kāqubala, with the assembly of the merchants’ guild at Kalahumana [situated] in the northern quarter of the city; and were granted for the purpose of conducting the holy vassa in the new monastery of Yahisapavaya.

[Lines 6–10] Of the aforesaid two hakaṭas and ten amaṇas of paddy, the interest at the principal harvest (piṭuḍaṭa hasa), the interest at the secondary harvest and the interest at the intermediate harvest [amount to] twenty-five amaṇas of paddy. Of the aforesaid six amaṇas of udi, the interest is one amaṇa and two pekaṭas 5 of udi. Of the aforesaid ten amaṇas of beans, the interest is two amaṇas and two pekaṭas of beans.

[Lines 10–14] Of the above-mentioned deposit, the capital should be left unspent and from the interest received, the expenses for two and a half hakaṭas of boiled rice, atarakajā, dishes taken with atarakajā, curd, honey, sweets, sesame,

1 These letters, though not clear enough in the ink-impression, are visible on the stone.
2 There is a letter jī written between the letters ṅu and ṅa below the line. If this is an omission, supplied, the correct reading ought to be bujanatala.
3 P. Sirī Meghavāna Abhaya.
4 P. Mahāsenā.
5 For the interpretation of these terms of capacity see below, p. 183.
6 Modern Sinhalese uṇḍu, a species of flemingia.
butter (?). salt, green herbs, and turmeric should be given at the refectory of the monastery, ...

[Lines 14–17] [The above] were granted to the new monastery at Yahisapavata so that the interest may be taken and appropriated for the use of the great community of monks who perform the holy vassa on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Nikamaniya in every succeeding rainy season.

REMARKS.

[Line 1] Puviya. This word occurs before the regnal date in many inscriptions of the third to fifth centuries. As it occurs immediately preceding the name of the king, it has been taken to be a royal epithet and has been rendered 'Elder' or 'Senior', deriving it from Skt. pūrviya or pūrvaja. According to this interpretation, if it is taken to mean seniority of birth, it is quite inappropriate to both the monarchs of whom it is supposed to have been a title. In the Tammannekanda inscription we read, puavaya Malu-Tisa maharajahaka cata lagita sata avanaka vasahi. In this phrase, puavaya Malu-Tisa has been translated 'Malu-Tisa the Senior'. But Malu-Tisa was the younger of the two sons of Mahallaka Nāga, and his very name contains the word malu (younger brother) indicative of this fact. The same objection applies, if puviya of the present record is taken as an epithet of Mahāsena, as he, too, was the younger of two brothers. As has already been stated, puavaya occurs immediately before the enumeration of the details of dates; and as dates, in the early inscriptions, are invariably in regnal years, this word precedes the king's name, thereby making it appear as a royal title. The word is never found before the name of a king when it is not introduced for the purposes of dating. The Prākrit words puavaya and puavaya or their Sanskrit equivalent pūrvavāṁ, are found similarly used in the early inscriptions of India; but with this difference that, whereas, in Ceylon inscriptions, the word in question comes before the details of the date, in Indian records it is used after and is introduced by the pronoun etaya or etasyāṁ. For instance, inscription No. 15 from Nāsik has Ābhārasyeśvara-senasya sanivatsare navame... mhapako che thothe 4 divasa trayadasa 13... ya puavaya. 'In the ninth year of

\[1\] A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report, pp. 48 and 55.
\[2\] Ibid., p. 47.
\[3\] For purposes of comparison, I give extracts from other inscriptions containing the word puavaya in addition to those quoted above: An inscription at Kāraṇbagala reads: puavaya Māpurumaka Mahasena Maharaja pata Sarimekana... raja aṭayaka... viṣita vanaka vasahi Bagu cada puṇa masa, etc. The Habarana inscription (A. I. C., No. 61) has puavaya so avanaka vasahi without mentioning a king's name. An inscription at Aūνavatunagala reads: puavaya Mahasena maha... legitaka dasa avanaka vasahi Vesaka cada puṇamasa dasapaka divasa.
king Iśvarasena, the Abhira... on the thirteenth—13th—day of the fourth—4th—fortnight of summer, on the above. In inscription No. 25 from the same place, we read, Raño Vasiṣṭhiputasa sāmi Sīri-Pulumāsi saṅvachchare 2 hemanta pakhe 4 divase... etiya puvaya, etc. ‘On the 6th (or 8th) day of the 4th fortnight of winter, in the year 2 of the king, the lord Sīri Pulumāsi, son of Vasiṣṭha, on the above...’

The inscription No. 14 of Kārle contains the phrase Raño Vasiṣṭhiputasa Sāmisiripulumāṣa savachchare satame 7 gīmha pakhe pachame 5 divase pathame 1 etaya puvaya. ‘In the seventh—7th—year of the king lord Sīri Pulumāsi, son of Vasiṣṭha, in the fifth—5th—fortnight of summer, on the first—1st—day, on the above...’ In a Sāṃsth inscription of Kaṇishka, the date is given as Mahāraṣaṇya Kaṇiṣhkasya Sam 3 be 3 di 22 etaye pūrvaye. ‘In the 3rd year of Mahāraṣaṇya Kaṇishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above’. Different variations of the word are found in the Jain inscription from Mathurā published in Ep. Ind. vol. ii, p. 195 ff. The words etaya puvaye, its Prakrit variants and its Sanskrit equivalent etasyāṁ pūrvāyāṁ, occurring in the extracts quoted and in various other published inscriptions have been rendered ‘this above’ and the word ‘date’ understood. This mode of interpretation is quite natural as, in the Indian inscriptions, the word puvaye and its variants always follow the date. But, since the Ceylon inscriptions invariably place the word puvaye or puvya before the words expressing the date, the above interpretation does not seem to be tenable. Some of the Jain inscriptions from Mathurā substitute the phrase asma kṣuna in the place where other inscriptions would have etasya puvaye. An inscription on an image pedestal from Mathurā has asmini divase in the corresponding position. A part of an inscription from Nagarī in Rajputana, quoted by Prof. D. R. Bhandarker, reads: Kṛtesu catursa varṣa-kateśu ekādayamulāresvasyam Maḷava-pūrvāyāṁ 400 do 1 Kārttikeya-sukla-pañcāmyāṁ. In this inscription, the word pūrvāyāṁ occurs after the enumeration of the years in words but before the other details of the date, thus proving that the rendering of that word by ‘above’ is not valid. The substitution, in some inscriptions, of kṣuna ‘moment’ and divasa ‘day’ for puvaye shows that the latter word, too, must be of kindred meaning. If we interpret the word as ‘date’ or ‘time’, it suits all the different contexts in which it occurs. By analogy with the Indian records, it ought to be considered that puvya in our

record is in the genitive or locative case and that the stem is *puvi* or *puvā*. Though its meaning is beyond doubt, it is difficult to suggest an etymology of the word. In my opinion, it has no connexion with Skt. *pūrva*, meaning ‘before’. Perhaps *puva* or *pivi* was a Prakrit form of the Skt. word *parwan* (period) and was later Sankritized into *pūrva*.


[Line 2] Niyamatanahi. *Niyama* is derived from P. *nigama* ‘a market town’ or ‘guild’. Cf. Sin. *niyamdeṭu* for P. *nigamajethaka* and *niyamama* for P. *nigamagama*. *Tana*, of which *tanahi* is the locative singular, may be either derived from Skt. *sthāna* ‘place’ and used to indicate the locative case of the word to which it is suffixed, very much in the same way as *idattil* ‘in the place’ is used in Tamil, or it may represent Skt. *āsthāna*, ‘assembly’, the initial *a* being elided for the purposes of euphonic combination. I have adopted the latter alternative in my translation. In an inscription at Tammannekanda 2, the word *ataua* occurs after a village name; many instances are known from South Indian inscriptions, of village assemblies acting as local banks; and the donations for charitable purposes being deposited with them 3. This inscription shows that this practice prevailed in Ceylon at an earlier date than that for which evidence is available in South India. The present record informs us that there was a market town called Kalahumana in the north of the area included within the city of Anurādhāpura. An unpublished rock inscription at Labuṭābāndigala, which begins [Nakarahi pa]jinasasahi Mahaturaka niyamatanahi, shows that a similar market town named Mahaturaka existed in the east. Perhaps, there were such *nigamas*, in the west and south of the municipal area. In ancient India, the capital city of a country seems to have had four *nigamas* or market towns close to the four principal gates. In the *Mahā Um-magga Jātaka*, it is said that the city of Mithilā had four such suburbs in the four directions. The *dvāragamas*, mentioned in the tenth chapter of the *Mahā-vanīsa*, seem to have been of a similar character.

[Line 2] *Siya* (P. *sayaḥ*) is used reflexively just as *tāṇa*, of the same significance, is used in Tamil.


2 Ibid., p. 47.

3 Mookerji, Local Government in Ancient India, p. 122.
avayāya akṣayaṇīya). Compare the term akṣayanī in Indian inscriptions (Ep. Ind. vol. xv, p. 131 n. 8).

[Line 3] Nikata = Skt. niḥṣipta, P. nikkhitta. In the Petavatthuṭṭhakathā (p. 148 of the P.T.S. edition) the word is found used in the same sense as in this inscription.

[Line 3] Paheja. This appears to be a title rather than a proper name. In a fragmentary inscription at Puvarasankulam near Mihintale we read of two persons named Saga Paheja and Paheja Sivaya. Paheja is probably a corruption of Skt. pārśadīya (P. pārīṣajja) through a Prakrit form *pāsajja. Thus, it would mean 'Councillor'.

[Lines 4–5] Ariyavasa vaṭavi. Similar phrases occur in many inscriptions of the period. In the inscription at Labuṭabändigala, mentioned above, occurs the phrase ariyavasa vaṭāṭaya. An inscription from Badagiriya in the Southern Province has ariyavasa vaṭa kotu and a record from a place named Burutan-kanda in the same province contains the phrase ariya vasa karanaka kotu. The contexts in which these phrases occur in the three inscriptions quoted show that they must be of the same significance as ariyavasa vaṭavi of the present record. Hence, vaṭavi is equivalent in meaning to vaṭāṭaya (for the purpose of maintaining) or karanaka kotu (for the purpose of performing). Vaṭavi, therefore, is taken as dative infinitive of the Sinhalese form of the Skt. root vṛt.

Ariyavasa may be derived from P. ariyavāsa, ariyavamsa, or ariyavassa. The first of these means ‘holy dwelling’ and this meaning is scarcely suitable in the context in which it is used in the present record. The word ariyavamsa occurs in the 38th verse of the 36th chapter of the Mahāvamsa, Ariyavamsakaṭṭhāni Lankādīpe ‘khile pi ca dānavaṭṭam paṭṭhapesi saddhamme gāravena so.

For the occasions when the Ariyavamsa was read he decreed over the whole island a regular giving of alms, from reverence to the true doctrine.’ Prof. Geiger thinks that the ariyavamsa mentioned in this stanza was a book containing the life-histories of men eminent in the Buddhist Church. The Rasavāhini also testifies to the fact that a sermon called the ariyavamsa was delivered once a year in some monasteries of Ceylon. In the third story of the second part of that book, we read: Sihaladdīpe Mahāgāme aneka-bhikkhu-satāvāso Mahāvāpiṇihāro nāma ahosi. Tāsmini kāle tathā anusamāvacharam ariyavamsadhammadesanā pavattati. (‘In Mahāgāma in the island of Ceylon, there was a monastery, named Mahāvāpi, which was the dwelling-place of many hundreds of

1 Mahāvamsa, Geiger’s translation, p. 258, n. 6.
2 Rasavāhini, Colombo edition of 1899, p. 4.
monks. At that time, the religious discourse named the Ariyavāṇsā was delivered there every year.

According to this statement, the Ariyavāṇsā was publicly read once every year; and our inscription also tells us that the ariyavāsa ceremony was performed at the Yahisapavata monastery once every year during the rainy season. The verb vaṭavi occurring after ariyavāsa in line 4 is in agreement with pavaṭatati used in this connexion in the Rasavāhinī. But in line 16, the verb karana occurring after ariyavāsa is inappropriate if the public recital of a sacred text is meant. Besides, it is mentioned in the same place that the ariyavāsa ceremony was performed by the whole congregation; whereas the recital of the sacred text would necessarily have been done by one single monk.

We have now to consider the third proposed derivation from ariyavāsa. In Pāli, the word vassa means rain, and is very often used in a secondary sense connoting the annual retreat of the monks during the rainy season. If vassa in ariyavāsa is considered a derivative of Pāli vassa used in this sense, the word would mean 'the holy vassa (retreat)'. It is probably in this sense that ariyavāsa is used here, though the verb karana that follows it does not seem to be quite appropriate.

[Line 5] Hakāda. This word is derived from P. sakāta which originally meant 'a cart'; but also has the secondary meaning of a measure of capacity, i.e. as much as would be contained in one cartload. Sakāta is the same as the Sinhalese yahaḷa or yala; for, the phrase sakāta sahaḷaṃ mattaṃ occurring in the Jātaka I, 467 has been rendered dāsak yala in the fourteenth-century Sinhalese translation of that work. Not only in meaning, but etymologically, too, the two words are identical. By the change of intervocalic k to y and by the metathesis of the two consonants h and y, hakāda changes to yahaḷa, a form found in the Burutankanda inscription of about the fifth or sixth century. The form yahaḷa, a further corruption of yahaḷa, is found in the tenth-century inscription from Āppāvala given below. Vaha is another word which has the same significance as sakāta. It may be convenient to deal here with the other terms of capacity occurring in this inscription. Sakāta was the highest term in this system of measurement with which we are familiar from Pāli writings. It was divided into...

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1 In the Calcutta Bairat Inscription, Aśoka recommends six specified texts for the study of the monks. Among these occurs one named Ariyavāṇsā. This has been identified by Rhys Davids with a section of the Sangīti Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya and by D. R. Bhandarkar with the Anguttara II, 28. But the Ariyavāṇsā mentioned in Ceylon writings seems to have been different from either of these two, as the above quoted story of the Rasavāhinī tells us that it had a nidānakathā, whereas the two texts identified with Aśoka's Ariyavāṇsā, have no such section.

2 Sinhalese Jātaka, Colombo, 1924, p. 275.
twenty *ammanas*, a word occurring in Tamil as *ammanyam*, in modern Sinhalese as *amanya* and in the present record as *amaña* (l. 5). The Pāli word *ammanyā* has also the meaning of 'a trough' and it may be presumed that an *ammanyā* measure was originally as much as could be held in a wooden trough used for storing grains, &c. According to the modern and mediaeval usage in Ceylon, an *amanya* is subdivided into four *pālas*. The word equivalent to *pāla* in our inscription is *pekada* (l. 9). This seems to have been derived from the Pali *piṭaka* which is used in the *Pethavaththubhakatha* as the name of a measure of capacity. The metathesis of consonants noticed in the change of *piṭaka* to *pekada* was doubtless caused by the analogy of *hakada* with which this term must have been constantly associated. The modern word *pāla* is derived from *pekada* through an intermediate form *peyalā* or *peyalā*. The phonetic changes by which *pekada* is transformed to *pāla*; namely, the change of *ka to ya, da to la* and *e to ā* are familiar enough in the Sinhalese language. The original meaning of the word *piṭaka* was 'basket'; and this term, therefore, must have had its origin in a 'basketful' just as *sakaṭa* originally meant a 'cartload' and *ammana* 'a troughful'. These three terms are instructive as to the way in which the measures of capacity used in ancient India and Ceylon had their origin. In primitive times commodities like grain were bought and sold in such natural terms of measurement as a 'cartload', a 'basketful', a 'handful', &c. These, of course, could not have had the precise value at every place and occasion in which they were used, and a considerable amount of uncertainty must have prevailed in the transaction of business. When the organization of society was more developed, and with the increase of trade, the precise values of these primitive terms of measurement were standardized and the relation which each of them bore to the other was fixed.


[Line 6] *Udi* is the same as the modern Sinhalese *nēdu* the name of a variety of pulses still grown in some villages in Ceylon.

[Line 6] *Bayali* occurs in the classical Sinhalese literature in the form of *bīyali*, both alone and in conjunction with *mūṅgu* (Skt. *mudga*) in the word *mūṅbīyali*. It also occurs in the *Eppāvala* inscription. I take it as a derivative of P.

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1 P.T.S. edition, p. 254. *dowēh piṭakehi mānabhājanēhi matani viya*. The word *piṭaka* was used as a term of grain measurement in ancient India. An inscription of the Valabhi king Dhruvāsena IV describes a field as *vṛihi dīpi piṭaka viṇa* (Ind. Ant., vol. xv, p. 340).

2 The word *piṭaka*, as is well known, also denotes the threefold collection of the Buddhist scriptures.

3 See below, p. 193.
Pitādada hasa, akala hasa, made hasa. In these three words, hasa stands for Pāli sassa (Skt. śasya) and means 'harvest' or 'crop'. From these terms, it becomes apparent that in ancient Ceylon there were three crops of paddy during the year, just as there are to-day in the villages of the North-Central Province where fields are irrigated by means of tanks and do not depend on the uncertain rainfall. Of the names of the three crops occurring in this inscription, two can be identified with their modern equivalents. Akala (from Skt. akala, 'out of season')¹ is the crop now known as yala. The modern name is derived from its fourth-century prototype by the change of ka to ya and the elision of the initial vowel a. The yala crop is sown at the time of the south-west monsoon which, for these parts of Ceylon, brings only a small quantity of rain. The principal harvest of the year in all parts of Ceylon is now known as māha, a word which is a contraction of *maha-hasa; and is sown during the north-east monsoon. The name corresponding to this in the present inscription is pitādada. There is no doubt that the word stands for māha as its being first mentioned points to it as the principal harvest of the year. I am unable to explain the origin of this word; and, so far as I have been able to observe, it does not seem to have left any trace in the language of the modern agriculturist in Ceylon. The third crop called made in this inscription is still known as māda ('middle' from Skt. madhya) and is so called because it intervenes between the two major harvests. It is the least important of the three; and, in many a year when the tanks are not full, is altogether neglected. This crop is not known in many districts of Ceylon, including the greater part of the low country, where the cultivation of paddy depends entirely on the rainfall.

Vedha or veda, is derived from Skt. vṛddhi, (P. vaddhi) and means 'interest'. The word occurs in several other records of this period as well as in earlier ones; for instance, in the Labuḷṭabāṇḍigala inscription quoted above and in a record from Koṭaveheragala published by Mr. Bell in the Ceylon Antiquary, vol. iii, p. 206. In these two instances, the word is used in connexion with the interest on money. The word vattam, now used at times in the same sense, is derived from the same source through Tamil. The word now in ordinary use

¹ Mr. Codrington informs me that in Jaffna the principal harvest is known as kāla pōkan whereas the one corresponding to the Sinhalese yala is known as sirupōkan.
to denote interest is poli which comes from the Tamil root poli ‘to increase’. The interest on two hakadas and ten amañas i.e. fifty amañas of paddy was twenty-five amañas. Therefore, in the fifth century, the rate of interest on paddy was fifty per cent. per annum; the amount being collected during the three crops of the year. Whether it was equally distributed at all the three crops or a greater proportion was collected at the more important harvest and whether any remission was made in the case of the failure of a crop are points that cannot be settled. Even to-day, among the villagers, the rate of interest on paddy continues to be the same. The interest on beans works out to be twenty-five per cent. per annum.

[Line 10] Me vataka-vaṇaḥ. I take vataka-vaṇa to be an equivalent of P. vuttakam vaṇṇam. Me is derived from P. ima ‘this’. It may also be possible that vataka stands for Skt. tāvatka or P. tāvataka and has assumed this form by metathesis. If this etymology is adopted, the phrase is equivalent to metuvaṇ in the later Sinhalese language. There is not much difference in the sense whichever interpretation is adopted.

[Line 10] Gahe is taken as a derivative of Skt. grāhya ‘what is received’, i.e. the deposit accepted by the assembly.

[Line 10] Ciṭavaya = Mod. Sin. sīṭuva. About the phonetic changes noticed in this word see above p. 175.

[Line 11] Geva occurs in the same form in the modern language. It is the past participle of the root corresponding to Skt. grh ‘to receive’. Cf. Pkt. gaṇhiya.

[Line 11] Tilada. Like Pāli adhiṣṭhitiya this is taken to mean two and a half (i.e. half less than three) and not three and a half.

[Line 11] Dana-vata = P. dāna-vatṭam ‘alms’. Here the word is used to mean not ‘alms’ in general, as the different constituents of the alms given to the monks are given in detail. The context shows that the word is used to denote ‘boiled rice’. A faint trace of the medial vowel sign for o is noticeable above d. If this is not a natural crack on the stone the correct reading ought to be dona-vata which would be the Sinhalese form of the Pāli odana-vatṭam ‘boiled rice’. In Pāli vatṭa is used in conjunction with dāna only; but in this inscription it is used after such words as atarakajaka, miya, palaka, &c. With the statement in this record that 2½ hakatas of boiled rice should be given to the monks, compare the Mahāvamsa, ch. xlivi, v. 34 where it is said that a certain king gave ten amaṇas of alms at the Mahāpali.

[Line 11] Atarakajaka is equivalent phonetically to P. antarakkhajjaka. This word is not given in the dictionaries, but is found in the Sutta Nipāta
Commentary (P.T.S. edition, p. 104). From the context in which the word occurs, it becomes clear that the antarakhajjaka was a meal taken before noon and after the morning gruel. The word also occurs in the Mahāvīraṣa Šākā (p. 375) and the Jātaka I, 395. In the last named instance, the printed text has antare khaṣyakaṁ.

[Lines 11-12] Atarajaj-paraikara-yapenī. The reading paraikara is doubtful. If the present reading is acceptable, paraikara may be derived from P. parikkhara ‘requisite’. For this word which occurs in the Dīgha Nikāya I, 128, parivāra is substituted in the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (I, 297) showing that the two words are synonymous. In the Vimanavatthu Commentary paraivāra denotes dishes taken with gruel. Therefore, paraikara in the present record seems to have the same connotation. Yapenī is phonetically equivalent to P. yapanī. There is no such form given in the dictionaries, but yapanā means ‘sustenance’. Yapenī, therefore, may be interpreted as ‘food’, ‘dishes’ or ‘meals’. The whole compound atarajaj-paraikara-yapenī would then mean ‘subsidiary dishes taken at atarajjaj’.

[Line 12] Di = Skt. dādhi; Mod. Sin. di. Miya = Skt. madhu; Mod. Sin. mi. Penī = P. phāṇita; Mod. Sin. pāṇi. Bunatela is difficult to explain. I have taken it to be an earlier form of the word dunteīl used in the modern language; assuming that the change of the initial labial to the corresponding dental has been due to the following dentals. Loṇa = Skt. lavana.

[Line 13] Palaha = P. palāsā; Mod. Sin. palā, ‘green herbs or leaves’. Preparations made from green herbs formed an important item in the menu of ancient times. In the list of different articles collected by Mahāduggata (‘Great Beggar’) for feeding the Buddha, herbs constituted one item. See Sattārmaratnavāli, p. 492 and the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (II. 131.) Veṭayala is doubtless an earlier form of viṭṭiyala occurring in the Sattārmaratnavāli (p. 370). It is here equivalent to P. rajana ‘dye’ in the Dhammapada Commentary. The substance used in dyeing the robes of Buddhist mendicants is turmeric which is also used as an ingredient in making curries. The mention of it here is doubtless in this respect, as it occurs in company with other names of articles of food. In the compound viṭṭiyala, the second member ala is in common use in the modern language and means ‘bulbous roots’. Viṣṇ in Sanskrit means ‘yellow sanders’ and the whole compound viṭṭiyala would therefore signify ‘bulbous

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1 Yāgum pāyeṭvā antarakhajjādīn ca khādāpeta va maṣjñhīkaṇāvaṁ tuṇa sattiiṁ samullāpitaṁ nāgaroṁ paviṣati.

2 Yāgum sampādeṭvā lassa paraivāra bhāvena annaṁ ca bhōjanaṁ pāṭiyūdeva (P. T. S. edition, p. 185).
roots (of the colour) of yellow sanders'. According to this derivation, the form of the word found in the *Suddhavarnaratuvatī* (circa thirteenth century) is of a distinctly more archaic nature than *veliyala* of the present record.

[Line 14] *Miliya* = Skt. *mīlīya*; Mod. Sin. *mila*. *Padiya* = Skt. *pradeya*; Pāli *padeya*. It occurs in the modern Sinhalese phrase *diya-yutu* minus the prefix *pa* (Skt. *pra*). *Datala* = Pāli *dattakaṁ*. *Vudavataka* = Pāli *vaddhībhūtakaṁ*, Mod. Sin. *vādiyu*. *Vanaya* is the prototype of the Mod. Sin. *vana* 'would be'. Its origin is perhaps to be traced to an ungrammatical form *bhavaniya*, instead of the correct form *bhavitaya*, used in the ancient colloquial dialect from which the Sinhalese language had its origin. The repetition of the word gives it a collective sense. Such idioms are very common in Sinhalese; for example, the word *nuvarekhi* 'in a city' if repeated twice would mean in every city.


*Pyuha masa* = P. *pyuha māsa.*

No. 18. TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM EPPĀVALA.

By S. Paranavitana

In the premises of the Archaeological Commissioner at Anuradhapura, there are two inscribed slabs (*A. S. I. Nos. 107 and 120*) brought from a village named Eppāvala in the Kōrāle of the same name in the North-Central Province. About slab No. 120, we find the following reference in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* for the year 1890, p. 7: 'Eppāvala:—On the site of an ancient vihāra overgrown with jungle, was found an improvised guardstone broken in two, with a portion of a worn inscription of the tenth to eleventh century.'

The lower half of this guardstone is missing; but the record is complete except for the first two lines which are too weathered to be read. Before the stone was utilized for its present purpose, it seems to have been worn away by

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some kind of friction and the whole surface has been rendered smooth. The preserved fragment measures 22 inches by 16 inches.

The letters, which are engraved between lines an inch apart from one another, are very shallow and the writing has been done in a careless manner. The script belongs to the later half of the tenth century; and does not call for any remarks save that the forms being cursive, it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between pa and va. The na, in lines 6 and 10, is very similar to ta.

As regards grammar, the construction of the sentence is somewhat complicated and the style lacks clearness. The first personal suffix me is attached to the subject and it requires a verb in the first person; this is absent. It is clear that in this record we have an example of the popular style of the period and not an official or scholarly document. The record is concerned with the registration of a gift to the image house and the Bō-tree at the Pamagalu Monastery by a person named Ukuñhusu Kotta. This was made by investing eight kalañdas of gold in land and by depositing two kalañdas so that the interest might be paid in paddy. Two more kalañdas of gold were invested for the purpose of supplying curds and honey and for the maintenance of the canopy at the altar.

This inscription is of some interest for the study of economic conditions in Ceylon during the tenth century. We are informed that one paya of paddy land was sold for eight kalañdas of gold. A paya (P. pāda), it may be stated, is one-fourth of a kiri (P. karīsa) the standard of land measurement in ancient Ceylon. After the eleventh century, the system of measuring fields by these terms fell into disuse; and in its place was introduced the method of measuring by the amount of paddy or other grain with which the field is capable of being sown. According to this method, the terms of capacity such as yala, amunā, pāla, &c., are also used as land measures. This system still prevails in the Sinhalese villages side by side with the English system of land measurement which is recognized for official purposes. The relationship between the earlier and later systems of Sinhalese land measurement is made clear by two passages in the Saddharma-rajñī-sa-vita, a Sinhalese translation of the Dhammapadaṭṭhakatha, dating from about the thirteenth century. The word aṭṭhakarīsa occurring in the Dhammapada-ṭṭhakatha (P. T. S., Edition i, p. 94) is rendered by ek yala dolosamuna in the Sinhalese work referred to above 1. We know that a yala is equivalent to twenty amunās; therefore, one yala and twelve amunias is equivalent to thirty-two amunias. Hence a karīsa (Sin. kiri) is equivalent to four amunias. Again, the word aṭṭhakarīsa in the Dhammapadaṭṭhakatha (iii, p. 304) is translated bijuvaṭa.

1 Colombo edition of 1925, p. 149.
dāmuṇak by the author of the Saddharmaratnāvalī. According to this, half
a karīsa (kiri) is two amuṇas, therefore one kiri is the same as four amuṇas.
Thus a paya, which is one-fourth of a kiri, is shown to be equivalent to an amuṇa
(sowing extent) according to the present day usage. The English equivalent of
an amuṇa of paddy field cannot be exactly ascertained; but Clough gives it as
from two to two and a half acres. The price paid, in the tenth century, for
this extent of rice field was eight kalāṇdas of gold. A kalāṇda, according to
Mr. Codrington, is a weight equivalent to 70–72 grains of Troy.

The regnal year and the name of the king in whose reign the document
was written are not preserved. The persons figuring in the transaction are not
known to history.

TEXT.

1...2...3...4...5...6...7...8...9...10...11...12...13...14...15...16...17...18...19...20...21

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2 Mr. Codrington informs me that it is equivalent to one acre in the Uva Province.
3 Ceylon Coins and Currency, p. 9.
Eppāvala Inscriptions

Scale about \( \frac{1}{2} \) inch to 1 foot
TRANSLATION.

On the third day of the month of Nikmni in the... year of...

1, Ukunuhusu Kotta\(^1\) [gave] ten kalanda\(^s\) of gold—namely, one paya\(^2\) (of fields) in the Galamburukarāya\(^3\) which Velatme Mihindu had sold to me for eight kalanda; and two kalanda given out by me\(^4\) on interest [to be paid in] paddy—for the purpose of offering, daily, dishes made of two pātas of unsplit rice\(^5\), at the image house and the great Bo-tre of the Pamagulu monastery. This food should not be demanded\(^6\) during the vas\((P. vassæ)\) season; but at the end of the vas, the paddy...\(^7\). Two [more] kalanda of gold have been given for the purpose of supplying curd and honey\(^8\) for this food and for the maintenance\(^9\) of the canopy at the altar\(^10\). In connexion with the altar where flowers are offered\(^11\)... These charities should be maintained from [these] gifts\(^12\) by the members of the Order.

\(^1\) In this, Kotta (possibly equivalent to Sanskrit Ketu) is the personal name, and Ukunuhsu the name of a village. As regards the first personal termination, see above p. 189.

\(^2\) Paya, Skt. pāda 'one-fourth', see above, p. 189.

\(^3\) This evidently is the name of a tract of paddy fields. With the word kārayeki, compare kāra-kumbur in the Mihintē Slab Inscription (E. Z., I, p. 93). The word kāra, I think, is identical with Skt. kārya, P. kāriya and means 'service'. Thus kāra fields would be those held under the service tenure system.

\(^4\) Mā ailin, literally means 'from my hand'.

\(^5\) Gāhum no van, literally means 'not cracked'. Rice is of three kinds; namely, that in which the grains are not broken in the process of pounding (mulsāl); that broken into larger pieces (kaḍaṇāl) and that broken into small fragments (sunḍāl). The first variety is the best and that intended here. (See Jātaka, vi, p. 366, where the terms used are: miḷa taṇḍila, maṇhima taṇḍila and kaṇikā.) Compare the phrase akhaṇḍa pariśuddhānam và taṇḍilānām prastham. (Arthaśāstra, Jolly's edition, p. 57.)

\(^6\) This may also mean 'examined or investigated'. For this meaning of the word illam or ilvanu, see E. Z., Vol. I, p. 251, n. 6.

\(^7\) The first four letters of line 13 are somewhat doubtful. The first letter is almost illegible. The following six letters read veṣiṇ povanu. What exactly is intended is not certain, but probably it was laid down that the paddy accumulating as interest during the vassa should be utilized for furnishing some kind of drinks to the sangha at the end of the annual retreat. The words vassaṭura and vasag in l. 12 can also be translated as 'during the year' and 'end of the year', respectively. If these two meanings are adopted, it would appear as if it was laid down that the food should not be demanded during the first year, probably to allow time for the interest to accumulate, and, thereafter, it should be given regularly.

\(^8\) Mipak, Skt. madhuparka.

\(^9\) Divel, P. jīvana. This term is used for lands given by the king to persons as recompensation for service rendered. In this case, its use to denote endowments for the upkeep of a religious institution is unusual.

\(^10\) Pudasana, Skt. pūjāsana.

\(^11\) The text here is defective and it is not possible to determine the meaning of this sentence.

\(^12\) Bambodesa, Skt. brahmadeva, Pāli brahmadeya. The Pāli form occurs in the Digha Nikāya,
and by the merchants. [Those concerned] who, not demanding this [at the proper time], cause hindrance are [like unto] those causing stain to the three jewels. They will also not be born in the kingdom of the Great Maitreya the Buddha.

INSCRIPTION No. 107.

The slab, on which Inscription No. 107 is engraved, measures 4 feet by 1 foot 9 inches and is 9 inches in thickness. The inscribed portion measures 3 feet by 1 foot 9 inches on its face. On the right side of the slab a portion is peeled off, obliterating about seven lines of writing. The first five lines on side A are also badly preserved. The slab seems to have served some architectural purpose before it was utilized for engraving the record, for the unengraved portion, which is also dressed, contains a socket to fit into another stone. The writing is between lines nearly two inches apart from one another.

The letters are from an inch to an inch and a half in size and are better engraved than in the previous record. The form of the script shows that the record belongs to the later half of the tenth century. The palaeography and grammar contain nothing not in keeping with the style of the period, unless it be that simā in l. 17 is intended for simā. In that case we have an example of

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1. The exhortation to the merchants to protect the charity was due to the reason that the money intended for it was invested with them. Therefore the proper maintenance of it depended largely on their paying the interest punctually. Merchants (vīpārayan) are mentioned in a somewhat similar connexion in the Puliyankulam Slab Inscription. See E. Z., Vol. I, p. 187.

2. Kaṭal used in the modern language in the same sense. What it is derived from, I am not certain.

3. The hope of meeting the future Buddha Maitreya is the ultimate aim of all Buddhists in Ceylon. Failure to be born in the dispensation of Maitreya is a great spiritual calamity. Hence this imprecation here. A similar imprecation is found in an inscription from Kalupokuna in the Matara District where it is said that any one acting so as to cause harm to the charity in question will not raise his hands in adoration even were the Great Buddha Maitreya to pass by his door. (Mahamele Samba Sambudun derin yat at nonāgīya henu ko.)
a long vowel being shortened and an .isActive introduced after it for compensation. But the reading, as well as the interpretation, is open to doubt here.

The first two lines being illegible, the date of this record cannot be made out. The subject-matter is concerned with the registration of an agreement entered into by the saṅgha of the monastery at the place, that they would, at the end of the vassa season in every year, supply gifts of rice, &c., to the brethren in return for some quantities of grains and other provisions placed at their disposal by one Mahid Agbohi. Some of the words and phrases occurring here throw light on the Tōnigala inscription above.

**TEXT.**

A.

1 . . . . . . . . .
2 . . . . . . . . .
3 -yā ava tiyavak davas
4 . . . . . . . . . nā privena vā-
5 -dā vasana mahasaṅgun vaha-
6 -nse kere pāhāda me avasa
7 bad Sāgama (sihimāyehi) vāḍā
8 vasana saṅgnaṭ Mahid Agbo-
9 -hi dun sasara(pā)di vi ek yaha-la-
10 -k isā luṇu de pālak isā biyali
11 de pālak isā und ek pālak isā pva-
12 -k bulat de akak isā satalaye-
13 -n miris de aki sunu paddak åtul
14 vā me tuvāk dā saṅg sāmāṅgin
15 balā gena havurudde vāsā Vap
16 pavārannat vaḍanā peraṭ mehi vusū
17 saṅgun me siyatin ma

Lines 1–7 worn away.

8 . . . . kadakaṭ no
9 himivanu isā
10 Mūlāvāsaya-
11 -hi saṅgun
12 me siyatin ka-

B.

13 -ranu koṭ isā
14 no kaḷa ratnatra-
15 -ye kaḷaḷ kaḷa ve-
16 -t [u*] Me se saṅg
17 sāmāginyā [u*]

**TRANSLATION.**

[Lines A 1–3]. On the third day of the dark half of [the month] . . . .
[Line A 4–13]. Mahid Agbohi, having been pleased with the great congregation [of monks] residing at the . . . . pirivena, gave to the congregation residing within the boundary of Sāgama connected with this residence, one

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1 As other examples for this phonetic change may be cited kehel for kêl, (plantains) Skt. kadal and kehel for Skt. kē. This may also be an example of false restoration.
2 P. Mahinda Aggbodhi. The name of the pirivena is almost completely obliterated.
3 Sihimāyehi. The reading is doubtful.

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yaha of sasarapadi; two pala of salt, two pala of pulse; one pala of undu; two akas of areca and betel nuts two akas of sesame and chillies; and one padda of chunam.

[Lines A 14–17]. The aforesaid things should be taken care of by the congregation [acting] in unison; and, [every] year, before starting for the pava-rama ceremony in the month of Vap after the expiry of the retreat (vassa), the members of the congregation who had spent their retreat here should (receive?) this with their own hands.

[Lines B 8–17]. Should not be the possessor of a cloth. The congregation of the Principal Residence (Mula-vasa) should do this with their own hands. Should they not do so, they will cause blemish to the three Jewels.

The congregation in unity [has laid down] thus.

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1 A measure of capacity, P. sakata, modern yaha, see above p. 183.
2 I am unable to explain this word. Perhaps it was the name of a particular variety of paddy.
4 Iyati from Pali bidala.
5 Undu, a species of Flemingia, is a crop which is still grown in some villages in Ceylon. In the early days it seems to have been regularly cultivated. The etymology of the word is doubtful.
6 A weight equal to two and a half mānaka. See Rhys Davids, Coins and Measures of Ceylon, p. 14, and Abhidhānapadipa, v. 479.
7 Satyena miris: I take this phrase to be equivalent to Pali satēnena maricam ‘chillies with sesame’. It is doubtful whether a mixture of the two stuffs are intended here.
8 A measure of capacity, Skt. prastha.
9 Balagena lit. ‘having seen and taken’.
10 Saṅga sūmāgina = P. Saṅghena samaggena. Any act of the Order without having concord among them is not valid.
11 The ceremony at the end of the vassa retreat. For rules concerning it, see Mahāvagga, chap. iv, Pavaraṇā Khāghabham (Oldenberg’s Vinaya Texts, vol. i, pp. 157–178).
12 The text here is defective.
13 Owing to the fragmentary nature of the text, the sense of the sentence is not quite clear. Possibly it is concerned with an imprecation. Kaṭa means a ‘cloth’. See E. Z., Vol. I, p. 29, n. 5.
14 Buddha, Dhamma and the Saṅgha. Compare the imprecation at the end of the preceding record.
15 Literally, ‘Thus, it is, by the saṅgha in unison’. This record is an example of a saṅghahamma which to be valid should be performed by the congregation without any discord.
No. 19. GĀRAṆḌIGALA ROCK INSCRIPTION OF KASSAPA III.

(A. S. I. No. 451)

By S. PARANAVITANA

ABOUT a quarter of a mile to the north of Damunumulla—a village in the Kandapalle Kōralē of the Mātalē District—there is a range of low hills on which are found several rock caverns utilized, in ancient days, as the abodes of Buddhist mendicants. The cave nearest to the village contains three beds carved on the floor of the rock. The second cave, which is a little over a quarter of a mile to the north of the first, is almost inaccessible; the path leading to it is through a cleft in the rock and the climber has to hang on to boulders resting loosely between the two rocks. Inside this cave are seven more beds similar to those in the first cave. The view from this place is enchanting; to the north, as far as the eye can see, are the green wooded plains of the ancient Pihīṭirāṭa, broken here and there by silvery patches marking the sites of village tanks; and to the south rise, range upon range, the mountains of the Malaya country. However fiercely the sun may be scorching outside, within the cave, it is delightfully cool and refreshing. Further north is a third cave which is now filled with earth almost to its roof. On the perpendicular side of a rock near this cave, a drip line has been cut for some length at a height of about ten or twelve feet from the ground. The fertile imagination of the villagers sees in this the likeness of a snake known in Sinhalese as gāraṇḍiya (ptyas mucosus); hence the name Gāraṇḍigala by which this hill is locally known. The inscription dealt with below is cut on two panels of a rock by the side of this third cave. Still further north are the remains of a stūpa built on a rock and other monastic structures. Near the stūpa is a rock inscription of the second century in a very fragmentary condition.

Dr. Muller, in his Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon, mentions the records from Gāraṇḍigala, but gives neither their text nor translation. His description of the site and the inscriptions runs: 'Gaeraendigala, ½ mile from Gabigalpota, a village seven miles from Dambulla on the Kurunægala Road. There are three inscriptions, two of them close by each other at the bottom of a mass of rocks, and the third about 400 yards from this in a cave bricked up on three sides and containing six ledges apparently for beds scraped in the rock; it is only approachable by a cleft between two rocks. All three inscriptions are in characters which already somewhat resemble the round form of the pillar inscriptions of the tenth century;
they are all fragments and only a few words are legible of each, so that we cannot even ascertain anything about the contents.\(^1\)

An eye copy of this inscription has been prepared under the direction of Mr. Bell; and it is included as No. 209 in the list of inscriptions forming Appendix F of the *Annual Report of the A. S. C.* for 1911–12.

As has already been stated, the inscription is engraved on a rock by the side of Cave No. 3. The first part of the inscription is on the panel to the right and the remainder is continued on the one to the left. The former measures, roughly, 4 feet by 2 feet 8 inches and consists of seven lines of writing: the latter occupies an area of 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 6 inches containing six lines, the last of which consists of only three letters. Above the second compartment are carved two rude figures of a crow and a dog. The letters, which are on an average about two inches in height, are engraved boldly and are in a fairly good state of preservation; compartment B is, on the whole, in a better state of preservation than A.

A comparison of the script of the present record with that of the inscriptions of Sena I and II \(^2\) (ninth century) will help us to determine its date. A large number of forms appearing in this document are distinctly of a more archaic type than the corresponding ones in the records of Sena II. In the vertical strokes, pointing downwards, of the letters a, *ka, ra* and the medial vowel sign for *u*, the upward curve which is universal in the script of the ninth century is not the rule here. In side B it is scarcely noticed; while in A, in nineteen instances where these occur, ten have no upward curves. The letter *ma* does not show the rounded forms of the ninth century; but is angular as in the sixth-century script. The letter *i* shows a much earlier stage of development than is found in records of the early ninth century. One of the principal features by which the script of the ninth century differs from that of the sixth and seventh is the use of the *virāma* sign. In the present record, though the *virāma* is used, it is not universal as in the script of the ninth century. According to the rules of orthography in vogue at that time, our record contains thirty-three places in which this sign ought to have been marked. Of these, the fully developed *virāma* sign is noticed only in two instances. A faint indication of the *virāma* is seen in

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\(^1\) _A. I. C.*, p. 52. There are several wrong statements in the above description. In the first place, there are no inscriptions near the cave with beds. The present inscription has been taken as two distinct records and the second-century one is ascribed to a period much later.

\(^2\) No facsimiles of any inscriptions of these two monarchs have yet been published in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, though two inscriptions of Sena I and several of his successor are known.
seven places and in the remaining twenty-four no sign of the virāma is noticed at all. From the above discussion it will become clear that this inscription shows a type of writing anterior to the time of Sena I. In my opinion, a century will not be too long a period to allow for the evolution in the script between the date of this record and the reign of Sena I. The results at which we have thus arrived by a study of the palaeography will be confirmed by the identification of the king named Sirisambo, in the third year of whose reign this record is dated.

Sirisambo is only a viruda title; but the distinguishing epithet of Dambdiv dunu helps us to identify this ruler by the name given to him in the chronicles. This phrase can be rendered either as ‘who conquered Dambdiv (India)’ or ‘who was born in Dambdiv’. In the eighth and ninth centuries, to which this inscription can be assigned on palaeographical grounds, there was only one monarch of Ceylon who could boast of a ‘conquest of India’; he was Sena II. But we know from epigraphical testimony that his expedition to South India, which would have entitled him to such a claim, was undertaken in the ninth year of his reign¹; whereas the present inscription is dated in the third regnal year. Therefore, the Siri Sambo of this inscription cannot be Sena II; and the phrase Dambdiv dunu has to be interpreted as ‘who was born in India’.

During the same period, there were three rulers who, according to the chronicles, were born in India. They were, Aggabodhi V, Kassapa III, and Mahinda I, the sons of Mānavamma who spent his youth at the court of the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I of Kāñci. The Mahāvamsa mentions that four sons and four daughters were born to him during his sojourn in India²; and it is quite certain that they included his three sons who succeeded him on the Sinhalese throne.

Sena I had the throne name of Abhā Salamevan; and, reckoning backwards, leaving out of consideration Mahinda I who, according to the chronicles, was not consecrated king and therefore could not have had the right to use either of the two royal epithets, the only son of Mānavamma to whom the epithet of Siri Sambo is applicable was Kassapa III (732–738 A.D.).

The inscription also furnishes us with another piece of information which confirms the above identification. One of the donors is Mahinda, the heir-apparent, (Mihid Mahapā); and during the reign of Kassapa III, this office

² *Mv.,* ch. xlvii, v. 8.
was held by his younger brother named Mahinda. This prince, as has already
been mentioned above, on his accession to sovereignty, was so overwhelmed with
grief at the death of a dear friend, that he did not assume royal honours; but
was content to rule with the title of āpā.

The object of the record was to register the names and extent of certain
fields granted to the cave by Mahinda, Buddha Mahāmalla, and another individual
whose proper name is not preserved. The place names mentioned do not admit of
being identified.

TEXT.

A.

   mapu-
2 -r[mukā tunvanne Mihid mahapā-
3 -nan . . . gombiyen pahan hi-
4 -ndvā dun kiriya kumbur isā Bud
   Ma-

5 -hamalun Mahabodiniyen pahan-
6 -n hindvā dun depayak kumbur
   isā . . .
7 Mahamalun Mihinnariyen pahan
   hi-
8 [nd] vā dun [kumbur] depayak isā

B.

1 me lena (senasana) bāndā deva [u*]
   Siddhim [u*] Dā-
2 -napatin sigā me lenat bahālu
3 kumburaṭ avul kaḷa ke nkubudena ba-

4 -t no läbet para danmaye balu ka-
5 -vūdu vetvay [u*] Kapakale sena-
   suna
6 bāvin [u*]

TRANSLATION.

A. In the third year of Siri Saṃbo who was born in Dambdiv. One
kiriya of fields from . . . gombiya given by the heir-apparent (mahapā)
Mihid by setting up [boundary] stones; two payas from Mahabodēniya

1 In the transcript, I have restored the virāma sign, even though it is not marked in the original,
according to the pronunciation of the ninth-century language.
2 Dambdiv = P. Jambudvīpa i.e. India.
3 A land measure equal to four amuyas' sowing extent. P. karta.
4 Pāli Mahinda.
5 Pahan hindvā dun. In granting lands to religious institutions, it was customary, in ancient
Ceylon, to set up stones, sometimes inscribed, to mark the boundaries as well as to serve as a
proclamation of the gift.
6 Paya = Skt. pāda. A quarter of a kiriya.
given by Bud Mahamal by setting up stones; and two payas of fields from Mihinnariya given by ... Mahamal by setting up stones.

B. The above were given to the (monks' dwelling-place) at this cave. Hail! If there be any who shall create disturbance to the fields subscribed for and given to this cave by (its) patrons, may they not receive food to eat; may they be born as dogs and crows in their next birth. As this is a dwelling-place [standing] for an aeon's time.

No. 20. IḌIKATUṢAYA COPPER PLAQUES.

By S. Paranavitana

ABOUT 300 yards to the west from the foot of the Mihintale hill—famous in the history of Ceylon Buddhism as the scene of the first meeting between Tissa, the King of Ceylon and Mahinda the apostle sent by Aśoka to preach the religion of Śākyamuni in this island—there are the ruins of an extensive medieval monastery. Its outer wall, built of large blocks of roughly dressed stones, measures 113 yards east to west by 193 yards north to south; and within this spacious enclosure are to be seen the remains of several monastic buildings, shrines, a large stone-faced bath (pokuna), and a stūpa now known as Iḍikatuṣaya. The last named monument which is the most important, architecturally,
of all the ruins in this area, was conserved by the Archaeological Department in 1923. During the progress of this work, it was found necessary to dismantle the brick work of the dome and build it anew. In doing this, ninety-one inscribed copper votive tablets were found scattered among the loose bricks. They were, presumably, deposited in the relic chamber; and were scattered about when this stūpa was opened by treasure-seekers, for some Dutch stivers were also found with them.

Other objects found at the same time include a four-petalled lotus of copper, two copper coins of the Polonnaruva period, a copper sela coin, half a dozen other copper coins very much wasted and therefore unidentifiable and a small earthen casket in which were a copper earring, three South Indian gold fanams, some bits of thin gold wire, three beads of cornelian and fragments of what appear to be bronze. The find of late South Indian coins inside the casket indicates that this stūpa was restored at a recent date, possibly during the Kandyana period.

The facsimiles of the plaques reproduced on plates xvii–xix will give an idea as to their shape and size. They are about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch in thickness and are inscribed on one side only. Some of the plaques bear traces of gilding. The letters are boldly engraved and are in a good state of preservation. Plaques numbered 9, 24, 30, 36–8, 41, 44, 78, 80, 82–4, and 87–91 are fragmentary; and the corners have been chipped off Nos. 12, 34, 58, 62, and 76. The rest are completely preserved.

The script belongs to the eighth or ninth century; and is palaeographically interesting as one of the very few instances, so far known, in which the Sinhalese letters then current were used for writing Sanskrit. Hence, many examples of conjoint consonants not forthcoming in the Sinhalese inscriptions of the period.

the queen of Dappula II (807–812 A.D.). But near the ruined dāgāba at Mihintale, now known as Kiribat Vehera, there is a second-century rock inscription which records grants made to the Katakaceta (Kaṇṭaka Cetiya) and thus proves that the dāgāba of this name was existing at that time and that it was the same as the modern Kiribat Vehera. Moreover, it is said in the 16th chapter of the Mahāvamsa (written fifth century A.D.), that Devānampiya Tissa built sixty-eight rock cells about the place where the Kaṇṭaka Cetiya (afterwards) stood. There are no rock cells to be seen round about the Indikāṭuṣāya whereas they exist in the vicinity of Kiribat Vehera. From the above, it will be seen that the identification of Indikāṭuṣāya with Kaṇṭakacetiya cannot stand, though we cannot advance any other theory as to the ancient name of this monument. It is hardly likely that the orthodox chroniclers would have recorded the foundation of this monument by the Mahāyānisthe whom they abhorred.

1 The only other instance of Sanskrit written in Sinhalese characters of this period is that of the copper plaques found at the Vijayārāma Monastery, see A. S. C. Annual Report for 1891, pp. 12–15.
are found here. As regards individual letters, it may be mentioned that ha and bha are nearly identical in form and it is very often difficult to differentiate kha from ba, ha from ga, va from pa, and ta from na. The medial sign for r is the same as the symbol for the consonant ra when it occurs as the last element of a consonantal group. Compare, for example, kr in the second line of No. 47 with kra in No. 3. The semi-vowels ya and ra, in ligatures, are written with a pronounced flourish. Some letters are written in more than one type; compare, for example, ji in plaque No. 7, with the same letter in No. 9. The mode of attaching the vowel sign for i to the former is also noteworthy. The symbol at the end of the second line in No. 18 appears to be a jihamulya which is found nowhere else in the ancient writings of Ceylon. The anusvāra and visarga are very often left out. In these plaques, clerical errors are found in such large numbers as can be explained only by assuming that the engraver was ignorant of the Sanskrit language or was copying from a corrupt manuscript. These, I leave to be discussed in footnotes attached to the text. Attention may also be drawn to the occurrence of two vertical strokes at the end of the second lines in plaques 23 and 64; and of three such strokes in a similar position in Nos. 14 and 38. These, evidently, are marks of abbreviation denoting the number of syllables omitted in writing the often recurring words and phrases prañāpāramitā, purastat, atha khalu, and Tathāgata.

The inscriptions on the plaques contain fragments from a Sanskrit Buddhist text of a Mahāyāna character. In the preliminary notice of these plaques, given in the epigraphical summary for 1926, I conjectured that these extracts may be from a recension of the Prañāpāramitā; but was not then in a position to identify them in that text. The texts of twenty of these inscriptions were included in my article on Mahāyānism in Ceylon, published in the Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G, vol. ii, p. 35 ff. Dr. N. Dutt, who read that article, wrote to me that some of these texts can be traced in the Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā Prañāpāramitā which is being edited by him. He also very kindly sent me the proof pages containing those passages. With the help of these, I have been able to trace to their originals, forty-six out of the ninety-one fragments inscribed on our tablets. While the majority of our inscriptions agree, in every detail, with the corresponding passages in the Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā Prañāpāramitā, there are some in which we find slight differences. But these are nothing more than the differences that we may find in variant readings of two manuscripts of the same work. To those who are acquainted with the great divergences occurring in Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts, these slight variations...
will cause no surprise. Allowances also have to be made on account of the obvious clerical errors committed, or copied, by the engraver.

Comparing our fragmentary texts with the corresponding passages of the longer version of the Prajñāpāramitā, that containing one hundred thousand stanzas (Śatāhasrikā), we find more divergences. For instance, in our texts 1–3, containing names of Bodhisattvas, the Śatāhasrikā inserts the phrase Bodhisattvamahāsattvam after each name. On the other hand, some of the words in our texts agree more with the longer version than with the shorter one. To take one example, the two names of Bodhisattvas, Guhaprata and Indradeva, occurring in plaque No. 2, are given in the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā as Śubhagupta and Indradatta; whereas the Śatāhasrikā has Guhaprata and Indradeva. As these names occur in the Saddharmapuṇḍarika also in the same forms in a similar passage, we may be justified in taking that the forms occurring in the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā are due to a copyist's error. This conjecture becomes still more likely when we consider that the letters ga and ha can easily be mistaken for sa and bha in the old script. To take another example in which our text agrees with neither of the two versions, but preserves a different reading. Plaque No 23 reads Bodhisattvebhyah praṇāpāra . . . . which, doubtless, has to be completed by adding -mitam samprakāśayati. The corresponding passage in the longer version is Bodhisattvebhyah mahāsattvebhyah praṇāpāramitām samprakāśayati; while the shorter redaction has Bodhisattvamahāsattvām praṇāpāramitām samprakāśayati. These points are discussed here to show that our texts are taken from a redaction shorter than the Śatāhasrikā; and, while they agree in the main with the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, the manuscript from which the extracts were copied for these plaques contained readings somewhat different to those in Dr. Dutt's text.

I now give those passages of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, from which our texts are taken, italicizing the particular portions occurring in the plaques:


1 These words are repeated several times in the next paragraphs. Therefore it is not quite certain whether our text is from this particular place.

Extract No. 3. Ye ca sattvāstena mahata raśmyavabhāṣena sputhaśavabhāsitaśte sarvve niyataś-abhūvan anuttarāyāṁ samyaksambodhau (p. 6, ll. 15-17). Cf. Śatapāthisākāra, p. 9, ll. 10-11.


Extract No. 6. Atha khalu Bhagavāṁs-tasmin-neva sīṁhasane niśayāṇe punarmeva sritvāvabhisto akarot, yena sritvāvabhāṣena-ayāṁ trisāhasra-mahāsāhasro lokadhātuh sputaś-bhūt (p. 12, ll. 5-6).

Extract No. 7. Evam daksinasyāṁ dīśī ................. paśimottarasyāṁ adhaśūrdhvaṃ digabhagām Gāṅgā-nādi-vālukopameṣu lokadhātuṣu Buddhān Bhagavataḥ paśyanti sma (p. 12, ll. 12-14).

vainstāṁ sahāṁ lokadhātuṁ taṁsa Šākyamuniṁ Tathāgataṁ darsānāya vandanāya paryyuṣasāntaṁ tāṁsa bodhisattvaṁ mahāsattvaṁ .........

Bhagavaṁ aha, gaccha tvāṁ kulaputra yasya edāniṁ kālaṁ manyase. Atha khalu Ratuṇakarasa-Tathāgato nānāratnamayāni suvarṇāvabhashāni sahasrapatraṁ padmāni Samantaraśmaye Bodhisattvāya prādat, etaiṁtvāṁ kulaputra padmaṁstāṁ Šākyamuniṁ Tathāgatamēbhyavakireḥ. Evaṁca vadeḥ Ratuṇa-karo Bhagavan Bhagavantam-ālpa-badhatāṁ paripṛchṭaty-alpa-pataṅkataṁ laghūtthānataṁ yātrāṁ balaṁ sukhasparśāviharataṁ paripṛchchati..............

..... Samprajñānakāri ca tvam kulaputra Buddhakṣetre bhūyāḥ

* * * * * * *


The above passages are next repeated, with the substitution of daksināsyaṁ for pūrvasyaṁ; Sarvasokāpagato for Ratuṇavati; Aśokāśrī for Ratuṇakara and Vigataśoka for Samantaraśmi. Inscriptions on plaques 42 to 46 are extracts from this passage.

Of the remaining 45 fragments, Nos. 47 and 48 seem to read together; no connexion can be established between any two of the others; therefore, the numbers assigned to them are arbitrary. They have not yet been identified in any of the published Mahāyāna scriptures. The texts on the plaques numbered 47, 48 and 49 seem to be from a dialogue, between the Buddha and Kāśyapa, on questions of Buddhist metaphysics.

These plaques prove that in the ninth century, the Prajñāpāramitā was not only known in Ceylon; but was held in such high veneration by one sect of the Buddhists in the island, that extracts from it were inscribed on copper and enshrined in stūpas in place of, or in addition to, the corporeal relics of the Buddha.
I have elsewhere\(^1\) suggested that such small copper tablets may be the same as the \textit{dharmadhatu} mentioned in the Sinhalese religious treatise named \textit{Saddharmmaratnakara}. This practice of substituting \textit{dharmadhatu} for bodily relics (\textit{sārīrakadhatu}) is quite in keeping with the teaching expounded in the \textit{Prajñāparamitā} itself where, in a dialogue between the Buddha and Śakra, the king of heaven, it is agreed that one gains more merit by honouring the written word of the \textit{Prajñāparamitā}, than by paying reverence to the corporeal remains of the Master, inasmuch as the Buddahood attained by him is due to his training in the \textit{Prajñāparamitā}\(^2\).

The plaques also confirm the hypothesis put forward, on architectural grounds, by Mr. A. M. Hocart, the Archaeological Commissioner, that the Indikaṭusāya was a \textit{stūpa} of the Mahāyānists\(^3\).

\textbf{TEXTS} \(^4\).

\textbf{No. 1.}

1 Pratthavāhe\(^5\) 2 -na ca Naradatte

\textbf{No. 2.}

1 Guhagupte - 2 -na ca Indrade

\textbf{No. 3.}

1 krāmāni \(^6\) ca 2 Nittyodyu

\textbf{No. 4.}

1 yuta śa - 2 -tasaha

\textbf{No. 5.}

1 praṇidhāya 2 abhimukhi[ṁ]*

\textbf{No. 6.}

1 Ye ca sattv[ā*]- 2 -ṣetenā \(^7\) rasmy[a]\(^8\)

\textbf{No. 7.}

1 jihvendri[yena*]- 2 -cchādayāmā[sa*]

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\(^1\) \textit{C. J. Sc. (G)}, vol. ii, p. 44.
\(^2\) \textit{Aṭṭhasāhasrikā Prajñāparamitā}, chap. 3.
\(^3\) \textit{C. J. Sc. (G)}, vol. i, p. 91.
\(^4\) In numbering plaques 1–46, I have been guided by the order in which the texts occur in the \textit{Prajñāparamitā}.
\(^5\) Read \textit{Sārīravāhena}.
\(^6\) Read \textit{krāminā}.
\(^7\) According to the \textit{Prajñāpāramitā} text, the word \textit{mahatā} has been omitted after \textit{tena}.
\(^8\) Read \textit{rasmyā}.
No. 8.
1 [ga*]ndha-mālya-vile- 2 -pana-dhūpa\(^1\) cū[ṛṇa*]

No. 9.
1 ja-jala ⊗ ⊗ ⊗ 2 -ṣa-Tath[ā*]

No. 10.
1 ma-vakiranti 2 smābhiprakira\(^2\)

No. 11.
1 sigghāsane\(^3\) 2 niṣāṇṇah punar-[e*]

No. 12.
1 va smitam-aka- 2 -rod-vyena smi

No. 13.
1 ś[i*]\(^4\) paścima- 2 -m-uttoṣarasyāṁ \(^5\) d[i*]

No. 14.
1 [rddham] bhikṣu-sa[m*]- 2 ghen[a \(^6\)]

No. 15.
1 tra Rannākaro\(^7\) 2 nāma Tathāga

No. 16.
1 pasaṁkrāma[d*]upa- 2 -saṁkramya evam se\(^8\)

No. 17.
1 Rannākara \(^7\)-Tathā- 2 -gatam-ṣetadavo

No. 18.
1 ko bhaga- 2 -vaṁ hetu[h\(^{10}\)]

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\(^1\) In the text of the Pañca. Prajñā, the word dhūpa occurs before gandha.

\(^2\) Pañca. Prajñā, has abhyavakirniti.

\(^3\) Read simhāsane.

\(^4\) The word dīśi seems to have been repeated after the name of each direction, in the manuscript from which the extracts have been copied. It is not so in the printed text.

\(^5\) Read paścimottarasyāṁ.

\(^6\) The three vertical strokes after a seem to indicate the three syllables tha kha lu omitted for brevity's sake.

\(^7\) Read Rainā\(^2\).

\(^8\) After upasaṁkramya the word evam does not occur in the passage quoted above. If this is not a clerical error, this fragment must have been from some other place. This is a phrase occurring very frequently.

\(^9\) Pañca. Prajñā, has Tathāgatam Rainākaram.

\(^10\) The symbol after tu appears to be a jhuvāmūliya.
Indikatusaya Copper Plaques

Scale: four-sevenths
No. 20]

INDIKĀTUSĀYA COPPER PLAQUES

No. 19.
1 nāya evam- 2-kte Rannākara

No. 20.
1 raśmi[ṃ*]Bodhi- 2-satvam-êtad-sa

No. 21.
1 tatra Śākyamunī 2-nirṇāṇa Ma

No. 22.
1 gata ś[ṛṣṭha]- 2-ti dhritiy

No. 23.
1 Bodhisatve- 2-bhya[h*] prajñāpāra[mitām]

No. 24.
1 [sa*] prakāśa- 2-yati ta

No. 25.
1 stam Rannā- 2-kara[ṃ*] Tathā.

No. 26.
1 Śākyamuninirṇāṇa- 2-man 7-darśanāya

No. 27.
1 ya paryyupā- 2-sanāya t[ā]mśca

No. 28.
1 satvān ma- 2-hāsatvān

No. 29.
1 tri yasyaśedānī- 2-māśkālamśmanyase

No. 30.
1 khalu Rannā 1 -..... 2 sTaśā

No. 31.
1 Bodhisatvā- 2-ya prādādeśī
t

1 Read Rāma. 2 The phrase arhan samyaksambuddhaṃ is omitted after Tathāgataḥ.
8 Read dhrīti. 4 See above p. 201.
8 These two symbols are indicated by two strokes.
6 Tam is omitted in the Pañca. Prajñā, before Ratnakaram.
7 Instead of nāman, found in the text, the passage quoted above has Tathāgataṃ.
9 This phrase occurs so frequently in the text that it is difficult to say what particular place it is
taken from.
9 Read tra. 10 Read Tathā. 11 Read etai[x].
1 Bhagavantamśa- 2 -lpābākṣi

1 kha-sparśa- 2 viharatāṁśca

1 jānakāri ca 2 [tvam] kulaputra ta

1 gavann 4-alpā- 2 -batattā[m*] la

1 sparśa vi- 2 -haratiṅca pa

1 suvarṇa- 2 nirbhāsa[ni]

1 taīśca padma- 2 -yis 7 t[e*] lo

1 stāśca 2 dārikāsśa

1 mūlairśBhagava- 2 -nta[m]* satkṛ[tya*] gu

1 [jya] ekānte 2 nyaśidat

1 [Vigataśokoyya[m*]] 10 2 Bodhisattva

1 [Aśo]kaśriyas 11 Ta- 2 -thāgatamśe

1 nāva 12 ta- 2 -tra Śākya- 3 munīrṇā

---

1 kṣi seems to have been due to a clerical error. The original reads alpābādatāṁ.
2 Read vihāratāṁ.
3 Read vihāratāṁ ca.
4 Read [Bha]gavantam.
5 The last syllable read as ōca is doubtful.
6 Read viharatāṁ ca.
7 Read padmaś.
8 The passage quoted above has Sākyamunī after Bhagavantam.
9 Read nyaśidat.
10 This should be corrected to Vigataśoko nāma.
11 Should be 5iṭryam.
12 Read nāma.
Indikatusāya Copper Plaques

Scale four-sevenths
1 bādhatān ś pariprāccha
1 . . . . nyaśī . . 2 atha kha.
1 ti tat-kim ma- 2 -nyase Kā-
1 śyapa kaści[t*]ka- 2 -d-eva ś puruṣa-śa[ta*]
1 [pu*] ruśo māyā- 2 kṛtam ahī[ṁ*] ni . .
1 dharmmānaśvabhā- 2 -vān karoti dha . .
1 vā strata ś jñāna[ṁ*] 2 draśṭavyam tadeṣatā
1 ti aṣṭānā- 2 -m bhikṣusata
1 geṇa sārdha[ṁ*] 2 vipratipadyo
1 mitāṁ sarvam-eka- 2 rasam-bhavati yadu[ta]
1 pamā ś Buddhā- 2 kṣetra
1 [e*]va[ṁ] hetuka- 2 pratyaye
1 rśśa ś abhāsam-ā- 2 -gacchanti te *
1 nā avatirṇa[h*] 2 śrāma10-nagara

1 Read "bādhatāṁ.  2 Read pariprācchati.  3 Read kādaiva.  4 nīrmeanā?
6 This seems to be a clerical error.
8 To be restored as Gangānadvīpalokāmā.  7 Read kṣetra.  8 An evident clerical error.
9 Compare the phrase caṅkṣaṁ abhāsam ugačchānti teṣām, &c., in the Sukhāvatiyūha, chapter 32.
10 Read grāma.
No. 59.
1 sa\textsuperscript{1}-manas-ka- 2 -rmma-parisuddhi

No. 60.
1 to Bodhi- 2 -satva ni \ldots ti

No. 61.
1 tvā nāmas-kartta- 2 -vyā na thāta \textsuperscript{3}

No. 62.
1 kta-yuktā- 2 -yāṁ viharanti

No. 63.
1 parisuddhi- 2 -pratilasya \textsuperscript{4}

No. 64.
1 dhabhūvan mava \textsuperscript{5} Ta- 2 -thāgata-pura \textsuperscript{6}

No. 65.
1 [sa*]hasra[m*]Bhaga- 2 -vatā-kare

No. 66.
1 ya mātsya- 2 -yamādha \textsuperscript{7}

No. 67.
1 vanayaḥ gupto 2 sthitāḥ sa[t*] kāyadṛṣṭi]

No. 68.
1 niṣṭe \ldots 2 \ldots sa nīspu

No. 69.
1 [Tathā*] gatena 2 Sākyamuninā

No. 70.
1 [Bo*] dhisatvamṣeta- 2 -dśavoca[t*] putra

No. 71.
1 varṇa[m*] bhava- 2 -ti prabhā[m*] bhavati

No. 72.
1 [prati*] tya samutpādaḥ 2 sarvva-dṛṣṭi-kra[mena*]

\textsuperscript{1} dasa-manas-karma?
\textsuperscript{2} This symbol is unintelligible to me.
\textsuperscript{3} Read tathā.
\textsuperscript{4} Evidently a clerical error.
\textsuperscript{5} The two letters are quite clear, though they make no sense.
\textsuperscript{6} There are two vertical strokes after ra. Read purasāt?
\textsuperscript{7} This seems to be full of clerical errors.
Indikatusāya Copper Plaques

Scale four-sevenths
No. 73.
1 sarvva-lokadā- 2 -tu-cāturdvipa ..

No. 74.
1 Naimākara- 2 -Bodhisatva

No. 75.
1 grāhataḥ ha utti 2 gataḥ parāśmabhī ¹

No. 76.
1 vattaratai ² 2 Bodhisattva

No. 77.
1 Indrādeva bhu- 2 -vaddeva na

No. 78.
1 [Bo]*dhisatve- 2 [bhya]*s Tathā[gato] ³

No. 79.
1 iti Kāśyapa 2 ārya-sro[tāśpanna ?]

No. 80.
1 .. . saśra .. 2 ... bodhi .. .

No. 81.
1 abhūvan mā .. 2 pana Tathāgata ⁴

No. 82.
1 .. . tañ-ca bha .. 2 .. Tathāga[tā*]

No. 83.
1 .. . loke 2 .. loka ..

No. 84.
1 cara sama ... 2 mātreśva

No. 85.
1 bhaḥ amṛta 2 ... si ... 

¹ Though all the letters in this plaque are clear, no single word can be made out satisfactorily.
² This and the following plaque are full of errors.
³ Instead of these two letters we have two vertical strokes.
⁴ The inscriptions on plaques numbered 80 to 91 are very fragmentary. I give the letters appearing on them; but hardly any word can be made out
⁵ Cf. plaque No. 54.
No. 86.
1 .... tatra .... 2 .... tā la ....

No. 87.
1 .... rvva 2 .... sya

No. 88.
1 ..... dsavoca 2 ..... lo śrī

No. 89.
1 .... tavyam ... 2 ... mēka

No. 90.
1 .... tvasya ... 2 .. na dakṣi ....

No. 91.
1 .... syā .... 2 ... darśanāya ....

No. 21. KATARAGAMA INSCRIPTIONS

By S. PARANAVITANA

KATARAGAMA ¹ is one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in Ceylon, sacred alike to the Buddhists as well as to the Hindus. To the former, it is one of the ‘sixteen great places’ at which the Buddha, during his third visit to the island, sat in meditation. To the latter, it is the abode of Skanda, the youthful and fiery god of war.

Kājaragāma, as the place is called in the Pāli writings, was one of the earliest settlements of the Sinhalese in this island. In the third century B.C., it was already the seat of a kṣatriya clan whose representatives were among the distinguished personages assembled at Anurādhapura to pay homage to the branch of the sacred Bo-tree brought to Ceylon by Saṅghamittā, the daughter of the great Indian emperor Aśoka ². One of the eight shoots which sprang up from this Bo-tree was planted at Kataragama; and thus the place became a centre of the Buddhist faith ³ at a very early date. The foundation of Mahāgāma, about ten miles to the south, by Mahānāga, a brother of Devānampiya Tissa, seems to have eclipsed the fame of Kataragama; for, from that time up to the eleventh century, the place is mentioned but once in the Mahāvaṁsa. Dappula I, one of the best known of

¹ The temple of Kataragama has been often described. For a good account of the place, giving references to previous writers, see Manual for Uva Province by Herbert White, Colombo, 1893, pp. 35–53. See also The Worship of Muruka by the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam in the J. R. A. S., C. B., No 77, p. 234 ff.
² Mahāvaṁsa, ch. xii, v. 54.
³ Ibid., v. 62.
the rulers of Rohana, who had also a brief tenure of authority at Anuradhapura (642 A.D.), is said to have founded a monastery at Kataragama ¹.

In the first half of the eleventh century, Kataragama was, for a short period, of some moment in the affairs of the island. It was the last stronghold of the Sinhalese leaders of the time against the irresistible tide of Cola imperialism; and from there started that movement which, after varying fortunes, resulted in the liberation of the island from the Cola yoke. Kataragama was the scene of several hotly contested battles between the Sinhalese generals and the invading Colas on the one hand; and, on the other, of Kassapa the Kesadhatunayaka against Kitti, the rising young hero who afterwards restored the sovereignty of the Sinhalese and ascended the throne of Polonnaruwa as Vijayabahu I. During these campaigns, the town was sacked by the invaders; and owing to this reason, as well as to the extension of Vijayabahu's activities to a wider sphere, the place seems to have sunk into comparative insignificance for it never again figures in the history of the island ².

The shrine of the Kataragama god (see plate xx) which attracts such a large number of votaries annually from all parts of the island as well as from India, is a structure of modern origin ³; and has no pretensions whatever to architectural beauty. It stands in the centre of a spacious enclosure within which there are also an old bo-tree supposed to be identical with the one planted during the reign of Devanampiya Tissa, a Buddhist image house of modern style and several minor shrines dedicated to the worship of Skanda's wives and brother. An inscribed pillar (A.S.I. 490), of which more will be said in the sequel, stands

¹ See Mahawamsa, ch. xiv, v. 45.
² Mahawamsa, ch. livii, vv. 67, 68, 70, 74, ch. liviii, v. 5.
³ According to tradition, a shrine of Skanda was built at Kataragama by Dutthagamani in the first century B.C. in fulfilment of a vow made by him to that deity when he started on his memorable campaign against the Tamil usurper Elaจา who was ruling at Anuradhapura. The literature, both Sinhalese and Tamil, connecting Skanda with Kataragama, is of recent origin; and there are, at the place, no vestiges whatever of the prevalence of a Hindu cult in early days. Therefore, this tradition may well be doubted; especially in view of the fact that there is a tendency among the Sinhalese villagers to ascribe every possible religious foundation to the munificence of that pious monarch. The shrine has always been, and still is, under the supervision of Sinhalese priests (kapurâlas); and, in the annual festival, I was informed by the priest the ceremonies connected with the Bo-tree and the dâgâba take precedence to those of the god. Some of the legends associated with Kataragamadeviyo are not known in India about Skanda; and the prevailing belief among the Sinhalese is that he is one of the four guardian deities of Ceylon and is destined to become a Buddha in the future. Therefore, we may be justified in concluding that Kataragamadeviyo was originally one of the local deities or Bodhisattvas of the Sinhalese Buddhists; and in process of time was identified with the Purânic deity Skanda, some centuries ago.
in front of the image house. A number of ancient stones are lying about the place; but these have all been brought here, a few years ago, from the grounds of the Kirivehera.

The dāgāba known as Kirivehera (see plate xxi) about half a mile to the north of the devale, is traditionally said to have been founded by Mahānāga (circa third century B.C.). On some of the bricks fallen down from the dome, there are Brāhmī letters of about the first century B.C., inscribed as masons' marks. And, as will be seen later, one of the inscriptions at the place records its enlargement in the first or second century A.D. Therefore, this stūpa may well be ascribed to a very early date, though we may not accept the tradition in its entirety. The monument itself is about the size of the Mirisavātiya dāgāba in Anurādhapura and stands on an artificially raised terrace, to which flights of steps lead on the four cardinal points. The harinikā and the chatrāvali have fallen down and the facing of the dome, too, is incomplete. Restoration work has recently been started and has now proceeded about half way up the dome. There are two inscriptions near this stūpa: one (A. S. I. 488) on a slab standing some 50 ft. to the south of the main entrance, and the other (A. S. I. 489) on a slab lying on the pavement now broken into four fragments of which one is missing.

KIRIVEHERA SLAB INSCRIPTION OF CIRCA SECOND CENTURY A.D.
(A. S. I. No. 488)

This inscription has been noticed by Dr. E. Müller in his Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon p. 46. He says: ‘The only inscription that has been discovered among the ruins is one of five lines in the alphabet of the fourth century 1, but very much defaced, so that nothing can be made out of it. I believe to have deciphered in the second line the word vahana, and this may possibly be an allusion to Skanda, the god of war, to whom the temple is dedicated 2.’

The slab now stands to a height of 6 ft. above the ground level; and the inscribed area measures 4 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 10 in. There are five lines of writing, engraved vertically from the top downwards. The letters, on an average, are about 4½ inches in height. The stone, being of a loose grained variety, is very much weathered; but, thanks to the deepness of the engraving, all the letters are legible except the first two of line 1 and the last letter of line 3. As stated

1 As regards this statement, see the next paragraph.

2 As will be seen from the text and translation which follow, the three syllables vahana form part of a place-name and, therefore, there is no allusion to Skanda.
above, Dr. Muller ascribes this record to the fourth century; but the script, our only guide in dating the epigraph, agrees in every detail with that of dated inscriptions belonging to the first or second century A.D.

As regards grammar, the change of ca to ja is noticed in bikujarana for P. bhikkhu-acakriyan. In the form vadita (Skt. varddhita), the cerebralization of a dental when preceded or followed by an r, a feature almost universal in Sinhalese, is not observed. The modern equivalent of this word vadi goes back to a form *vadita where the dental had been cerebralized. An instance of sandhi (euphonic combination of letters) is seen in the form bikujarana which also supplies us with the only known example of an accusative plural termination in a document of this period. The two past passive participle verbal forms vadita (l. 3) and atadi (l. 5) are used here in an active sense. This is not the only instance in which this feature is noticed in old Sinhalese; and, in the medieval and the modern forms of the language, the past indicative of the active voice is formed regularly by the addition of the personal suffixes to the p. p. p. form.

The contents tell us that a certain elder of the Buddhist Church, by name Nanda, enlarged the caitya (i.e. the modern Kirivehera) and got the monks at Akujuka to construct the flights of steps at the four entrances.

**TEXT.**

1 [Si i] Kadaha(va)p[ī] gama Daka-
2 -vahanaka-vasiya-Nada-
3 tere ceta vadita [u*] Akuju(ka)-
4 bikujarana samatavya catara-
5 dorahi patagaḍa atadi [u*]

**TRANSLATION.**

(Hail)! The elder Nanda, residing at Dakavahanaka in the village Kadahavapi enlarged the cetiya; [and] laid the steps at the four entrances having made the chief monks at Akujuka acquiesce [therein].

**REMARKS.**

[Line 1] Kadahavapigama. In this name, the reading vapi is somewhat open to doubt. If the above reading be accepted, the name is equivalent to

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1 For instance, the verb ked (he did) is formed by the addition of the third person singular suffix to the form kada which is the p. p. p. of the root kar 'to do'.

2 The syllable si is faintly visible in the impression; and between that and the letter ka there is some space where, possibly, there was a vertical stroke used as a punctuation mark. Between the auspicious symbol and the next word, there is usually some space left blank in the inscriptions.

3 P. Nanda.
Pāli *Kaṭahāvāpiḍāma* which in modern Sinhalese would take the form of *Kaṭavāga.* Possibly, the place is identical with Kaṭagamuva, a village five miles south-east of Katarama.

[Lines 1–2] *Dakavahanaka* seems to have been a part of the village Kaṭahavapi. In modern Sinhalese, this name would be *Diyavāna.* *Vahanaka,* it may be mentioned, is the original form of the mod. Sin. *vāna* 'the spill of an irrigation reservoir'. It is plausible that the name was applied to that part of the village close to the spill of the village tank.


[Line 3] *Ceta* = Skt. *caitya,* P. *caṭiya.* In the next inscription, the word has been further corrupted to *ceya.* In the ninth-century language, it occurs in the forms of *sey* and *sū.* Mod. Sin. *sāya.*

[Line 3] *Akuju[ka].* From the context this appears to have been a place-name. An unpublished rock inscription of Gaṇabha I at Situlpavuvihāra in the Māgam Pattu contains the name Akuju Mahagama (the great village of Akuju).

[Line 4] *Bikujarana.* Accusative singular of the compound formed of the two words *biku* (P. *bhikkhu*) and *ajara* (P. *ācarāja*). The second word occurs in the oldest stage of the Sinhalese language as *acariya* and in the classical speech as *ājara.*

[Line 4] *Samatavaya.* P. *sammatāpayita,* the causal past participle of the root *sam-man.* The medieval Sinhalese form of the word was *samana.*


[Line 5] *Patagada.* This word occurs in the inscriptions of circa second century B.C. as *padagada*; in an inscription of about the seventh century as *patagāța* and in Sinhalese literature as *piyagūța.* Its Pāli form is *padagaṇṭhi* (see Mahāvamsaṭṭhā, Colombo edition of 1894, p. 214) which seems to be a word of Ceylon origin as it is found only in such Pāli works as were written in Ceylon.


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**SLAB INSCRIPTION OF MAHADAĻIMAHANA (A. S. I. No 489)**

This slab has been broken into four fragments, one of which is missing. The other three are lying on the pavement of the Kirivehera. When intact, the slab measured 5 ft. by 2 ft. 2 in. and the inscription in 13 lines covered an area of 3 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. The letters vary in size from 1½ to 3 inches. The stone is considerably weathered; but the writing is tolerably clear, and all the letters on
the preserved fragments can be made out with certainty. The slab seems to have been damaged recently, for an eye-copy of the inscription made by Mr. J. W. Robertson contains the letters on the missing fragment. But a comparison of the letters on the preserved fragments with the corresponding ones of this eye-copy convinces us that it is inadvisable to attempt a restoration of the missing portions of the record with this help.

The script resembles that of the Tissamahārāma slab (A. I. C. No. 67) now in the Colombo Museum. Another inscription in the same type of script and belonging to about the same period is found at Monarāgala in the Uva Province. The present record contains some symbols which are more developed in form than the corresponding ones of the Tissamahārāma slab. Compare, for instance, Ꞛa and ꞛya of this inscription with Ꞝa and ꞛ of that slab. Therefore, our epigraph seems to be somewhat later in date than the Tissamahārāma slab which belongs to the reign of Mahānāman (circa 468–490 A. D.).

The following points are noteworthy as regards the grammar of the document. In Saratara for Skt. Śrīdhara, P. Siridhara, the dha has been changed to ta and the vowel i in the first two syllables changed to a, doubtless under the influence of the vowels in the following syllables. Intervocalic ta has been changed to ya in ceya for P. cetiya; in the preceding record this word occurs in the form of ceta. In rajemi, the first person singular suffix mi has been added to a noun. This feature is also noticed in the Tissamahārāma inscription mentioned above. The elision of a whole syllable at the end of the word and the shortening of the preceding long vowel are noticed in Mahana for Mahānāga.

The inscription is not dated. The donor is Mahādaḷī Mahana raja (King Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga) son of Saratara (Siridhara Ayya). A king of Ceylon named Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga is mentioned in the chronicles; but he lived in the first century A.D. and his father was not named Siridhara. Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga of our inscription must, therefore, have been a local ruler of Rohaṇa who assumed the title raja. Perhaps he flourished in that unsettled period which followed the death of Mahānāman and was ended by the accession of Dhāṭusena, when the northern part of the island was under Tamil domination and provincial governors of the south had opportunity to proclaim themselves independent. It may also be interesting to note that Tiritara, the name of one of the five Tamil chieftains with whom Dhāṭusena had to fight, is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit name Śrīdhara of which the name of Mahādaḷī Mahana’s father is also a corruption.

1 Mahāvimaṇḍa, ch. xxxiv, vv. 38 ff. 2 Ibid., ch. xxxviii, v. 32.
As the epigraph is fragmentary, we cannot say exactly what its *contents* were; but from such parts as have been preserved, it seems that its purport was to register a grant of land made for defraying the expenses connected with the ritual at the Maṅgala Mahācetiya at Kājaragāma which doubtless is the modern Kirivehera.

**TEXT.**

1 Siddham Saratarayaha
2 puta Mahādaḷi-maha-
3 -na-rajemi Kajaraṇagamra-
4 -ji-maha-vaherahi Ma-
5 -gala-maha-ceya . . . .
6 jina-patīsa . . . . . . .
7 ama-padana koṭu . . . . .
8 tela-mula koṭu ca . . . . .
9 hapi-vaṭeṣha ca . . . . .
10 payutu karanaka . . . . .
11 -ṭuṭami atadaha [sa] . . . .
12 -hakasalayite . . . . . .
13 vaṭitani ama . . . . . .

**TRANSLATION.**

Hail! I, King Mahadali Mahana, son of Prince Saratara . . . . . . . . . . at the great auspicious cetiya in the royal monastery of Kajaraṇagama . . . . . . . . . . . . . . for the repair of dilapidated buildings . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . for the offerings of sacred food . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . for defraying the expenses of oil . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . for lamps of clarified butter . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . so that (it may be used for) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . eight thousand . . . . . in . . . ṭuṭama . . . . . . . . . . . . . . from what has accrued . . . . . . . . . . . . . . sacred food . . . . .

**REMARKS.**

[Line 6] Jina-patīsa. . . . Most probably this has to be completed as jina-patisatarana koṭu, a phrase occurring frequently in inscriptions from the second to fifth centuries. For its explanation, see E. Z. vol. I, p. 71.

[Line 7] Ama-padana has been taken as equivalent to P. amata-padāna. Amata means ‘ambrosia’, the food of celestial beings. In the Tamil inscriptions of South India, the food offered to the deity in temples is called amudu (Skt. amṛta, ‘ambrosia’); and it is probable that the same usage prevailed in the

*Ayu = Skt. ārya, see above, p. 82.*
Kiri Vehera Slab No. 2

Scale about 1 inch to 1 foot
Buddhist shrines of Ceylon. The word *mula*, used in Sinhalese literature to describe food offered in temples, and also for the victuals served to the king, can etymologically be identical with *am̐pta*.


[Line 9] *Haṭa-vat̐ha*. *Haṭa* is equivalent to *P. sappi* ‘clarified butter’. *Vaṭe* is the same as *P. vatti* and Skt. *vartti*, Mod Sin. *vaṭa* ‘lamp’.


[Line 11] . . . . *tu gami*. The name of the village which was the object of the present grant may, perhaps, be restored as *Jetugami*. If so, it may be identical with Deṭagamuva, a village about a mile to the south of Kataragama.

[Line 12] This cannot be understood owing to its fragmentary nature.


**PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF DAPPULA V (A. S. I. No. 490)**

This inscribed pillar does not actually belong to Kataragama though it is, at present, to be seen within the temple enclosure. Originally, it stood in the forest at Deṭagamuva about a mile to the south of Kataragama. It had fallen down and was broken into two fragments one of which, measuring 1 ft. 10 in. in length, was removed by the ex-headman of Kataragama to his house to serve as a step. The incumbent priest of the Buddhist temple at Kataragama had this fragment removed to the temple in 1916; and, later, the lower half of the pillar was also brought to the same place and was set up in front of the image house. The smaller piece, which is now lying uncared for on the ground, has suffered considerable damage at the hands of pilgrims who burn camphor on it.

The pillar measures 11½ in. by 12 in. and, originally, stood six feet above ground. It was surmounted by a vase-shaped capital 10 in. in height. Three of the sides are inscribed and the fourth contains the engravings of a monk’s fan, a scythe, a crow, and a dog. Side A contains 18 lines of writing, side B 26 and side C 21. One letter each of lines 9 and 10 in side A has been lost owing to the break; but they can easily be restored with certainty. Side C has been very much affected by exposure to sun and rain; line 6 being completely, and lines 5, 15 and 16 partly, illegible. The rest of the record is well preserved. The letters, which vary in size from an inch to an inch and a half, are inscribed between lines which are three inches apart on side A and two inches on sides B and C.

The script is of the tenth century and agrees, on the whole, with that of
other epigraphs of the same period. The language of the record, particularly in the introductory part, is highly ornate in style and abounds with metaphor within metaphor which can hardly be rendered into English, literally. The syntax is very much involved; and the arrangement of the various clauses in the two long sentences which form ll. A. 1 to C. 7 of the record is rather clumsy. Lucidity of expression would have been gained had the long string of adjectival clauses ending with visākaḷa (l. B 10) been immediately followed by Sāhākulaṭa ek talatik vā sīti Lāmāni Mihindahu visu. Similarly, we would have preferred to place Kapngampirivenat (ll. C 4–5) just after its qualifying clause beginning with Tuṃsiya teśat and ending with terhi (ll. B 19–25). The following words occurring in the record deserve mention for their peculiar grammatical or orthographical features. Vāḷa (l. A 1) is the equivalent of vāḷa occurring in Sinhalese literature. It is here the second element of a compound of three words and hence is not an inflected form; and as such the termination ā is noteworthy. The lingual ī is also unusual; and is etymologically inadmissible if the word is derived from Sanskrit āvali, as it is usually supposed to be. Perhaps the form vāḷā goes back to Skt. āvartti. Rāḷi (l. A 2) represents an earlier stage of development of the literary form vāḷa. It is, most probably, derived from Sanskrit laharī by metathesis and the elision of ha; the cerebralization of the l being undoubtedly, owing to the influence of the preceding ra. Diyul (l. A 4) is a variant form of duhul (Skt. dukūla) with which we are familiar from classical Sinhalese poetical works. The form diyul occurs in Dampiya-ātuva-gāṭapada-sannaya ¹, a work only a decade earlier than the present record. The occurrence of the lingual ī in the second syllable of leśa (l. A 6) shows that this word goes back, not to Sanskrit lola as is generally assumed ², but to the root lūt. The word hat ³ (l. A 7) is an instance of false restoration. The correct form of the word, as it is derived from Skt. asta, should be, and occurs in literature as, at; but as the initial ha is very often elided in the Sinhalese language, those who wish to pose as learned restore this letter; and, in doing so, they sometimes introduce it in places where, originally, the ha was absent. Koḍu [lu] (l. A. 9–10) is derived from Skt. kundala; and occurs in later literature as koḍol. It is noteworthy that in this word, as well as in Paḍu Abha (ll. A 17–18) maḍulu, (l. B 9) and subulu (l. A 13), the nasal has disappeared; whilst in numba (Skt. nabhas)

¹ I am indebted to the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka for this information.
² See Geiger, E. S., p. 76.
³ This form of the word is not at all considered erroneous. It occurs in Sidat Saṅgarā. Kalavann bōgu mahāvāna hiru hat vala.
a nasal has been introduced where originally there was none. *Evhu* (l. B, 3) is interesting as the prototype of the now frequently used pronominal form *osu* ('his'). In *vikmayen* (ll. B 6–7) we find the pleonastic *ya* introduced between a stem ending in *a* and the case termination. This feature, though very common in the later stages of the Sinhalese language, is rarely met with in the tenth-century dialect. As regards *verat*, (l. B 22) contracted from *veherat*, see the Badulla Pillar Inscription (*ante* p. 73). *Laṅgu* (ll. B 26–C 1) is here written with a lingual *l* whereas in all the other instances where the word occurs, it is written with a dental *l*1. *Mihi* (l. C 17) the locative singular of *me* 'this' (*P. ima*), is the prototype of the modern *mi* found in such words as *mī laṅga*, &c. *Pā* in l. C 20 stands for *pāv* (Skt. *pāpa*).

The inscription is dated in the sixth year2 of King Dāpuḷu who, on palaeographic and other considerations, is identified with the fifth of that name. As Dappula V ascended the throne in or about 918 A.D., this inscription must have been set up in 924 A.D. or thereabouts.

The object of the record is the registration of immunities granted to a religious establishment named Kapugam-pirivena on the southern bank of the Kapikandur river in the principality of Rohaṇa, by a prince named Lāmāni Mihind, son of Udā (Udaya), the heir-apparent. From the inscription, we learn that this prince had conquered the southern and central parts of the island; and, when this grant was issued, he was governing the Rohaṇa country. Udā Mahayā, Mahinda's father, was the same prince who, after the death of Dappula V, ascended the throne as Udaya II3. We also learn, for the first time, from this document that Udaya II's queen was named Dev Gon.

The Rambāva Slab Inscription (*E. Z.* vol. II, p. 67), says that King Sirisaṅgbo, the donor of that grant who has been identified with Mahinda IV, was the son of King Sirisaṅgbo and Queen Dev Gon. Another record attributed to that king, namely the 'Jetavanārāma' Slab Inscription (*E. Z.* I, p. 221) has the same statement. The Rambāva slab furthermore states, in words somewhat resembling those used for Prince Mahinda in the present record4, that Sirisaṅgbo (Mahinda IV) conquered Rohaṇa. As Udā Mahayā, after his accession to the throne, had the *biruda* title of Sirisaṅgbo, his son Mahinda may perhaps be identified with Sirisaṅgbo, son of Sirisaṅgbo and Dev Gon (Mahinda IV). It

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2 See below, p. 223 n. 1.
3 See the Puliyankūlam Slab Inscription (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 282 ff.). This inscription mentions another son of Udaya named Kitagbō (Kitaggabodhi).
4 *Siya vikmen dānā gat Ruhunu danavyeki*. With this compare, ll. B 6–10 of this inscription.
may also be noted that Mahinda IV, in his ‘Buddhist Railing’ slab inscription\(^1\) emphasizes his descent from Paṇḍukabhaya, in the same manner as Prince Mahinda of this record does. On the other hand, several other inscriptions, such as the well-known Mihintale tablets (E.Z. Vol. I, p. 9 ff.) which can reasonably be attributed to Mahinda IV, give the names of the parents of Sirisaṅgo as Abhā Salamevan and Dev Gon. Dr. Wickremasinghe’s identification of the Ṛṣṭha Mahinda of the Mayilagastoṭa pillar inscription with Mahinda IV is, in my opinion, untenable as the name of that prince’s mother is given there as Saṅg Gon, whereas in all the records attributed to Mahinda IV that monarch’s mother is called Dev Gon.

As to the geographical names mentioned in the record, Mahavehera is the monastery named Tissamahārāma at Māgama and the river Kapikandur is the modern Māṇīk Gaṅga. Kapugam-pirivena was most probably situated at the place where the inscription was found, Deṭāgamuva, where some stone pillars marking the site of an ancient religious foundation can still be seen.

**TEXT.**

**A.**

1 Taraṅga-vāḷa-
2 raḷi ot maha-
3 muhund me ni-
4 -ldiyul han
5 namba-gaṅga me
6 daḷa-leḷa-mut-hari-
7 -n hobnā Ha-
8 -t-Udā-giri-ku-[lu]
9 [me] miṉi-kodu-
10 -[lu] palaṇ Dambadi-
11 -v-polov-ag-
12 mehesna pala-
13 -n miṉi-subuḷuvak
14 bandu nan-siri-la-
15 -kaḷa Siri Laka-
16 -divhi Hir-got-
17 kulen baṭ Paḍu-
18 Abhā naranind-

**B.**

1 -hu paraparen ā
2 Udā Mahayāhu ure-
3 -hidā evhu me ku-
4 -len samadā Dev-
5 Gon- rāja kus-
6 hi upan sāha vi-
7 -kmayen ek pā-
8 -hārā Ruhunu Ma-
9 -la-maḍulu tumā visi
10 kaḷa e danaviyehi
11 Mahaveher-nakā
12 uvanisā pīhiṭi
13 Kapugam-pirivena-
14 -ṭ satar-pas su-
15 -laba vas Sāhā-
16 -kulaṭ ek-talā-

\(^1\) See below, p. 226.
KATARAGAMA INSCRIPTIONS

17 -тик вă сиți Lămă-
18 -ni Mihindăhu vi-
19 -sin tunsiya
20 -teșăt pirive-
21 -nin lakala maha-

1 -ųgu sa ᵃ [vana havu]-
2 -ruduyehi [Vesa]-
3 -gă pun-sand-po-
4 -hoi Kapugam
5 pirivenaț ....
6 ..............
7 -m vadălamha [ⁿ*]
8 Hulvădu melâ-
9 -tti rad-kol-kă-
10 -miyan găl mivu-
11 -n văriyan no

12 gănnă isă
13 me gamhi kući-
14 -n no gănnă
15 isă ........... geta-
16 -d ge ........ no gănnă
17 isă mihi samva-
18 -tă buna Mahavo-
19 -tiye ela maru-
20 -vă kała pă kam
21 gățaha[n*]

TRANSLATION.

[Lines A 1-16] The island of Siri Lak ², adorned with varied splendour, is comparable to a jewelled wreath ³ worn by the Chief Queen ⁴, the land of Dambdiv ⁵, the blue robe worn by whom is the great ocean containing rows of billows as if they were folds ⁶; who is resplendent with the celestial river ⁷ oscillating on the braided hair ⁸ as if it were a string of pearls and the jewel ear-rings worn by whom are the mountain peaks Hat ⁹ and Uđă ¹⁰.

¹ The regnal year is not completely preserved. The numeral seems to have been one beginning with sa as that letter is faintly visible after šăgu in line C 1. As this line could not have contained more than six letters and as the symbols for vana havu should have been there to be read along with ruduyehi in the next line, I have restored the date as savana. It may have been satvana, too.
² Skt. Śri Lāmakā, i.e. Ceylon.
³ Subu = P cumbaṭaka.
⁴ Ag-mehana = Skt. agra-mahīśi. This inscription gives conclusive evidence to prove that mehana is to be translated 'queens' and not 'lords' as done by Dr. Wickremasinghe (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 26, n. 10).
⁵ Rati. For the etymology of this word, see above, p. 220. The original meaning of the word was 'waves'. Here, it is used in the secondary sense of 'folds'. Mod. Sin. răți.
⁶ Numba-ganga = Skt. Nābhō-Gangā, i.e. the Ganges.
⁷ Dala is taken as derived from Skt. jāta though I am doubtful whether this meaning is appropriate here. If the the cerebral ́ is a mistake for the dental ̂, the phrase Numba-ganga me dala ̈la mul-hariu hōnā may be translated as 'who is resplendent with the celestial river as it were a bright and oscillating string of pearls'.
⁸ Skt. Asta, a mythical mountain in the West.
⁹ Skt. Udaya, a mythical mountain in the East.
[Lines A 16–B 19] [Enacted] in order to make the four requisites\(^1\) easy for the Kapugampirivena\(^2\) situated in the vicinity\(^3\) of the monastery\(^4\) of Mahaveher\(^5\) in the province [of Rohana] by Lamani\(^6\) Mihind\(^7\), the incomparable ornament\(^8\) of the Saha (Sakya) race; who is the son of Udā Mahayā\(^9\) descended from the lineage of King Padu Abhā\(^10\) who [in his turn] was descended from the family of the solar race in the island of Ceylon\(^11\); who was born in the womb of Princess\(^12\) Dev Gon of equal birth unto that [Udā Mahayā]; and who, by his daring prowess, subjugated, in one stroke, the provinces of Ruhun\(^13\) and Mala\(^14\).

[Lines B 19–C 7] On the full moon day of the month of Vesaga\(^15\) in the [sixth] year of the raising of the umbrella of dominion by the great king Dapul\(^16\), we ordered \ldots to the Kapugampirivena which is situated

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\(^1\) Satarupa = P. catuṣācaya. See Pāli Dictionary, s.v.

\(^2\) P. Kappāsāgama. A parivena of this name is mentioned in the Mhv. cb. liv, v. 51.

\(^3\) Uvanā, see E. Z., Vol. I, p. 35, n. 8.

\(^4\) Nakā = P. nibāya, the original meaning of which is ‘an assemblage’. In Sinhalese nakā, very often, is used in the secondary sense of ‘a monastery’.

\(^5\) P. Mahāvihāra, presumably the Tissa Mahāvihāra at Māgama.

\(^6\) Lamani or Lāmānī occurs in the Pavaṇkumbha Śiriśa as well as in other works of the Daśabodeniya and Kotte periods as the name of the Sinhalese royal clan which originated from Bodhigupta, the Mauya prince who came with the Bo-tree to Ceylon in the reign of Devānampiya Tissa and was appointed by that monarch as the guardian of the sacred tree. The word Lamani is considered to be derived from Lambakananga another name by which Bodhigupta’s progeny is designated. But in the present inscription, Mihind (Mahinda) who is styled ‘Lāmānī’ is said to have been a descendant, not of Bodhi Gupta, but of Paṇḍukabhaya. Therefore, the accepted etymology and interpretation of this word may well be doubted.

\(^7\) P. Mahinda.

\(^8\) Talāṭika, see E. Z., Vol. I, p. 34, no. 6.

\(^9\) Udaya Mahādīpāda. For the interpretation of the title ‘Mahayā’, see above p. 82 f.

\(^10\) P. Paṇḍuka Abhaya, the grandfather of Devānampiya Tissa and the founder of Anurādhapura. It was through this monarch that the Sinhalese kings traced their descent to the Śākya clan to which the Buddha belonged. I know of only one other inscription which mentions this early and half-mythical king. It is a fragmentary slab inscription (see below pp. 226–229) found near the ‘Buddhist Railing’ at Anurādhapura.

\(^11\) The translation of II. 1–16 should come here as an adjectival clause. I have detached it and treated it as a separate sentence in order to make the translation less cumbersome.

\(^12\) Rājīrā = Skt. rājīrā, the title by which royal ladies other than the chief consort of the king are designated in inscriptions of this period.

\(^13\) P. Rohana, the south-eastern part of Ceylon.

\(^14\) P. Malaya (cf. T. malai) the name by which the mountainous districts in the centre of the island were known in olden times.

\(^15\) Skt. Vaiśākha (April–May).

\(^16\) This name is given in the Mahāvamsa as Dappula. Dāpuḷ or Dāpuḷa is a true vernacular form and is made up of dā ‘relief’ and puḷu (of uncertain derivation) ‘born’. The Pāli rendering ought to be Dhātpabhati.

\(^17\) The missing portion perhaps contained a word or words meaning ‘imunities’.
to the north of the Great Monastery (mahāvāra) adorned with three hundred and sixty-three cells\(^1\), and on the south bank of the river Kapikandur\(^2\).

[Lines C 7–C 21] The hulavā\(^3\), melāṭṭi\(^4\) and other officers of the royal household\(^5\) shall not levy carts, buffaloes and workmen\(^6\). The householder\(^7\) in this village shall not be impressed for service. Getaq\(^8\) should not be levied on goods. Should this command be infringed by any, they shall take upon themselves the sins committed by a killer of cows\(^9\) at Mahavoti\(^10\).

\(^1\) Piriven = P. parivena, see Pāli Dictionary s.v. Later, this word assumed the meaning of ‘a monastic dwelling’ and is at present used, in Ceylon, to denote ‘a seat of learning’.

\(^2\) The Kappakandara nadi of the Mahāvāma. The Sinhalese form appearing in the record would suggest that the correct reading of the Pāli name is Kapikandara. As Kapugampiriwena is said to have been situated to the north of the Mahāvihāra (Tissamañārāma of Māgama) and on the south bank of the Kapikandur Hoya, the latter cannot be any other river but the Mānik Gānga. Therefore, Prof. Geiger’s identification of Kappakandara with the Kuṇbukkan Oya (Mahāvāma, translation, p. 165, n. 5) cannot be accepted.

\(^3\) Same as ulrādu occurring in other inscriptions. For the meaning of the word, see above, p. 94.

\(^4\) See above, p. 110.

\(^5\) The phrase hulavā melāṭṭi rādkol-kāmiyana can also be translated as ‘the officers of the royal household such as hulavā and melāṭṭi’.


\(^7\) Kuḍi. See E. Z., Vol. I, p. 105, n. 11. The following passage from the Milindapañhā (p. 147) will throw some light on the status of kuḍi in ancient India:—Ilti so mahārāja gāma sāmiko kūtipurse sannipātento sabbe gāmike āṇāpeti, te ca āṇātitā na sabbe sannipātanti; kūtipurisā yeva sannipātani etakā yeva ma gāmikā ‘ti gāma sāmiko ca tathā sampātichati aūhe bahutarā anāgata, iti kūtipurisā dāsi dūti bhakārā kāmārā gāmikā gilāna go mahārāja aji-lākā supānā, ye anāgata sabbe te agani kūtipurse yeva upādyaya āṇāpetāti. ‘Now when the lord, O King, is thus summoning all the heads of houses, he issues his order to all the villagers, but it is not they who assemble in obedience to the order, it is the heads of houses. And the lord is satisfied therewith, knowing that such is the number of his villagers. There are many others who do not come—women and men, slave girls and slaves, hired workmen, servants, peasantry, sick people, oxen, buffaloes, sheep and goats, and dogs—but all these do not count. It was with reference to the heads of houses that the order was issued’ (Rhys Davids’ translation, S. B. E. vol. xxv, pp. 208–9). The kuḍi mentioned in the inscriptions, like the kūtipureśa in the above passage, seem to have been heads of houses directly responsible to the lord of a village.

\(^8\) This is probably a variant form of gedāq, for which see E. Z., Vol. I, p. 250, n. 5.

\(^9\) Ela maruva. This phrase was translated by me as ‘a killer of goats’ (see above p. 133). But it is not quite clear why the killing of goats should have been singled out as a specially heinous sin. The goat was not considered a sacred animal either in Ceylon or in India. The word el\(a\) may mean ‘cattle’ or ‘cow’ and is used as such in compound words in the modern Sinhalese language. For instance, el\(a\) kiri means ‘cows’ milk’ in contrast to mi\(k\)iri ‘buffaloes’ milk’. El\(a\) harak differentiates cows and bulls from buffaloes (mi\(h\)a\(r\)ak). The cow was considered a sacred animal by the Sinhalese in olden days just as it is still in India. The above interpretation of the phrase, therefore, is more appropriate than that which has hitherto been followed.

\(^10\) Mahātīthī, see above p. 135.

By S. Paranavitana.

The upper half of an inscribed slab, found at the building called ‘the Buddhist Railing’ near the Eastern (Jetavana) dāgāba at Anurādhapura, is preserved in the premises of the Archaeological Survey. The fragment measures 2 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. 11 in.; the two corners at the top have been damaged. Nineteen lines of writing are preserved, and a few letters at the end of the twentieth line can also be made out. It is not possible to say how many lines are lost.

The letters are about an inch in size and belong to the tenth century. As regards the language, the following words are noteworthy. Mahā (l. 12) ‘the floor of a house’ occurs here for the first time. Prof. Geiger derives it from the Pāli mahālaya ‘a great mansion’ (see E. S., s. v.). Harā (l. 13) which, from the context, appears to signify some sort of structure in which water-pots are kept, is of obscure origin and not been found elsewhere. Upāraṇa in l. 16 is, most probably, a clerical error for upakarana (l. 15); but it can also be taken as the prototype of uvarana which occurs in the Sīdat Saṅgara.²

The record is dated in the seventh year of Sirisaṅbo Mahind (Mahinda IV). It is interesting to note that the monarch is here referred to by his personal name in addition to his viruta. Among the numerous epigraphs of this ruler, there is only one other inscription which mentions him by his name, all the rest using only the title of Sirisaṅbo.

The object of the record was to proclaim certain rules concerning a ‘Water Pavilion’ (pāṇ madiya) at the Ratnamāpirivena⁴ in the Jetavana monastery. If

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² Vōdi nam mat vōdi. As al ip uvarana navam matavalasalasilathī aṭ (Sīdat Saṅgara, ch. 1).
⁴ An edifice called ‘Ratnaprāshāda’ was situated in the Abhayagiri area. This has been identified by the late Mr. Ayrton with the building popularly known as ‘the Elephant Stables’. (See A. S. C. Memoirs, vol. i, p. 1 fl.). The Mahāvihāra, too, possessed a building of the same name, Ravanpahā in Sinhalese (see E. Z., Vol. I, p. 228). ‘Ratnamāpirivena’ of the Jetavana monastery is but a variation
'Buddhist Railing' Slab Inscription

Scale about 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches to 1 foot

ERRATUM

Plate 25. For 'Buddhist Railing' Slab-Inscription read Anurādhapura
'Buddhist Railing' Slab-Inscription.
A FRAGMENTARY SLAB-INSRIPTION

'Ratnamāpirivena' refers to the building near which the inscription was found, it must have been the ancient name of 'the Buddhist Railing'. This inscription furnishes us with further evidence to show that the 'Abhayagiri Vihāra' of to-day is actually the Jetavana Vihāra.

TEXT.

1 Siribaba-Sahā-kula-kot Okāvas- [parapure]-
2 -n bat Sudovun-maharaj-hu anva [ye]-
3 -n ā Paṭuvasev-Abhā-maharaj-hu parapu-
4 -ren bat Sirisaṅbo-Mahind-maharaj-hu sa-
5 -t lāṅgu satvama havurduyehi Sāguli 1-ma-
6 -ha-himiyān nāmin pālavu apis-satos-
7 Tis-maha-teranat pīhiṇi Denā-raja-maha-vehe-
8 -rhi Ratnamāpirivenhi vasana sag-mok-kā-
9 -mi uvasuva visin kāru me doroṭu-pān-madi-
10 -yehi navatān no denu isā Senevira-
11 -d-mulā vū vana sag-mahalu-saṅgun visin
12 me doroṭu-pān-madiyēhi udu-mahāl yaṭa-ma-
13 -hālhid pān-kala tabana hārayehid kisi
14 kavaru pariyaṇekinud navatān no denu i-
15 -sa me pān-maḍu-kusalān piḷibada upakaraṇa-
16 -yen vādi anun piḷibada uparaṇa 2 no taba-
17 -vana isā mehekaruvange varayaṇen vā-
18 -di upakaraṇayak tubuva atā divel genā nernā
19 isā nakayā vū vana saṅgunud saṅgun kere ba-
20 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. navatān nogan-

of the same name; and, therefore, it seems that a building called 'Ratna' house or dwelling was an essential feature of every important monastery. In the great monastery at Sānci in India, there was also a building called Ratnagṛha (Jewel House). See C. I. I. vol. iii, p. 262. Perhaps, it was a building set apart for the worship of the 'Three Jewels' (Ratanattaya).

1 The Nihāya Saṅgraha has the form Sāgala.
2 May be corrected to upakaraṇa.
TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1–5] In the seventh year after the raising of the umbrella of dominion by the great King Sirisāṅgbo Mahīnd, the pinnacle of the illustrious Sāhā race who is descended from the lineage of Okāvas, who has come down in the succession of the great King Sudovun and who is descended from the lineage of the great king Paďuasdev Adbhā.

[Lines 5–10] Lodgings shall not be given in this ‘Water Pavilion at the Gate’ constructed by the devotees, desirous of heavenly bliss and final emancipation, who reside at the Ratnamāpirivena in the great royal monastery of Denā established [of yore] for the benefit of the great elder Tis who was

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1 P. Sirisāṅghabodhi Mahīnda.
2 P. Sākya.
3 Skt. Ikkāka, P. Okkāka.
4 P. Suddhodana, the name of Buddha's father.
5 Paṇḍu Vāsudeva Abhaya, the same as Paṇḍukābhaya, the first king of Ceylon who belonged to the Sākya race. He is almost everywhere referred to by the shorter name of Paṇḍukābhaya; but his full name ought to have been Paṇḍu Vāsudeva Abhaya, as the Mahāvamsa (ix. 27) tells us that it was a compound of the name of his grandfather (Paṇḍu Vāsudeva) and that of his uncle (Abhaya).
6 Navālan, see E. Z., Vol. 1, p. 54, n. 7. This prohibition doubtless refers to royal officers who seem to have, rather too frequently, made use of the monastic buildings as temporary residences. The Vinaya rules enjoin the Buddhist monks to give shelter, in their dwellings, to strangers in need.
7 Doraṭu-puṇa-maṇḍya seems to have been a building near the entrance to a large mansion, where water was kept for persons coming in to perform ablutions. The term has not been noticed elsewhere.
8 Uvasa = P. upāsaka. Originally, this word meant any lay adherent of the Buddhist creed in contrast to a bhikkhu, one who had adopted the life of a religious recluse. In the tenth-century inscriptions, the terms upāsaka and uvasa are applied to laymen who resided in the monasteries to attend to temple ritual or to the needs of the monks. In South Indian Tamil Inscriptions we read of a class of temple attendants called upāsaka (see Bhandarkar Memorial Volume, p. 229).
9 P. Ratnamahāpirivena.
10 P. Jetavana.
11 Tis = P. Tissa. This was the name of a therā who lived, in the reign of Mahāsena, at the monastery of Dakkhipagiri in Anurādhapura. It was for him that Mahāsena built the Jetavana monastery, encroaching on the grounds of the Mahāvihāra. (See Mv., ch. xxxvii, vv. 32–9, and the Nīkāya Saṅgraha, Wickremasinghe's edition, p. 15.) He held views on religion opposed to those of the Mahāvihāra brethren and was publicly charged for a grave offence and excommunicated by the orthodox monks. In remarkable contrast to the flattering language applied to him in this inscription, the chroniclers of the Mahāvihāra delight in heaping opprobrious epithets whenever they refer to Tissa. The Mahāvamsa calls him ‘a hypocrite, a plotter, the lawless' and ‘evil friend' (ch. xxxvii, v. 32). The later Sinhalese chronicles, the Paḷahatthi and Nīkāya Saṅgraha, invariably attach to his name the sobriquet of kohon (P. kuhana) 'the hypocrite'. Perhaps, Tissa was not so black as he was painted by the orthodox chroniclers; and there is no doubt that he suffered on account of the sectarian bigotry of his opponents.
moderate in his desires, was content, and was known by the name of the great lord Sāguli.\(^1\)

[Lines 10–15] Lodgings shall not be given, on any pretext whatsoever, in the upper story as well as in the lower story of this ‘Water Pavilion at the Gate’ and also in the hāra where pots of water are kept, by the monks, young and old, who are \(^2\), or will be \(^3\), residing at the college of Senovirad.

[Lines 15–17] Any utensils belonging to others and in excess of the utensils belonging to the endowments \(^4\) of this ‘Water Pavilion at the Gate’ shall not be kept here.

[Lines 17–20] If any utensil in excess of (or other than) the varayāla \(^5\) of the servants be placed there, [the servant responsible] shall be turned out after taking back the maintenance [lands] that are in his possession \(^6\). The monks who are, or will be, residing at the monastery \(^7\) and . . . . . . . . connected with the monks . . . . . . shall not take lodgings.

\(^1\) Sāguli, Sāgali, or Sāgala was the name of a theran who was the leader of a separatist movement from the Dhammaruci sect which had its head-quarters at the Abhayagiri Vihāra. He flourished in the reign of Gotthaka Abhaya and after his secession from the Dhammarucikas, he took up his abode at the Dakkhinagiri Vihāra. His followers, known as the Sāgaliyas, formed one of the three contending parties of the Buddhist Church in Ceylon during the Anurādhapura period. The Mahaṭhera Sāgaliya is spoken of with respect by the author of the Nikāya Saṅgraha, perhaps owing to the opposition that he showed towards the Dhammarucikas; but when his followers began to exert an independent influence, founded a rival monastery and gained royal patronage, they were equally obnoxious to the monks of the Mahāvihāra as the Dhammarucikas. For an account of the Mahaṭhera Sāgali and his sect, see Nikāya Saṅgraha, English translation, p. 13.


\(^3\) Vana, future participle of the same root. The interpretation of vū vana is open to doubt.

\(^4\) Kusālān, see above p. 95.

\(^5\) Varayāla is an obscure word. I am unable to suggest anything as to its meaning or etymology.

\(^6\) Literally, ‘that are in his hands’.

\(^7\) Nakayā, see above, p. 224.
No. 23. THE KEVULGAMA INSCRIPTION.

By H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

The slab pillar on which this inscription is cut originally stood in Kandé-vatta or Kandé Disânāyaka Mudiyanseâlagē-vatta situated in Pamunêtānna, a hamlet of Kevulgama village in Gampaha Kōralê West of Uḍa Dumbara in Kandy District. Some thirty years ago the pillar was blasted in search of hidden treasure by the then owner shortly after the death of his father, who, it is said, regarded the record as of great value and actually slept by its side on a rock-hewn bed. The upper and main part of the pillar was then removed to the local vihārē by the priest and built into the inner doorway of the temple. In this position, wherein three lines of the inscription at the top and two at the bottom were concealed by the masonry, it was copied by the Archeological Survey in 1909; it then measured 2 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. Recently the writer induced the priest to consent to the excavation of the record; the remaining part also was brought by the priest from its original site to the pansala below the temple.

The inscription consists of eighteen lines on the front of the pillar and is continued in nine lines on the right-hand side under a crescent moon; on the left-hand side is the figure of the sun. The fragments of some five aksaras on the lower portion of the pillar form the continuation of line 18; thus by a lucky chance the blasting operation has done no irreparable damage. The letters on the front cover a space of 3 ft. 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. in length; they vary from 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) to 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. in height.

The record is dated in the first year of King Siri Saṅgabo Kāliṅga Vijaya Bāhu. There were three rulers of the name Kāliṅga Vijaya Bāhu. In *E. Z.*, Vol. II, No. 36, pp. 219 ff., Sāhasa Malla is so styled with the prefix Siri Saṅgabo, precisely as in the present document. According to the *Nikāya Saṅgrahāva*, Magha also bore the name; his throne name is not recorded. Last of all Vijaya Bāhu III appears in the Rājāratnākaraṇa under the name; he was a descendant of Siri Saṅgabo. The script suits any of these princes. There is no definite proof that Vijaya Bāhu III ever held Uḍa Dumbara, which is described as being in Pihiti or the King’s Country. Magha was a Kāliṅga invader and oppressed the Sinhalese. There remains Sāhasa Malla. If the attribution is correct, the date of the inscription is October 10, A.D. 1200.
The document is of interest in that it records a grant to one Gulpiṭi or Gulhiṭi But Pāṃbul-lē-daruvan for loyalty to His Majesty even to the receiving of wounds in his service. The occasion may have been when the two ministers, who put Sāhasa Malla on the throne, 'in the course of two years subdued the evil ministers who were causing obstruction with the object of gaining personal power for themselves and so were not desiring to have kings that would be powerful enough both for (granting) rewards and (for inflicting) punishments and that would protect the people and the religion' (E. Z., loc. cit., p. 228). The personal name of the grantee represents either Buddha or Bhūta (cf. Me. lv, 26, lxxii, 196). The fact that there is a hamlet Galahitiyāva in Kevulgama suggests that the word preceding the personal name should be read as Galhiṭi. But the first aksara clearly is ꞏ; the third is ꞏ or possibly ꞏ; the fourth can only be ꞏ or ꞏ.

The title Pāṃbul-lē-daruvan may be compared with Deva pādamāla-daraka in Mahāvamsa, lxvi, 66. Geiger renders this by 'the son of a royal servant' and states that pādamāla in the sense of servant appears frequently in the Jātakas. The word pāmul or pāmbul is still used in the expression pāmul- or pāmbul-pretīya, a box or chest which, as containing objects of the greatest value, is kept 'at the feet', that is in the innermost room of the house. Pāmbul-lē here, therefore, may mean 'trusty', or 'confidential secretary'. In literature pāmul-pretīya occurs in an obscure passage of the Daḷadā Śirīsa (ed. E. S. Raja-sekara, Kandy, 1920, p. 58) dealing with the replacing of the Tooth Relic in its shrine at the end of the procession in which it had been carried; it apparently refers to the chest in which the Relic Casket or the jewellery belonging to it was kept. In the Daṃbadeni Aśna, however, is found: pāmul pretīyen padi ka sīṭina Sinhala senaṅgin sū-visi lakṣa pas-visi dahasaṅ kā meśa-ma padi kā sīṭina Devala senaṅgin doḷa dahasaṅ hā, 'Twenty-four lacs twenty-five thousand men of the Sinhalese host drawing pay from the pāmul chest and twelve thousand of the Tamil host drawing pay in like manner’. The office held by the grantee thus may have been analogous to that of Keeper of the Privy Purse. The Nikāya Saṅgrahāva attributes to Parākrama Bāhu I the institution or reorganization of the Four Treasuries (sataramudala). With lē-daruvan is to be compared kāmān le-daruvak in the Mihintale Tablets (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 111, n. 9). Our inscription suggests that Deva in the passage of the Mahāvamsa is a personal name and that dāraka is an honorific.

A, lines 12–14. Me vanu mut-hasa patau. So the Vaharakgoda inscription, line 19 (Bell, Report on the Kegalla District, p. 82 and plate), as checked by me
from the rock. Taking mut-hasa as the equivalent of mudu-hasa, I tentatively translate thus: ‘from the time of sealing with the signet (the document) similar to this’, that is the original of the grant recorded on the stone.

A, lines 14–16. Pihiṭi rajaye bada Mādivāk Samvālle. In the fourteenth century Maha Kuda-im pata Dumbara was reckoned as in Māya raṭa, the country of the Mahayā or Heir Apparent. But this was not the case in the twelfth century, for in Parākrama Bāhu’s campaign against Gaja Bāhu Majjhimavagga or Mādivaka was under the direct government of the king (Mv. lxx. 21); the present inscription is conclusive on this point against Geiger’s note 1 in Cūlavāmisa, p. 289. The village of Mādivaka lies some four miles to the north-east of Kevluga. It is said to have been of much greater extent in ancient times than at present; in the eighteenth century it gave its name to Gampaha Kōrāḷe, which was known as Mādivak Gampaha. A village called Harivālla is situated in Gandekē Kōrāḷe at a greater distance from Kevluga than Mādivaka and in a separate valley. It is possible that our Samvālla may refer to land at the ‘junction’ of the Gangoḍa Oya with the Maha Oya, the main stream running through the valley in which Kevluga lies. As to the word itself, it may be noted in Badulla there are five goda-val or stretches of high land, five mudu1 or tongues of paddy fields running up into the high land, and five vālī or low-lying sandy land on the banks of the river, and that of the last named one, at the junction of two streams, is called Harivālla2. The name of the field Vālīmaḍa (‘sandy mud land’) itself lends some support to this theory. But the Harivālla in Gandekē Kōrāḷe possessed a royal granary under the Kandyian government; if Mādivaka with Harivālla was a royal village in 1200 A.D., the land given in our inscription may well have been an appurtenance thereof.

A, line 17. Liyatda, the modern liyadda, now a small division of a paddy field bounded by ridges for the purpose of retaining water. Here, however, it appears to be identical with ‘field’ (B, lines 2, 3).

A, line 18. The restoration within brackets is almost certain.

B, lines 3, 4. Mi(nisu)n. There are traces of the two aksaras within brackets on the stone. This word occurs in the grant of the third year of Vikrama Bāhu III, rehearsed at length in the Lāṅkātilaka copper plates: Rabbegamavua ha mehi bada gama mudala3 gasa kola valpiṭa minīsun atulu-vū siyallat. The corresponding sentence in the grant of Rājādhirājasinīha in the same plates is: Rabbegamavua

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1 In Kandy District, aṅga.
2 For saṅgwālla, see E. Z., Vol. I, Index.
3 Read gam mudala.
yana gama goda mada ge-vatu gaha kola parivāra-janayat ātu-vu sīyallama minisun at the date of our inscription perhaps is rendered better by 'serfs' than by 'tenants'; it may also be taken as being in the genitive case, the clause being translated 'the plantations of the serfs'.

B. lines 5, 6. Val piṭi. These words have been rendered tentatively 'the woodland and the grass land', that is jungle and open land. At present val-piṭiṣṭaniya is in use with the meaning of 'natural grass land', val being any wild growth of the size of grass and upwards. But in the fifteenth century valpiṭa or val was identical with ratmasara and must be the 'waste' land used for chena cultivation. In the twelfth century val has this meaning, as well as that of 'waste' or jungle as opposed to the cultivated gama, and this last meaning is found also in the thirteenth century. Piṭi-bim at a date earlier than that of our inscription appear as appurtenances (cf. E. Z., Vol. I, No. 16; Vol. II, Nos. 12 and 37), and may still have been so in 1200 A.D.

B. lines 6, 7. Pamuṇu, the highest form of holding by persons or bodies. The memory of the present grant survives in the name of the hamlet Pamunėtāma, where the slab pillar inscription once stood.

This grant to a private individual with its rehearsal of his act of valour may be compared with the Ihala Puliyaṅkulama pillar containing the stūti of an officer of Parākrama Bāhu I.

TEXT.

A.

1 පාමණු
 ඇෂළ මාති
 පාමණුමා
 මාතිමා

5 පාමණීස්ථන්දා
 වාල දිස්ත්
 පාමණු ශ්ධාරු

පාමණීස්ථන්ඣදා (i)මලේ මලුමාවත්


2 Or පාමණීස්ථන්දා.

3 Or perhaps පාමණීස්ථන්ඣදා.

4 Or ḍh.
EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

10  මොළු සීමයෙත
    අභී අළඳුරක්නට  අවර
    කෙනෙකු සිලිඝිකු කොට
    අමු ආරාමක් කොට
    කු මොන් දියදව නැත

15  ඉජුරීට ගැනීමින්
    ආවා නිසුසිමින්
    විරුද්ද දීයේ සහනා
    විරුද්ද (ඉජුරීටින්)

B.

1  වදග ටෑජ
    කාර පහි
    ම බි (චීඩු)
    බි ලැ මල

5  එ පි නිඩ ඇ
    එ පි නිඩ
    නි දඹජු ජී
    එ පිඩ මොඩු

TRANSLITERATION.

A.

1  Siri Saṅgā-  
    bo Kāliṅga
    Vijaya Bāhu
    cakravartti-s-

5  vāmin-vahan-
    se-ṭa paḷamu-
    van Hilā pura
    paḷaviyā 1 Gulpi- 2
    (ṭi) 3 But pāṁbul-lē-da-

10 ruvan rājapakṣapā-
    ta-va śastra-prahāra-la-
    din kala daskama-ṭa me
    vanu mut-hasa paṭa-
    n Pihiṭi rajaye bada

1 Or paḷviya.  
2 Or perhaps Gulhi-.  
3 Or vi.
15 Māndivāk Saṁvāl-
le ā-vū Vālimaḍa
liyatda ā-vū tānā
siṭi-vū (gal-ṭām sa-)

B.
1 tara-ṭa ātu-
lat kuṁbu-
ra hā mi(nisu-)
 n gasa ko-
5 la hā val pi-
ṭi hā pamu-
ṇu koṭa li-
yā dūn niyā-
yi

TRANSLATION.

On the first day of the waxing moon of Hila in the first year of His Majesty the Sovereign Lord Siri Saṅgabo Kāliṅga Vijaya Bāhu, for valour shown by the most trusty secretary Gulpiḍī But, (even) for the wounds which he got in loyalty to the king from the weapons (of the king’s enemies), there was given (to him), having been made a pamunnu holding and enrolled, from the time of sealing with the signet the counterpart of this, (all) within the four pillars set up on the land appurtenant to Vālimaḍa liyatda in Māndivāk Saṁvālā of the Pīhiṭi kingdom (to wit) the field, the serfs and the plantations, the wood land and the grass land.

On (this) manner was (the grant made).

No. 24. THE MAḌAVALA ROCK-INSRIPTION.

By H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

This inscription has once been published in Sinhalese¹. But the splendid condition of the record, its historical interest, and the absence of any specimen of the script of the period from Epigraphia Zeylanica are sufficient reasons for its appearance here. It is cut in bold letters on a rock in the village of

¹ Viśva Brāhmaṇa varṣa viṇiścaya, pp. 81, 82.
Maḍavaḷa in the Pāta Dumbara division of Kandy District. It is enclosed on three sides by a rectangular frame; outside of this at the top are the sun and moon, a hammer and an anvil, while on the left side are a hammer, an anvil and a pair of pincers in the upper half, and a crow and a dog in the lower.

The inscription records a grant of land made to a silversmith Paramañāyā of Siddāvulla and his son Surīyā by King Śrī Saṅgabō Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI in the year following the forty-sixth of his reign in the presence of Dantoṭa-vature Devan and Divaṇavatte Laṅkā Adhikārin. The signatures of these dignitaries are reproduced in the left-hand upper corner of the record as Āpaṇa and Joti Siṭaṇa. The last named in all probability is the ruler of the hill country, whose rebellion is thus described in the Kajavaliya (ed. B. Gunasekara, 1900, p. 69) —

‘King Śrī Parākrama Bāhu had reigned as a crowned monarch for fifty-two years, when the Siṭu king Sojāta (əsələm əgə əqə), who was reigning in the hill-country, ceased supplying labourers, neglected payment of his yearly tribute, and rebelled. The king, on hearing of this, raised a large army and committed it to the young prince who was at Ambulugala, giving him permission to conquer the hill-country.

‘Accordingly the prince of Ambulugala attacked the hill-country and conquered it; took captive several relations of the king of the hill-country, and sent them down to Kōṭṭe. The hill-country was entrusted to the royal prince of the Solar race, descendant of the Gampola dynasty, and to his ministers, and tribute was recovered.’

The poem Pārakumbā Sīrita, vv. 48–50, gives the following account of these events:—

Verse 48. When the ray of the fourfold host of Parākrama the lord of day like unto the solar king was shining, the thick darkness called Jōtiya Siṭu, ruler of men, fled in fear to the confines of the other world.

Verse 49. The swan king, the Āpā, rubbed in the pollen of the very red lotus, to wit the sacred feet of king Parākrama, the pride of poets, in fame the king of the gods, descended from the race of the Sun, extinguished the sorrow of his mind.

Verse 50. The Gampola prince quenched his heat, immersed in the precious river of the rays of light from the nails of the sacred feet of this king, who is of the colour of the moon, pure, having a flood of fame, splendid as the sun, pleasing 1.

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The evidence of this contemporary work proves that Gunasekara's text is corrupt, and that the name of the rebel chief should be read as Jōtiya and not as Sōjāta; indeed in Valentyne's version of the Rājāvaliya it appears as 'Jottia Sitti'. Our inscription shows that this ruler held the rank of Laṅkā Adhikārīn and came from Divaṇavatta, now Jivāṇavatta, a village in Hārispattuva; the title Siṭu roju is represented here by Sīṭāṇa. It seems possible that the Āpā, Dantota-vatūre Devan, is the Gampola prince, whom Parākrama Bāhu VI put in charge of the hill-country on the defeat of Jōti Sīṭāṇa. If so, at the time of our inscription the effective government of the country may have been in the hands of the Laṅkā Adhikārīn nominal precedence being accorded to the Āpā, a member of the royal family. Dantuṛē in Yaṭinuvara appears in the Nam-pota under the name Dantoṭa-vatūra. A prince of this place, Dantuṛē Tuṇaya Baṇḍāra, is mentioned in the Siduruvana-ratā Baṇḍāraveliya.

The accession of Parākrama Bāhu VI took place on the full moon day of Vesak, 1955 A.D. (1412 A.D.) or shortly afterwards. Accordingly the date of the grant, the full moon of Vesak in his forty-seventh year, fell in April, 1458 A.D., or in April, 1459 A.D. For the chronology of the reign, see pp. 52, and 53, of this volume.

The script is that of the period. The form of බ in line 8, of න in lines 9 and 18 and of ද in lines 12 and 13 may be noticed.

The orthography is not free from errors. These will be recorded in the footnotes. The form kubura still occurs in Kandyen usage.

The expression gam sālāsma is found in the following documents of the Kotte period:


(ii) Kurunāgal District, registered number 653. Bat-gam sālāsma pāvata ā Daṁbadeni koraḷaya bada Mādagoḍa yaṇa gama.


(iv) Oruvala (p. 66 of this volume). Amutu-va venin gam sālāsmački niyama kara.

Sālāsma is 'making', 'arrangement', 'settlement', 'allocation', 'plan', 'lay-out', 'area'; its meaning is somewhat vague. I have rendered the gam sālāsma of our grant by 'from the village land', namely the area set apart for the villages. But its precise meaning is not clear. It may indicate village land...
as opposed to waste, *gama* as against *val*; or, perhaps with more probability, in view of (i) and (ii), the later *gam-vasam* land, the villages remaining over after the allotment to the military and other departments, as opposed e.g. to the *bulat-gam* and *bat-gam*, the modern *gabaḍā-gam* or *vidāna-gam*. It is possible that the use of the word *sālāsma* implies some such process as entry in the *lekam-miṣiya* or land-register of the province or district.

*Val-pita* regularly occurs in the grants of the period often coupled with *vil-pita*. The termination seems to have little or no significance at this time, both words being replaced by *val* and *vil*; it is still used in *hinne-pita* and survives in such village names as Valpita and Hēnpita. In the stone-inscription at Pāpiliyāna of the forty-fourth year of Parākrama Bāhu VI touching Deṇavaka Vihārē we find: *Mirisagala-kandē val-pita hā*. Its counterpart in another document of the same year, surviving only in manuscript, is: *ratmāsara-vā Mudali-vaduva-thā sīti M[ri]sagala-kandē val-pita hā*. *Val-pita*, therefore, is the equivalent of *ratmāsara*, the later *ratmahāra*, the jungle land in which chena cultivation was practised. A possible etymology for this last word is *rāja-mahā-sāra*, 'the king’s great wood'. *Godā-val-pita bim* are mentioned in the Sabaragamu *Disa Lekam-miṭiya* in the village Nāhālvatura in Aṭakaḷan Kōralē, and *godā-val-pita-kārayō* in Ōpalla in the same division.

Who the ten *Aghampādis* of Dumbara were is not clear. But from the use of the word in the *Nikāya Saṅgrahāvā* and in the Niyangampāya inscription of Vikrama Bāhu III there can be no doubt that they were military persons.

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**TRANSCRIPT.**

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1 Since writing the above I have seen the Vāliviṭa copper plate of Śaka 1737. In this document the land granted to the elder brother of the Saṅgharāja is divided into (1) *maṇḍa*, 'mud land' or paddy fields, (2) *godā-val-pita*, or chenas, and (3) gardens, the names of the plots being given under each heading. There is therefore no doubt that *val-pita* is better rendered by 'chena land' than by 'jungle' without qualification.

2 Read 埧. 3 Read 伟大复兴. 4 Read 伟大复兴. 5 Or 伟大复兴.
МАДАВАЛА ROCK-INSRIPTION

10 फूडेन सभकसुन्न फूडेनसिद्धि सिद्धिकिंद्रि ऽरसिद्धि
15 फूडेन सभकसुन्न फूडेनसिद्धि सिद्धिकिंद्रि ऽरसिद्धि
20 फूडेन सभकसुन्न फूडेनसिद्धि सिद्धिकिंद्रि ऽरसिद्धि

TRANSLITERATION.

1 Āpaṇa¹⁰ vamhā Siri Saṅgabo Śrī
   Joti sitā- Parākrama Bāhu ca-
   na vamha kravartti-svamin¹¹-va-
   hansa-ṇa satalis-

5 savanen¹² matu havurudu Vesā-
   ṇga pura Dumu¹³ ara bada gam-salās-
   men Maḍavala kuburu bijuva-ṇa sa"mu-
   ṇa hā mehi bada gam-mudala gasa ko-
   la val-piṭa atulu-vu¹⁵ tān Siddāvulle

10 ācāri Paramaṇāyā-ṇa praveṇi-ṇa¹⁶ salasvā
   meku put Suriyā-ṇa praveṇi sāla-
   sma-ṇa īra sada¹⁷ āti tek pavatiṇā lesa-ṇa sa-
   lasvā mi¹⁸-ṇa īṭirīye davasa raja yuvaraja
   mahā amāṭṭh¹⁹ di kavara taram kenakun-

¹ Read ṅa.
² Read ṇa.
³ Read ḍa.
⁴ Read ṇa.
⁵ Read ḍa.
⁶ Read ḍa.
⁷ Read ṇa.
⁸ Or ṇa.
⁹ Read ῳᾳῳ.
¹⁰ Read Aṇa.
¹¹ Read svamin.
¹² Read savanen.
¹³ Or mba.
¹⁴ Read sa.
¹⁵ Read vā.
¹⁶ Or vā.
¹⁷ Read ḍa.
¹⁸ Read ḍa.
¹⁹ Read ḍa.
15 genut avuluk udharanayak¹ no ki-
yana no karaṇa lesa-ta salasvā Dantoṇa
vature Devan Divāṇavatte Laṅkā adhikā-
rin māda-vā me divel-patkaḍa dun bava-ta
Dumva²ra aghampaḍi dasa-dena māda-vā keṭa-vu³
20 silā-lekhayayi⁴

TRANSLATION.

I am the Āpā.
I am Joti Siṭāna.

On the full moon day of Vesak in
the year following the forty-sixth
of His Majesty the Sovereign lord
Siri Saṅgabo Śrī Parākrama Bāhu in the presence of Dantoṇa-vature Devan
and Divāṇavatte Laṅkā Adhikārin this document (granting) maintenance-
land was given, whereby out of the village land belonging to Dumbara the
fields in Maḍavaḷa, of six amunams sowing extent, and the places appertaining
thereto including the village revenue, plantations and jungle were granted as an
inheritance to the smith Paramaṇāyā of Siddāvulla, it being provided that
they should remain so long as the sun and moon exist as an heritable possession
for his son Suriyā, and (further) it being laid down that at no time to come
should any king, sub-king, great officer, and the like, or any one of any degree
whatsoever, cause trouble or disturbance by word or deed. To which effect
(this) is the stone record cut in the presence of the ten Aghampaḍis of Dumbara.

No. 25. THE PALKUṂBURA SANNAŚA.

BY H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

The copper plate described below is in the possession of the Palkuṃbura
Vihārē in Hārispattuva of the Kandy District. In its present fragmentary
condition it measures 9¹⁄₂ by 3¹⁄₂ inches. It obviously has suffered badly from the
action of fire. On the left-hand side of the obverse are two double rectangular
frames; the upper encloses the sun, while in the lower doubtless was the moon.
On the reverse the sole remaining symbol is a chank shell, the emblem of Viṣṇu.
The royal signature is illegible.

¹ Read udharanayak. ¹² Read mba. ³ Read vu. ⁴ Read śilālekhayayi.
The history of the succession at this Vihārē is given in the fine copper plate granted by the last king of Kandy Śri Vikrama Rājasimha, on Monday the seventh of the waxing moon of Durutu in the Śaka year 1726. It is there rehearsed that while Bhuvanaika Bāhu was reigning in Kōṭṭē he had one of his brothers admitted to the priesthood. This Thero, also known as Bhuvanaika Bāhu, resided at the capital, but on the death of the king migrated to the hill country with several of his brothers and settled down at Uruḷāvatta in Uḍunuvara. During the sojourn of the priest there Vikrama Bāhu, the founder of Senkadalagala 1 or Kandy died and was succeeded by his son, Jayavīra Āsthāna, who summoned the priest to the city, bade him transcribe the Visuddhimarga and as a reward therefor gave him the village of Palkumbhura. The priest was succeeded by his nephew, also known as Bhuvanaika Bāhu Thero. This nephew, however, during the persecution of Buddhism by Rājasimha I of Sitāvaka disrobed himself but continued to possess Palkumbhura under the name of Bhuvanaika Bāhu Paṇḍita Mudiyanse and secured the favour of king Senarat, whose tutor he was. His successor was his nephew, Bhuvanaika Bāhu Thero, who built a new vihārē. Further details of the succession are not given, but under Śri Vikrama the priest in charge of the vihārē showed the king ‘the sankasa which from old was at the Palkumbhura Vihārē and which was charred and half burnt with fire’ and obtained a fresh dedication together with a new copper plate.

The identity of the king Bhuvanaika Bāhu of Kōṭṭē mentioned in the copper plate of Śaka 1726 is certain. The nephew of the original grantee of Palkumbhura disrobed himself under Rājasimha I, who was in possession of Kandy from about 1579 to 1591, and became the tutor of Senarat (1604–35 A.D.). The king of Kōṭṭē, therefore, must be Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII.

In the penultimate portion of the Mahāvamsa, cap. xcii, compiled in the reign of Kirttiśri, it is stated that Vīra Vikkama of the race of Siri Saṅghabodhi became king in Seṅkhaṇḍasela Sirivaḍḍhanapura in the Buddhist year 2085 expired (1542–3 A.D.), and that he was a contemporary of Māyādunne and a zealous Buddhist; it was he who built the Poya Maluva in Kandy. This account is an abbreviation of that given in the Rājaratnākaraṇaya. In that work, however, the name of the king is not given; from the allusive epithets employed

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1 "ක්‍රි‍යා මුදියන්දු සිංහාසන නිශ්年来හි සහිතක් නවක්‍රමන්ද ස්‍රී පොයා මාලුවන්ගේ සමාජීය අයුරුට පත්ටා සුළඟන්කෑගේ."

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it may have been Vira Vikrama or Vikrama Bahu. Tradition attested by eighteenth-century documents ascribes the foundation of Kandy as the capital to Vikrama Bahu; the Dañbulla Vihare tudapata assigns this event to the Buddhist year 2085. Tradition likewise identifies the builder of the Poya Maluva with the founder of Asgiri Vihare, the Vikrama Bahu who made Kandy his capital. This Vikrama Bahu is sometimes confused with his namesake of Gampola in the fourteenth century.

In Kandy there seem to have been two kings of the name; one, Siri Sañgabó Sennasammata Vikrama Bahu, the other, the father of Jayavira and grandfather of Dona Catharina, the princess who married Vimala Dharma Suryya I in 1594. Inscriptions of the first Vikrama Bahu exist at Alutnuvara and at Gadaladeniya; the Kobbakaduva Vihare sannasa is dated in his thirty-seventh year, and the Galgane Vihare grant of no regnal year on the eighth of the waxing moon of Vesak, 2052 A.B. (1510 A.D.). The last two documents exist only in copies. The Gadaladeniya record is immediately followed by one written in the time of 'our great king Jayav[ir]a' on the first of the waning moon of Nikini in 2054 A.B. (1511 A.D.). Sennasammata Vikrama Bahu thus seems to have reigned at least from 1473-4 to 1510. As the Galgane grant was given in the Sirivardhana Palace of Señkhanḍapura, it is to be presumed that it was this king who founded Kandy as the capital.

The identity of the 'Vikrama Bahu', said in the Palkumbara copper plate to have died after the murder of Bhuvanaika Bahu VII in 1551, and of his son and successor 'Jayavira Āsthāna' is not clear. It seems, however, fairly certain that this Vikrama Bahu did not make Kandy the capital, in spite of the statement to that effect in the copper plate just mentioned, for this town already was the seat of government in 1510. There is, therefore, a confusion between two kings of the same name. As to Jayavira Āsthāna it will be convenient to bear in mind what the Rājāvaliya has to say about the only ruler of Kandy so designated therein. From this chronicle (ed. B. Gunasekara) we learn that, when Vijaya Bahu VII of Kōṭṭē proposed to disinherit his sons, one of them, Māyādunnē, went to the hill country to get help from Jayavira Bandara, this ruler's wife being related to Māyādunnē as an 'elder sister', and that with the troops so obtained he and his brothers dethroned and murdered their father (pp. 74-6). This event took place in 1521. Later on Jayavira Bandara offended his son, Karaliyaddē Kumāra Bandara, by his second marriage; he was expelled from his kingdom, took refuge with Māyādunnē, and is no more heard of (p. 82). Karaliyaddē in his turn was dethroned by Rājasisinha of Sitāvaka and died shortly
afterwards, leaving as his heir his infant daughter, Dona Catharina (pp. 89, 97). The seizure of the Kandyan kingdom by Rājasimha took place about 1579.

The Rājāvaliya account of Jayavīra Bandāra is borne out by the contemporary documents recently published by Schurhammer (Ceylon, Documents 29, 79, 121). One and the same king of Kandy was reigning as early as July 1542 and was still on the throne in January 1551. In 1546 he was 60 years old and his son 20. The king’s name is nowhere mentioned, but from the pedigree given in Document 79 there can be little doubt that he is identical with the Jayavīra of the Sinhalese chronicle. We also know from the Kandy Nātha Dēvālē inscription that Śrī Jayavīra Mahā vāda-vun-tāna was on the throne in the month of Bak at the end of the Buddhist year 2085 (1543 A.D.).

The Rājasīha Śīrītā, written in the reign of Rājasimha II, son of Dona Catharina, states that this monarch was the ‘grandson’ (māṇuburū) of King Jayavīra, who was the son of King Vikrama Bāhu. If we adhere to the Rājāvaliya pedigree and take the word māṇuburū in its primary sense of ‘grandson’ and not in that of ‘descendant’, we can only conclude that the Jayavīra of 1543 was also known as Vikrama Bāhu. There is no evidence for this; yet Kandyan tradition consistently places Vikrama Bāhu, described as the founder of Kandy, in the middle of the sixteenth century and as often as not attaches to him the date 2085 A.B., which, as we have seen, appears in the Nātha Dēvālē inscription. The problem at present is unsolved, but there is some slight indication that there were two kings, and not one, after Jayavīra, and that it was the second of these who was dethroned by Rājasimha I. If this prove to have been the case, Karalliyaddē may have taken the name of Vikrama Bāhu on his accession to the throne, and his successor that of Jayavīra. If, on the other hand, the received pedigree is correct, Rājasimha II must have been māṇuburū of the Jayavīra of 1543 in the word’s not uncommon sense of ‘descendant’.

We do not know, however, the relationship between Śēnasammatā Vikrama Bāhu and this Jayavīra or whether the last named prince is identical with Vikrama Bāhu’s successor, the Jayavīra of 1511. It seems possible that he is not identical. According to the Rājāvaliya (p. 72) the king of Kōṭṭē, Dharma Parākrama Bāhu IX, having heard that the king ruling the hill country had ascended the throne and refused tribute, sent the prince Śrī Rājasimha to reduce him to subjection. The Kandyan ruler was forced to sue for peace and gave his daughter to wife to Kiravāḷē Ralahāmi, Śrí Rājasimha’s brother-in-law and general. It was the daughter of this princess who married the Jayavīra of 1543. Kiravāḷē’s campaign is placed by the chronicler some time before the murder of
Vijaya Bahu VII. This took place in 1521, and, as Parakrama Bahu IX came to the throne in 1509, it seems likely that the new Kandyan king who refused tribute, is the Jayavira who succeeded Vikrama Bahu at some date between Vesak of 1510 and Nikini of 1511. If so, he cannot be the same as the Jayavira of 1543, who married his granddaughter. Even if the text of the Rajañvaliya can be interpreted as indicating the rebellion of a vassal king already on the throne and not the accession of a new ruler, it can hardly refer to Vikrama Bahu, as he always speaks of himself as Cakravarti. To sum up, of one fact only is there certainty; in no case can the date 2085 A.D. fit in with the accession of any Vikrama Bahu. The Natha Devale record is decisive on this point. This temple is commonly attributed to Vikrama Bahu; the founder of Kandy, and the date, 2085 A.D., so often ascribed to him, may well have been taken from the inscription itself.

The charred plate according to the Kandyan documents was the 'Sanhasa which from old was at the Palkumbara Vihara'. It manifestly was not the copper plate grant of that Vihara, as it refers to a temple or to land situated at Divigoda in the Gali Koralaya in the present Southern Province; a village Digoda exists in the Talpe Pattuva.

The script of this copper plate is that employed at Koti in the sixteenth century and closely resembles that of the Nakoalan inscription of 2101 A.D., reproduced in Plate 4 of this volume. It is dated in the reign of Siri Saigabó Sri Bhuvanaika Bahu, the seventh of the name, and records a grant of land, subject to a payment to Visnu, to the Mahâ Thero of the Senevirat-mula establishment. The Vritta malā of the reign of Parakrama Bahu V mentions Senapati-mula Thero; Lankâ Senevirat Piruvan Terasâmin, pupil of Vilgamula Sangharaja, was the author of the Vimukti Sangraha under Vikrama Bahu III. The name of the attesting authority may have been Nayinăru; Sivattâ Nayinâru was the corresponding official of Senasammata Vikrama Bahu of Kandy.

**Transcript.**

**Obverse.**

1 [Sri Saigabó Sri Bhuvanaika Bahu, the seventh of the name, and records a grant of land, subject to a payment to Visnu, to the Mahâ Thero of the Senevirat-mula establishment.]

1 'Ceylon. Royal Gazette, 10th of [Insert Date], No. 76, Page 20.'
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2 [স্বষ্টিশ্রী]নামক [নামরের] সত্যম সৈন্ধবলতা সূত্রকল্লিত সৃষ্টি

3 [লয়ের] [লয়ের] [লয়ের] এই শুরুক্তে লতা সৈন্ধরভিত্তিকাস্তিতে

4 [হীনাঃ] [লয়ের] [হীনাঃ] [হীনাঃ] [হীনাঃ] [হীনাঃ] [হীনাঃ] তাব একাধীক লোক যে মানুষের

5 [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন]

6 [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন]

7 [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন]

8 [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন]

Reverse.

1 [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন]

2 [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন]

3 [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন]

4 [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন]

5 [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন]

6 [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন]

7 [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন] [দাইন্দিন জীবন]

TRANSLITERATION.

Obverse.

1 [Svasti śri Vai]vasvatar (Ma)nu saṁkhyaṭa Mahā Sammata parampara[nu-

1 For স্বষ্টি।
2 Doubtful.
3 Possibly লতা, though there appears to be a portion of স visible. The ninth লতা is unlucky.
4 Or স।
5 য় doubtfull.
bhu[t a Sumi](tra) [rāja] (putra) pautra¹ gotrabhijata Tri Simha[ādhisvara
nava[ratnadhapi Śrima-]
3 „(t)‟[Siri Sa][ṅga][bo] Śri Bhuvanaika Bāhu cakravartti-svāmīn-vahān-
še[ta ... ... ... ... ... ... ]
4 ma[tu] havu(ru)du [Hī]la (pu)ra (nava)⁶vakā Gālu kōralaya bada Divigoḍa
ha ... ... ... ... ... ...
5 s ... ... ... ... ... ... rahī ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
6 ... ... ... ... ... (ku)mbru(ru) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 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... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ......
from the race of the Sun in lineal descent from Mahā Sammata named Vaivasvata Manu, sovereign lord of Tri Simhaḷa and lord of the nine gems, (His Majesty), having provided for the order that Divigoḍa . . . . in the Gālu Kōralaya . . . . . . . . fields . . . . . . . . should be enjoyed . . . . . . . . . . the lotus-coloured divine king [Viṣṇu], and be possessed so long as sun and moon endure by the Mahā Thero of the Senevirat-mūla establishment and continue permanently in the religious descent of his children and grandchildren, was pleased to command in the midst of the Mudaliyārs, whilst seated on the lion throne in the palace of [Jayavardhana-Koṭṭē] that the (requisite) copper plate should be written and given. I, Sanhas Tiruvaraṅgan Nay . . . ., (certify) that this sanhas copper plate has been written and given in obedience thereto.

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

No. 26. TWO ROCK-INScriPTIONS FROM LABUṬABĀNDIGALA.

(A.S.I. Nos. 449 and 450.)

By S. PARANAVITANA.

LABUṬABĀNDIGALA 1 is a rock situated about one and a half miles to the north-east of Moravāva, a village in the Kalpē Kōralē of the North-Central Province. On this rock there is a ruined stūpa, a few yards to the south of which the two epigraphs dealt with in this paper are incised.

Inscription No. 449 covers an area of about 6 ft. by 1 ft. 10 in., and consists of five lines of writing of which the last has only five letters preserved. The auspicious word siddham is written to the left somewhat apart from the main

1 This place was visited by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in 1892. In his Annual Report for that year (p. 7) he gives the following brief note about the site:—'Labuetagala:—A flat rock reach, 1½ miles from Moravewa on the pinpara to Mahakapugolléva. Two inscriptions, a good deal worn. The name of the king is not given; but the name of the ancient rock temple “Cheugiri Nikā” (sic) occurs in both.’ Eye copies of the two inscriptions have also been prepared under Mr. Bell’s direction; and they have been included as Nos. 26 and 27 of the list of inscriptions copied in 1892.
inscription. About six letters of the first line and three of the second are completely effaced and some letters seem to be missing at the end of the last line. The rest of the record is fairly well preserved. The letters are boldly engraved, but the rock has not been smoothed before the writing was executed. They are, on an average, three inches in height, excepting the last sixteen of the fourth line and those of the fifth which are about two inches in height.

The document is not dated; and there is nothing in its contents that enables us to fix its probable date. A study of its paleography, however, makes it possible to ascribe it to the fifth century or thereabouts. The script shows a later stage of development than that of the Tōnigalā rock inscription\(^1\) of the third year of Śrimeghavārinī (circa 362–389 A.D.) as will be evident when the following letters occurring in the two epigraphs are placed side by side.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
Tōnigalā:& a & kā & ga & pā & ha
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
Labuṭabāṁdigalā:& ṣ & ṭ & ὸ & Ṽ & Ṽ
\end{array}
\]

Further examples can be shown to the same effect; but, on the other hand, the letters na and na in the Tōnigalā record seem to represent a more evolved type than those occurring in this inscription. In my article on the Tōnigalā inscription, I have shown that that record is not altogether representative of the style of writing prevailing at the time. More developed forms are noticed in records of the same reign and those of the reigns of Śrimeghavaśuni's immediate successors. Therefore, the difference in the script should not be taken as indicating a long interval between the reign of Śrimeghavaśuni and the date of this inscription. The Tissamahārāma slab of the reign of Mahānāman\(^2\), on the other hand, shows a script further developed than that of this record as will be seen on a comparison of the facsimile in Pl. XXIX with plate No. 67 of Müller's A.I.C. Therefore, the present record ought to be ascribed to a date somewhere between the reigns of Śrimeghavaśuni and Mahānāman.

The script, on the whole, has a tendency towards curved instead of angular forms; and a large number of the letters slant leftwards. The letter ga has developed a short horizontal bar at the top. The letter u, in line 3, very closely resembles an o; and it is written jostling together with the following letter va. E at the beginning of the fourth line supplies us with an intermediate form

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1 See above pp. 172 ff.  
2 A.I.C. No. 67.
between the angular symbol for that letter found in the second- and third-century script and the curvilinear form of the eighth and ninth centuries. The same line, however, has an e which is more archaic in form. The horizontal cross bar at the top of the letter na has its two ends curved downwards.

The two symbols \( \mathbb{A} \) and \( \mathbb{J} \) call for a few remarks. The first has been noticed in the Pālu Mākicāva rock inscription of Gaḷabāhu I. Mr. Bell has suggested that ‘it may denote the standard by which the value or weight of the karshapana was reckoned, i.e. by pādas or quarters.’ Dr. Wickremasinghe, though not quite confident about the significance of this symbol, seems to endorse Mr. Bell’s theory. The same symbol is found in several other inscriptions dating from the early centuries of the present era; for instance, in a rock inscription of a king styled Gamiṇi Abaya from Viḷevāva in the Kalpē Kōrāle of the Anurādhapura District, in a rock inscription near the Kiriwat-Vehera at Mihintale and in the Ruvaṇvalisāya pavement inscription of Meghavarna Abhaya. Invariably, the symbol follows the mention of kahapayas; and in the present record, as well as in the Viḷevāva and Mihintale epigraphs mentioned above, it is followed by symbols which most probably are numerical. I think there is hardly any doubt that the symbol in question indicates the kahapana coin itself and the figures following it are the numerals expressed already in words. In Indian inscriptions, there are numerous instances in which numbers already expressed in words are given again in symbols.

The second symbol is a combination of the letters sa and ka. We may reasonably assume that it expresses the number already given in words, i.e. 100; but it bears a very close resemblance to the symbol for 400 occurring in the Gupta inscriptions. We are not quite certain whether the same system of numerical symbols that was in vogue in North India, during the early centuries of the Christian Era, prevailed in this island also. I think it is a reasonable explanation to take sa as the initial of the word sata ‘hundred’ and the ka joined to it as indicating ‘one’ as it is the first consonant.

The language of this inscription has many points in common with the Tonigala inscription already referred to. The contents tell us that a certain
individual named Sirinakayi deposited one hundred kahapana’s, the interest accruing from which was to be given to the monks of the Devagiri monastery for defraying the expenses connected with the vassa festival. Devagiri Vihāra was evidently the name of the monastery which existed on this rock during ancient times. So far as I am aware, it is not mentioned in the chronicles.

TEXT.

1 Siddha[m][n*] (Nakarahi pa) jina-pasahī Mahatabaka-niyama-ta-
2 -nahi De vagariya-maha-viharahi ameti-Sagayaha
3 puta Sirinakayī uvanikeva koṭa ariyavasa vaṭṭayā
4 eka-sataka-kahavaṇa dini ṛ Me eka-sataka-kahavaṇehi ve-
5 -ḍa geneye .. .. .. .. ..

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Sirinakayi, the son of the minister Sagaya, having deposited one hundred kahapana’s with the guild of Mahatabaka, in the (Eastern) quarter (of the city), gave [the same] to the great monastery of Devagiri for the purpose of conducting the sacred vassa festival. (100 kahapana’s, in symbols.) Having taken the interest on these one hundred kahavaṇa’s . . . . . . . . . . .

REMARKS.

[Line 1] Pajina = Skt. prāśa, P. pāśa ‘eastern’. The change of c to j observed in this word is a common feature in the Sinhalese language. Compare Sin. ājara for P. ācariya. The classical Sinhalese form of the word pajina is pāduma. With the expression nakarahi pajina-pasahī, compare nakarahi utara-pasahī in the Tōnigala inscription. For the interpretation of the word niyamatanaḥ, see above p. 180. It is also possible that niyamatana is a term denoting a territorial division, in which case Devagiri Vihāra was situated in the district of Mahatabaka. The objection to this interpretation of the word is the occurrence of nakarahi immediately preceding. A territorial division which included

1 The missing letter before ji can be restored with absolute certainty as pa, for no other letter added to the two syllables jina results in a word expressing a direction. Nakarahi is restored on the analogy of the Tōnigala inscription, see above p. 177.

2 The restoration of the syllable De is quite certain, as in the next inscription the name Devagiriya is well preserved. For the restoration of the word niyamatanaḥ, see the Tōnigala inscription.
Devagiri Vihāra could not have been ‘in the city’. If we adopt this interpretation of the word, we have to take that the kahāpanas in question were deposited with the monks of the vihāra and not with a mercantile guild.


[Line 3] Sirinakayi = P. Sirināga. The vowel i at the end of this word finds a parallel in the name Sivayi in the next inscription. Uvanikeva koṭu = P. upanik-khepani katvā. In this word, we have an instance of the consonant p changing to v. Cf. Sin. pav for Skt. papa. With the phrase uvanikeva koṭu, we may compare nikita in the Tōnigala inscription, above, p. 181. For the interpretation of ariyavasa, see above pp. 181–2. Vaṭṭataya is equivalent to Skt. vrtyarthāyā.

[Line 4] Kahavāna = P. kahāpana, Skt. karsāpana. In a pre-Christian Brāhmi inscription at Māmpita in the Kāgalla District, the word occurs as kāṭapanae and kahapan. For the value of this coin, see Codrington, Ceylon Coins and Currency, p. 9.

[Line 5] Veda = Skt. cyddhi, see above p. 185.

Geneva = Pkt. gaṇhiya. In the Tōnigala inscription, the word occurs in the form of gene, see above, p. 186.

INSCRIPTION No. 450.

This record is engraved immediately below No. 449. The rock surface covered by it measures 6 ft. in length by 1 ft. 6 in. in breadth. The inscription is in a bad state of preservation; more than half of the letters in the third line being partly worn and at least one line at the end completely obliterated. The letters, not taking into account the medial vowel signs for i and u and the tails of such aksaras as a and ka, are, on an average, three inches in height. The script is of the same type as that of the foregoing inscription and both records may, therefore, belong to the same period. The contents tell us that a person named Niṭalaviṭiya Sivayi, son of Raṭiya Sumanaya, deposited twenty kahāpanas for the benefit of the Devagiri vihāra.

TEXT.

1 Siddham [rū] Ra(ti)-ya S(u)manayaha puta Niṭalaviṭiya
2 Sivayi visiyā kahavāna Devagiriya v[ī]harahi
3 uvanikeva ko[ṭa]vaya (dine) [rū] Ana havajarana ariya 1.. ..
4 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..

1 On the analogy of other inscriptions (see above, p. 182), the missing letters after ariya may be restored as vasa-vata koṭu.
TRANSLATION.

Hail! Niṭalaviṭiya Sivayi, the son of Raṭiya Sumanaya, caused to be deposited and gave twenty kahavanas to the monastery of Devagiri (for the purpose of conducting) the sacred (vassa festival) during the coming years . . .

REMARKS.

[Line 1] Raṭiya:—This word occurs in other records of about the same period; for instance, an inscription at Kābāḷālēṇa, in the Dēvamādi Hatpattu of the Kuruṇṇagala District, mentions a Raṭika named Naka and an unpublished rock inscription at a place named Burutankanda in the Hambanṭoṭa District has the words, Raṭiya Makayaha pūta Raṭiya Sivayaha. The word raṭiya is derived from the P. rāṭhika (Skt. rāṣṭrika) which occurs in the Aṅguttara Nikāya in a list of high dignitaries of the state. The later Sinhalese equivalent of the word was rāṭi. Maha-rāṭi-nā (the great chief of the rāṭi) was one of the highest officials of the government in the twelfth century. A rāṭiya was, evidently, the officer in charge of a district called raṭa and may have been of equal status to the raṭ-ladda of the mediaeval inscriptions. The term is still preserved in the official title Raṭemahattaya. In India, corresponding officials were called rāṣṭra-kūṭas; and one of the best known dynasties of the Deccan in mediaeval times was known by this name. Indian caste-names such as Reddi have their origin in this word and it is interesting to note that in Ceylon, too, a derivative of raṭiya, the modern word raṭë, is a caste designation.

[Line 1] Niṭalaviṭiya is evidently a village name.

[Line 2] Sivayi:—Compare, for the suffix i, the name Sirinakayi in the previous inscription.


[Line 3] Koṭavaya is probably the causative form of the gerund koṭu (Skt. kṛtu).

[Line 3] Ana havajaranā:—This is the first time that this expression has been met with. It is a compound of ana and havajara and is here in the geni-
ROCK-INScriptions FROM LABUĀTABĀNDIGALA

tive case plural. Havajara is derived from the Pali saṅwacchara (Skt. saṅvatsara), by the elision of the anusvāra, the assimilation of the double consonants, the change of the initial s to h and c to j—all phonetic changes common in the Sinhalese language. Later forms of the word havajara are havurudu in the mediaeval and classical stages of the language and avurudu which is a very common word at the present day. The form preserved in the present record is of considerable etymological value in that it enables us to connect the modern Sinhalese word avurudda with the Vedic saṅvatsara. The interpretation of ana is doubtful. I have taken it to be equivalent to Skt. anya (Mod. Sin. an) ‘other’, used in a secondary sense denoting futurity. With the expression ana havajarana in the present record, we may compare ane havijiriya in the Burutankanda rock inscription mentioned above, ana havijariy veḍa koṭaya and havajara ana kalahi in two fragmentary records from a place named Baḍagiriya in the Hambantoţa District.

No. 27. KALUDIYAPOKUNA INSCRIPTIONS.

(A.S.I. Nós. 429-431).

By S. Paranavitana.

KALUPOKUNA or Kaludiyapokuna is the site of an extensive ruined monastery situated, on the slopes of a range of hills known as Eravalahala, about a mile and a half to the south-east of Kumbugkadunvala, in the Vagapanaha Palleşiya Pattu of the Matalē District. The principal buildings of the monastery, which included a moderate sized stūpa and a structure supported by massive but roughly hewn stone pillars, were arranged on several terraces on the hillside and seem to have been surrounded by a moat. As one ascends the hill, passing the terraced sites, the ground to the south and the east becomes rocky and among the huge granite boulders, there are twelve caves, partly artificial, used in ancient days as dwelling-places by Buddhist hermits. About 750 feet to the south-west of the stūpa, there is a rubble-faced pokuna, the muddy water which it is now filled with gives to the whole site its modern name.

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1 For a brief description of this site, see C. J. Sc. (G) vol. ii, pp. 87–8.
2 Kaludiyapokuna is a Sinhalese compound word meaning ‘Black Water Pool’.
Three inscriptions have been discovered at this place. Of these, the earliest (No. 431), belonging to about the seventh century A.D., is inscribed on a plain guardstone of the flight of steps at the southern entrance to the courtyard of the stūpa. Only a few letters of this epigraph are legible and we are, therefore, unable to say what its contents were.

The second inscription in point of date (No. 429) is engraved on the rock wall of a cave situated about 400 ft. to the south-west of the stūpa. It is divided into five columns of unequal dimensions. The first column, containing eighteen lines, measures 6 ft. by 1 ft. 4 in.; the second of seventeen lines measures 5 ft. by 1 ft. 5 in., and the third, 6 ft. by 1 ft. 1 in., contains twenty-one lines. The fourth column measuring 1 ft. 4 in. by 8 in. contains only six short lines of which the second line consists of one letter, the third of two, and the rest of three each. The fifth column is engraved in the intervening space between the third and the fourth and contains five lines of writing of which the second consists of only one letter and the rest of two each. It measures 1 ft. 3 in. by 5 in. The whole rock surface covered by the inscription measures, roughly, 6 ft. by 6 ft.

The letters, too, are not of a uniform size; those in the last eight lines of the third column being smaller than the others. The average size is about two inches in height. The engraving of the record is done in a somewhat careless manner; the letters being quite shallow and, in many instances, badly formed. But, owing to its sheltered position, the record is in a good state of preservation.

The script is that of the ninth century; but is more cursive in form than in any of the published epigraphs datable within this period. Some letters are written in more than one type; for instance, the letter i assumes various shapes in lines A 12, A 18, B 2, B 7, C 8, C 13, C 16, C 18, C 21, and E 5. The letter gha (line B 8) is found here for the first time in a Sinhalese document of the ninth century; in form it closely resembles the symbol for dha. It is difficult to distinguish ha and ga from each other owing to the absence, in the former, of the hook in its left arm.

As regards orthography, the mode of writing the two words vibangha and sammā-sambudu may be noted. In the former word, which stands for the Skt. vibhaṅga, the aspirate is transferred from the second to the third syllable,

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and the dental \( n \) has been substituted for the *anusvāra*. In the latter word, which is a corruption of P. *samma sambuddha*, the use of the conjoint consonants is noteworthy. Attention may also be drawn to the fact that, in this document, the particle *yī* is added after the finite verb just as the same particle or its variant *ya* is added in the modern language. This particle is, in my opinion, a corruption of the Skt. and P. *iti* which, in the latter language, is often used to indicate the close of a sentence. In the long sentence beginning with line A 1 and ending in line B 14 which has several parenthetical clauses, the subject, *Dalanaṭi*, occurs twice. The first personal termination *mi* is added not only to the finite verb (*dinmi*), but also to the subject *Dalanaṭi* as well.

Among the unusual words occurring in this record, *mahabundana* in lines A 10–11, *mutpaniṇi pere bundana* in lines A 12–14, *mādabī* in line C 11 and *āg* in line C 14 call for some remarks here. The word *bundana* is obscure both in its meaning and in its etymology. It may, however, be conjectured that it is the prototype of *mudala*¹, meaning ‘storehouse’ or ‘treasury’. If we adopt this hypothesis, *mahabundana*, would mean ‘the great storehouse’. In dealing with the Giritalā pillar² inscription, I have suggested that *pere* occurring in technical terms of the tenth-century inscriptions may mean ‘outer’. If this meaning is adopted, *perebundana* would mean ‘the outer treasury or storehouse’. The context in which the word *bundana* occurs seems to support this conjecture. A person deposited some money for the daily supply of certain quantities of rice and curd to the inmates of a *vihāra*. It is reasonable to think that the investment was done with the persons who had the management of the storehouses of the monastery who undertook to supply, in payment of the interest on the invested capital, the commodities as requested by the donor. As regards the term ‘outer storehouse’ it may be useful to point out that in the monastery of Mihintalā, the income and expenditure were divided into two departments ‘the interior’ and ‘the exterior’³. The outer storehouse mentioned here was probably connected with the exterior revenue and expenditure (*bāhāri aya vāya*). *Mutpaniṇi* may be a place name; if so it should be qualifying *perebundana* and as such, the case ending is noteworthy. Compare, also, the expression *mut-hasa,

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¹ This word is of frequent occurrence in documents of about the fifteenth century. The compound word *gama-mudala* occurring in the Oruvala Sannasa is translated by Mr. Codrington as ‘village revenue’. In the compound *ara-mudala* the word distinctly signifies ‘storehouse’ or ‘treasury’.

² Above p. 145.

which itself is obscure in meaning, occurring in the Kevulgama and Vaharagoda inscriptions (see above, p. 231).

Māḍabi, in line C 11, is a part of a personal name and is evidently a title. This word is found, similarly used, in several other documents of the period. The Tiṃbirivāva pillar inscription ¹ mentions a piriveṇa named after a Māḍabi whose proper name is not preserved. An inscription on a stone basin at the ruined monastery of Pankuliya at Anurādhapura says that the object was a gift of a person named Senal Māḍabi ². One of the persons who scribbled verses on the gallery wall at Sigiriya was styled ‘Nakka Māḍambīya, the Superintendent of the slaves of the Pāṇḍyan king’ ³. An officer called māḍabīya is also mentioned in the Abhayavāva pillar inscription (A. I. C., No. 11) of Sirisaṅgboy (Sena II); but the passage being mutilated, we are not quite certain about the reason of his being mentioned there ⁴. Lastly, a fragmentary inscription found at Parāpē in the Kāgalla District seems to record a transaction between some merchants and an officer called Nakkan Vadur Māḍabi. ⁵ None of these references helps us to determine the exact connotation of this official title of māḍabi or maḍambī. The word seems to be identical with maḍambīya which occurs in Jain Prākrit. The Uvāsagadasāsā, one of the canonical books of the Jainas, includes maḍambīya in a list of high officials. ⁶ Dr. Hoernle has translated the word, in this text, as ‘governor’. In an old Kanarese inscription found at a place named Tērdal⁷, maḍamba is used as a territorial term denoting a group of villages. If maḍambīya is a derivative of maḍamba, the word may mean the governor of a territorial district called by that name. The editor of the Pāśa-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo has adopted this explanation. On the other hand, in an extract from a Jain text quoted by Dr. Pran Nath in his Economic Conditions of

² This short record is yet unpublished. It reads ‘Senal Māḍabīya kāravū pādōṇi’ ‘The wash-basin caused to be made by Senal Māḍabi’.
³ This graffito reads:—Pāṇḍiraḷ jñān dāla-adhikāra Nakka Māḍambīya liyū kavi ‘The verse written by Nakka Māḍambīya, the Superintendent of the slaves of the Pāṇḍyan king.
⁴ Dr. Müller’s reading of this part of the inscription is not correct. The officer māḍabī in this instance, seems to have had something to do with vihāras.
⁵ Bell’s Report on the Kāgalla District, p. 72 and plate facing that page. Mr. Bell’s reading is somewhat different.
Ancient India (p. 55, foot-note 2), a commentator explains māḍambiya as a customs officer (māḍaphālipyā). The term māḍabim, occurring in the Hira-hadagallī copper-plate grant of the Pallava King Śivakandavarman, seems to be a word of cognate origin. Dr. Bühler has suggested its correction to māḍabika and translates it as 'customs house officer'. Āg in line C 14 seems to correspond to the word gīvīsā (consented) occurring in the previous sentences. Therefore, we may take it to be of the same meaning. Perhaps, it has some connexion with the Skt. aṅgī in such compounds as aṅgikṛta.

The inscription is dated on the fifth day of the bright half of the lunar month Poson in the eighth year of King Sirisāṅgo. It is not possible to settle definitely the identity of this monarch; but, on palaeographical grounds, this inscription may be ascribed to the reign of either Sena II (circa 846-860) or Kassapa IV (circa 891-908); more probably to that of the earlier of the two.

The contents tell us of the gifts made by different individuals for providing food to the inmates of the Dakṣināgiri monastery. The major part of the record is concerned with the gift of a person named Dalanā (P. Dāṭhānāga) who invested twenty-three kālāṇidas of gold for the daily supply of two admanā of rice and one admanā of curd. The stipulation made by the donor that the rice should not be given uncooked does not throw much credit on the inmates of the monastery. It is also laid down that in case of dissension among the inmates of the monastery, the food intended for them should be thrown to crows and dogs. Evidently, Dalanā was of opinion that if the members of the saṅgha quarrelled amongst themselves, they were less worthy of the offerings of the pious than such animals.

From this inscription we learn that the ancient name of the monastery at Kaludiya-pokūṇa was Dakṣināgiri (P. Dakkhaṇa- or Dakkhināgiri). A monastery called Dakkhināgiri was, according to the Mahāvaṃsa (xviii, 7), founded by Saddhātīśa. The name appears again in a list of eighteen vihāras built by Dhātusena. Aggabodhi I erected a hall for the Uposatha festival at Dakkhināgiri vihāra and Kassapa V granted a village to it. Professor Geiger has

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1 Ep. Ind., vol. i, pp. 5–7. Dr. Bühler remarks, 'I consider the correction māḍabika as certain and take the word māḍabida or māḍapida, from which it has been derived, in the sense of the modern māḍāvī “custom house”.'

2 Mu. xxxviii, v. 46.

3 Ibid., xliii, v. 27.

4 Ibid., lii, v. 60.
suggested the identification of the Dakkhināgiri Vihāra mentioned in the
chronicle with Mulgirigala in the Southern Province; but a twelfth-century
inscription found at the latter place refers to it as Muhundgiri (P. Sumuddā-
giri).

TEXT.

A.

1 Sirisaṅgbo-
2 -y mapurmukā [do-
3 -lo]s-vanne Po-
4 -sonā pura visenī da-
5 -vas Daḷanāmi Daki-
6 -niṃgiri-veherā ma-
7 -ha-saṅgūt la-
8 -hā-bataṭ tevisi
9 kaḷandak ran di da-
10 -vas patā mahā-bund-
11 -nen de[y]dmanāk
12 sāle bat isā mu-
13 -tpaṇin pere-bund-
14 -nen ek-ad manāk
15 dihi ātuḷ ko-
16 -t hir-saṇd ā-
17 -ti tāk sāṇdā pava-
18 -tnā isā sāl

B.

1 nodī batge
2 pisā bat de-
3 -nu isā veherā
4 viyagurak āta
5 me bat kavudu-
6 ballanaṭ o-
7 -nā isā me vi-
8 -bangha kaḷa kene-
9 -kun Maha-mete-sa-
10 -mmā-Sambudun do-
11 -rin yat at no
12 nāṅgiya henu
13 koṭ Daḷanāmi me
14 bat dinni[mīi][r]*
15 Simī mamad me
16 karaṇayehi gi-
17 visā bataṭ dinni[mīi][r]*

C.

1 Me karaṇaye-
2 -hi givisā
3 Koṭgam
4 S(i)sen
5 vat-himi-
6 -yange
7 lahā-bata-
8 -k isā [r]*
9 Me karaṇaye-
10 -hi givisā

1 The Cūlavasā, English translation, part I, p. 33, n. 3.
3 There is space for one akṣara before si; but no traces of any letter are visible.
Kaludiyapokura Cave-Inscription

Scale, about \( \frac{1}{4} \) inch to 1 foot
11 Kaḷi Mādabī-
12 -yan bata-
13 -k isā [r*] Me ka-
14 -raṇayen āg
15 Sūneyur vat-hi-
16 -miyan batak isā

17 Kalavāli Udahi
18 batak isā [r*] Va-
19 -durā Araksamaṇa-
20 -n maṇiyan lahā-
21 batak isā [r*]

D.
1 Me kara-
2 -na-
3 -yehi

4 givisā
5 Ādur va-
6 t-himi

E.
1 (me ka*)
2 -ya-
3 -n ba-

4 -tak
5 isā [r*]

TRANSLATION.

[Lines A 1-18] On the fifth day of the waxing moon of [the month of] Poson* in the twelfth [year] of His Majesty Sirisangboy*, I, Dalana* gave twenty-three kalandas* of gold for 'ticket-meals'8 to the great community of monks at the Dakiniṇigiri* monastery so that meals cooked of two admanā* of

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1 Can be read as Udaṇṭi, also.
2 Evidently, these two syllables are due to a clerical error.
3 Lines A 1–B 14 consist of a single sentence of which the syntax is very much involved. For the sake of clearness, I have translated some of the adverbial clauses as independent sentences treating past participles as finite verbs. It is hardly possible to preserve the syntax of the original Sinhalese sentence in an English translation.
5 P. Dāṭhāṇāga.
6 P. Sirisanghabodhi.
7 A weight equivalent to about 70–72 grains of Troy. See Codrington, Ceylon Coins and Currency, p. 9.
9 P. Dakkhiṇagiri or Dākkiṇagiri.
10 For admanā, see E. Z., Vol. I, p. 108, n. 3. Admanā appears to be derived from P. adghamāna, a term of capacity occurring in the Jātaka (I, 468) and explained by the commentator as equivalent to four nāli (Śin. nāli). A māna therefore, is eight nāli; but in modern usage in Ceylon a nāliya (P. nāli) is of greater capacity than māna which is phonetically identical with P. māna. It is also possible that ad in the expressions deyadmanā and ekadhmanā is a part of the numerical term preceding it. Deyad, in that case, would be equivalent to P. dyaqīha 'one and a half'; and ekadh may mean 'one half'. There is also the possibility that ad represents Skt. ḍhaka, a measure of capacity equivalent to four prasthas (Śin. pata).
rice from Mahabunda¹ and one admañ̄a of curd from Mutpanin pere bundna¹ shall continue to be supplied till the sun and moon last.

[Lines A 18–B 14] Raw rice shall not be given; but meals shall be given having had (the same) cooked in the kitchen². If there be any dis-sension³ in the monastery, this food shall be thrown to crows and dogs. Any one who shall discontinue this [charity] may not be able to raise his hands [in adoration] even if the Perfect Buddha, the Great Mete⁴, were to pass by [his] door. I, Daññā, gave these meals (as stated above).

[Lines B 15–E 5] I, Si⁵, too, having acquiesced in this matter, gave one meal. And one ‘ticket meal’ [was given] by Koţgam Sisen Vathimi⁶ who acquiesced in this matter⁷. And one meal [was given] by Kali Mādabi⁸ who acquiesced in this matter. And one meal [was given] by Sumeyur Vathimi who acquiesced in this matter. And one meal [was given] by Kalavali Udahi⁹. And one ticket meal [was given] by the mother of Vadurā Arakṣamaṇa¹⁰. And one meal [was given] by Ādur Vathimi who acquiesced in this matter.

INSRIPTION No. 430.

The third inscription at Kaludiya-pokuna is engraved on a slab standing near a ruined structure at a distance of about 250 feet to the south of the stūpa. The upper part of it which was exposed to the sun and rain has been very badly

¹ For these two words, which I leave untranslated as their exact significance is doubtful, see above.
² Bathe.—Lit. ‘food-house’.
³ Vijagura.—For the meaning of this word, see Rwanmala, v. 259. It is derived from Skt. vyagura (P. vagga), the opposite of Skt. samagura (P. samagga) ‘united’.
⁴ Mete is the Sinhalese form of P. Metteyya, Skt. Maitreyya, the name of the next Buddha.
⁵ Si=P. Shiha, Skt. Sinha.
⁶ Vat-him is an honorific term often used in referring to the king and to the members, of whatever status, of the Buddhist Church. Its etymology is doubtful (see above p. 85). In this instance, it is applied to a private individual, possibly of high rank or aristocratic birth. I leave the term untranslated though it may be rendered, with some justification, as ‘His Lordship’. Sisen=P. Sisasena.
⁷ In this and the following sentences, mekaranayehi gīvita is an adverbial phrase; though in the translation it is treated as an adjectival phrase for the sake of clearness. The literal translation of the sentence as it stands in the original should be ‘And having acquiesced in this matter, one ticket meal of Kostañə Sisen Vathimi’.
⁸ Mādabi, a title, for meaning of which, see above p. 256.
⁹ Udahi is probably the same as Udaya.
¹⁰ Vadurā, represents P. Vajirá, Arakṣamaṇa is an official title often found in inscriptions, see above pp. 99.
worn; but the lower portion, buried in the debris, is fairly well preserved. The slab, excluding that part which is buried below ground, measures 6 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. 4½ in. and contains forty-six lines of writing of which a continuous text can be made out from the twenty-ninth line. Of the rest, only a few words are legible here and there.

The letters are, on the average, 3/4 in. in height. The script belongs to the tenth century and is uniform with that of the Vessagiriya Slab-Inscription of Mahinda IV. As regards the language, the words membe (line 37), samāndin (line 36), kīną (line 39), metuva (line 45), and vā (line 46) are noteworthy. Membe is the prototype of moba found in classical Sinhalese writings. It appears to be a compound of me ‘this’ and be, the locative singular of bā (Skt. bhāga) ‘side’, with a nasal introduced between the two words. Samāndin is of doubtful meaning; it may be taken as a variant form of sabadin or sambadin (Skt. sambadvadhena) ‘in connexion with’. The etymology and the meaning of kīña are alike doubtful; I have taken it as derived from P. khīṇa, Skt. kṣīna. Metuva occurs in other places as metuwāk. The use of the particle vā, in the same sense in which it is found used in Pāli and Sanskrit, is also met with in later Sinhalese writings.

Had this inscription been completely preserved, it would have been one of the most important records of the tenth century. Even in its present fragmentary condition, it is not without some historical interest, for the name of the king who issued this edict can be read in line 9, with a reasonable degree of certainty, as Mahassen Maharaj. His mother’s name Vidurārājna, is quite clear; and the name of his father may be read, though not with absolute certainty, as Udā Maharaj. It is hardly necessary to mention here that the monarch styled Mahassen is not the great Mahāsena who reigned in the fourth century. Maha (‘Great’) is here used merely as an epithet and does not form an integral part of the name; and therefore, on palaeographical grounds, the monarch who issued this edict must be one of the three Sena’s who held the sceptre in the tenth century. Sena V was a son of Mahinda IV; therefore, he cannot be identical with Mahassen, the son of Udāmaharaj, of this inscription. Consequently, this epigraph must belong to Sena III or Sena IV. But, as the reigns of these two monarchs were separated by an interval of only eight years, palaeography cannot decide as to which of them this record must be assigned.

2 Compare the phrase miyem vā rāken vā, Sinhalese Jātaka, Colombo edition of 1928, p. 1578.
3 Mhr. liv, v. 57.
The Mahāvamsa does not give the parentage of either of these rulers. The Pujavali, on the other hand, states that Sena III was a brother of Udaya II ¹ who was a son of Mihind Mahayā and the princess Kitā ². The mother of King Sena of our inscription was Vidurārajna and, therefore, he cannot be identified with Sena III. We have, consequently, no other alternative but to identify him with Sena IV. The next point to be considered is the identity of Udāmaharaj and Vidurārajna, the parents of Sena IV. Of the three kings, named Udā (Udaya) ³, figuring in the list of Ceylon’s kings, the first of that name died, probably at a fairly advanced age, fifty-seven years before the accession of Sena IV; and, therefore, it is most unlikely that he was the latter’s father. The second and third monarchs of that name both reigned within twenty years of Sena IV’s accession and it is one of these two monarchs who has to be identified with Udāmaharaj, the father of Sena IV and the husband of Vidurā.

The Mahāvamsa, (Chap. liii, v. 50) tells us that Udaya III, the predecessor of Sena IV, had a wife called Vidurā ⁴. She was, presumably, not Udaya’s chief consort as, in the chronicle, she is given the epithet oradha (inmate of the harem); and this is in accord with the title rājna ⁵ by which she is referred to in our inscription. If, then, we take Vidurā, wife of Udaya III, mentioned in the chronicle, as identical with the princess Vidurā, the wife of Udāmaharaj according to this record, the last named has to be identified with Udaya III.

This conclusion receives further support from the Pujavali which tells us that Sena who preceded Mahinda IV and who, according to the Mahāvamsa, was the fourth of that name, was a son of his predecessor. But the matter is complicated by the fact that the Pujavali ⁶ and, following it, the other Sinhalese

¹ Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara, A Contribution to the History of Ceylon translated from the ‘Pujavaliya’ Colombo, 1895, p. 32.
³ According to Prof. Geiger’s list (Cūlamānasa, translation, part II, pp. xii–xiii) there were four kings named Udaya. He has shown that the king named Dappula II in the lists of Wijesinha and Wickremasinghe should, in reality, be Udaya I (Cūlamānasa, English translation, part I, p. 126, footnote 1). This would necessitate a change in the enumeration of the many Udayas and Dappulas who flourished in mediaeval times. To adopt this enumeration would cause a considerable amount of confusion in references to previous numbers of the E.Z., and I have, therefore, adhered to the older usage though it may not be quite correct.
⁴ Orodha Vidurā tassa pādajālena pujayi
maṇḍhi pujagānam pātimaṁ thāṁ sīlāmayaṁ.
⁵ See above, p. 224, footnote 12.
⁶ Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara, op. cit., p. 32.
historical writings, place two kings, both named Sena, between Udaya III and Mahinda IV. As Udaya III and Mahinda IV had both the viruda title of Sirisaṅbo which was borne alternately by the kings of Ceylon during this period, these two monarchs could not have been separated from each other by two reigns. Therefore, we have to conclude that the order of succession of the kings from Udaya III to Mahinda IV given in the Mahāvanisa is to be upheld against that of the Pājāvāli.

There is also reason to believe that the insertion, in the Pājāvāli, of two Senas between Udaya III and Mahinda IV is due to a copyist's error. The passage in question reads:—'His younger brother, king Sen, reigned nine years. After him king Udā reigned eight years. Afterwards the great king Sen reigned nine years. His son, the great king Sen, reigned three years.' In this passage, the number of regnal years attributed to the additional Sena who follows Udaya III is the same as that given of Sena III who preceded him and the phraseology used is also similar. In view of the impossibility, that we have shown above, of accommodating two kings between Udaya III and Mahinda IV, it is, I think, not unreasonable to assume that after the account of Udaya III, the scribe repeated, by mistake, the remarks that he had already given of Sena III before writing down the account of the reign of Sena IV. If, then, we delete the sentence 'Afterwards, the great king Sen reigned nine years' as spurious, the word 'his' (oku) in the next sentence ought to refer to Udaya III; and the Pājāvāli can thus be understood as stating that Sena IV was a son of Udaya III—the conclusion that we have arrived at by the data furnished in the present epigraph and in the Mahāvanisa.

Dr. Wickremasinghe, in the genealogical tree facing p. 59 of E.Z., Vol. II, has placed Sena IV as a son of Kassapa V. This is due to his assumption that Sena IV was an elder brother of Mahinda IV and that the latter was a son of Kassapa V. The reasons that he has given for the former assumption (E.Z., Vol. I, p. 214) are not conclusive, and I have shown in my article on the Kataramgama inscriptions that Mahinda IV could not have been a son of Kassapa V.

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1 See also Prof. Geiger's note on this subject. Cūḷavaṇīsa, English translation, part I, p. 178.
5 See above, p. 222.
Therefore, Dr. Wickremasinghe's hypothesis regarding the parentage of Sena IV cannot be taken as evidence against the conclusion that we have now arrived at.

Sena IV, according to Dr. Wickremasinghe's chronological table, reigned from 950 to 953 A.D. Though he had a reign of only three years, he is described by the chronicler as a very beneficent ruler; and had the reputation of being a poet.¹

Our record is a *katika*, or a set of regulations agreed upon by common consent. It seems to have consisted of three sections; namely, rules for the guidance of the monks, those dealing with the temple officials and regulations to be observed by the royal officers in their dealings with the monastery. Of these three sections, only the second and the third are preserved. This inscription confirms the previous one as regards the old name of the monastery.

**TEXT.**

1 ... ... ... ... ... [Okāvas] raj-parapure [n baṭ] ... ... ... ...
2 ... ... ... ... ... (Udā) maharaj-hu pinisā kāta-kula-sarā-ambur [hi]
3 ... ... ... ... ... ... Vidurā-rājna kus-hi dānā ... ... ...
4 ... ... ... ... ... ... vur divayur-parapure ... ... ... ...
5–8 ... [Illegible]
9 ... ... ... ... ... Maha-Sen maharaj-hu tumā sat [lā] ĩgu .. ...
10 ... ... ... ... ... [bim] hi pihiti Dakiniigiri-raj-maha-veher
11 ... ... ... ... ... ... tunu-ruvanhi kaḷa ... ... ha ... mi(n) ...
12 ... ... ... ... ... ... piḷima-gehi pahan ... vā tubū ka .. ...
13 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... mahasir mahasaṅh helbi me[n]
14 ... ... ... ... ... ... ngamu Navāmpahangama ... ... ...
15 ... ... ... ... ... ... r magavūgama Panagama [ātul] metuvāk .. ...
16 ... [Illegible]
17 ... ... ... ... ... metuvāk tānhi ... ... diya van [kumbu]-
18 ... ... ... ... ... ... (ha)muva ... ... ... nokiyā ...
19 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... novanu bāhār hindā ... ...
20 ... ... ... ... ... ... kavara pariyāyekin ... ... ... veher
21 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... (tun) masin satar baṇavar ... ... ...
22 ... [Illegible]

¹ *Mhv.* liv, vv. 1–6.
23 ... vat-himiyan me avasā no vasanuvat piri ..
24 [Illegible]
25 ... me avasā novasanu [vat] ...
26 ... ranu ma .. baña hadārana dasa herañ-va-
27 [t]-himi .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. (kara) siyen ternaṭ vasana se-
28 -nasunhi .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. kak denu isā mehi baña hadārana he-
29 -[raŋ]-vat-himiyan mahaṇ karannaṭ maha-[saṅgun] givisvā vasāgin
30 mahaṇ karanu isā unu no .. .. nu isā nokam b[ā]ḷa-dasnaṭ [nimi]
divel
31 [valahana] vat-himiyanud metuvaṅ katikāyehi varad vat-himiyanud
me a-
32 -vasā novasanu isā bāhārā mini koṭā no vaddā denu isā raṭa hindā
mini ke-
33 [-tu] va kāmiyan unge gedād genā piṭat karanu isā kāmiyan Bogami-
34 -n Magāmin divel gannā isā tesu gāmin geri mīvun das minisun uka-
35 -s pamaṇu govikam no karanu isā pas-mahā-sāvaddayehi pahaḷa kā-
miya-
36 -n ṇā-parāhār no karanu isā varad-kāmiyan samāndīn atā mehe genā
raṭin
37 piṭat no karanu isā Vāpā ava atavakin membe lēkam nokoṭ divel no-
38 gannā isa pere sirit no karanu kāmiyan kāmi-kāmā no tabanu isā
39 pere siritin vaḍā kīṇa karavuvara no bandanā isā Mahamanḍ Vaḷamāla
Vaḷipu-
40 -ngonu sakiriyad [Si]mbur-bamārād laḥā-bat karanu isā me veherā
bad gam-
41 bīmaṇ tun-radolen vāḍā vāri perenāṭṭiyam gāl-gon mīvun nogannā isā
42 Āselā pura dasavak davaḷa ektān-samīyen Mekāppar-vāḍārum Sa-
43 -ṅsenu varin ā Sunaṅga(lu) Raksem isā Kilindiri Sonim isā
Mahakiliṅg-
44 gam Kilīṅg Lokeyim isā Vaṭrāk Kasbā Raksamaṇan varin ā Kuḍa-
45 salā Kitdevu atulū āpā metuvā¹ denamo me katikā kalamha [ṇ§]
46 Me katikā mahaṇ vā kāmī vā radol vā buna Mete-budun no dākā
huṇavāha [ṇ§]

¹ This may be a mistake for metuvaṅ.
TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-28] 1 descended from the lineage of king Okāvas 2 unto the great king (Udā) 3 in the autumnal sky of the kṣatriya race having been born in the womb of Queen Vidurā 4 in the lineage of the Sun of the raising of the umbrella [of dominion] by the great king Mahasen 5 the great royal monastery of Dakinigiri situated in the district created in the Three Jewels 6 the lamps in the image house (the villages of) ngamu, Navāmpahangama rmagavūgama, Panagama all these including in all these places, the fields to which the water of reach mortgage and freehold having met not saying should not happen; from outside in whatever manner the monastery the four lessons of religious discourses in three months their lordships 7 should not reside in this dwelling-place their lordships, the ten novices who study religious discourses here to the elders, in the dwelling-place wherein (they) live should be given

[Lines 28–32] The great congregation should be asked for their assent to ordain, as religieux, their lordships the novices who study religious discourses here, and they should be ordained as religieux by the end of the year 8 9

1 I only give the meanings of such words as are preserved in these lines, which are extremely fragmentary, without attempting to arrange them according to syntax.
2 P. Okkāka, Skt. Ikṣvāku. 3 P. and Skt. Udaya. 4 P. Vajirā, Skt. Vajrā.
5 P. and Skt. Mahāsena. 6 The Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha.
7 Vathimiyān :—In this place used for the monks. See above pp. 85–6.
8 The word which has been translated ‘by the end of the year’ is vassāgam. It has been taken as equivalent to P. vassagga. As an alternative translation ‘by the end of the vassa retreat’ may be suggested. The word can also be derived from P. vāsaggā ‘dwelling-house’; but I do not think that this meaning would suit the context.
9 Unu no . . . . nanu idā :—As this phrase is fragmentary, it is difficult to find out what it means. Compare, however, the phrase unupāvo mahan no karun idā, which in itself is obscure, in the jetavanārāma’ slab inscription of Kassapa V. E.Z., Vol. I, p. 49.
Their lordships who, without reason, deprive the hired labourers and serfs of their nimi and maintenance lands (dīvel) and their lordships who transgress these aforesaid regulations are not to live in this dwelling-place.

[Lines 32–35] [Those who come] after committing homicide outside are not to be given admission. Should [tenants] commit homicide in the district, the employees should take their geda and send them away. The employees are to take their maintenance lands (dīvel) from (the villages) Bogamiya and Magama; neat cattle and buffaloes, serfs and men, shall not cultivate ukas and pamanu lands from other villages.

[Lines 35–40] Employees who are known [to have been implicated] in the five great crimes are not to perform [their duties in] the procession of

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1 Valahana, literally 'hide'.
2 See E. Z., Vol. I, p. 240, n. 1. Dr. Wickremasinghe takes nimi to be a term of land tenure. The context here would demand its interpretation either as a term of land tenure or as meaning 'wages' or 'payment'. The word nimi may be derived from Skt. nivi which means 'capital' or 'stock' and could also have denoted money in general. The modern use of the word mudal affords us a parallel. Etymologically it means 'capital' but almost always it denotes money. In popular parlance, 'wages' are very often expressed by a term which means 'money'.
3 Katikā is the term now used for a set of regulations agreed by the saṅgha for the guidance of its members. The word appears to be formed by the addition of the feminine or diminutive form of the suffix ka after the verbal form kāta, and therefore would signify 'an Act'. Originally it seems to have been the term by which a decision of an assembly, whether political or ecclesiastical, was technically known. The decisions of the village councils in Malabar are referred to in inscriptions by the cognate term kacca (Skt. kṛiya). In the early Pāli writings, the word denotes 'agreement', 'contract' or 'pact'. In the tenth-century Sinhalese, the word had not yet assumed an exclusively ecclesiastical significance as proved by the use of the word in the Vessagiriya Slab No. 1 (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 25).
4 Kata:—What is meant is, evidently, outside the temple lands.
5 Geda, see E. Z., Vol. I, p. 250, n. 5. The exact significance of this term is still not clear.
6 For the terms ukas and pamanu, see Codrington's Short History of Ceylon, p. 46.
7 Pat-mahā-sāvadā, cf. the 'Jetavanārāma', Slab. The five most heinous crimes, according to Buddhist doctrine are (i) patricide, (ii) matricide, (iii) killing a saint, (iv) causing bodily hurt to the Buddha, (v) causing schism in the saṅgha. According to Hindu law books, the five great crimes are (i) killing a Brāhmaṇa, (ii) drinking intoxicating liquors, (iii) theft, (iv) committing adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher and (v) associating with any one guilty of these crimes. In Nepal where the ancient Indian institutions are still in practice, the five great crimes (pācāparādha) are (i) killing a Brāhmaṇa, (ii) killing a cow, (iii) killing a woman, (iv) killing a child and (v) acts resulting in loss of caste (see Sylvain Levi, Le Népal, vol. 1, pp. 295 ff.). It is impossible to determine how the five great crimes were enumerated in medieval Ceylon.
relics. The employees who have committed any misdemeanour are not to be sent out of the district after taking any service [that they may have] in hand. Maintenance lands are not to be taken without showing accounts before the eighth day of the waning moon in the month of Vap. The employees who do not observe the former customs are not to be kept in their offices. Taxes in excess of, or less than, [what is due according to] former practice are not to be levied. The six kirīya of fields at Mahamand, Valamāla, and Vālipunγunu and [the land named] Simurbamarā are to be set apart for ‘ticket meals.’

1 Dīpārāhār = P. dhātuparihāra. In Sinhalese inscriptions of this period, the word pārahār and its variant forms are used, excepting in this place, in its original meaning of ‘privileges’. In the modern language, the word prehāra, identical in origin, means a procession, usually religious. The change of meaning in this word as well as the origin of religious processions of the sort that we witness to-day in Ceylon seem to be due to the periodical exhibition of the privileges, such as the use of umbrellas, music, elephants, horses, &c., granted by ancient Sinhalese kings to various religious institutions. This is the only instance in which the word is used in this sense in an inscription of this period.

2 The translation offered of this clause is very tentative. It is based on the interpretation of the word samāndin as identical in meaning with Skt. sambhandha and atā mehe as ‘service in hand’. Compare atā dīvel in the ‘Buddhist railing’ Slab-inscription of Mahinda IV (above p. 227). This is the only way in which these two crucial words can be interpreted with the aid at present available; but the translation does not seem to give much of a sense. On the other hand, if we delete the word ‘not’ in the phrase ‘not to be sent out of the district’, the injunction becomes intelligible. Perhaps the negative particle no before karanu in line 37 is due to a clerical error.

3 Lekam noko literally means ‘not having done the act of writing’.

4 The statement that the employees were to submit their accounts before the ava eighth of the month of Vap (Skt. Aśvina) is interesting. Presumably, this was the end of the financial year of the monastery. It may be mentioned here that the amāvāsyā day of this lunar month is the day of the Hindu festival of Diśavali on which date, it is the custom among the native merchants in India to close their yearly accounts. (Underhill, The Hindu Religious Year, p. 59.) Possibly, the same custom was prevailing in mediaeval Ceylon and the monastic practice was but a reflection of the secular one. The fact that the employees were requested to submit their accounts seven days before the closing of the financial year can be explained by the necessity to have them checked before they were submitted for ratification to the high dignitaries of the church assembled together.

5 Kirī karawwara:—For karawwara, see E.Z., Vol. I, p. 131. Kirī has been taken to be derived from Skt. kīpa, P. khīna ‘diminished’. Nobandum, in this sentence, is also difficult to explain. I have taken it to be a verbal form of the root from which the Sinhalese word bādu ‘tax’ is derived. With this phrase, it may be useful to compare nobada karawwara (E.Z., I, p. 130), nobada aya (E.Z., II, p. 88) and abaddha kara (Mh., Chap. lxxii, v. 3). Sinhalese bada and Pāli baddha occurring in these phrases seem to mean ‘fixed’ or ‘settled’. It is also possible that kirī-karawwara was the name of a particular tax.

6 Kirīya = P. karisha, a land measure, see above p. 189.

7 Lahābat karanu:—Literally ‘be made into ticket meals’.

8 For lahābat, see above, p. 259, n. 8.
[Lines 40-41] [Officers] are not to come from the three royal households to the estates and lands belonging to this monastery and levy workmen, *peruññiyyam*, carts, oxen and buffaloes.

[Lines 42-45] I, *Sumanãga(lu) Raksa*, I, *Kilindiri Sen*, and I, *Kilinã Lõke* of Mahakiliñgam who have come by the orders of *Saûgsonu*, the Commander of the Body-Guard; and *Kuðasalã Kidevu*, who has come by the orders of *Vatrak Kasbã*, the Raksana,10.—We all of us, including the aforesaid persons—instituted these regulations in accordance with the unanimous decree delivered on the tenth day of the waxing moon in the month of *Äselã*11.

[Line 46] Should any persons, whether they be monks or employees of the monastery, or officers of the royal household, transgress these regulations, may they not be able to see *Mete Budu*.12

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*Tunradola:*—This is the only place where the expression *tunradola* 'three royal households' occurs in tenth-century documents. Of the three royal households the principal one is, of course, that of the supreme king (*mahãrâjã*). In an unpublished pillar inscription from a place named *Galñãva* in the Nãgamâla Êõrãle of the Anurãdhapura District, we come across the term *mahayâge* (*uû* *raudã* (the palace of *mahayã*). We may, therefore, take the second royal household to have been that of the *mahayã* (the heir-apparent). We are not quite certain about the third royal household. It may have been the establishment of the chief queen, (the *rûjëasalã* or the *palli vãhala* of later times) or that of the *dpã*, the heir-presumptive. With *tun-radola* of our inscription, it may be interesting to compare the expression *deradге niyamavarun* (the functionaries of the two royal establishments) occurring in an unpublished fragmentary record found at *Nãccadûva* in the Anurãdhapura District.

1 See E.Z., Vol. I. p. 53. n. 7. 2 See above, p. 145. 4 In personal names such as Raksem, Senim, &c., the suffixes *em* and *im* are taken as the first personal termination. Dr. Wickremasinghe takes the *im* occurring in similar names as a corruption of Skt. *svãmin.* 5 *Sumanãga* is a place name; *Raksa* is equivalent to Skt. *Råksa.* 6 *Kilindiri* is a place name; *Sen* = Skt. *Señã.* 7 P. *Mahã-Kalãngã-gãma.* 8 P. *Saûghã-sena.* 9 *Kuðasalã* is an official title. *Kidevu* = P. *Kiddlevu.* 10 *Raksana* is an official title, see above, p. 99; *Vatrak* appears to be a place name and *Kasbã* is equivalent to P. *Katsapa.* 11 *Ek-ûn-ëamiya:*—For the explanation of this word given tentatively, see above, p. 107. 12 Skt. *Äselã*. June-July. 13 P. *Mettaya Buddha*, Skt. *Maitreyã Buddha*, see above, p. 192, n. 3.
No. 28. COLOMBO MUSEUM PILLAR-INSRIPTION OF KASSAPA IV.
By S. Paranavitana.

WHEN this inscribed pillar was brought to the Colombo Museum—from where, it is not recorded—it was already broken into two pieces. These, being kept apart from each other, were treated as two distinct epigraphs by the Archaeological Survey when eye-copies and estampages of the inscribed stones in the Colombo Museum were prepared in 1907 and 1924. The upper part has, since then, been further broken into two fragments. All the three pieces have now been joined together and the complete pillar set up in the stone gallery.

The pillar is eight inches square and stood seven feet above ground. All the four sides are inscribed; A and B contains thirty-two lines each; C thirty-three lines and D twelve lines and the figures of a scythe, a monk's fan, a crow and a dog. The letters are engraved between ruled lines two inches apart from one another; and are, on an average, 1½ inches in height. The mutilation of the stone has not done much damage to the inscription which is in a fair state of preservation. Excepting certain aksaras in lines B 21–24 and C 1–4, the complete text of the epigraph can be made out with certainty.

The script does not differ, in any material points, from that of the other published epigraphs of Kassapa IV, the only noteworthy feature being the occurrence of the symbol for jña in line A 8. Several clerical errors are noticed, namely, hihi for pihiti in lines A 3, Karasub for Kasub in lines A 14–15, the repetition of the two aksaras, eka in lines A 17–18, nakan for nava in lines A 23–24, nodanā for novadanā in line D 6 and the two superfluous letters vana in line D 8.

The language and style are the same as in similar documents of the period; the only difference to be noted is the more marked tendency to favour Sanskrit words instead of genuine vernacular forms. Witness, for example, ekajñā for eka ānā, Udaya Abhaya for Udā Abhayā and āya for ā.

The inscription is dated on the tenth day of the first half of the month of

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2 It is also possible that naka is a variant form and not a clerical error. This word as well as mā are both derived from the Skt. nāyaka.
Mándindina (February–March) in the eleventh year of Kasub Sirissaṅbo, i.e., Kassapa IV (circa 891–908 A.D.). The same epithets are applied to this monarch in the present epigraph as in the Moragoda pillar inscription of the sixteenth year of that king.1

The object of the record is the grant of immunities to an estate which was an endowment of a lying-in-home founded by the Chief Secretary Senal (Sena). In the reign of Kassapa IV, there flourished a Chief Secretary of the name of Sena (Seno nāma mahālekho, Mv. Ch. iii, v. 33) who was the founder of a religious institution at the Mahāvihāra of Anurādhapura. The Mahakālattāva pillar inscription of the fifteenth regnal year of Sirissaṅbo (Kassapa IV)2 mentions the Chief Secretary Sena (Sen Mahalānau) as the founder of a nunnery, called Nālaram in honour of his mother. Possibly, the Chief Secretary Sena of our inscription is identical with the official mentioned in the chronicle and in the Mahakālattāva record. The details of the immunities given do not contain anything not known from other grants of a similar nature.

Six minor officials—dūtakas, as they may be styled—were instrumental in promulgating this edict. Of these, the first two were members of the king's body-guard and came under the orders of Kahāva Radsivu, the Commander of the body-guard. The third and the fourth were from the sabhā itself and came during the term of office of Dāpuḷa Pirittirad, the Sabhāpati (President of the Council). The fifth represented the Chief Secretary, Vadurā Raksamaṇa, and the sixth came at the instance of Utur Pāṇdirad who held the office of Demelā Adhiṅkara. Of the higher officials, mentioned above, who had a status corresponding to that of the ājñāpti in Indian grants3, two, namely, the Sabhāpati and the Demelā Adhiṅkara are noticed here for the first time in a Sinhalese document.

The sabhāpati is also mentioned in two other unpublished fragmentary inscriptions of the tenth century; one from a place named Doṃbavalagama in the Vilaciyā Kōralē of the North-Central Province4 and the other, belonging to the reign of Kassapa IV, from a village called Kuṇcikulama in the Kuṇcuṭṭu Kōralē of the same province5. A sabhāpati or sabhānāyaka named Kuṭhāra is mentioned in the Mahāvamsa6. He was sent, in the company of a high dignitary

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2 Müller, A I. C. No. 110.  
3 See above, p. 108.  
4 Sabhāpati Prittudveda Udaṇana davasā sabhāyen ā, &c.  
5 Vadāla ekāna-samisyen sabhāpati Dāpuḷa Pirittirad. . . .  
6 Mv. lxvi, vv. 61, 64, 67 and 70. The compound Kuthārādissabhānāyaka, occurring in v. 61, has been rendered by Prof. Geiger as 'the head of the Kuṭhārasabla'. (The Cūḷavamsa. English translation, p. 272).
of the Buddhist church, by Kittisirimegha, the ruler of the Dakkhinaśadesa, to escort the young prince Parākrama back to Pūnhagāma after the latter's escapade in the King's Country. These references do not help us to determine the exact nature of the office in question. Sabhāpatina was one of the highest functionaries in the administration of the government as organized by Parākrama-bāhu I. The office of sabhāpati goes back to a great antiquity as it is mentioned in the Vedic literature. His function, it is obvious from the name, was to preside over the meetings of the Council of State (sabha). Our inscription, in mentioning the sabhāpati of a particular day, seems to indicate that there was more than one officer who held this office at the same time. Possibly, there were two of them who functioned by turns. The name Pirittirad, too, is evidently a title. In the extract from the Doṃbavalagama record given above, the Sabhāpati has the similar title of Prilivudcva which seems to be a mispronunciation of the Skt. Prthvīdeva 'god of the earth' while Pirittirad is the same as the Skt. Prthvīrāja 'king of the earth'. In the Biliśāva inscription, mention is made of an official called Sand Pirittirad. He is not called the sabhāpati in that document; but, as in our inscription, some messengers are said to have come, for the purpose of proclaiming an edict, from the Council, on the day of his presidency. He may, therefore, be taken as a holder of the office of sabhāpati.

So far as I know, the office of Demelā adhikāri has not been mentioned in any other Sinhalese inscription. In the chronicles, this office is mentioned but once, i.e., in the reign of Parākrama-bāhu I. The expedition sent by that monarch to chastise the king of Rāmaṇa was led by a general named Adicca who held the office of Damilādāhikari. Presumably, the Demelā adhikari figures in this edict because the land affected by it contained a Demelakaballa (Tamil allotment). In my article on the Giritaḷe pillar inscription, I have given references to other documents in which this term occurs. On a comparison of these, it becomes clear that a Demelakaballa was an allotment of land in a village, set apart for the Tamils. The slab inscription near the Stone-Canoe in the

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2. N.N. Law, Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, p. 25.
3. In connexion with the old Sinhalese practice of having two persons holding the same office at the same time see Mr. A. M. Hocart's article 'Duplication of Office in the Indian State', in the C. J. Sc. (§ G), vol. i, pp. 205 ff.
5. Mv. lxxvi, v. 39 et seq.  
6. See above, p. 143.
Citadel of Anuradhapura has the expression *Demel gambim* 'Tamil villages and lands'. The present record, as well as the Giritala pillar-inscription referred to above, shows that Demela lands were gifted by the king; therefore, they seem to have been set apart for the maintenance of the Tamil soldiers in the king’s service and must have been administered by the royal officers. The *Demela adhikari* of this inscription had the personal name of Utur Paṇḍirad. In this name, *Paṇḍirad* (the Paṇḍya king) is evidently a *viruda* title. The same *viruda* was held by Dāpuḷa, the Commander of the body-guard, who figures in several pillar edicts of the reign of Kassapa IV. The holders of this *viruda* need not necessarily have been connected with the Paṇḍyan royal family. The *Mahāvijñāna* tells us that another minister of Kassapa IV was known by the title of *Colarāja* (King of Cola). The Cola and Paṇḍya inscriptions of South India furnish us with many instances where feudatory nobles had *virudas* such as *Kālingarāyar* (King of Kāliṅga) and *Ṭhattaraiyar* (King of Ilam, i.e., Ceylon) when these countries were in no way politically subject to the Tamil kings.

**TEXT.**

**A.**

1 Svasti [*r*]
2 Sirī Lak-
3 [dī]v hiṭi4 si-
4 -ripind yasa
5 isirā Ruhi-
6 -ṇ-danavu Ma-
7 -la-madulu e-
8 -kājū ko-
9 -t tamaha-
10 -t piribho-
11 -ga kala Udaya
12 Abhaya ma-
13 -harad-hu so-
14 -hovar Kara
15 -sub3 Sirī-
16 saṅbo ma-
17 -purmuka e-
18 -ko eka4 īos-
19 vanne Māndi-
20 -ndi [nā] pura da-
21 -savak dava-
22 -s mahāle
23 Senalnāka-
24 -n2 kāravū ti-

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3 *Mv.* lli, v. 34. 4 Read *divhi piti*.
5 Read *Kasub.*
6 Read *nāvan.*
7 These two syllables are superfluous.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-la(d) ra[d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kole-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n bahā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>lū demeša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kābālla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ātu(luv)ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>pere maha-</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>himaṭ ā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-tulā vū me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>gamaṭ a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-ttāni-pa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-rāhār den-</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-naṭ vadālec-</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-vin ektā-</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>-n-samiye-</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-n ā Mekā-</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>-mbirigeṭ</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>mekun tama</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>dun utur pa-</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>-sā Valviṭ-</td>
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C.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nilavasā</td>
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<td>(Mādiyā i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-sā Mahāle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>[Vaj]durā Ra-k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>samanān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>varin ā Ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-dасalā Devu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>isā Demē-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-la adhika-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-[i] Utur Pa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-ṇḍiradun va-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-dārmen ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kolvā Si-</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Pillar-Inscription of Kassapa IV</td>
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<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>kōṭ isā pi-</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>-yo-vadāran-</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>-nā novadā</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>kōṭ isā</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>gāl mīvun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>vāriyan no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>gannā ko-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D.

1 t kirge-
2 -ri gamgo-
3 -n nogannā
4 kōṭ dunu-
5 -vā-balatun
6 novạdanā kōṭ
7 perenāṭtu
8 novānạ [no] vad
9 nā isā ani

10 yā kābāli
11 no gannā i-
12 -sā perā ku-
13 -salān piṭa-
14 -t kōṭ me
15 gamaṭ me
16 pārāhār
17 dunmo [t*]

**Translation.**

[Lines A 1–22] Hail! On the tenth day of the waxing moon of [the month of] Māndindina in the eleventh [year] of His Majesty Kasub Sirisaṅgo, brother of the great King Udaya Abhayā who, having brought under one rule the Ruhun Province and the Mala District, secured for himself the enjoyment of the combined wealth, glory and prosperity that prevailed in the beautiful island of Laṅkā.

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1 The syllable sa is written below the line.
2 The three ekṣaras, novāna, are presumably due to a clerical error.
3 The Sinhalese lunar month equivalent to Skt. Phalguna, (February–March).
4 P. Kassapa Sirisaṅghabodhi.
5 P. Ruhana and Malaya. See above, p. 224, notes 13 and 14.
6 In the translation of Sirilak, . . . . . . . pīrākho kāṭa, I have adopted Dr. Wickremasinghe’s rendering of the identical clause occurring in the Moragoda pillar inscription. (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 205). He has taken the compound Siripiṇḍ-yasa-ttiṇā as the object of kāṭa and treated the intervening Ruhunandanatwa Malamaṇḍalika ekāṭā kōṭ as a parenthetical clause. This is somewhat forced, and is not quite in keeping with the rules of syntax as observed in Sinhalese according to which the object immediately precedes the predicate. Consequently, it would be more natural to take that Ruhunandanatwa Malamaṇḍalika is qualified by Sirilak dīhi pīhi siripiṇḍ yasa ttiṇā and that the former compound is the object of both kōṭ and kāṭa. If this analysis of the clause is correct, the translation should be “who made the Ruhun Province and the Mala District which are situated in the island of Sirilak and which [possess] accumulated wealth, fame and power, subject to one rule [and made them] his possessions.”
[Lines A 22–C 20] Whereas it was ordered that allānī immunities shall be given to this estate—in its main boundaries as of old—which consists of the allotment of pamaṇu land given to the lying-in-home established by Senalānaka, the Chief Secretary, by the said (Senal) from his own (property) and the allotment of Demela [land] set aside from the royal household [both of] which are in Gaṅagami a revenue [village] of Val vítī in the Northern Province, we, who have come in accordance with the decree of unanimous assent, [namely] Bendvā Vejakā, and lva ki, members of the

1 The word gama (Skt. grāma) has hitherto been translated, in almost every place, as ‘village’. In the present record, the gama in question is said to have consisted of two allotments of land in a village named Gaṅagamiya; and, therefore it is clear that the term, in this instance, does not connote the idea of ‘village’ in the ordinary sense of that word. Dr. Pran Nath has proved that in Indian documents the word grāma has frequently the meaning of ‘estate’ or ‘the area that constituted the territorial unit for the purpose of revenue assessment’ (A Study in the Economic Conditions of Ancient India, pp. 26–33). This is in keeping with the meaning attached to the word gama in Kandyan times. D’Oylly, in his Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom (Colombo, 1929, p. 53) says ‘The Sinhalese word gama properly signifies ‘village’; but, in the Kandyan country it is also frequently applied to a single estate or a single field, the latter is often called paṅgwa or share’. In colloquial usage, this meaning is still attached to the word. In many of the edicts of the ninth and tenth centuries, the word gama has to be similarly understood.

2 Kābālla, see below, p. 277 note 9.

3 Pamaṇu or pamaṇu is the same as the modern paraveṇi (P. parveṇi). See E.Z. Vol. II, p. 19, note 3. The expression pamaṇu kābālla has not been met with in any other document. It seems to correspond to the modern paraveṇi paṅgwa. The slab-inscription near the Stone Canoe at Anurādhapura, already referred to, mentions two classes of land-holders pamaṇu-laduwan and kābāll-laduwan.

4 Sena: P. and Skt. Sena. The usual tenth-century Sinhalese form of the name is Sen; the suffix la or al seems to have had an honorific significance. In the proper names Saṅgala (P. Saṅgha, see E.Z., Vol. I, p. 42) Kasābal (P. Kasāpa, C.J. Sc. G. vol. ii, p. 117) and Mihindal (P. Mahinda, C.J. Sc. G., vol. ii, p. 117), we find the same suffix used precisely in the same manner. In the modern language, the suffix la is used as an honorific and ā, which appears to be identical in origin, denotes the plural number. With this it is interesting to compare the Telugu plural suffix lu which is also added to proper names as an honorific.

5 Demela kābālla, see above p. 143.

6 Valvitī āya vr Gaṅagamiya:—With this expression we may compare Mahārāṇiṟṟukkumēḷiṟṟē aya vr Hoppīḷa in the Aluvāva pillar inscription (E.Z., Vol. II, p. 233), and Amgamkukkumēḷiṟṟē a vr Inaru-gama in the Kirigillāva pillar inscription (E.Z., Vol. II, p. 4). The words āya and ā occurring in the two extracts quoted above have been treated as if they were derived from Skt. āgala; but the occurrence of the Sanskrit form āya in the present inscription shows that they have to be taken as derivatives of the latter and translated ‘revenue’. On a comparison of these and other similar passages, it seems that villages in medival Ceylon were classified according to the head-quarters at which they paid their revenue. In this instance, Valvitī, appears to have been the head-quarters of a group of villages in which Gaṅagami was also included.

7 Ek-īam-samīya:—For tentative explanation of this word, see above, p. 107.
body-guard who are in the service of Kahāva Radsivu, the Commander of the body-guard; . . . Senu and Nilavasa [Mādiyā] who came according to the order of the Council on the day of Dāpuḷā Piritirad, the President of the Council; Kuḍasalā Devu who came by the order of Vadurā Raksamana, the Chief Secretary, and Kolvā Sihi who came by the command of Utur Pāṇdirad, the Superintendent of Tamil [lands]—We, all of us, inclusive of all the aforesaid persons, gentlemen (in the service) of the royal household, having come together, this edict of immunity has been granted.

[Lines C 20–D 17] Having excluded the previous religious gifts, we gave this [decree of] immunity to this estate so that this estate is not to be entered by district officers and provincial officers, not to be entered by [the officers] of the two treasuries, and [those of] the two departments of administration, not to be entered by the piyovadaranar, so that carts, buffaloes and workmen should not be impressed, so that milk cows, and village oxen should not be impressed, so that [this estate] is not to be entered by archers and guardsmen, not to be entered by perenuṭṭu, and that illegal allotments should not be taken.

1 This officer figures in the Ayitigevāa pillar inscription as a dūlaka coming from the sabhā.
2 Sandarū :—For the interpretation of this word, see above p. 88.
3 Kusalān, see above, p. 95.
4 For the interpretation of the terms raḷḷadu and pasḷadu, see above p. 113.
5 Deruvān, see above p. 143.
6 Dekamlān, see above, p. 143.
7 See above, p. 110.
8 See above, p. 144.
9 The word karàlī is of frequent occurrence in the mediaeval inscriptions of Ceylon: see above, p. 113, n. 3. It is sometimes spelt with a cerebral I, for instance in the slab-inscription in the citadel at Anurādhapura. This irregularity in spelling is no doubt due to the fact that Skt. karāla, from which it is derived, has the variant form of karaḍā. The original meaning of the word is ‘mouthful’; but in the Sinhalese language it is now used in the secondary sense of a ‘share’ or ‘portion’. In the present inscription the word seems to have been used in two different meanings. In the compounds panamu-kabhalla and Dēmut-kabhalla it evidently means ‘share’ or ‘allotment’ and seems to correspond to the modern word panča. In l. D 10, as well as in many other inscriptions, the word indicates some kind of impost levied on land-holders by the king. Perhaps, what is meant by the term is the resumption, by the overlords, of a share of an estate.
10 From l. C 20 to the end of the record, there is only one finite verb and therefore, only one sentence. In translations of similar records, adverbial phrases which are separated from each other by the conjunction tuā have been treated as independent sentences. In the translation given above, I have treated the whole sentence to be more in keeping with the construction of the original.
No. 29. DĀDIGAMA SLAB-INSRIPTION OF BHUVANEKA-BĀHU VI.

By S. Paranavitana.

The sub-joined inscription is engraved on a slab, measuring 1 ft. 7 in. by 5 ft., now set up near the Bo-tree in the Buddhist temple at Dādigama in the Beligal Kūrale of the Kāgalla District. The stone has been broken into two fragments which are now joined together. The inscription is engraved on both faces of the slab; side A contains seventeen lines of writing and occupies an area of 4 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 5 in. and the inscribed space in side B measures 3 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 5 in. and contains twenty-one lines. The letters, engraved between lines about two inches apart from one another, are, on an average, one inch in height, excepting those of the first line in side A, which are somewhat larger.

The script which differs very little from the modern, calls for no remarks in particular. The language is Sinhalese and, in accordance with the style in vogue during the period, contains a good number of Sanskrit tātsmas in the writing of which, however, the rules of Sanskrit orthography are not strictly adhered to. Witness, for example, vamsotbhūta and dik-vijaya which would, in Sanskrit, be correctly written as vamśodbhūta and dīk-vijaya.

The inscription is dated on the thirteenth day of the waxing moon in the month of Poson in the ninth year of Bhuvanekabāhu (the sixth) whose initial regnal year, according to Dr. Wickremasinghe's Chronological table, was

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1 Dādigama was of some political importance during the middle of the fourteenth century, for Parākramabāhu V, the prince who exercised joint authority with Bhuvanekabāhu IV of Gampola, resided there (E. Z., Vol. III, p. 30). The Pāli poem Vullamāḷa and the Sinhalese Tisara Sandetā have conventional descriptions of Dādigama when this town was the capital of a king named Parākramabāhu who, in all probability, was Parākramabāhu V. Some scholars are of opinion that Parākramabāhu of Dādigama mentioned in these two works was the prince named Parākrama Āpa who had a brief tenure of authority just before the accession of Parākramabāhu VI of Kotte (See Ca. vol. i, pp. 48 ff.). Dādigama seems to have been of some note before this period, too; as there is, at the place, a large ruined dāgaba now known as Kothaheeru. Mr. Codrington proposes to identify this dāgaba with the Suttighara Cetiyā built at Puthkhagama by Parākramabāhu the Great to mark the site of his birthplace (see C. J. Sr. § G, vol. ii, p. 135). The antiquity of Dādigama is carried still further back by the fragment of a tenth-century pillar-inscription recently brought to notice (A. S. J. No. 57). For descriptions of the remains at Dādigama, see Mr. Bell's Report on the Kāgalla District, p. 29 and C. J. Sr. § G, vol. ii, pp. 84-5.
1469 A.D.¹ The chronology of this period, however, has not yet been settled beyond doubt.

The object of the record was to proclaim a grant of amnesty, by the king, to the inhabitants of the Four Korañas who had recently rebelled against their sovereign and had just then been reduced to subjection.

This inscription has already been published, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, in his Report on the Kāgalla District (pp. 83–5 and plate facing p. 80); but, as Mr. Bell himself admits, the text given there is far from being accurate; and, in consequence, his translation is at places faulty. The eye-copy that he has reproduced to illustrate the text is also not quite faithful to the original. Therefore, a new edition of this important inscription with a facsimile of a mechanical estampage will not, I think, be considered superfluous.

TEXT.

A.

1 Svasti [rà] Śrī-Mahāsa-
2 mmata-paramparānu-
3 yāta Sūryya² -vaṁśo-
4 -t bhūta Śrī-Parākra-
5 -mabhāhu-mahārājadhīraja-
6 nandana Tri-Sinhaladhīśva-
7 -ra navaratnādhipati śrīma-
8 -t Sirisaṅgabo Śrī Bhuvā-
9 nekabāhu-cakravartti-
10 svāmīnvaṁsate aṭa-
11 vannen matu avurudu
12 Poson pura telesva-
13 -[ka] Bhuvanekabāhu-mahara-
14 -jjuruvan-vahanse pra-
15 -tyanta³-janapada-vāsīn vi-
16 -ruddhava pavatīnā nisa Jayava-
17 -rddhana-purayen nika dik-
18 vijaya koṭa Beligal⁴

¹ E. Z. Vol. III, p. 40. ² Bell transliterates sūrya though his Sinhalese text has sūrya. ³ Bt. jāiyaṇa. ⁴ Bt. Beligala.
Kóralaya bada Datigam.  

purayaṭa pāmiṇa Satara Kó- 

ralayat samanvā gattāta pa- 

-su śāraṇānveṣi vā jana- 

da-vāsin visin Udaraṭa k[a]- 

-riyat5 tānpat vā kala giya da- 

-vasa tama taman kāla vā akrāma- 

-ya4 mul koṭa nigrāha pāmi- 

-ṇet ya yana sākaya duruvaṇa

B.

piṇisa vaśaguva6 pavati-

-nā6 yamma kenakun ṭa Si [m]-

-hala-saṅgēdi māta ekun7

-kala8 aparadha mūlaka va9 a- 

-ṛṭha-hāni aṅga-hāni10 jivita-

-hāni no karuṇ no karava-

-nuvat māla rēkin bhāga hi-

-miyanti arinuvat11 gamak12

-anikakuta dena kala gama-

-himiyat ṭa mul gevatta-

-t13 bijuvaṭa amuṇakut a-

-ринuvat da14 tunaruvangi 

-ajnāya daladā-patram-dhātun15

-vahansē gē ajñāya

-lokapāla-deviyangi16 ā-

-jñāya yi17 gīvīsa Bhuvanekabā-

-hū-maharajān man vahan vaha18

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1 Bt. Ṇatigama. The letter dā is beyond doubt. The crack in the stone going across this letter has probably misled Mr. Bell to take it as Ṇa.

2 Bt. (ṛi ṛajun me shita).

3 Bt. karasat.

4 Bt. ekavisa.

5 Bt. udānguva. Read vaśaguva. 6 Bt. pavatana. 7 Bt. siha saṅge damata ek āt.

8 Bt. kala.

9 Bt. aparādhamadhihava.

10 Bt. jñāhāni.

11 From the fourth letter of 1. B. 7 to the ninth letter of the next line Bell’s reading is: paramita bhoga himiyat ṭa āri tāvat.

12 Bt. gamaka.

13 Bt. gevutu [di].

14 Bt. arinuvatma.

15 Bt. dhāṭun.

16 Bt. deviyangē.

17 Bt. jyāqi.

18 The last two akṣaras in this line are superfluous.
18 -se vadāla mehevarin me¹ a-
19 -bhaya-dāna-sīlā-lekhyaya² li ba-
20 -vaṭa Sanhas Tiruvaraman³
21 Vikramasimha adhikāra⁴ vamha [8⁵]

TRANSLATION⁶.

[Lines A 1–13] Hail! On the thirteenth day of the waxing moon in [the month of] Poson⁶ in the year after the eighth of His Majesty the illustrious emperor Śrīsaṅgabō Śrī Bhuvanekabāhu, the overlord of the Three Śīṃhalas, the possessor of the Nine Gems, the son of Śrī Parākramabāhu, the great overlord of kings, born in the race of the Sun and descended in regular succession from the glorious Mahāsammata⁷.

[Lines 13–22] As the inhabitants of the border provinces are acting in a hostile manner, His Majesty, the great king Bhuvanekabāhu started from Jayavardhanapura⁸ and, having performed the conquest of the (enemies in various) directions, arrived at the city of Dātigama in the Beligal Kōraḷa and brought the Four Kōraḷas, too, under [his] authority.

[Lines A 22–B 1] Thereafter, in order to remove the suspicion entertained by the inhabitants of the provinces, who are seeking protection, that, when the affair in the Uḍa-ṛaṭa⁹ has also been settled, punishments will follow on account of the acts of lawlessness committed, in times past, by each and every one, (this decree is proclaimed).

[Lines B 1–12] To any one who is [now] behaving in submission neither loss of property, nor loss of limb, nor loss of life shall be inflicted or caused to be inflicted on account of the crimes that he has committed against me in the Śīṃhala rebellion (Śīṃhala sānge)¹⁰. Of one maḷaṛa¹¹, half shall be left to the

¹ Bt. me.
² Bt. lekhanaya.
³ Bt. Tiruvaraman.
⁴ Bt. adhikāraṃha.
⁵ The whole inscription forms one sentence from beginning to end. For obvious reasons, I have taken the liberty to divide it into five parts by treating some of the gerunds as finite verbs. For Mr. Bell’s translation, see Report on the Kōgalla District, p. 85. I have not considered it necessary to draw attention here to all the places where, due to different readings in the text, my translation differs from that of Mr. Bell.
⁶ May–June.
⁷ The first mythical king, see Childers’s Pāli Dictionary, s.v.
⁸ Kōṭte, the seat of Sinhalese royalty in the fifteenth century.
⁹ The Up-Country, the ancient Mahāyā District.
¹⁰ See below p. 284.
¹¹ See below p. 285.
owner. When an estate is being given to another, the principal house and garden and the sowing (extent) of an amuya of seed shall be left to the [original] owner of the estate.

[Lines B 12–21] I, Sanhas Tiruvaramgan Vikramasinha Adhikara [certify] that this stone inscription, granting amnesty, was written by the order delivered by His Majesty, the great king Bhuvanekabahu, after he had vouchsafed that it is [in accordance with] the command of the Three Gems, the command of their Lordships the Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic and the command of the gods who rule the world.

COMMENTS.

[Lines A 4–6] Sri-Parakramabahu-Maharajadhiraja-nandana. According to this statement, Bhuvanekabahu VI was a son (nandana) of Parakramabahu (the Sixth). This is corroborated by the Kalyani inscription of Dhammaceti, where there is a passage in which Bhuvanekabahu refers to Parakramabahu as 'my father'. Upham's translation of the Rabavali also contains the statement that Sapumal Kumara—as Bhuvanekabahu was called before he ascended the throne—and the prince of Ambulugala were the children of Parakramabahu by a princess from Kiravalla. But the text of the Rabavali now available does not support this view. The Portuguese historian, de Couto, on the other hand, was informed that Parakramabahu VI had no sons of his own and that Sapumal Kumara and Ambulugala Kumara were both the sons of a South Indian prince (padical) who had found favour at the Sinhalese court and was married to a lady of rank. The two young princes, it is said, were brought up by Parakramabahu and were entrusted with high offices when they came of age. The expressions used in this record, as well as in the Kalyani inscription, to describe the relationship of Bhuvanekabahu to Parakramabahu might be equally appropriate if the former was actually the latter's son or was only adopted as such. The Kokila Sandesa, a Sinhalese poem dating from the latter part of the reign of Parakramabahu VI, seems to afford conclusive evidence on this point. This

1 For the interpretation of the word gama as 'estate' see above p. 276, n. 1.
2 A dry measure, P. ammaña.
3 See below p. 286.
4 P. Ratanattaya, the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha.
5 Indian Antiquary, vol. xxii, p. 45.
7 Edited by Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara, Colombo 1911, p. 47.
work was virtually a panegyric on Prince Sapumal and, if he was actually a son of the then reigning monarch, a statement of that fact in unmistakable terms would have been in accordance with the purpose which the author had in view. But, on the other hand, in a verse addressed to Parākramabāhu, the poet, referring to the prince, says:—‘Prince Sapumal, who has now attained to the rank of a son unto thee.’ These words, I think, are quite inappropriate if Sapumal was Parākramabāhu’s own son.

[Lines A 10–11] Aṭavannen mauv asurudu:—Though this document is dated in the ninth year of Bhuvanekabāhu VI, the Rājaśī, as well as the Mahāvanīsa, ascribes to him a reign of seven years only. Perhaps, this disagreement between the chronicles and our inscription may be reconciled if we assume that Bhuvanekabāhu reckoned his regnal years from the death of Parākramabāhu VI. It has already been stated that before his accession to the throne Bhuvanekabāhu was known as Sapumal Kumāra. During the latter part of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, Sapumal was the viceroy of Yāpāpataṇa which he had wrested from its Tamil kings. On the demise of Parākramabāhu VI, his daughter’s son Vira Parākramabāhu (also known as Jayabāhu II) was proclaimed emperor at Kōṭṭe; but Sapumal did not acknowledge the authority of the new ruler and, coming with his army from Jaffna, he slew his rival and ascended the throne himself. It is very likely that Bhuvanekabāhu considered himself to be the true heir of Parākramabāhu VI and his predecessor on the throne of Kōṭṭe as an usurper. If so, it is natural that he should have reckoned his regnal years from the death of Parākramabāhu VI; while the later chroniclers mention the actual number of years during which he occupied the throne at Kōṭṭe.

[Lines A 14–15] The term pratyanta-janapada applied here to the Four Kōraḷas shows that that district was the frontier of the Kōṭṭe kingdom. Beyond that was the Udāraṭa, the ruler of which, though acknowledging the suzerainty of the throne of Kōṭṭe, was very often virtually independent.

[Lines A 23–24] Udāraṭa K[a]riya:—We have here an obscure allusion to some trouble in the Udāraṭa of which we have no information from other sources. From the trend of the document it seems as if the disorders in that

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1 Sūpātin dimūdu dinu himisāndha dān abāta
opa-tuna-sirī-yut pot tene-tanāruṭa
sipt sirisāndha wādi Sapumal-kumāraṇa
opa yati-himi asnak duni dēna leṣaṇa.
Verse 155 of Kōkila Sandeśa.
part of the country had not yet been settled when this epigraph was written. The king’s desire not to show undue severity towards the inhabitants of the Four Kōralas was most probably dictated by the necessity of his securing the co-operation of these people in his plans for subduing the mountainous districts. The people seemed to have entertained the fear that the king’s conciliatory attitude would last only till the subjugation of the Udāraṭa had been accomplished; hence their anxiety to have the king’s amnesty for their past rebellious conduct ensured by means of this edict.

[Lines B 2–3] Sinhala-saṅga:—The word saṅga, in Sanskrit, has the meaning of ‘war’ or ‘battle’; hence, the compound Sinhala-saṅga would mean ‘the Sinhalese war’. It seems certain that this word is synonymous with Sinhala-peraliya (the Sinhalese insurrection), the name given, in the Rājāvali¹, to a serious rebellion against the authority of Bhuvanekabāhu by the people of the country between the Kalugāṅga and the Valave Gaṅga under the leadership of Śrīwardhana Patirāja and Kūrugama Hima. The rebellion, headed by a person called Garavi, which was raging at Vāligama when the Burmese mission was forced to land there ², seems to have been an episode of this wide spread rising. We learn from this inscription that the people of the Four Kōralas, too, were against the king during the course of this civil commotion. When the southern parts of the island raised the standard of revolt, the prince of Ambulugala, the ruler of the Four Kōralas, was dispatched by the king to subdue the insurgents. His absence seems to have been taken advantage of by the people of the Four Kōralas, in their turn, to rise in revolt. It also appears that the Udāraṭa, too, had declared against the king at the same time. Thus it is evident that all the Sinhalese people, excepting those in the immediate vicinity of his capital, rose against Bhuvanekabāhu. The name given to the rebellion suggests that it was a national rising against Bhuvanekabāhu and his family who were of South Indian origin. Just as he did in the case of the refractory people of the Four Kōralas, Bhuvanekabāhu adopted a conciliatory attitude to the leaders of the Sinhala-peraliya; for when they were brought before him as captives, he contented himself with punishing them with imprisonment. Shortly after, he not only released them, but also placed his adopted son and heir under their protection ³. We do not know whether this attitude of the king was due to his

¹ See Rājāvali, Gunasekara’s edition, 49. ² Indian Antiquary, vol. xxii, p. 42. ³ See Rājāvali, Gunasekara’s translation, p. 70.
natural generosity or whether he was forced to act, in this manner, by political necessity.


[Line B 7] Malāra appears to be the earlier form of marāla which occurs in copper plate inscriptions of the period 1. The form malāra also occurs in an unpublished rock inscription, at Gaḍalādeniya, of a king named Senāsammata Vikramabāhu, where we read ātvagē duva vātunnu kenakungē malāroyāta kiṁi kene nātuva tibē nam jarāvāsava tibena vihāra karavīmaṇa pudanuvat (if there be no person entitled to the malāra of a person who had fallen whilst running in elephant hunts, the same may be dedicated for the repair of dilapidated monasteries). The word malāra, most probably, is derived from Skt. mṛta ‘dead’ and hāra ‘what is taken’ and would etymologically mean ‘what is taken from dead persons’. According to Sinhalese institutions, when a person died all his movable properties passed to the king if he had no male heir; otherwise, one-third of it belonged to the king. The custom was in vogue during the Portuguese period in the territories under their rule. For a description of the institution in actual practice, see Dr. Pieris’s, Ceylon, the Portuguese Era, vol. ii, pp. 80-2. In this particular instance, the malāra of those persons of the Four Kōralas who had acted treasonably would have been confiscated by the king, but in pursuance of the policy of reconciliation, already noted, the king was satisfied with only a half share.

[Lines B 8-12] The forfeiture of estates referred to here must have been in connexion with those who had taken a leading part in the recent rebellion. Leaving one amunya of paddy land, a house and a garden—just enough property to maintain one’s livelihood—to the original owner must have been considered an act of clemency on the king’s part. Ordinarily, the entire property of a rebel was confiscated.

[Lines 12-16] Invoking the authority of the gods and of the sacred objects held in the highest veneration by the Sinhalese kings was doubtless to make the edict binding on the part of the monarch.

[Lines B 20] Sāhās Tiruvaraman.—Owing to the close resemblance between the symbols for ha and ṇga, this name has been read both in this

1 See above p. 55.
inscription as well as in other documents, as *Tiruvurahau*. The name is derived from Tamil *tiru* 'sacred' and *arangau* a name for Viṣṇu at Śrīraṅgam, Tiruvaraṅgamu seems to have been the title of a family in which the office of *sannas* minister was hereditary for some time. According to the *Haṁsa Sandesa*, a *sannas* minister belonging to this family, and who had the titles of Vikramasimha and Bāṇḍāranāyaka, flourished during the early part of the reign of Parākramabahu VI. The minister who attested this record was probably a son of his.

No. 30. A PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAİKABĀHU MAHĀPĀ FROM ANURĀDHAPURA.

By S. Paranavitana.

This inscription is the latest in date among the records of Sinhalese royalty so far found at Anurādhapura. It was discovered, sometime between 1906 and 1912, in a chena near the Malvatu Oya, to the east of the fifth milestone on the Outer Circular Road; and has been included as No. 2 in the list of inscriptions forming Appendix F of the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* for 1911–12. The pillar on which it is engraved, now preserved in the Anurādhapura Museum, has evidently been taken from the ruins of an earlier building. The lower portion of the pillar has been broken off and, at its top, there is a mortise hole to which a wooden capital was probably fitted. Two of its sides measure 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches each and the other two sides 7\(\frac{1}{8}\) inches and 7\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches respectively. Its present height is 4 ft. 5\(\frac{2}{3}\) in. The inscription consists of nine lines of writing on side A, covering a space of 1 ft. 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. by 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. and eight lines on side B, in area 1 ft. 5 in. by 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. A chip from the top of the pillar has been broken off and in consequence two letters from line A 1 and one of line A 2 are missing. The rest of the record is well preserved. The letters vary in size from 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 2 inches.

1 Ceylon Antiquary, vol. i, p. 68.
2 Compare *Haṁsa Sandesa*, v. 30. *Sanhas ḫyana niti matikula Tiruvaraṅgamu*, 'Of the family of Tiruvaraṅgamu, which has always the office of "The Writer of Sannas".'
3 *Haṁsa Sandesa*, v. 50.
The script is of the thirteenth century and has undergone considerable change in comparison with that of the Polonnaruva period. The letters ma and ra are written in two types, one differing very little from the symbols for these letters which prevailed in the Polonnaruva period; the other approaching the forms of the inscriptions of the Gampola period. There is nothing noteworthy as regards orthography and grammar.

The inscription records the grant of a land, named Kavudavatta, to a pirivena constructed by the heir-apparent (Mpa). Bhuvanaikabahu, son of Vijayabahu. The only Bhuvanaikabahu mentioned in the chronicles as a son of a Vijayabahu is the prince of that name who was the second son of Vijayabahu III. This prince held the office of yuvaraja, which is very often synonymous with mpa, in the reign of his elder brother, Parakramabahu II. As the prince is referred to by the title of mpa in the present epigraph, it must have been set up in the reign of Parakramabahu II who was successful in ousting the Tamils from the country round Anuradhapura, and made his authority acknowledged in those parts of the island. According to the Mahavansa (ch. lxxxiv, vv. 29–31), prince Bhuvanaikabahu was made by his elder brother, the king, to study the scriptures and to see that the monks observed their precepts properly. He seems to have resided at Kurunagala and predeceased his elder brother. The following account of what was done to perpetuate his memory by his nephew Vijayabahu, the son of Parakramabahu II, is given in the Mahavansa:—Then the Monarch (Vijayabahu) betook himself to the splendid Hatthigiripura. While here in the great vihara built by his princely uncle (Bhuvanaikabahu), he gazed along with Prince Virabahu and his army again and again at the ever to be honoured spot where his corpse was laid (on the pyre), he felt anguish and gained there again and again the inner conception of impermanency. Hereupon, he erected there a splendid, three storeyed image-house and had made for it a great image of the Buddha. Then having had further a fine statue of his uncle fashioned, he set it up there adorned with all ornaments. The Ruler assigned (his foundation) fine maintenance villages fitted for their purpose, lying around the image-house, as well as numbers of people for service, and decreed for it (the foundation) the name Bhuvanaikabahu-parivena, using for it the name of that (uncle).”

The two missing letters at the beginning of the record with the first letter

1 Mu. lxxxi, v. 68.  
2 Ibid. lxxxii, v. 4.  
3 Ibid. lxxxvii, vv. 53–60, Prof. Geiger’s translation.
preserved, ā, formed an epithet of Vijayabāhu, the father of Bhuvanaikabāhu. Mr. Bell has restored this word as Mahālu and this may be found acceptable as Vijayabāhu III was known as Mahalu Vijayabāhu; but for the fact that the preserved letter is distinctly a ā and not ī. What remains of the second aṅkṣara may justify our taking it as a ha and I propose to restore the word as Simhala. An inscription 1, found at a place called Bēruvaḷa in the Beligal Kōrale, mentions a king named Simhala Parākramabāhu and from the script, this record can be attributed to Parākramabāhu II. If the last named monarch was distinguished by the epithet of Simhala, his father, Vijayabāhu of this inscription, could also have had it.

TEXT 2.

A.  
1 ... (ha)la Vi-
2 -[ja]yabāhu-
3 putra Śrī Bhu-
4 -vanaikabā-
5 -hu mahapā-
6 -ṇan vaha-
7 -mē tama-
8 -n vahan-
9 -sē namin

B.  
1 kāravū pi-
2 -rivanatā
3 me Kavudā-
4 vatta bada
5 tān lū ni-
6 -yāvata pi-
7 -hiṭaḷa ga-
8 -l-lima yi [h*]

TRANSLATION.

[This] is the stone inscription set up in order to [proclaim] that the area belonging to this Kavudāvatta was granted by His Highness Śrī Bhuvanaikabāhu Mahapā, the son of ... (ha)la Vijayabāhu, to the pirivena 3 constructed in the name of His Highness.

1 No. 256 in the list of inscriptions given in the A.S.C. Annual Report for 1911–12 (Appendix F).
2 See Plate 34 a.
3 See above, p. 225, n. 6.
No. 31. TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF SENA I.

By S. Paranavitana.

I.

The first of the two short inscriptions dealt with in this article comes from a village named Kivulēkaḍa in the Kuṇcuṭṭu Kōralē of the North-Central Province. It has been noticed, for the first time, by Mr. Bell in his Annual Report for the year 1892, p. 7, where he says:—‘Kivulekaḍa;—one and a half miles from Ayigitgevwa. Here is an inscribed pillar slab, short and very rough. The Arachchi stated that it was below ground, except one corner, and that the inscription was discovered when he had the stone dug out for a support to his atuva (granary). About eleven lines of writing are visible; above are Buddhist emblems. The record belongs to the ninth century and a king styled ‘Ritigala Purukārū Salamevan who may be identified as Silāmēgha, or Sena I (844–866 A.D.).’

When I visited Kivulekaḍa in 1928, the Aracci mentioned by Mr. Bell and his atuva were both no more; and the pillar was lying, half-buried, on the ground with the inscribed face downwards, near the spill of the Kuḍā Kivulēkaḍa tank by the side of the footpath leading to the village of Maha Kivulēkaḍa. As has been stated, the pillar is extremely rough; and the engraving has been done in a very clumsy manner. The inscribed portion measures 3 ft. by 1 ft. 2 in. and contains 11 lines of writing. At the top are auspicious symbols; a flower vase (pūruṇa-gaṭa), a crescent, a lotus, a triṣāla, a svastika, and three others which are not recognizable. A few letters in the last three lines are obliterated; the rest of the record is in a fairly good state of preservation. The script does not differ, in essential points, from that of the inscriptions of Sena II, Udaya I and Kassapa IV. The letter a in the first line is somewhat unusual in form and can easily be mistaken for a pu, as has actually been done by Mr. Bell.

As regards grammar, the verbal forms vajāleyin and avunj occurring in this record appear as vadāleyin and avud in the later stages of the language. The form kāru is interesting; it is obviously an earlier form of karu, occurring in the standard Sinhalese speech, and is derived from Skt. kāra ‘doer’. It is also possible to take it as a variant form of kāru (P. kāritu).

The inscription refers itself to a king named Salamevan, ‘the founder of the Ritigal monastery’. Ritigala is mentioned in the Mahāvamsa by the name of
Ariṣṭha-pabbata; and, according to the chronicle, it was Sena I who 'built a monastery on the Ariṣṭha mountain, erected as if by magic'. Sena I had also the viruda title of Salamevan (P. Silamegha) and, on these grounds, Mr. Bell has correctly identified the king mentioned in this epigraph with Sena I, though his reading of the relevant portion of the record is not quite correct. No regnal year is given; but it is possible that the record dates from the later years of his reign (circa 826–846 A.D.), as the chronicle mentions his building of the Ritigala monastery after the Pandyian raid.

The contents deal with a grant of immunities; but, curiously enough, the land benefited by this act is not mentioned. It is very briefly worded; perhaps, the stereotyped style in which such documents came to be drawn up in the succeeding reigns had not yet been developed.

**TEXT.**

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<td>रिटिगाल-राम-कां</td>
<td>रि</td>
<td>सालमेवन</td>
<td>राज</td>
<td>वाँडा</td>
<td>वाजियले</td>
<td>-यिन</td>
<td>मेय</td>
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**TRANSCRIPT.**

1 Ritigal-aram-kā-  
2 ru Salamevan-  
3 raj vā[ndā] vajāle-  
4 -yin me[y]-kāp-  
5 -par-sam-daruva-  
6 -n avuj ma[n]g-  
7 diva piya-diva ra-  
8 -t-ladu pas-lad-  
9 [da]n no va[dnā]  
10 [ko]ṭ hindvū a-  
11 [tā]ni[n]a-  

**TRANSLATION.**

The gentlemen of the body-guard, having saluted King Salamevan, the

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1 For a description of the antiquities at Ritigala, see *A.S.C. Annual Report* for 1893, pp. 8–10.
2 For the inscriptions at the place, see *E. Z.* Vol. I, pp. 135–153.
3 *Ibid.* l. 43.
4 *Mey-kāppar-sam-daranāna.* For the meaning of *mey-kāppar*, see *E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 193 and for *sam-daranāna*, see above, pp. 88. In mediaeval times, the proclamation of the royal edicts seems to have been one of the principal duties of the members of the king’s body-guard. The *mey-kāppars* of this period seem to have performed very much the same functions as were entrusted to the *katuppales* during Kandyian times.
5 *Vānda vajāleyn.* See *E. Z.* Vol. II, p. 234, n. 3.
founder of the Riti gal monastery\(^1\), and having come [to this land] as ordered (by His Majesty), [this] attanni was set up [proclaiming] that [this land] is not to be entered by mang-diva, piya-diva\(^2\), governors of districts and governors of provinces\(^3\).

II.

The second inscription that can be ascribed to the reign of Sena I is on a pillar found used in the pavement of the Vaṭa-dā-gē at Polonnaruwa, and now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Anurādhapura. It is included as No. 55 in the list of inscriptions examined by the Archaeological Survey between 1901 and 1905. The pillar is not well dressed and its sides are not regular. Roughly, it measures, including the rounded capital at the top, 9 in. by 7½ in. by 6½ ft. in height. The inscription covers only one side of the pillar; on the second face, there is a rude drawing of a man, standing, holding a club in one of his hands and on the third face are drawings of a dog and a crow. Only twelve lines of the inscription are preserved, the rest having been wilfully damaged, possibly when this pillar was used as a paving stone. Above the first line, remnants of two decorative designs between parallel lines are visible. The letters, about 2 in. in height, are engraved fairly deep; and in the preserved portion of the inscription, they are clearly legible.

The script is of the ninth century and individual letters do not call for any remarks. We may, however, draw attention to the fact that the medial vowel signs for ā, e and o, which are detached in the script from about the time of Sena II downwards, are here written attached to the consonant. This feature is noticed in the script of the early period and continued to about the beginning of the ninth century. As regards grammar, the two forms āselu and visenti for the usual āselu and visenti are noteworthy.

The record is dated in the fifteenth year of a king styled Abhā Salamevan. Mr. Bell has taken the regnal year given in this epigraph as the forty-fifth, and referring to it he says:—'The short pillar record recovered from the pavement of the Vaṭa-dā-gē necessitates emendment in the length of reign assigned by Sinhalese histories to some king of the 8th or 9th centuries'. 'The inscription is dated in the 45th year of the reign of an "Abhā Salamevan". According to the

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\(^1\) The word aram (P. ārīma) originally signified a 'pleasure garden' but later assumed the secondary meaning of 'monastery' as the early monasteries of Buddhism, both in India and Ceylon, were located in the parks and pleasure gardens of kings.

\(^2\) See above, p. 146. 

\(^3\) Raj-lado and pas-lado. See above, p. 111.
chronicles, no king reigned more than 40 years in this period. The record commences; *Svasi Abhā Salamevan mapurmukā paṇsālis vannehi.* The Sinhalese chronicles assign a reign of no more than 40 years (Aggabodhi VI, 741-81 A.D.) to any ruler between the 4th (Upatissa II, 370-412 A.D.) and 11th centuries (Vijayabahu, I, 1065-1120 A.D.). Mr. Codrington who did not examine the inscription itself, accepts Mr. Bell's statements and refers to this epigraph in the following words:—"And the lengths of the reigns in the inscriptions do not always tally with the books; thus we find no reign in the period between Mānavamma and Sena I agreeing with that of an Abhā Salamevan, an inscription of whose forty-fifth year exists at Polonnaruwa." As the regnal year given in this inscription, which is actually paṇaḷos, has been read as paṇsālis and as this has been brought forward as evidence for such an important question as the reliability of the lengths of the reigns given in the chronicles, it is necessary to examine the four crucial aksaras to decide whether Mr. Bell's reading can be upheld. On referring to the facsimile of the inscription given in Plate 34, it will be seen that between the two arms of the symbol for the letter pa, there is a dot which Mr. Bell has read as an anusvāra. In the Sinhalese script of the ninth and tenth centuries, the anusvāra hardly appears at all; the only instance in a published document is found in the 'Vessagiriya' slab inscription of Dappula V (l. 12). Here, the anusvāra, written with the anusāsika symbol, is placed to the right of the letter which it follows and the position given to the supposed anusvāra in the present record would, therefore, be without precedent. Besides, the use of the anusvāra in this word is grammatically wrong, and the word is actually found in a tenth-century inscription spelt not with the anusvāra, but with a dental u (paṇsālis). On these grounds, we may dismiss the dot in question as not due to the engraver, but to the weathering which the stone has undergone. The second aksara, which Mr. Bell reads as sā, is actually sa, as the medial vowel sign for ā is absent. The third letter of this word is read by Mr. Bell as ī. If this letter is compared with la in l. 2, it will be apparent that the consonant of this syllable is not a dental l; but, as will be seen in comparing it with the third symbol of l. 6, it is certainly a cerebral l. The two strokes on the right and the left of the consonantal symbol, which together form the sign for the medial vowel o, are written attached to the top of the letter; and, as the upper

portion of the symbol for ḷ is somewhat worn, these have been mistaken by Mr. Bell for a single sign indicating the medial vowel ḷ, though the signs indicating the latter, occurring elsewhere in the record, differ considerably in form. Thus, it will be seen that Mr. Bell's reading, pathisali, is due to a mistake and that the correct reading is pasalos; therefore, this inscription does not prove anything against what the chronicles say about the lengths of the reigns of the mediaeval kings of Ceylon.

As regards the identification of the king called Abhā Salamevan in this inscription, it may be stated that, on palaeographical grounds, this record ought to be ascribed to about the ninth century. None of the kings who followed Sena II and who had the throne name of Abhā Salamevan enjoyed a reign extending to fifteen years. Therefore, our record must belong to the reign of Sena I who, as we have already mentioned, had this viruda, or one of the earlier kings who could have been entitled, by the order of succession, to the title of Abhā Salamevan, and who enjoyed a reign of at least fifteen years. Such were Dappula III (circa 807–823 A.D.), Mahinda II (circa 767–787) and Aggabodhi VI (circa 721–761). But the script of our record shows considerable development from that of the Gārāṇḍigala rock inscription of Kassapa III (circa 710–717 A.D.)1 and is closer in type to that which prevailed in the reigns of Sena II, Udaya I, and Kassapa IV. Therefore, in all probability, our record should be ascribed to the latest in date of the possible candidates, i.e., Sena I.

The inscription appears, from what is preserved, to have been a grant of immunities to a village named Muhundohi-gama; but as the greater part of it is missing, details regarding the immunities granted cannot be known.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT.</th>
<th>TRANSCRIPT.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 तेज़िय [II*] [अभा]</td>
<td>1 Svasti[II*][Abhā-]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 सलमे</td>
<td>2 Salameva-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 अ</td>
<td>3 -n mapurmu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 का</td>
<td>4 -kā pasalos-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 वानेही</td>
<td>5 vannehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 असेला आवा</td>
<td>6 Aselā ava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 विसेविनी दाण</td>
<td>7 visevini da-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 वास मुहुदोही-गामा</td>
<td>8 -vas Muhu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 एककोल</td>
<td>9 -ndohi-gama-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See above, pp. 195-199.
10  Sở đế
11 ᵇᵃᵃ ᵇᵃᵃ
12 ᵇᵃᵃ ᵇᵃᵃ

TRANSLATION.

Hail! On the fifth day of the waning moon in the month of Asela¹ in the fifteenth year of His Majesty Abhā Salamevan². As it was ordered by His Majesty, to the village of Muhundehi-gama, . . . . . . the body-guard . . . . .

No. 32. VELMILLA SLAB-INSRIPTION OF SENA III.

BY S. PARANAVITANA.

THIS inscribed slab was discovered, in April 1931, in a garden called Baṭa-tuṃbagahavatta in the village of Velmillia in the Rayigam Kōrale of the Kalutara District. The head master of the Buddhist vernacular school at Bandaragama brought it to the notice of the Hon. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka who, very kindly, passed the information to me. I visited the spot and, finding the record to be of exceptional interest, had it removed to the Colombo Museum, in order to preserve it from further damage.

There are no other antiquarian remains of any description to be seen in the vicinity of this stone. The inevitable story of buried treasures is connected with it and, many years ago, the villagers, in search of the imaginary gold and jewels, have dug a deep pit near the place where the stone was found. The stone itself, broken into two fragments, was thrown into this pit and it was lying there within the memory of the oldest inhabitants of the place until it was brought to the surface a few years back. According to our informant, six years ago the slab was in two pieces; now it has been further mutilated into four unequal parts, one of which is missing. There is also a tradition current among certain people of the locality that this stone marks the site of the cremation of Vidāgama Mahāsāmi, a learned Buddhist monk who flourished, in the fifteenth century, at Vidāgama, not far from Velmillia. As will be seen from the text and translation of the record given below, this tradition is baseless.

The stone is of irregular dimensions and has not been carefully dressed. The obverse face measures 15½ in. in breadth at the top and 16¼ in. towards the

¹ June–July; Skt. Asāḍha. ² P. Abhaya Silāmeghavāṇṇa.
base whilst the corresponding measurements of the reverse face are 15 in. and
14\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. respectively. The thickness of the slab on its right side is 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. towards
the top and 7 in. at the base and, on the left side, the thickness of 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. at the
top gradually diminishes to 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. at the base. The stone is engraved not only
on its two faces but also on the two sides formed by its thickness. Apart from
the fractures, the stone has considerably suffered by exposure to sun and rain;
a good number of the letters on side C being totally illegible and others being
decipherable only conjecturally. At the top of side B, a few letters have been
destroyed by the villagers sharpening their knives on the stone. The missing
fragment contained parts of the last four lines on side A, lines B 14–21 and about
six lines on side D.

The letters, engraved between parallel lines, are not of a uniform size.
The whole of side A and the upper part of side C are in a larger hand, the
average size of each letter being about 2 in. in height. Of the remaining por-
tion, the letters are, on an average, between 1 to 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. in height. Side A
contains 18 lines of writing and rude drawings of a crow and a dog. Owing to
fractures and the weathering of the stone, we cannot be precise about the number
of lines on the other three sides; but we may not be wrong in taking that side B
had 30 lines, C 26, and D 27.

The script is of the tenth century and does not contain any noteworthy
features excepting that the two vertical strokes, extending downwards, of the
letters a and ra and the medial vowel sign for u, are written separately so that
the ends do not meet. This feature is also met with in several other records of
the ninth and tenth centuries 1.

As regards orthography and grammar, the record does not show any
deviation from the standard noticed in other documents of the same period.
However, it may be mentioned here that the phrase ag-bisam-mundun veses vu
has not been met with in any other inscription and that the words badora and
val-mila are met with for the first time in this document. The word karal, though
common in the modern language, has been found in only one other record of the
tenth century.

The epigraph is dated in the eighth year of king Mahasen Abhā (Mahā-
sena Abhaya) who, on palaeographical grounds, must be one of the three Senas who
flourished in the tenth century. The regnal year precludes Sena IV whose reign
lasted for only three years and the mention of the heir-apparent Udā (Udaya)

\(^1\) See above, p. 132.
son of Sirisangboyi Kasub, rules out both that monarch and Sena V as the heir-apparent in the former reign was not a prince named Udaya and, in the latter, though named Udaya, was a son of Mahinda IV. Therefore, we can ascribe our record, beyond doubt, to Sena III (circa 933–942 A.D.) whose reign, according to the chronicles, extended for nine years and whose mahapā was a prince named Udaya. The present record is the only one, so far discovered, belonging to this reign and this fact, coupled with its being found in a locality where ancient inscriptions are rarely met with, makes it exceptionally interesting. Its historical value is further enhanced in that it gives us the name of the father of Udā Mahapā who, later, ascended the throne as Udaya III—a fact not mentioned in any of the chronicles. The record at this particular place has been somewhat damaged; and only the letters śig bo ka su are legible in the name of Udaya III's father. The full name can without doubt be restored as Sirisangboyi Kasub (Sirisanghabodhi Kassapa). Of the five Kassapas who occupied the Sinhalese throne, only two, the fourth and the fifth of that name, lived in times sufficiently close to the reign of Udaya III to enable either of them to be considered as the latter's father. Of these two, Kassapa V had the throne name of Abbā Sala-

mevan; Kassapa IV, on the other hand, was known by the title of Sirisangbo; and he should, therefore, be considered as the father of Udaya III.

Dr. Wickremasinghe, in the genealogical tree facing p. 59 of the Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. II, has placed Udaya III as a brother of Udaya II whom he considers as the son of Mahinda, brother of Sena II. This conclusion, which he has arrived at from insufficient data, need not militate against what we learn from a contemporary document.

The object of the record was to grant the usual type of immunities to a pannāru land belonging to a person whose name is not completely preserved. As regards the name of the village, Aruṅgam-pelavaga, in which this land was situated, it may be of interest to mention that there is a village called Aruggoda about four miles from the site of this record. The district in which this record was found had, in the tenth century, the name of Pañabhunu. Of the officers instrumental in promulgating the edict, none figures in other documents of the period.

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1 Only one other inscription belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries, namely a fragmentary pillar from Kālaniya (A. I. C. No. 127), has so far been recorded from the Western Province.
2 The two letters, ka and su, are not quite clear in the facsimile; but the reading is beyond doubt.
5 As regards the parentage of Udaya II, see above, pp. 141–142.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1  | 16 | 1 | `甥' ল্যাটিন লিপিভুক্তি।
| 2  | 17 | 2 | '甥' ল্যাটিন লিপিভুক্তি।
| 3  | 18 | 3 |  `甥' ল্যাটিন লিপিভুক্তি।
| 4  | 19 | 4 |  
| 5  | 20 | 5 |  
| 6  | 21 | 6 |  
| 7  | 22 | 7 |  
| 8  | 23 | 8 |  
| 9  | 24 | 9 |  
| 10 | 25 | 10 |  
| 11 | 26 | 11 |  
| 12 | 27 | 12 |  
| 13 | 28 | 13 |  
| 14 | 29 | 14 |  
| 15 | 30 | 15 |  

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D.

1  මුළු ම ම ම
2  මුළු මුළු මුළු
3  මුළු මුළු මුළු
4  මුළු මුළු මුළු
5  මුළු මුළු මුළු මුළු
6  මුළු මුළු මුළු මුළු මුළු
7  මුළු මුළු මුළු මුළු
8  මුළු මුළු මුළු මුළු
9  මුළු මුළු මුළු මුළු
10  මුළු මුළු මුළු මුළු
11  මුළු මුළු මුළු

18-23  ** ** ** **

12  මුළු මුළු මුළු
13  මුළු මුළු මුළු
14  මුළු මුළු මුළු
15  මුළු මුළු මුළු
16  මුළු මුළු මුළු
17  මුළු මුළු මුළු
18  මුළු මුළු මුළු
19  මුළු මුළු මුළු
20  මුළු මුළු මුළු
21  මුළු මුළු මුළු
22  මුළු මුළු මුළු
23  මුළු මුළු මුළු
24  මුළු මුළු මුළු
25  මුළු මුළු මුළු
26  මුළු මුළු මුළු
27  මුළු මුළු

TRANSCRIPT.

A.

1  Siribar-kát-
2  kulaṭ talati-
3  -k Okāvas-
4  rada-parapuren ba-
5  -t ag-biso-
6  -v munnden ve-
7  -ses vû Mahase-
8  -n Abhá maharad-
9  -hu sat lāṅgu -a-
10  -tvana havuruduyehi
11  Navāmas sand-hi
12  pun-mas-hi dasa-[pa].
13  -k-davas Pahan-
14  bhunu²-danaviyehi
15  (ā)vu Aruṅgam-[p]-e-
16  [-[lava]ga āvu (So)m-
17  .. .. ņa-Kītal-nā-
18  .. .. (nda)nu pamaṇu-

¹ Can be read as tvu also.
² Can be read as ānu also.
B.

1  -(vaṭ)
2  [Sirisa]-
3  ṭ̣ngbo [yī]
4  Kasu'[b ma]-
5  -harad-[hu]
6  put Udā
7  mahapā[ṇa]-
8  -n vahan-
9  -se ek-
10  tān-sa[mi]-
11  -yen vadā-
12  -[en a Me]-
13  -kăppar
14  vādāru-
15  -m Śuḷuga-
16  -ju Udānā-
17  -[van va]rā
18  vana Mekā-
19  -par Tu[sā] ..
20  Pāhidim i-
21  -sā Mekāp-
22  -par  Mi[vu]ga[m]
23  Kitim isā
24  (Ga)val Udāva-
25  -n varā vana
26  .. .. .. ..
27  [Sa]hgs[e]ni-
28  -(m) isā
29  .. .. .. ..
30  .. .. .. ..

C.

1  .. .. .. .. ..
2  .. .. .. .. ..
3  koṭ isā me-
4  -[yaṭ] raṭ-himin pi-
5  -tāṭi sitā [ganu]ṭ
6  misā ra[d-kojl]-sa-
7  -m-ruvan [meya]ṭ no
8  vādnā koṭ [isā]
9  [meya]ṭ mang-divā
tidevā] melāti
11  raṭ-kol-[kāmi]-
12  -yan no vādnā ko-
13  -ṭ isā .. .. .. ..
14  .. .. (no vādnā)
15  [ko]ṭ isā .. .. ..
16  .. .. .. .. .. (ko)-
17  -ṭ isā .. .. .. (no)
18  vādnā koṭ isā ga-
19  -m) go(n no gannā ko)-
20  -ṭ isā (de-ruvanā de-kam-tā-
21  -n)-vāssan (no) vādnā (ko)-
22  -ṭ isā .. kuḍin (sora-kam)
23  (no) karanu isā meyaṭ mini
   ko-
24  -ṭ (sora)-kam koṭ vā-
25  -(dā) gam vāsnā kämiyan ..
26  .. raṭin piṭ kara ganu [isā]

D.

1  koṭ di ba-
2  -doraṭ vāl-
3  mila ek-si-
4  -ya-panās
TRANSLATION.

[Lines A 1-13] On the tenth day of the waxing moon in the month of Navāmas in the eighth year since the umbrella (of dominion) was raised by the great king Mahasen Abhā, who is a tilaka mark [of adornment] to the very illustrious kṣatriya race, who is descended from the lineage of King Okāvas, and whose head has been anointed with the supreme anunction.

[Lines A 13—B 28] Whereas it was so decreed, with the unanimous assent of the Council, by His Highness Udā Mahapā, son of the great King Sirisaṅghboyi Kasub, I, Tusā... Pāhidi, Member of the Body-guard and I, Mivugam Kit, Member of the Body-guard, both in the service of Sulugalu Udānā, the Commander of the Body-guard and I, ... Saṅgseṇ, in the service of (Ga)val Udā, who have come to the punu [land] possessed by

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1 These four aksaras have been repeated by mistake.
2 The eleventh Sinhalese month, Skt. Māgha; Mod. Sin. Navam, January—February.
3 Talijk. See E. Z. Vol. I, p. 34, n. 6. For tik, compare also Pkt. tikka (in tiṅkita), Karpūramañjarī edited by Sten Konow, p. 46.
4 P. Oktaka, Skt. Ikavaku.
5 Ag-bisov-mundnena veses vū. Literally, 'distinguished by a supremely anointed head'. With this phrase, compare siya mundnena lōturā-biseven bises-va in the 'Jetavanārama' slab-inscription of Mahinda IV (E. Z. Vol. I, p. 221). For the word ag-bisov, compare aggābhisekam dāpesi yuvārajassa dhībhū in the Mahāvamsa (lili. 2).
6 Ek tān-samiyen, see above, p. 107.
7 For the interpretation of the title mahapā, see above, p. 82.
8 P. Sirisaṅghabodhi Kassapa, i.e. Kassapa IV.
9 Pāhidi seems to be connected with the name Paheja occurring in earlier inscriptions, see above, p. 182. Tusā... is evidently a place name.
10 Mivugam is a place name. Kit = P. Kitti.
11 P. Cūlagalla Udāyanātha. The Chief Udaya of Cūlagalla.
12 P. Saṅghasena. 13 Heritable lands, see E. Z. Vol. II, p. 117, n. 5.

as dues from the two harvests. The employees and tenants of Arunagam-pe-

avaga. The officers of the royal household . . . the pillar of immunity has been set up.

No. 33. TWO TAMIL PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS FROM BUDUMUTTAṆA.

By S. Paranavitana.

At Budumuttāva, a village situated about a mile to the north-west of Nikavā-

ratiya in the Kurunagala District, there is a Buddhist temple founded during

the Kandyan times. The shrine, of which the superstructure is built of wood

and clay, is supported on stone pillars collected from the ruins of earlier buildings.

Two of these pillars bear the Tamil inscriptions which form the subject of the

present paper. Near the modern stūpa, there is a slab containing another Tamil

inscription which is too weathered to admit of its being satisfactorily deciphered.

Dr. E. Müller, in his Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, mentions the records

at Budumuttāva; but has not succeeded in ascertaining what their contents are.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell has included these epigraphs as Nos. 41–43 in the list of Tamil

inscriptions appended to the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of

Ceylon for 1911–12, and gives brief notes about each. They were recopied by me

in 1929, have been numbered A. S. I. 473–475, and a preliminary account of

them has been given in the Epigraphical Summary included in the Ceylon Journal


1 Badu, probably from Skt. bhācayā, is of common use in the modern language and means


2 De-karalā. The word karala, meaning ‘ear of corn’, is used in the modern colloquial

language of the farmers to denote a ‘crop’ or ‘harvest’, generally of paddy. The word is obviously

used in the same sense here. It is also found in the compound karal-kāmi, the name of an office,

occurring in a fragmentary slab-inscription of the tenth century at Minnēriya (A. I. C. No. 123).

Dr. Müller’s reading has karal kāmi instead of karal-kāmi, possibly due to a misprint.

In the study of these two inscriptions, I have received much help from Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya

Aiyar, B.A., Superintendent for Epigraphy, Indian Archaeological Survey, and Mudaliyar C.

Rasanayagan, Retired C.C.S.

3 See C. J. S. G., vol. i, plate LXIII.

4 Budumuttāvē wihara, half mile from Nikaweratiya, on the road from Kurunagala to Puttalam.

Three Tamil inscriptions on two pillars inside the temple and one large slab lying outside. On one of the

pillars inside the temple we read the words Kalinga makan ‘The son of the Kalinga King’. (A. I. C.

p. 60). As regards Dr. Müller’s reading, see the text of Inscription No. 473, side C, lines 3–5.
I.

Inscription No. 473 is engraved on a pillar which, excluding the part now buried below the floor level, measures, approximately, \( 10\frac{1}{2} \) in. by \( 9\frac{1}{2} \) in. by 6 ft. The pillar is surmounted by a wooden capital of the usual Kandyan type which partly conceals an inscription, consisting of three lines each, at the top of sides A and B. This record, which is in the Grantha script and Sanskrit language, does not seem to have any connexion with the inscription given below. Excluding this short epigraph of which the text cannot be satisfactorily made out, the first face of the pillar contains 26 lines and the second 25 lines, engraved between lines \( 2\frac{1}{2} \) in. apart from one another. The third face which contains 22 lines of writing is not ruled and the fourth is blank. The letters, which are well formed and regular, average \( 1\frac{3}{4} \) in. in size. Sides A and C are in a good state of preservation whilst side B has badly deteriorated by exposure to sun and rain. Of this side, only three lines at the top and five at the end are decipherable; the rest having almost completely been obliterated.

As has already been stated, this record is written in the Tamil script, interspersed here and there with Grantha characters. On the whole, the script agrees in form with that of South Indian Tamil records of the same period as the date of this inscription. The pulli or virāma sign is not marked at all and there is no difference in form between the symbols for \( ra \) and the medial vowel sign for \( a \). Attention may be drawn to the ligature which forms the third symbol of line A 14 (இ), where the Tamil \( ña \) has been joined together with the Grantha \( ca \) in a somewhat curious manner. I have not met with this mode of writing \( ña \) elsewhere in old Tamil writings. Grantha characters have been used in the writing of the following words: \( S\varepsilon \)asti Śrī (line A 1), Śalāmāca-kāravatthi (lines A 2–4), Śrī Jayabahu-devar (lines A 4–7), Śrī Virabahu-devar (lines A 10–11), paṇḍa-pradānīgal (lines A 12–13), pūrva-ācaram (lines 13–14), Śrī Virabahu (lines B 2–3), Dāmāraṇ Bhoruvesi (lines C 6–8), Dāmāraṇ Bhoruvesi (lines C 11–13), Vijayābharānan (lines C 19–20).

As regards orthography, the two letters \( u \) and \( ū \) are not used strictly in accordance with the methods of spelling in standard Tamil. For instance, Paṅgūnī in line A 8 should correctly have been written Paṅ Gunnī. The same word also has the long \( ū \) instead of the short with which it is spelt in correct Tamil. Other instances of the incorrect use of the two letters \( na \) and \( ña \) are:—nāyanañ (line B 2) for nāyanañ and Vijayābharānan (lines C 19–29) for Vijayābharānan. The verbal form veṭṭuviccēu in lines C 1–2 stands for
The Sinhalese royal title Abhaya Śilamegha is written as Abaiya Šalamega (lines A 1–3) and the words cakravatthi (lines A 5–6) and pūrva-ācaram (lines A 13–14) should have been cakravatthi and pūrva-ācaram or pūrva-ācaram, respectively. The word koṭasalu (l. A 17) is evidently the Sinhalese koṭasalu or koṭalaṭu.

The inscription is dated in the eighth year of king Abhaya Śilamegha Jayabahu who, on palaeographic and other grounds, is to be identified with Jayabahu I, the younger brother and successor of Vijayabahu I. According to the chronological tables of Prof. Geiger and Dr. Wickremasinghe, this monarch ascended the throne in 1114 A.D.; and, therefore, our inscription was indited in 1122 A.D. or thereabouts. Divergent views, however, are held by scholars regarding the duration of Jayabahu's reign. According to Dr. Wickremasinghe, Jayabahu 'ruled about two years in Polonnaruva and lived for about twelve years in retirement as de jure king of Ceylon'; and the higher regnal years attributed to him in inscriptions are to be explained by assuming that documents were dated from his accession even in the reigns of Vikramabahu II and Gajabahu II as these two monarchs were not duly consecrated. Mr. Bell, on the other hand, holds that Jayabahu reigned, nominally at least, and was certainly alive, till thirty-eight years after his accession as this regnal year is mentioned in an inscription found at Polonnaruva. Dr. Geiger seems to have adopted the first, and Mr. Codrington the second, of these two views. The present epigraph does not furnish us with any data to decide the question, and I, therefore, do not propose to discuss the matter here.

The contents, so far as can be ascertained, tell us that the officers of Virabahudēvar, having inquired into former custom, upheld that the blacksmiths were entitled to the use of koṭasalu, foot-clothes and clothes for covering the faces of the dead and ordered the washermen to perform their services accordingly. Virabahu mentioned here is no other than Mānabharana, the father of Parākramabahu I, for we are told in the Mahāvamsa that Mānabharana was also known by that name. After Vikramabahu's capture of Polonnaruva, Mānabharana managed to retain his hold on the Dakhniadesa

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3 _Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register_, vol. x, pp. 10–13.
4 _Cālavamsa_, English translation, part II, p. xiii.
5 _Short History of Ceylon_, p. xvii.
6 For the meaning of this word see below, p. 307, footnote 3.  
7 _Mr_. lxi. 26.
TWO TAMIL PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS

(Southern Country)¹; and, as Mr. Codrington has proved that the Dakkhinadesa was the southern part of the Rājarāṭha², the site of the present inscription falls within Mānābharana's territories.

Reverting to the subject-matter of the epigraph, it seems from the context that, although on the occasion of the inquiry by Mānābharana's officials, the washermen disputed the claims of the blacksmiths for the social privileges specified, the latter had been enjoying them in earlier times. On the other hand, the chronicle laments that under the rule of Mānābharana and his contemporaries, men of the lower classes were placed in high positions³; and, possibly, it was owing to incidents like the one mentioned in this epigraph that the author of the Mahāvamsa accused these rulers of subverting the established social order.

The pillar was engraved by a person named Makkaliṅgam Kanavadi and was attested by Kummaracena Nambanaṇ alias Vijayabharanaṇ. There are some more signatories, whose names cannot be satisfactorily made out.

TEXT.

A⁴

1 Svasti Śrī [ṛ*] A-
2 -baiya-Śal-
3 -āmōga-cakrava-
4 -tθigal Śrī Jā-
5 -yabāhu-de-
6 -varkku yān-
7 -du eṭṭāva-
8 -du Paṅgūni⁵
9 muṇ nālām
10 pakkam Śrī Vi-
11 -rabāhu-deva-
12 -r (paṅca)-pradhāni-
13 gal pūrva-ā-
14 -cāram⁶ vicāra-
15 -ṇai pāṇi
16 kammāḷarkku
17 koṭṭacaḷu-
18 v-um pāvā-
19 -dai-y-um mugat-
20 -tθiṭumēṛugai-
21 -kku-k-kāraṇa-
22 -ṅaṅdu van-
23 -ṅārai-y -iṭṭu-
24 c-ceyvitta-
25 -maiyil

¹ See Mo. lxi. 21 et seq.
³ See Mahāvamsa, lxi. 50.
⁴ In numbering the lines, the short epigraph, referred to above, at the top of the pillar, has not been taken into account.
⁵ Read Paṅgūni.
⁶ Read pūrva-ārām or pūrva-ācāram.
TRANSLATION.


1 Read nāyanār.
2 Read yogāṇārām.
3 Though all the letters of lines C 6–18 are quite clear, the reading given above is not free from doubt owing to the fact that it is not possible to ascertain correctly where the pulī should be introduced. This part appears to contain names of signatories; but they are quite unlike any personal names known to us either from the Sinhalese or the Tamil inscriptions. Mr. Subrahmany Aiyar and Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam whom I consulted also cannot make anything out of this portion of the record. Possibly the strangeness of the names is due to Sinhalese names being written in Tamil.
4 Read na for na.
5 March–April, Sanskrit Phalguṇa.
6 P. Abhaya Śilāmēga, or Silāmēhavānṇa (Sin. Abā Salamevan), a viruda title borne by alternate kings of Ceylon in mediaeval times, see E. Z. Vol. II, p. 9.
[Lines A 10–B 4] Whereas the ‘five chiefs’ of Śrī Virabāhu-dovar, having inquired into former custom and having seen reason for the blacksmiths to receive kōṭṭaçaṇṭu, foot-clothes and clothes for covering the faces of the dead, sent for the washermen, and made them perform (the said services), our Lord Śrī Virabāhudevar... writing...

[Lines B 21–C 5]... has been pleased to vouchsafe that this may last till the end of the aeon, I, Mākkaliṅgam Kaṇavadi caused this stone to be engraved.

[Lines C 5–C 22] Dāmāran Boruvesi Paytāṅgi Kallānāvan having caused (this) to be executed, Dāmāran Bhoruvesi Kācamampārattu and I, Kaḷacukkuḷi Kummaracena Nambaṇaṁ alias Vijayābaranam [attest this writing]. This is my writing.

1 Paṇca-pradhāni. The reading paṇca is somewhat open to doubt. For the second syllable ica, see above, p. 303. Across pr, there is a stroke which seems to have been caused by the weathering of the stone and not due to the engraver. The term paṇca-pradhāni also occurs in the Lankāṭilaka rock inscription; but it is not known who the five officials were. See Codrington in C./J. Se. G, vol. ii, p. 138.

2 Ėrgai. None of the meanings given of the root ēru (see Tamil Lexicon, s.v.) suits the context here. Mudaliyar Rasanyagam suggests that the correct reading should be ērgai (from the root ėl). The syllable ēru is quite clear on the stone and, perhaps, we have to treat it as a clerical error. In the above translation, I have taken ērgai as the verbal form intended here.

3 The word kōṭṭaçaṇṭu is not in the Tamil dictionaries and Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar suggests that it means ‘beating of drums’. But according to the context, the word ought to mean some kind of service performed by the washermen. It seems to be the same as the Sinhalese kōṭṭaçu or kōṭṭaçu which means ‘short cloth’ and is applied to the cloth worn by a girl on the occasion of her attaining puberty. This cloth, as well as the ornaments worn by the girl on the day of her first menstruation form the perquisites of the washerwoman for her services on the occasion, which usually consist of bailing the girl after the period of uncleanness. In the case of certain castes held to be of low status, the washermen do not perform these services connected with kōṭṭaçu. Mudaliyar Rasanyagam informs me that the word kōṭṭaçaṇṭu, though now obsolete, was in use in the Jaffna Peninsula some thirty years ago, and that it denoted a short piece of cloth worn over the shoulders, by men of the lower castes, in the manner of a scarf. The higher castes were entitled to wear a longer cloth, the uttarāṇaṅga.

Mudaliyar Rasanyagam informs me that ṭṭu has this meaning, though it is not given in the dictionaries. The phrase vaṇṇārai-y-ṭṭu may also mean ‘having given the services of the washermen’.

4 Yugasīrama, a Sanskrit tattvama.

5 Mākkaliṅgam appears to be a village name. Sinh. Mahakilinggam is used in a personal name in E.Z. Vol. 11, pp. 214 and 218.

6 These also appear to be village names. For these names, see above, p. 306, n. 2.

7 Kaḷacukkuḷi also appears to be a Sinhalese place name. In mediaeval Sinhalese inscriptions, there are place names ending in kuli, e.g. Mahadevekkuḷi (E.Z. Vol. 11, p. 231).
II.

The second inscribed pillar at Budumuttāva (A.S.I. No. 474) measures 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. square by about 6 ft. in height. The inscription covers only one face of the pillar and consists of 21 lines. Above the first line are traces of another short Tamil epigraph which, however, does not seem to have had any connexion with the present inscription. The letters of the first 10 lines are about two inches in size while the rest are very much smaller. The stone is not smoothly dressed and the letters are not cut to any considerable depth; hence, the decipherment of the inscription, particularly of lines 10–21, of which the letters are very small, is not quite easy. But, with the exception of a few letters in lines 10–11, the whole text of the inscription can be made out with certainty.

The script is of the same type as that of the document already described; but the individual letters are not so well and regularly formed. Grantha characters are also not frequently used; being only seen in the words Śrī Jayavāgu-devaṛ, Cundhamalli and Iśvara. The language is Tamil which, in style, is in keeping with that of contemporary documents in South India. Kolottuṅga for Kulottuṅga and yiṭṭa for itṭa are the only orthographical peculiarities worth noting.

This record which, like its companion, is dated in the eighth year of Jayabāhu (I), is of considerable historical interest. It introduces us to a princess whose name has been read, with some doubt, as Cundhamalliyālvā, whose father was the Cola king Kulottuṅga and who was the wife of a Pāṇḍya prince called Virapperumāḷ. This princess and her husband are both unknown from South Indian sources.

There were three Cola kings who bore the name Kulottuṅga. Of these, the first ascended the throne in 1070 A.D. and continued to reign till 1118 A.D., i.e. four years before the date of our inscription, and was therefore a contemporary of the Sinhalese king Vijayabāhu I. Kulottuṅga II, the grandson of the first, began to reign about twenty years after the date of this epigraph and it is improbable that he is the king mentioned here. The third Kulottuṅga belongs to a much later date and is out of the question. Therefore, the father of the princess mentioned in our record can be no other than Kulottuṅga I, one of the greatest of Indian potentates at that time.

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The identity of Virapperumāl, the husband of this Cola princess, cannot be established so easily. As he is given the epithet of ‘Pāṇḍiyāṉār’, he must have belonged to the Pāṇḍyan royal family which was, at this time, deprived of sovereignty over its hereditary dominions. As has already been mentioned, a Pāṇḍyan prince of the name of Virapperumāl is not known from contemporary South Indian records. The person to whom a daughter of the great Kulottuṅga was given in marriage must have been a prince of some consequence, and it is not unnatural to suppose that he was the ruler of that part of the country in which this epigraph was found. From the historical writings dealing with this period, we know that Mānābharana was the ruler of the Dakkhinadēsa, to which the site of the present epigraph belonged; and that he had the appellation of ‘Virābāhu’. Virapperumāl can be considered to have been a variant form of the name Virābāhu. Of the two elements with which this name is compounded, the second, perumāl, meaning ‘prince’ or ‘lord’, can be suffixed to a personal name to denote respect. Therefore the essential part of the name Virapperumāl is its first element Vira which was possibly an abbreviated form of the name Virābāhu. There are numerous examples wherein the second member of compound words used as personal names, such as Parākramabāhu, Vijayabāhu, &c., is omitted. For example, the Potgul Vehera inscription has the form Parakκama-narinda in referring to king Parākramabāhu. In the Devanagala rock-inscription, king Vijayabāhu is called Vijayarajapā and in this record itself Vikramabāhu is referred to as Vikkira Calāmēga. On the analogy of these, we can easily imagine that the full name Virābāhupperumāl was shortened to Virapperumāl. If this view is adopted, the epithet Pāṇḍiyāṉār applied to Virapperumāl can be explained as due to the fact that Virābāhu’s father was a Pāṇḍyan prince.

The chronicles, of course, do not mention that Virābāhu (Mānābharana) married a daughter of the Cola king. But this fact cannot be adduced as an argument against the proposed identification as the chroniclers have not recorded the names of all the wives of Ceylon princes and, in this instance, they had good reason to ignore the existence of a princess who belonged to an alien race and faith.

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1 Mv. lxii. 26 and lxii. 4.
3 See below, p. 322.
4 Compare also the Sanskrit maxim nāmaikadelagrahaṇam nāmamātragrahaṇam ‘the mention of a part of a name is (the same as) the mention of the name itself’.
Whatever the identity of Virapperumāl may be, the presence of a Cola princess in Ceylon shows that at this time there were friendly relations between this island and the Cola empire. This was quite a different state of affairs from that which prevailed towards the end of Vijayabahu’s reign, less than two decades before the date of this epigraph. Events described in Chapter ix. 24–47 of the Mahāvaṃsa, show that in the forty-fifth year of Vijayabahu, that monarch’s relations with Kulottunga, the Cola king, were strained almost to the breaking point. Before the accession of Kulottunga, Ceylon too was under the rule of the Colas and it was Vijayabahu who, taking advantage of their internal troubles which preceded Kulottunga’s accession, freed this island from the Cola yoke. Therefore, it is but natural for Kulottunga to have considered Vijayabahu as an upstart and there could not have been any amicable relations between the Cola sovereign and a prince who had deprived him of one of the provinces of his empire. Vijayabahu, on his part, contracted alliances with the Western Chalukyas and the Kaliṅgas who were inimical to the Colas and this sort of subdued hostility between the two countries seems to have lasted till the end of that monarch’s reign. We do not know exactly when, and how, relations of a different nature started between Ceylon and the Colas.

The object of the epigraph was to register certain gifts made by the princess above mentioned to a Śaiva shrine named Vikkirama-Calāmēga-Īśvara in the town of Māgala alias Vikkirama-Calāmēga-pura. The town of Māgala must have been in the vicinity of the tank at Nikavāraṭiya, near Budumuttāva, as that reservoir is still known as Māgalavāva. In the Mahāvaṃsa, this town is called Mahāgalla¹; and the tank at this place was enlarged by Parākramabahu when he was the ruler of the Dakkhiṇadesa. The name Vikkirama-Calāmēga-pura was, presumably, given to Māgala in honour of Vikramabahu who was at this time ruling at Poḷonnaruva. Mānābharana, the ruler of the Dakkhiṇadesa in which Māgala was situated, had several contests with Vikramabahu to deprive the latter of the sovereignty of Ceylon and at last succeeded in confining his authority to the northern half of the island. According to the Mahāvaṃsa, it appears as if Mānābharana was virtually independent but the fact that an important town in his dominions was named after Vikramabahu suggests that he acknowledged the suzerainty of the latter.

Not only the town of Māgala, but the Śaiva shrine at the place was also named after Vikramabahu; and it is possible that he was its founder. This

¹ Mahāvaṃsa, lxviii. 32–39.
shows that Vikramabāhu had leanings towards the Śaiva faith and, in keeping with what we learn from this inscription, he and his contemporaries are described in the Mahāvaṁśa as rulers who were hostile towards the Buddhist religion. From this and other epigraphical remains of the period, it becomes clear that from the death of Vijayabāhu I till the accession of Parākramabāhu, the South Indian influence was dominant in Ceylon though the island was not politically subject to the neighbouring Dravidian kings.

It also appears from this record that Vikramabāhu had the throne name of Abā Salamevan (Calāmēga). His predecessor, Jayabāhu, also had the same title and from the fact that Parākramabāhu was called Sirisaṅgabo, Vikramabāhu's son and successor, Gajabāhu II, should have had the same throne name. As these two titles were borne alternately, Vikramabāhu should have been a Sirisaṅgabo. Perhaps, the reason why the throne name was not altered till Parākramabāhu was because neither Vikramabāhu nor Gajabāhu II was duly consecrated.

TEXT.

1 Śrī Jaya(vā)-
2 -gu-dēvark-
3 -ku yāṇdu e-
4 -ttāvadu Pā-
5 -ndiyaṅkar Vi-
6 - rapperumāḷ na-
7 -mbirāṭiyā-
8 -r Kolottuṅ-
9 -ga1-Coladēvar tiru-
10 magaḷār (Cu)ndhamallī-
11 y-ālvār Māgal-āṇa

12 Vikkirama-Calāmōga-pu-
13 -rattu Vikkirama-Calā-
14 mōga-Īśvaramudaiyar-
15 -kku candirādāttavāṟṇi
16 -nṛṣeriya īṭṭa tiru na-
17 -ndā-vilakk-onṟu-
18 -kku yiṭṭa kācu pattu[*]
19 mun2 cān nilattil tarā-
20 nilai-vilakkku on-
21 -ru[*]

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity! In the eighth year of Jayaṟūgēvar, (Cu)ndhamalliyāḻvār the wife of Virapperumāḷ, the Pāṇḍyan, and daughter of Kolottuṅga1-Coladevar, gave ten kācu3 for (maintaining) one sacred perpetual lamp4 given, so that it  

1 Read Kulottuṅga.
2 Read murāṟṟi?
3 A gold coin equivalent to 28 grains troy. See Tamil Lexicon, s.v. According to Mr. Codrington, the weight of the kācu which originally was equivalent to half of the gaddīṇḍu of 58–60 grains was raised by Rājarāja to half of the kalāṉṟu of 68–72 grains (see Ceylon Coins and Currency, p. 5).
4 Nandaivilakku, a word occurring frequently in South Indian Tamil inscriptions. For its interpretation, see South Indian Inscriptions, vol. ii, p. 132, n. 2.
may last and burn as long as the moon and sun (endure), to the Lord Vikkirama-Calāmōga-Īśvara in Māgala alias Vikkirama-Calāmōga-pura.

One standing lamp of brass, three spans in height (was also given).

No. 34. DEVANAGALA ROCK-INSRIPTION OF PARĀKRAMABĀHU I.

By S. Paranavitana.

DEVANAGALA is a rock, rising to a height of 1089 ft. above sea level, situated about three miles to the south-east of Māvanālla, in the Galboḍa Kōrale of the Kāgalla District. Steps cut on the bare sides of the rock, on its north-eastern and south-western slopes, lead one to the summit where are to be seen the remains of a massive stone building called Paraṇa Vihāra, an old dāgāba, and an image house of Kandyan style. The foundation of a monastery and shrines on this rock in 2110 B.C. (1567 A.D.) by a thera named Ratanālaṁkāra and the benefactions made to them by the Kandyan King Vimaladharmma Sūryya (probably the first of that name) are recorded in an inscription on the northern side of the rock at a distance of about seventy yards from the image house referred to above. The earlier inscription, which is the subject of the present paper, is engraved on the rock at the bottom of the series of rock-cut steps on the south-western side.

This inscription was, for the first time, noticed by Dr. Müller in his Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon; but he entirely failed to recognize the historical importance of the document. About this epigraph, he says ‘Five lines are only preserved, which contain the usual introduction of the inscriptions of the eleventh

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1 The deity worshipped in South Indian shrines is very often named after the founder of the temple. The god Śiva of the great temple at Tanjore is called Rājarājeśvara as it was built by the Cola king Rājarāja. The presiding deity of the temple built at Kāncipuram by the Pallava king Rājasinīha was called Rājasinīheśvara. On the analogy of these instances, we may presume that the Śiva shrine at Māgala was built by Vikrama [bahu] Śilāmegha. Several līṅga stones, lying about the Buddhist temple at Budumuttāva, one near the Bo-tree and two serving as pillars in the verandāh of the shrine, are doubtless remains of this Śiva kōṇil.

2 Tārā. An alloy consisting of 8 parts of copper to 5 of tin, see Tamil Lexicon, s.v.

3 For an account of Devanagala and its antiquities, see Mr. H. C. P. Bell’s Report on the Kāgalla District, pp. 49–50.

4 Ibid., p. 88.
century (see, for instance, Mayilagastota, Ambasthala), but unfortunately not the name of the king; the greater part of the inscription is completely effaced. It was Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the former Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon, who first made the historical value of this epigraph known to scholars. In his *Archaeological Report on the Kegalla District* (Ceylon Government Sessional Papers, No. XXX of 1892, pp. 73–76) he published the text, transcript and translation of this inscription with notes and a discussion of the historical event mentioned in it. Mr. Bell's text and translation, though adequate enough to give a satisfactory idea about the contents of the record, are not free from errors, as is inevitable in a pioneer effort like his. Therefore, the present revised edition of the inscription, accompanied by the first facsimile reproduction of it in its entirety, will, I think, be found useful.

The inscription covers an area of 9 ft. 3 in. by 9 ft. not taking into account a projection, 1 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 1 in., at the left-hand bottom corner, which makes the last three lines longer than the rest. The rock surface had not been smoothed before the writing was executed; letters are sometimes engraved across natural fissures on the stone and where the rock has been flaked. The uneven nature of the rock surface made it necessary to leave some space between lines 15 and 16 and between the last two lines. The record consists of twenty-two lines, and is badly weathered; particularly in the last nine lines. However, excepting five or six letters at the beginning of each of lines 14–15, about eight letters in the middle of line 19 and about half of the lines 21 and 22, the rest is clearly legible. The letters are, on an average, about 3 in. in height; but those towards the end are slightly smaller. In lines 1–6 and parts of 7 and 8, the letters are engraved to a considerable depth; while in the remaining portion they are rather shallowly incised. Mr. Bell is of opinion that the greater depth of the letters in the first eight lines is due to their being recut at a later period, probably by the same person who engraved the more modern inscription at the place. This supposition gains strength from the fact that the last two syllables in the first line which should read Damba are very unlike the symbols for these letters in the other part of the record. The ligature mba is badly formed and the da, the lower part of which is altogether wanting, is joined to the former. The result is probably due to the letters, which were even then not very distinct, being retouched by one not familiar with the writing of the period.

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1 *A. I. C.* p. 60.
The script appears somewhat cursive in type when compared with that of the rock-inscription at GalvihaRa in Polonnaruva which may be taken as the standard during this reign. As regards individual points, the following are worth mentioning. The medial vowel sign in ri which is, in the script of this period, generally written detached above the consonantal symbol, is here formed by continuing the left arm of ra upwards and then curving it downwards beyond the top of the right arm. In the ri occurring in line 17, the medial i sign assumes a different form; it is in the shape of an arc and its two ends are joined to the tops of the two arms of ra. The medial u sign which is generally attached below the right-hand side of letters is found on the left side in yu occurring in line 14. The syllable bhū in line 12 is written in a very unusual manner, and the la in the last line with a flourish.

The following clerical errors are found in the document:—In line 10, taṅga-kumamba is evidently intended for mataṅga-kumba: the engraver has, by some inadvertence, written the ma which should have preceded ta, three syllables after it. In the same line, danala is obviously a mistake for dalana. In line 12, the last letter ta has been omitted in the word svarggastha-bhūta. In line 14, dele should be corrected to dedenā and, in the next line, the word Posou was written without the final consonant; but the engraver has subsequently discovered his mistake and supplied the missing letter by writing it below the line.

As regards orthography, the following words deserve mention:—Apirivat (line 1) is found in other records as apiriyat¹; as the word is derived from Skt. aparyanta, and as the semi-vowel y is preferred to v after the vowel i, apiriyat may be a more correct form etymologically; but y and v are very often interchangeable in Sinhalese and in this case the occurrence of v in the words preceding and following must have influenced this change. Osaba (line 3) occurs elsewhere as usaba² and it may be held that while the form found in our record is to be derived from Skt. vrṣabha, P. vasabha, the more frequent form goes back to Skt. ṛṣabha, P. usabha. The form Lag-divu for Lak-divu (P. Laṅka-dipa) has not been found elsewhere. The change of k to the corresponding sonant is doubtless due to the influence of the sonant ḍ which immediately follows it. Even when the word is written Lak-divu, the k is very often actually pronounced as g. Here, the word is spelt exactly as it is pronounced. The form yohon is used in this record in place of yon in other

epigraphs of this and other earlier periods. Dr. Wickremasinghe adduces this form *yo[h]on as one of the reasons why the words *yon, *yona and *yōna occurring in similar phrases cannot, in his opinion, be considered the same as Skt. *yauvani; but the syllable *ho can be explained as due either to augmentation or false restoration. Compare the modern Sin. *kehel for the earlier form *kel (*E.Z. Vol. I, p. 117). *Bohosat in 1. 7 is an earlier form than *Bosat occurring in the Aṃbagamuva rock-inscription (*E.Z., Vol. I, p. 213).

In the form *dāpin, the change of the vowel *a to *ā, influenced by *i in the second syllable, is noteworthy. *Kādun is used for the standard form *Kāndap (Skt. Kandarpīpa); the change of the intervocalic *p to *v is a common phenomenon in Sinhalese

1, while the loss of the nasal can be supported by numerous examples in the mediaeval language. This and other words which differ from their standard forms, but can be defended phonetically, should, I think, be considered not as clerical errors but as variant forms which were actually in use at the time. There is no uniformity observed in the treatment of the nasal. The general tendency is not only to retain the nasal but also to introduce it in certain places, as in *pambāda (for Skt. *prabandha).

On the other hand, we have *pabanda in line 5 and in *kadaunu, the nasal has been elided. Attention also may be drawn to the long final vowel in *vudū (P. visajjita) which, so far as I know, has not been observed elsewhere, and the form *paharā for the usual *pāharā or *pāhāra. In writing Sanskrit words, we have the following peculiarities:—*Laṃkājīpa for *Laṃkād Villa, and *ekaccaitra for *ekacchatra.

In comparison with other records, epigraphical as well as literary, dating from this period, the language of our inscription is somewhat archaic and the proportion of Sanskrit words used in it is small, particularly in the first half which is very ornate in style. But for a few orthographical variances, the first two lines of our record are identical with the opening of the 'Jetavanārāma' Slab-Inscription (No. 2) attributed to Mahinda IV 2 and that part beginning with line 4 and ending with *āti in line 10 is the same as lines 9–16 of the Aṃbagamuva rock-inscription of Vijayabāhu I 3. But it does not necessarily follow that the writer of the present epigraph copied these passages from the two earlier inscriptions. The similes and metaphors occurring in these phrases are, for the most part, commonplaces in Indiān poetics, and they must have

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1 Compare, for example, Sin. *tuv for Skt. *tāpa, Sin. *pav for Skt. pāpa. See also Geiger, L. S. S. p. 39.
formed part of the stock-in-trade of many a court panegyrist of the mediaeval kings of Ceylon. The introductory part of this inscription, up to aṭṭi in line 10, also occurs, with slight variations, in the Doraṭiyāva Sannasa of Niśānka Malla. The record is dated in the twelfth year of Parākramabāhu I and its object was to register the grant, by the king, of certain lands to the general Kit Nuvaragal (Kitti Nagaragiri) in recognition of his services in the expedition against the Rāmaṇa Country. About two-thirds of the document is in the form of a panegyric on the king, in the course of which, in addition to the usual conventional terms of praise, there is a reference to the wars waged by Parākramabāhu against his two cousins, Gajabāhu and Mānabharana. These campaigns are described at great length in chapters lxx–lxxii of the Mahāvamsa. It is also stated that forty-two years had elapsed from the death of his grandfather, King Vijaya (Vijayabāhu I), up to the time when Parākramabāhu started on his campaigns against his cousins. This part of the record has been understood by Mr. Codrington to mean that forty-two years was the period which intervened between Vijayabāhu I’s death and the accession of Parākramabāhu and as the date of the latter event can be ascertained beyond doubt, it has been used as a means of determining the date of the former event. But, according to the construction of the sentence, the more obvious course is to take the adverbial clause taman mutun... yana sitin as modifying yuddha koṭa. This would mean that the period of forty-two years elapsed, not between the death of Vijayabāhu and the accession of Parākramabāhu, but between the former event and the campaigns of Parākramabāhu against his cousins. If we were to understand this passage as Mr. Codrington has done, it is necessary to take the adverbial clause above mentioned as modifying ekacchatra-kōta. This is somewhat forced, and as even such an interpretation does not clear the chronological difficulties of this period of Ceylon history, I do not think that the present record helps us to fix definitely the date of Vijayabāhu I’s death.

Of more historical value is the information afforded by this record about the Burmese expedition of Parākramabāhu I. The causes which, in this reign, brought about a rupture between Ceylon and Burma, the sending of a naval expedition by Parākramabāhu to chastise the Burmese monarch and the course of events in this war are given in considerable detail in the 76th

2 Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, vol. iv, p. 33.
chapter of the Mahāvansa, vv. 10-75. This inscription, however, enables us to
determine two facts about the expedition not mentioned in the chronicle; i.e.
the date of the event and the name of the Burmese king who reigned at that
time. In the Mahāvansa, the account of the Burmese expedition is given
immediately after that of the revolt of Mahātītha in the sixteenth year of
Parākramabāhu and this has naturally led some writers to believe that the
former event also occurred in the same year. The date given by Wijesinha for
the accession of Parākramabāhu is 1164 A.D. and, therefore, Sir Arthur Phayre
in his History of Burma assumes that the event took place in 1180 A.D., in
the reign of the Burmese king Narapatisithu (1173-1210 A.D.)
But this record,
which registers a grant to one of the king's generals for his services in this
expedition, is dated in the twelfth year of Parākramabāhu and, therefore, the
event must have taken place earlier than 1180. M. Chas. Duroiselle, Superintend
tent, Archaeological Survey of Burma and Mr. G. E. Harvey, I.C.S.,
the author of the latest History of Burma, both of whom appear to be unaware
of this inscription, take 1180 A.D. for granted as the date of the Sinhalese
expedition to Burma. Mr. Bell, too, owing to the fact that he accepts 1164 A.D.
as the date of Parākramabāhu's accession, follows Sir Arthur Phayre in ascribing
this event to the reign of Narapatisithu and has made an ingenious attempt to
show that the name Narapatisithu is the same as Bhuvanāditta, the name
given, in this record, to Parākramabāhu's Burmese contemporary. The accession
of Parākramabāhu I took place, according to the Nikāya Saṅgraha, in 1696
of the Buddhist era (1153/4 A.D.) and the same date is arrived at by calculating
backwards from the year of Sāhasamalla's accession which is known, from
a contemporary epigraphical record, to have been 1200 A.D. This date for
Parākramabāhu's accession appears to receive epigraphical testimony from an
inscription which was recently copied from a village named Mādagama in the
Vāduvāli Hatpattu of the Kurunāgala District. This record, which unfortun
ately is very fragmentary, is dated in the seventeenth year of a king whose

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1 Spelt 'Narabaditsi-thu' by Sir Arthur Phayre who also gives 1167-1204 A.D. as the duration
of his reign. The spelling of Burmese names adopted by Sir Arthur is different from that of the
later writers on the history of Burma. The dates given by him have also been revised. In both
these respects I follow M. Duroiselle and Mr. Harvey.

2 Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1930,


4 Colombo edition of 1890, p. 20.

name is not preserved; and gives the year 1696 of the Buddhist era, obviously as the date of that king's accession. From considerations of palaeography and other internal evidence as well as on account of the impossibility, from what we already know of the history of the period, of taking any other king to have ascended the throne in this year, this inscription can be ascribed, beyond doubt, to Parākramabāhu I. Thus, the date 1153 A.D. as the year of Parākramabāhu's accession rests on very firm grounds.¹

From the wording of the document, it appears, at first sight, as if the date given was that on which the Burmese king gave occasion to Parākramabāhu for embarking on hostilities. And one may therefore argue that, as it must have taken some time for Parākramabāhu to make the necessary preparations for the naval expedition, it actually took place later than the twelfth regnal year. But the general trend of the document is against such a view. The real purpose of the inscription was to record the grant of land to Kit Nuvaragal and the mention of the Rāmaṇānia campaign is only incidental to it. Therefore we may reasonably assume that the date refers not to any incident connected with the Rāmaṇānia expedition but to the royal grant. In order to get the above interpretation, it is necessary to consider as parenthetical that part of the sentence from Aramagadhīpati in line 16 as far as evaḥ hevin in line 20. Such constructions of sentences, though very awkward, are found in the best prose of the Sinhalese language. The grant of land to Kit Nuvaragal must have been made not long after his return from Burma; and as this was done in the twelfth regnal year, the Burmese expedition itself must have taken place in the same year or towards the end of the preceding year. And as the initial regnal year of Parākramabāhu was 1153 A.D., the date of the Burmese campaign should be 1164 or 1165 A.D.

The king who was ruling Burma at that date was not Narapatisithu, but his grandfather Alaungisithu whose reign lasted from 1112 A.D. to 1167 A.D.² Alaungisithu is described in the Burmese chronicles as a very strong and capable ruler; but Parākramabāhu's raid took place when his strong hand was getting feeble due to extreme old age and when the internal peace of his kingdom was being disturbed by the conduct of his sons. Alaungisithu is said to have visited

¹ Dr. Wickremasinghe (E. Z. Vol. II, pp. 205–206) puts forward a theory of three coronations of Parākramabāhu, the first in 1153 A.D., the second in 1159 A.D., and the third in 1161 A.D. Most of what Dr. Wickremasinghe has said here has been effectively disproved by Mr. Codrington in the Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, vol. ix, pp. 183–188.
² See Harvey, History of Burma, p. 44.
Ceylon in the early part of his reign and stationed a representative of his, named Kāla, in this island. The hawkish temperament attributed to Alauṅsithu in the Burmese chronicles, is also reflected in the Mahāvamsa account of the incidents which led to a breach of the friendly relations between Burma and Ceylon.¹

The Mahāvamsa says that the Rāmaṇa king was killed by Parākramabāhu’s general, but this statement cannot be taken as trustworthy as we know, from Burmese sources, that Alauṅsithu met his death under quite different circumstances.² The Burmese chronicles have nothing to say about the Sinhalese expedition; and M. Chas. Duroiselle is of opinion that this silence is due not to the tendency of the Burmese to ignore events which were discreditable to them but due to loss of documents.³

‘Bhuvaṇādittā’, the name given to the Burmese king in our inscription, is more correctly a title which was borne by more than one member of the Pagan dynasty. Kyāzitha, Alauṅsithu’s grandfather, is referred to, in inscriptions, as Tibhuvaṇādica or Śri Tribhuvaṇāditya-dhammarāja.⁴ But the king to whom this title was particularly attached in Burmese tradition was Alauṅsithu. The Glass Palace Chronicle says that the fulsome title of Sirītari-bhavaṇāditya-pavara-pāṇḍita-suḍhammarāja-mahādhhipati-narapatisithu was bestowed on Alauṅsithu by the god Sakka at the foot of the mythical rose-apple tree.⁵ Alauṅsithu’s grandson, Narapatisithu, also used the epithet.⁶

As regards the geographical names mentioned in this record, Aramāna is the Sinhalese form of the name occurring in Pāli writings as Rāmaṇa, Rammana or Ramaṇa. This was the old name of Pegu; but in the Cīḷavamsa it has a more extended application. In chapter i, v. 6, Anurađḍha (Anawrahta),

² See Glass Palace Chronicle, pp. 127-128. About the identity of the Burmese king against whom Parākramabāhu fought and for the history of this campaign, see also Sir D. B. Jayatilaka’s scholarly introduction to the Sinhalese edition of the Mānāṇuḷu Sandesa (Colombo, 1925), pp. viii-xii.
⁵ Glass Palace Chronicle, p. 115. It will be seen that the name ‘Narapatisithu’ formed part of Alauṅsithu’s title. But in Burmese history, ‘Narapatisithu’ is the name by which Alauṅsithu’s grandson is commonly known. See Report of the A. S. Burma for 1919, p. 21.
king of Burma, is called the king of Rāmaṇa and in chapter lxxvi, the king of
Rāmaṇa is also called the king of Arimaddana (Pagan). These references
show that Burma proper which, in Pāli, is called Mrammarattha, was known
in mediaeval Ceylon by the name which, strictly speaking, was appropriate for
Pegu only. The kingdom of Pegu was conquered by Anawrahta in the eleventh
century and under the kings of Pagan, it formed a province of the kingdom of
Burma. The extension of the name of a conquered province for the home
provinces of the kingdom is remarkable; and suggests that the Sinhalese first
gained their knowledge of these parts of Further India through the Rāmaṇa
country. Kusumiyā, the town captured by Kit Nuvaragal, is mentioned
in the Kalyāṇi inscriptions¹ and in the Sasanavamisa² as Kusima and is now
known as Bassein³. Among the names of villages granted to Kit Nuvaragal,
Malabatua is undoubtedly the same as the modern Lāṁbūtua situated about
two and a half miles to the south-west of Devanagala. Kit-sen-ṇuva does not
seem to have left any traces in the modern topography of the place. In ‘Palle
Pamunuva’ and ‘Uda Pamunuva’, names of two villages situated adjoining the
rock of Devanagala to the north-east and south-west, we may still have a faint
echo of the fact that these villages once formed a pamunu of Kit Nuvaragal.
The inscription has nothing to show that a religious institution existed at
Devanagala in the twelfth century. The remains that we find at the place are
most probably contemporaneous with the second inscription mentioned above.

TEXT.

1 ස්වා(cancelled) ඉබාන්තී පීට්‍රේදිදේව අබ් [පළි]
2 බොහෝ නැතුරතුරු දැක්වෙම්පා වි මෙලාදේවසර්ථ අබ්
3 දක්වාදෙනශී දෙවලියක් අපා පාලක෯තියක් ලොවවන්
4 දොල වෙරුන්වන්නට පැල්කාවන්ති වේපි වි සාලකාරි ප්‍රේදේදි
5 දක්වාදෙන්නට දෙවලියට පැල්කාවන්නට දෙවලියට දෙවලියට දොලවන්
6 දොල වෙරුන්වන්නට පැල්කාවන්නට වේපි වි පාලක෯තියක් ලොවවන්නට
7 කොළ වෙරුන්වන්නට පැල්කාවන්නට දෙවලියට දෙවලියට දොලවන්
8 දක්වාදෙන්නට දෙවලියට පැල්කාවන්නට පැල්කාවන්නට දෙවලියට දොලවන්

¹ Indian Antiquary, vol. xxii, p. 152.
³ Ibid., vol. xxii, pp. 18–21.
NO. 34] DEVANAGALA ROCK INSCRIPTION

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TRANSCRIPT.

1 Sirivat apirivat levu ikut-guna-mulin-suturat mulu [Damba].
2 divahi an-kát-kula pámili kala Okavas-rada parapuren baça
3 kát-osabana aga-mehesun vů Lag-divu pòlo-yohon parapuren himi
4 tumā sarana-niya-rāsin an raja-mudun bises vů sāha-tedin hiru

1 'śubhākram' śubhākram.
2 'śubhākram' śubhākram 'śubhākram' śubhākram.
3 'śubhākram' śubhākram.
4 'śubhākram' śubhākram 'śubhākram' śubhākram.
5 'śubhākram' śubhākram 'śubhākram' śubhākram.
6 'śubhākram' śubhākram 'śubhākram' śubhākram śubhākram.

7 Mt. lo.
8 Bt. Mt. pámili.
9 Mt. usabnaṭ.
10 Mt. tisara sin.
11 Mt. hiru.

1 Mt. vū.
2 M. omits rada.
3 Mt. Laka-divu.
4 Mt. gat.
5 Mt. dɪwaṇhi.
6 Mt. baṭ.
7 Mt. yogen.
8 Mt. wisera.
pālākevin¹ mehesuru dala-dāpin uvindu raja-viritin surindu pabandadenn den di-
-nisuru sat-setin kitisiru² pāna-sarin suragurū somi-guṇen nisa-
yuru ru-sarin kadavu³ kuluṇu-sarin bohosat dinū saja-voṭunu-raja-ba-
-raṇa-kiraṇa vūdū⁴ rudu-tulā-tala arā tumā tunu⁵ kapturumen⁶ nomin
nan-
ruvan-dhana⁷-vaturen nan-desen osala mulu-dilindu-sit-sayura puramin
mulu-lohi patała yasa⁸-pambanda ati rupu-raja-taṅga-kumamba⁹-danala-
yehi¹⁰ si[ni*]-
-ha¹¹-parākrama ati Parākramabāhu vat-himiyan vahanse taman mu-
tun Vijaya-raja-pā svarggastha-bhū[ta*]¹² tāṇā siṭā de-sālis havu-
ruddak nāsi tubū lo-sasun ati karavami yana sitin Gajabāhu
[Mānā]bhara[ṇa] dede[ṇa *]¹³ hā yuddha koṭa La[m]kā-jipayehi¹⁴
ekacchatra¹⁵ koṭa
Pula[sti-pura-va]rehi¹⁶ raja-śri¹⁷ vaḷandana samāhi dolosvanu¹⁸ Posonā
pura dasa-
vakā Aramāṇā[dhipati]¹⁹ Bhuvaṇāditta nam²⁰ kenekun rajakarana
kalā Lak-divu
santāna no karamha yi kī²¹ he[yi]n²² nāvu dahas-gaṇanakaṭa²³ piris naṅgā
yava Aramanaya pārānē vadāla kalā Kit Nuvragalun²⁴ Kusumiya
yāyi yana nuvarak

¹ M.'s reading of the fifth line is:—pala kelin mehesu radol daewin daewina roja vira . . .
² Bt. kitiṣara.
³ Bt. kandav. The medial vowel sign for u in the third syllable, though imperfectly formed, is
clearly visible.
⁴ Bt. ūdū.
⁵ Bt. tula kala aritu itunu.
⁶ Bt. kapturamen.
⁷ Bt. yāsa ; what has been taken as the sign for the medial vowel ā is only a fracture on the rock.
⁸ Read matigakumbā ; B has tuṅga kamba.
⁹ Read dalanayehi ; B reads viḍanalaḥyehi.
¹⁰ Bt. stha.¹¹ Bt. svarggasthaṅga ; the sign for the medial vowel ū in bhū is unusual in form and the la is
omitted.
¹² The engraver has omitted nā.
¹³ Bt. Lāṁkādvapayehi. Read Lāṁkā-dvapayehi.
¹⁴ Bt. ekachatra.
¹⁵ Bt. raḍya-śri or raja-śri ; B reads āiri.
¹⁶ Bt. pā(munu bandu) Rangira.
¹⁷ Bt. vana.
¹⁸ Bt. nan.
¹⁹ Aramanā (vasana).
²⁰ Bt. kiyā.
²¹ Bt. dahas gaṇan koṭa.
²² Bt. Aramanaya pāren padala kalakin (uhu yamin).
pāhārā́ pas-masak ra . . . . gat] kalā Aramaṇayan santāna karamha yī dūtaya-

-n evū heyin Kit Nuvaragalunṭa hiri -sanda pavatā (tek siṭ不经意 paridde-

-me ga(lā) koṭā dūn Malabatuva hā . . . . hā (Ki)t-sen-pavuy-

-n bījūvaṇa dolosamunū de-pālak āṭulu vā de-yālak pamunū koṭā dūnēyī[1]

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1–14] His Majesty Parākrambāhu who is descended from the royal line of the Okkāka dynasty which, abounding in an assemblage of illustrious, boundless and transcendental virtues, has made other ksatriya dynasties of āmbudvīpa its vassals; who is, by right of descent, the lord of the maiden, the land of Laṅkādvīpa, the chief queen of the ksatriya nobles; by the effulgence of the nails of whose feet the heads of other kings become anointed; who surpasses the Sun in impetuosity and fiery energy, Mahēśvara in prowess, Upendra in haughty spirit, the Chief of the Gods (Indra) in kingly

1 Bt. pāhārā.
2 Bt. karavha.
3 Bt. gan.
4 Bt. karavha.
5 Bt. (etu šīya).
6 Bt. (munī ḍuṇ).
7 Bt. hira.
8 Bt. pavuy.

For Mr. Bell's translation, see A. S. C. Kegalla Report, p. 75. The whole document forms one sentence, very complex in structure; but, for obvious reasons, I have translated as if there were two sentences by treating the gerund kola in line 14 as a finite verb.

11 Vat-āhamiyan vahansē, see above, p. 85.
12 Skt. Ikavāku.
13 Pāmili, see above, p. 140, n. 3. For the translation of the first two lines of this record compare E. Z. Vol. I, p. 237.
14 For the interpretation of the phrase Lakā̄nga-pālojyohon, see above, p. 81.
15 Kāṭ-usab = Skt. ksatriyarpabha, literally 'ksatriya bulls'. Names of animals such as lion, tiger, swan, elephant, &c., when suffixed to class names signify an honorific sense, in Sinhalese as well as in Pālī and Sanskrit.
16 Sāha-ṭedīn. Dr. Wickremasinghe (E. Z. II, p. 215) renders this compound by 'the majesty inherent in him'. He appears to take sāha as equivalent to Skt. sahaja. I have taken it as derived from Skt. sāhása.
17 Mr. Bell and Dr. Wickremasinghe thus render the word pālak. I have followed them, though I am not certain as to the etymology of the word. I have not found it in literature.
18 Viṣṇu.
deportment, the Lord of Riches (Kuvera) in abundant wealth, Kitisiru\(^1\) in (bestowing) happiness to beings, the Preceptor of the Gods (Brhaspati) in the excellence of his wisdom, the Moon in gentleness, Kandarpa in the excellence of his beauty and Bodhisattva in the fullness of his benevolence; who, having mounted the massive\(^2\) scale pan which radiated\(^3\) the resplendence of the royal adornments including the diadem\(^4\), and filling the ocean, which is the hearts of multitudes of the poor assembled from various directions, by the flow of limitless and varied jewels and treasures from the wish-conferring tree\(^5\), which is his own person, is possessed of poetical compositions\(^6\) about his fame diffused throughout the entire world; who is having the prowess of a lion in tearing the frontal globes of the elephants who are his enemy kings,—[that king Parâkramabâhu]—with the resolve, ‘I shall cause the revival of the state and the church\(^7\) which have been ruined for forty-two years since the time when my\(^8\) grandfather, King Vijaya\(^9\), became a denizen of heaven,’ made war with the two persons, Gajabâhu and Mânâbarâna and made [the authority of] one umbrella [of dominion prevail] in the island of Lanka.

\(^1\) Kitisiru is equivalent to Sanskrit Krittitivara; but no such name of a god or other mythological being is known from Sanskrit literature. Among names which may be said to have some resemblance to it, there are Kritti-ôhôj, and Krittimat. The former is a name of Dronâcârya, the military preceptor of the Panîus and Kurus and the latter of one of the Viśvedâs, son of Uttânapâda and Sunâta. But neither of these mythological personages is considered to have a speciality of bestowing happiness on beings. Fame personified is known as Kirtti and is supposed to be the daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Dharma and the latter can therefore be called Kirttipati or Kirttisvara; but the word is nowhere actually found. In later Sinhalese poetry, god Nâtha is particularly invoked for bestowing happiness; and, I have elsewhere (C. J. Sc. G, vol. ii, pp. 52–64) shown that Nâtha is the same as the Mahâyâna Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. Therefore, with extreme diffidence, I suggest that Kitisiru is a corruption of *Kiteśvara, an abbreviated form of Avalokitesvara.


\(^3\) Viûdî = Skt. visarjitā. Dr. Wickremasinghe (E. Z. Vol. II, p. 216, n. 1) takes it to be the same as Skt. viûdut.

\(^4\) Votunu = Skt. veṣājana and is commonly understood to mean ‘a crown’.

\(^5\) If men in kap-turumen be taken as the particle expressing similarity, the construction of the sentence is not clear; therefore, I have treated kap-turumen as the instrumental singular of kap-turuma, a corruption of Skt. kalpa-drâma.

\(^6\) Yasa-pañhanda = Skt. yâlay-prabhanda. Dr. Wickremasinghe (E. Z. II, p. 216) translates it by ‘unbroken fame’.

\(^7\) Lo-sasun. See E. Z. Vol. I, p. 181, n. 6. Sasun (P. sāsana) is the Buddhist Church and lo (P. loka), literary ‘people’, is used for temporal affairs. Hence the compound has been rendered as above.

\(^8\) Tūman (Skt. ātmahā) means ‘of one’s own self’ but as the word is used in a direct speech, it has been rendered by the first personal pronoun.

\(^9\) Vijayabâhu I (circa 1058–1114 A.D.).
[Lines 15–22] On the tenth day of the waxing moon in [the month of] Poson 1 in the twelfth year when His Majesty was enjoying the royal splendour (in the noble city of Pulasti) 2. Whereas, a person named Bhuvanāditta, lord of Aramana, said: ‘We shall not contract a treaty 3 with the island of Lankā’, and whereas, when His Majesty had commanded ‘Put men 4 on board thousands of vessels, send [them] and attack 5 Aramana’, and Kit Nuvaragal 6, (in pursuance of the said command), had taken by storm a town called Kusumiya and when ... for five months, the Aramanas sent envoys saying ‘We shall contract a treaty’—two yalas 7 were granted as pamuna 8 to Kit Nuvaragal, including Malabatuva ... and the sowing extent of twelve amunas 7 and two yalas 7 in (K)itsenpavu which were granted by having this inscription engraved on this stone so that [the same] may last till the sun and moon endure.

No. 35. KAṬUGAHA-GALGĚ PILLAR-INSRIPTION.

By S. Paranavitana.

About five miles to the north of Buttala 9, in the Kaṇḍukara Kūrale of the Uva Province, there is an ancient site now known as Kaṭugaha-galgě or Aturugiri Vihāra. At this place there is a large cave, measuring about 300 ft. in length, 50 ft. in breadth, and 18 ft. in height, on the steep side of a huge granite rock on the top of which there is a small stūpa now renovated. A part of the spacious cave has been walled, in comparatively recent times, to form a shrine and six cells as living-quarters for the monks. In front of the cave are remains of ancient structures, the stonework of which is plain and archaic and bespeaks an early date. Near the southern end of the cave there is, lying on the ground,

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1 May–June.
2 Santāna is undoubtedly a corruption of the Sanskrit word sanāţana which means ‘treaty’. The word sanāţana itself is used in an inscription at Saḷgamu Vihāra in the Kurunagala District which gives the treaty between Gajabahu II and Parakramabahu. The word santāna also occurs in the Rājāvaliya (Colombo, 1911), p. 53.
3 Pirī = P. parisā, Skt. parśad.
4 Paravē, the imperative mood of the root pahara or pāra (Skt. pra + ər).
5 Kittu Nagaratīri of the Mahāvaṁsa (lxxvi, 60). Nuvaragal or Nagaratīri is a title (E. Z. Vol. II, p. 246), but what precisely signifies is not known.
6 A grain measure of 20 amunas (see above, p. 183). The terms yāla, amunā and pāla (¼ of an amunā) were also used in measuring fields (see above, p. 183).
7 See above, p. 276, n. 3.
8 Guttasala of the Mahāvaṁsa.
an inscribed stone pillar broken into two unequal pieces. The pillar is not in its original position; it was removed, over fifty years ago, to this vihāra from a neighbouring chena. It measures 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. by 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. and was standing, when complete, to a height of about 6 ft. above ground. The pillar is engraved on two sides only; the first face containing 35 lines and the second 22. The letters, which average about 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. in height, are engraved between parallel lines 2 in. apart from one another. The writing, except for line A 31 which has been damaged by the fracture of the stone, is in a very good state of preservation.

The script is Sinhalese of the twelfth century and does not differ from that of other published epigraphs of the reign to which this inscription belongs\(^1\). After the auspicious word Śrīh at the beginning of the record, there are two vertical strokes (daṇḍas) used as punctuation marks.

The language, too, is in keeping with other records of the period and contains nothing noteworthy except nīcaṇḍača, (l. A 21) and suvāmi (l. A 22), which are not grammatical forms and bot kā bulat kā mata (ll. A 18–19) which is a phrase not met with elsewhere.

Dr. E. Müller includes this epigraph as No. 155 of his Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon. He neither gives the text nor the translation of the inscription; but says that the contents are identical with those of the inscription at Kaeligatte (No. 152); only that here the words Pitiţirajayēhi Kael. A. 14 are missing\(^2\). The inscribed pillar from Vāligatta (mis-spelt Kaeligatte by Müller), a village in the Hambantota district, is now in the Colombo Museum. It is not in a good state of preservation and therefore Dr. Muller was altogether mistaken about the nature of the contents of that record when he says that it gives some particulars about the king’s daily life\(^3\). A third pillar, bearing the same record, but not so well preserved, is now standing in the vicinity of the colossal stūpa at Yuddaṅgaṅaṅa which is about four miles to the south of Kaṭuṅga-galge and is, according to tradition, the scene of Duţţhagāmaṇi’s encounter with his younger brother Tissa\(^4\). This pillar, like the one at Kaṭuṅga-galge, is not in its original position: it was brought to the temple grounds in 1924 from the neighbouring jungle by the incumbent of the vihāra, in order to add more prestige to his shrine.

In August 1927, I visited Yuddaṅgaṅaṅa and Kaṭuṅga-galge and, from the inscriptions engraved on them, found that the pillars at these two places, as well as the one from Vāligatta, bearing the identical record, were gavi (P. gāvūta)
stones set up by Kāliṅga Cākra-varṭti, i.e. Niśāṁka Malla\textsuperscript{1}. A preliminary account of these epigraphs was included in the Epigraphical Summary published in the *Ceylon Journal of Science* (Section G), vol. ii, part. I, pp. 19–20. A few weeks after my visit to these two places, Mr. H. W. Codrington, then Government Agent of the Uva Province, inspected the pillar at Yudaṅgaṇāva; and having independently discovered the purport of the record, communicated with the Archaeological Commissioner about its importance. On being informed of the existence of a duplicate at Kaṭugaha-galgē, he made inquiries through his headmen and succeeded in bringing to light six more of these gāvuta pillars, more or less in a fragmentary condition, in the same locality. An excellent paper on these pillars, dealing particularly with the information they yield on the precise length of the ancient *yogana* and *gāvuta*, has been contributed by Mr. Codrington to the *Ceylon Journal of Science* (Section G), vol. ii, pp. 129–134.

Of all the gāvuta pillars so far known, the one at Kaṭugaha-galgē alone has the inscription completely preserved. Niśāṁka Malla was not satisfied with a bare mention of the fact that the pillar marked a gāvuta. More than half of the document is taken up by a short homily addressed to the people of Rohana and this is followed by an account, very restrained, in comparison with his effusions elsewhere\textsuperscript{2}, of his South Indian campaigns and his tours of inspection within his own dominions.

It is interesting to note that in his advice to the people of Rohana, Niśāṁka Malla exhorts them to act in such a manner as not to deserve the reproaches of being perfidious and disloyal, levelled against them by the people of the other parts of the island. The unenviable reputation which the Rohana people seem to have had was probably due to the several rebellions which they raised against the authority of Parākramabāhu I, about two decades before Niśāṁka’s time. In quelling these risings, the people of the Pīhiṭi and Māya kingdoms, who followed the standard of Parākramabāhu, had to fight many a pitched battle, the memories of which must have still been fresh in their minds in the reign of Niśāṁka Malla, and made them regard the people of Rohana with no friendly feelings\textsuperscript{3}.

\textsuperscript{1} The Hāta-daṅga Vestibule Wall Inscription of this king says that ‘in the course of inspecting the three kingdoms in various ways, he fixed [the distance of] a gāvuta and calling it a Niśāṁka-gāvuta, he caused inscribed mile-posts to be set up’. (E. Z. Vol. II, p. 95).

\textsuperscript{2} See, for instance, the Galpota inscription, *E. Z.* Vol. II, pp. 113 ff.

\textsuperscript{3} Even to-day, the Sinhalese of the southern parts of the island are regarded with a certain amount of distrust by their brethren of the western and the central regions.
| 2 | අංශ කාර් | 12 | විශේෂී විශේෂී | 13 | විශේෂී විශේෂී | 14 | විශේෂී විශේෂී [කෘ] | 15 | විශේෂී විශේෂී | 16 | විශේෂී විශේෂී | 17 | විශේෂී විශේෂී | 18 | විශේෂී විශේෂී | 19 | විශේෂී විශේෂී | 20 | විශේෂී විශේෂී | 21 | විශේෂී විශේෂී | 22 | විශේෂී [කෘ] |
1 Śrīḥ u
2 Ruṇu-rajaye-
3 -hi āttavun
4 kerehi karu-
5 -nāyen ki-
6 -yamha [u*] Dhana-dhā-
7 -nya dāsi-dāsa-
8 -yan āti vā
9 jivat-vannā
10 kāmāttamā [u*]
11 Māyā-rajayehi 2
12 āttavun a-
13 -tin nindā pa-
14 -ribhava no a-
15 -sā lobhi vā a-
16 -nun gāttāta
17 āśā no ko-
18 -tā bat kā bu-

19 -lat kā mataṣa u-
20 -ddhata no va Ru-
21 -ṇo nivaṅcā 3
22 -vo yā suvāmi 4
23 pakṣapāta gāt-
24 -to yay kiyavāva [u*]
25 Manuṣya-ātma lābi-
26 -ma durlabhā ya [u*]
27 Dukin lat ā-
28 -tmaya añaye-
29 -hi nasana bava
30 dharmma no veyi [u*]
31 Suvayen jiva-
32 -t vannā kāmāt-
33 -tamha yi [u*] Me ava-
34 -vāda kiyā Pāṇḍi-
35 raṭa de-varekā

1 For Müller’s reading of the Vāligatta inscription which is identical with the present one, see A.I.C., p. 102.
2 The Yudaṅganāva and Vāligatta pillars both insert Pitṛajayehi after Māyārajayehi. This word was omitted in the present epigraph, possibly due to an inadvertence on the part of the engraver.
3 Read nirvāṇā.
4 The Yudaṅganāva pillar has svātika.
5 After the last letter of this line, there is a symbol of a chank, and below it are a svātika and two other symbols which are not clearly visible.

VOL. III.
TRANSLATION.

[Lines A 1–24] Prosperity! We speak out of our compassion towards the people of the Ruṇu kingdom. We desire that you should live possessing money, grain, female slaves and male slaves. Do not listen to words of blame and reproach from the people of the Māyā kingdom; but, by not coveting, through avarice, the property of others and by not being concealed for the mere fact of having taken food and chewed betel, make (them) say that the people of Ruṇu are not perfidious and that they are loyal subjects of their liege lord.

[Lines A 25–33] The acquisition of a human soul is very rare and it is not

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1 For Müller's translation of the Vāligatta inscription, see A. I. C., p. 135.
2 Ruṇu = P. Ruhana. See above, p. 225, n. 1. This was one of the three kingdoms to which Ceylon was divided in mediaeval times, the other two being Pīṭhi and Māyā.
3 Literally, 'from the hands of'. The word anta which is the instrumental singular form of at (Skt. hasta) 'hand' is very often used in the manner of a suffix to denote the ablative case, just as keran (Skt. kareṇa) of the same meaning and geni 'from the house' are used.
4 Māyā district was that part of Ceylon which comprised the area between the two rivers Daduru Oya and Kalugaṇa, roughly corresponding to the Dakhinadesa of earlier periods. The district was so called because it was an appanage of the heir-apparent (Mahāyā or Māyā).
5 According to Yuddhānāva and Vāligatta pillars, 'and the Pīṭhi kingdom' should be inserted here.
6 Gāṭṭa. For the meaning of the word gāṭi, see above, p. 86. Here the word is used in the same sense as it is in Heranthesika (Colombo, 1911), p. 29. The word again occurs in lines A 23–24 where its meaning is more in accordance with the sense commonly attached to it.
7 Bat kā bātā kā māta. I have taken the word mata occurring in this phrase to be equivalent to the Pāli matta, Skt. mata. It may also be connected with P. and Skt. mada, in which case it is interesting to compare this phrase with the compound bhatta-sammada occurring in Jātaka, vi. 57. The last word is interpreted as 'the drowsiness after a meal' (see Pāli Dictionary, s.v.) and the phrase in question may, accordingly, be rendered 'drowsiness caused by eating rice and chewing betel'. But the word which follows it, udhata, is not appropriate to this meaning.
8 Literally, 'slaves'. See note 6 above.
9 Manusya-āṭma lātiṃa durilabha yā. This sentence is obviously based on dullabhāṅka manussattām, occurring in a familiar Pāli verse. For the difficulty with which the status of man is attained by beings wandering in the saṁsāra, see Majjhima Nikāya, vol. iii, p. 169. The Pāli word manussatta is equivalent to Skt. manuṣyaśāta 'state of man', but the writer of this epigraph has misunderstood it as a flat-puruṣa compound of manusya with āṭman, in spite of the fact that Buddhist metaphysics does not recognize any separate entity as āṭman and the belief in an āṭman will have to be eradicated before one can gain proper insight into the nature of things. Apparently due to this misunderstanding of the text, the writer, in the next sentence, views a possible destruction of the soul with dismay, though it is difficult to argue how an entity which is really non-existent can be destroyed. Possibly, the word āṭma is not used here in a metaphysical sense but according to the popular conception of the term. We can scarcely expect Nīśatka Malla and his scribes to have been well versed in the niceties of Buddhist metaphysics.
right to destroy, in the future, that soul which has been acquired with such pains. We desire that [you] live in happiness.

[Lines A 31–B 22] His Majesty the Kāliṅga emperor¹, having uttered these exhortations, went twice to the Pāndya country, ascended the scales², received tributes including queens, elephants, horses, &c., from the Pāndi monarch, received presents from the Soli³ country and, returning to the island of Laṅkā, toured the three kingdoms, and inspected inaccessible places such as Samanola⁴. On his measure was this Niśāṁka-gavuva⁵ made.

No. 36. THE TAMIL INSCRIPTION ON THE GALLE TRILINGUAL SLAB⁶.

By S. Paranavitana.

This inscribed slab, which is now preserved in the Colombo Museum, was discovered in 1911 by Mr. H. F. Tomalin, the then Provincial Engineer at Galle, in a culvert near the turn to Cripps Road within that town⁷. It measures 4 ft. 9 in. in length, 2 ft. 6 in. in breadth and 5 in. in thickness. On either face of the top portion, of which the two corners are rounded, there is a carving of two dragons facing each other. The back of the slab has also been nicely smoothed though there is no writing on that side. The inscribed area measures 3 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. and is enclosed within a floral border. An area of 3 ft. 8 in. by 10 in. on the right-hand side of the slab is inscribed with a record in the Chinese script; a space measuring 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 3½ in. is occupied by the Tamil inscription now dealt with and the remaining portion of the stone, measuring 1 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 4 in., contains an epigraph in the Persian characters.

¹ The title Kāliṅga-cakravarti, is given to Niśāṁka Malla, in addition to his various other epithets, in the Kāliṅga Park Gal-āsana inscription (E. Z. Vol. II, p. 133). In the Polonnaruva Vān-āla inscription he is referred to by the cognate epithet of Kāliṅge-nirundu alone.
² For an account of the ceremony of ascending the scales, tulābhāra, see Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, vol. i, p. 83.
³ Cola.
⁴ Samanta-kūla or Sumana-kūla, i.e., Adam's Peak.
⁵ Skt. gavyāti, P. gāvata. For a discussion of the exact length of the gavuva in Ceylon, see Codrington's article in the Ceylon Journal of Science (Section G), vol. ii, pp. 128–134, above referred to.
⁶ I am indebted to Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam for many valuable suggestions in the reading, as well as in the interpretation, of this record.
⁷ For an account of the discovery of this slab, see J. R. A. S. (C. B.), vol. xxii, p. 129.
The discovery of this slab aroused considerable interest among students of the history and antiquities of Ceylon; and attempts were made to have the three inscriptions deciphered by authorities in the languages concerned. The text and the translation of the Chinese version by Mr. E. Backhouse were procured through the good offices of the British Ambassador in Pekin. An estampage of the Tamil inscription was sent to the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, then Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras; but owing to the defective nature of the materials supplied, he was not able to decipher the record in a satisfactory manner. The translation of the Chinese version, which would have helped him in deciphering the Tamil inscription, was also not available to him. Dr. J. Horroxtz, then Epigraphist for Moslem inscriptions in India, to whom estampages of the Persian record were sent, was no more successful in deciphering that inscription.

A paper on this slab, embodying an account of its discovery, the text and translation of the Chinese version, the results of the various attempts to decipher the other two records and a discussion of the historical importance of the epigraphs, was contributed, by Mr. E. W. Perera, to the Spolia Zeylanica. Without the aid of the translation of the Chinese text published there, the deciphering of some parts of the Tamil inscription would scarcely have been possible.

This record, of which the text and the translation are now offered, consists of twenty-four lines. The first line is almost completely obliterated; faint traces of the auspicious word svasti, at the opening of the record, being all that is recognizable. The twenty-third and twenty-fourth lines are, respectively, 1 ft. 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) in. and 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) in. in length; the remaining twenty-one lines are each 1 ft. 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. long. The letters are unusually small in size for a stone inscription; some of them being less than a quarter of an inch in height and in breadth. They are also very shallowly incised, making it very difficult to prepare a satisfactory estampage; but, on the stone itself, the writing is tolerably clear, excepting in certain places where the letters are partly damaged. The pulli or virāma sign is not marked and it is with the greatest difficulty, and very often only by the context, that one can distinguish between ka and la, cu and ūa, ra and the medial vowel sign for \(\ddot{a}\), a and va, i and du and ya and la. These peculiarities are also noticed in South Indian Tamil inscriptions of the period to which our record belongs. Grantha letters are not used except in the first line.

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As regards orthographical peculiarities, the following may be noted:—
näyinar (l. 4) for the standard form näyanăr, yippäcitam (l. 6) for ippäcitam,
kotppadu (l. 6) for kotpadu, irañdärattu (l. 21) for irañdärattu, mukkàniikkai in
l. 23) which is evidently the same as mun-kàniikkai in l. 4, the form aùcu (l. 14)
occurring side by side with aùcu (l. 17, and ennai (l. 21) for ennêy. The forms
varugirar (ll. 8, 9), manittar (l. 9), arulattal (ll. 9, 10), and kaññnadu (ll. 6 and 11)
are not in conformity with correct usage; they should have been varugira or
varugiravar, manitar, arulal and kaññnadu, respectively. Andaraiyéyal (l. 10),
appears to be a corruption of the Skt. antarôya to which the Tamil suffix ál is
added. The expression ñandi ál (l. 24) cannot be defended grammatically; it
should have been either ñandi álavaru or álám ñandi. There are also several
ercerical errors, such as the extra è in the Chinese name in l. 5, the omission of
cu in the word aùcu in l. 19 and others which will be corrected in foot-notes
attached to the text.

The language, which can hardly be called grammatical, also presents diffi-
culties; there being several words which are neither found in Tamil literature
nor in the colloquial dialects of the present day and are, consequently, not given
in the dictionaries. Such words are particularly noticeable in that portion of the
document containing the list of offerings. Some of these words would have
remained altogether unintelligible but for the light thrown on them by the Chinese
version. Of these words, we may here mention tulukki (l. 12), túcàm (l. 15),
cuavadu (l. 16), karikkàl (l. 17) and muri (l. 21).

Like the Chinese version, this record is dated in the second month of the
seventh year of Yuñlo (Yung Lo), the Chinese emperor whose reign began
in 1403 A.D.

The contents tell us that the Chinese emperor, having heard of the fame of
the god Tenavarai-näyanăr¹ in Ceylon, sent to him, through his envoys Cívvo
and Uvínçuvíñ², various kinds of offerings of which a detailed list is given.
There can be no doubt that Cívvo and Uvínçuvíñ were the same as Ching-Ho
and Wang Ch'ing Lien of the Chinese version. It is hardly surprising to find
some difference in the Tamil and English modes of transcribing Chinese names.
The offerings to Tenavarai-näyanăr are, on the whole, in line with those dedi-
cated to the Buddha as given in the Chinese inscription (see Appendix A); but

¹ The Tamil word näyanăr is used in literature to denote the Saiva saints. The term ñhïn, by
which the god of Devundara is referred to in line 11, is appropriate for Vaisnava saints.
² For this name, see below, p. 335, n. 2.
there are differences in certain items and the order of enumeration in the two records is not exactly the same.

As regards the name Tenavarai-nāyaṅār, it may be stated that Tenavarai is the Tamil form of the Sinhalese Devunuvara (Skt. Deva-nagara Mod. Sin. Devundara ‘City of God’ Anglice Dondra). The Devundara Dēvāle Copper Plate of the reign of Vijayabāhu VII mentions a Brāhmaṇa of that place, named Tenuvarapperumāl. The form Tenuvara in that name is another variant of Devunuvara. The Portuguese writers spelt the name as Tanavare which, obviously, is closer to the Tamil form Tenavarai than to the Sinhalese Devunuvara. Devundara is well known as the centre of the cult of a deity mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa as Uppalavaṃsa and who was, in comparatively recent times, identified with the Purānic Viṣṇu. He is very often referred to as Devaraja ‘King of the Gods’ without any other epithet. On the analogy of such names as Kataragama Deviyo, Alutnuvara Deviyo, &c., he may have been styled, in Sinhalese, Devundara Deviyo which name in Tamil would be rendered by Tehavaram-nāyaṅār.

The Portuguese historian Fernão de Queyroze tells us that, at Devundara, his countrymen found ‘stone pillars (padroes) which the kings of China ordered to be set up there with Letters of that Nation as a token, it seems, of their devotion to those idols’ 2. This statement and the consideration that an inscription which registered donations to the deity, at Devundara must have been set up in or near the shrine of that god would lead one to the conclusion that this inscribed slab originally stood at that place. But the Chinese and Persian records, inscribed on the same stone, do not contain any reference to the deity of Devundara and, therefore, are against such a supposition. It has already been stated that the Chinese inscription deals with donations to the Buddha. The Persian epigraph (see Appendix B) seems to record donations, similar to the offerings to the Buddha, made to an Islamic shrine or saint. Therefore, it appears that the Chinese, when they gained political ascendancy over Ceylon in 1409, with the eclecticism in religious matters characteristic of their race, made gifts of about equal value to the Buddha, to a deity who, whatever may have been his origin, was at that time, of Hindu character and to a Islamic saint or shrine; and a record of these various gifts was inscribed on the same stone.

I do not propose to discuss the circumstances which, at the time this record was set up, led to the acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the Chinese

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1 Bell, Report on the Kāgalla District, p. 96.
2 The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon, translated by Father S. G. Perera, S.J., p. 35.
emperor by the rulers of this island and the part played by Ching-Ho in those events, as they have already been fully dealt with by Mr. E. W. Perera in his paper mentioned above.

**TEXT.**

1 Sva(sti) ... ... ...
2 Iracadira-ca-paramecura purna-candira-p-piragaca Cinattil
3 mahi-iraca Ilang-ga-racciyattil nayinar Tenavarai-
4 nayinar'kkuk-t-tirum-mun-kankikai-y-agga nayinar piraga-
5 -caushi-kettu tuddar Cinvo Uvucuyiunuk ai
6 -le varu-k-kattinadu [i*] Yippaci[t]am [i*] kettpadu [i*] I-
7 -nda-p-puvanattil-untha pir[a]niga-seellam nayi-
8 -nar kirubaiyinalee cugamé paribaliyä nigradu [i*] Aanga vara-
9 -girar [i*]ngum manitarum Tenavarai-nayinär tiru aru-
10 -lattal [i*] [l]ndaraiyayä nigradu [i*] Ippadiyai-
11 t- Tenavarai-alvarkkku rankikkai aga kattinadu [i*]
12 [A]gappadi poñ velji tulukki paṭtu candanam
13 enaikkaappu [i*] pala-kankikakkuk vagai poñ ayiram ka-
14 -lañ cu velji ainc-ayira-k-kalañcu pala-nira-t-tulukki aimbadu pala-
15 -nira-p-paṭtu aimbadu poñ eluttu (kacakara)-t-tucañscuvaðu nalu civa-
16 -nda cuvadu irandu nila-t-tucañscuvaðu irandu palan-ceppu tumb i-
17 -dugira ceppu-p-pättiram aincu karikkal aincu pū-k-kuttugira ceppu-k-
18 keṇḍi paṭtu karikkal paṭtu kutuviilakkki-c-cayan aincu karį-
19 -k-kal aṅgu[1] marattale poñ pucinā tamarai-p-pu-cuvaðu aru
20 agar vaikikira poñ pucina ceppu aincu meligidiri cuvaðu paṭtu
21 eñnai [i*] irandoirattu [i*] aññuru kaṭṭu candana-muṛi
22 paṭtu aṅga iv-vaippadiyalulładu ... ... nayinär
23 Tenavarai-nayinär'kkuk tiru-mukkankanikai [i*] y-agga-k-kuḍukkavum [i*]
24 Yunalokku yañdu élā irand[a][m ma] di [i*]

---

1 Read nayagar.
2 One of the two akṣaras, ṅ ñ, is evidently superfluous or a syllable, possibly a -li, omitted between the two.
3 Read kaṭṭinadu.
4 May be corrected to iippacitam; T. pātama = Skt. bhāṣītam.
5 Read kitiḍu.
6 Read kirubaiyinalee.
7 Read varaqi-p[ā]giun or varaqiravar-āgiun.
8 Read manitarum.
9 Read aruṭal.
10 Read kaṭṭinadu.
11 Read eṣeṣey.
12 Read eṣeṣey.
13 Read irandāvivattu.
14 Perhaps to be amended to muk-kāśyikkai.
[Lines 1–6] Hail! . . . . . . . . . . . . . . The great king of Cina¹, the supreme overlord of kings, the full-orbed moon in splendour, having heard of the fame of the Lord, presents [the following] as offerings, in the hand of the envoys Chiūvo² and Uviūcūvīn³ to the sacred presence of the Lord Tenavarai-nāyaṇār in the kingdom of Ilaṅgā⁴.

[Lines 6–13] [And he also] causes this utterance to be heard. ‘All living beings who exist in this world are being protected, in happiness, by the compassion of the Lord. Men, whencesoever they come thither, have their obstacles [to happiness] removed through the divine grace of the Lord of Tenavarai’. So, [the following] are presented as offerings to the Lord of Tenavarai; to wit, gold, silver, tulukki⁵, silk, sandalwood and oil for anointing.

[Lines 13–22] The various offerings, in detail, are:—One thousand kalāṇcus⁶ of gold, five thousand kalāṇcus of silver, fifty pieces of tulukki of different colours, four pairs⁷ of banners⁸ embroidered with gold thread and (adorned with crystal?)⁹, two pairs of the same red in colour, five copper vessels of antique copper for keeping incense, five black stands¹⁰, ten copper vases for holding¹¹ flowers, ten black stands, five wick-holders for standing brass lamps¹², five black stands, six pairs of lotus flowers made of wood and gilt, five gilt caskets for putting agil¹³ in, ten pairs of wax candles, two thousand five hundred kaṭṭi¹⁴ of oil and ten pieces¹⁵ of sandalwood.

¹ China.
² Ching-Ho.
³ Laṅkā, i.e., Ceylon.
⁴ The word tulukki, here and in the following lines, corresponds to a word translated as ‘silk’ in the Chinese text. Perhaps, tulukki is a corruption of Skt. dūkāṇa.
⁵ A weight equal to ½ oz. of troy. Sin. kalāṇḍa.
⁶ Cuvaḍu is evidently a variant form of cōḍu which is derived from Hindi jōḍi and means pair. Comp. Sin. jōḍu.
⁷ Tucam, from the analogy of the Chinese version, must mean ‘banners’. Most probably it is a variant form of tuṣṭam (Skt. dhvajam) ‘banner’.
⁸ The reading kācādāra is doubtful. The corresponding passage in the Chinese has been translated as ‘jewelled’. I have treated the conjectural reading kācādāra as a corruption of Skt. kācādhrārin.
⁹ Possibly stands made of ebony or other kind of black wood.
¹⁰ Kuttukhira, literally means ‘to set’.
¹¹ Kuttuwilakkeśvīya. Mudaliyar C. Rasaniyagam informs me that ṛṣiṅtōy or sāvōy means ‘wick-holder’ or ‘oil-holder’.
¹² Skt. agaru ‘agallochum’.
¹³ Kaṭṭi: see Appendix C for a note on this word by Mr. Codrington.
¹⁴ Murj is a verb ‘to break’. Here it is used as a noun and may mean ‘piece’. The corresponding Chinese word has been translated as ‘stick’.
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[Lines 22–24] These, included in the list as enumerated, are given as offerings to the sacred presence of the Lord Tonavarai nāyanār.
The second month of the seventh year of Yuñlo.

APPENDIX A.

The translation of the Chinese version, as published in the Spolia Zeylanica, is given below:

His Majesty, the Emperor of the Great Ming dynasty has despatched the eunuchs Ching-Ho, Wang Ch’ing-Lien, and others to set forth his utterance before Buddha, the World-Honoured One, as follows:

‘Deeply do we reverence you, Merciful and Honoured One, whose bright perfection is wide-embracing, and whose way of virtue passes all understanding, whose law enters into all human relations, and the years of whose great Kalpa (period) are like the sand of the river in number, you whose controlling influence ennobles and converts, whose kindness quickens, and whose strength discerns, whose mysterious efficacy is beyond compare!

‘Whereas Ceylon’s mountainous isle lies in the south of the ocean, and its Buddhist temples are sanctuaries of your gospel, where your miraculous responsive power imbues and enlightens. Of late, we have despatched missions to announce our mandate to foreign nations, and during their journey over the ocean they have been favoured with the blessing of your beneficent protection. They escaped disaster, or misfortune and journeyed in safety to and fro. In everlasting recognition of your supreme virtue, We, therefore, bestow offerings in recompense, and do now reverently present before Buddha, the Honoured One, oblations of gold and silver, gold embroidered jewelled banners of variegated silk, incense burners, and flower vases, silks of many colours in lining and exterior, lamps and candles with other gifts, in order to manifest the high honour of our worship. Do you, Lord Buddha, bestow on them, your regard’!

List of Alms bestowed at the shrine of the Buddhist temple in the Mountain of Ceylon as offerings.

1,000 pieces of gold; 5,000 pieces of silver; fifty rolls of embroidered silk in many colours; fifty rolls of silk taffeta in many colours; four pairs of jewelled banners, gold embroidered, and of variegated silk; two pairs of the same picked in red; one pair of the same in yellow; one pair in black; five antique brass incense burners; five pairs of antique brass flower vases picked in gold on lacquer, with vol. III.
gold stands; five pairs of yellow brass candle-sticks; picked in gold on lacquer, with gold stands; five yellow brass lamps picked in gold on lacquer with gold stands; five incense vessels in vermilion red, lacquered gold picked on lacquer, with gold stands; six pairs of golden lotus flowers; 2,500 catties of scented oil; ten pairs of wax candles; ten sticks of fragrant incense.

The date being the seventh year of Yung-Lo marked Chich'ou in the sixty years cycle, on the Chia Hsu day of the sixty days' cycle in the second moon, being the first day of the month. A reverent oblation.

**APPENDIX B.**

A set of ink impressions of the Persian inscription was sent by me to Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, M.A., Director of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad; and he has favoured me with the following note and the text and translation of what is now legible of this epigraph prepared by Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, M.A., of his department.

'The Persian portion of the Inscription is badly worn out, particularly the text. The theme seems to be the same as that of the Tamil and Chinese. But the name of the deity to whom the offerings have been dedicated could not be deciphered. The word *Islam* has been mentioned at one place. This suggests that the offerings might have been made to Allah, Prophet or some Muslim priest. The details of the offering are fairly intelligible and they support the details of the Chinese portion more than those of the Tamil portion.'

**TEXT.**

1 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 
2 Bādshah Mu'azzam ba ḥukm farmān ... ... ... ... ... Ming
3 faristāda *shudā* az barāay ta ʿāmīn ... ... ... ... ... ... 
4 ... ... ... ... barāay istiʿānat ummid ʿizāmati baʿād
5 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
6 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ma'ālum gashtā ast ... ... ... ... ... ...
7 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... az barāay ṣānki ... ... ... ... ... ...
8 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... gas_t wa ʿān karāmāt
9 ... ... ... ... ... ... faristāda shudā dāsht
10 ... ... ... ... ... ... ma'ālum gashta az bahri taʿāmīn dāsht
11 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... zar baft ʿud-dān wa gul-dān wa raughani chīrāgh
12 hind a az barāay ghaure ḥāṣ Sharīf hadiyā faristāda shud tā
13  nūre Islam .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..
14  .. .. ke az barāay aqšām ke guzrānīda ast attāfsīl ..
15  .. .. zar hazār mithqāl .. Nuqrā panj hazār mithqāl .. .. zarkārā
16  .. .. pinjāh 'dād .. .. zar-baft chahār .. 'ud-dāni-mis panj 'dād
17  Kursī surkh zar nishān panj 'dād .. gul-dān panj ĵuft - - kursī surkh zar
   nishān ..
18  chirāgh-dān qadīm panj 'dād .. kursī
cursī zar nishān panj 'dād .. chobī surkh zarnishān panj 'dād
20  .. .. .. .. .. raughane chiragheke
tārīkh .. .. ..
22  .. haftum sāl .. .. yakum māh .

TRANSLATION.

1  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..
2  The great king .. .. .. by royal Order .. .. .. .. Ming .. .. ..
3  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. has been sent to pay homage .. .. ..
4  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. to seek help and .. .. .. .. ..
5  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. . ..
6  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. it is known .. .. .. .. ..
7  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. for .. .. .. ..
8  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..
9  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..
10  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..
11  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..
12  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..
13  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..
14  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..
15  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..
16  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..
17  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..
18  .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. ..

X x 2
antique lamp stands five in number red stands worked in gold five in number—wooden with gold work five in number
.. lamp oil ..
.. date ..
.. seventh year .. .. first of the month.

APPENDIX C.

KATTI.

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

The word corresponding to the Tamil katti in the translation from the Chinese is ‘catties’. Though in this inscription catty designates a measure for liquids, it is commonly used as the name of a Chinese weight. It is not, however, a Chinese word, but is a trade term employed by Europeans, derived from the Malay-Javanese kati or kati, the weight having found its way from China into the Archipelago. It seems to be mentioned first in 1554 by Nunes in his Lyvro dos pesos da Ymdia. The trade of Ceylon was largely in the hands of the Muslims and it is just possible that this trade term was derived from them by the Tamils and assimilated in pronunciation with the common word katti, ‘lump’.

This supposition derives support from the presence of the word nikkala or rather nikkala in Cūlavaṁsa Ixxvi. 18, which records that king Arimaddana of Ramaṁa commanded that ‘elephants which had formerly been sold there for a hundred or a thousand silver nikkalas must (henceforth) be sold for two or three thousand’ (Geiger’s translation). The following is from my Note on the subject in the Ceylon Antiquary of 1917, vol. iii, part I, p. 57—

1 The niska (in Pali nikkha and in Sinhalese nika) is a well-known measure, and in Ceylon works is a synonym of kalaṁda. The termination in ta, however, is unknown.

1 It is now suggested, in view of the liability to confusion between n and t in the Sinhalese script, that the word should read tikkala. This, on the analogy of the Sinhalese nika, would be the Pali equivalent of tikal, the standard weight of Pegu and the neighbouring countries.

1 In Hindustani, however, there is kṭṭhā, a corn measure of ten pounds, and in Bengali kṛthi, a measure of capacity.
'Tikal', however, is not a pure native word. According to Sir R. Temple it occurs first in Nunes' *Livro dos pesos* of 1554, and is probably the Indian *taka* = *tañka*, through the Talaging *t’ke*. He adds that the pronunciation of the word "has always been two-fold, according as the accent has been placed on the first or the last syllable. At present in Burma it is usual to pronounce it like tickle, and in Siam like tacaw!"  

If the identification of *nikkhalu* is correct, it will follow that this corruption [*tikal*] was adopted by the first Europeans from their predecessors in the Indo-Chinese trade, and that it was in use at least as early as the fourteenth century, when the portion of the *Mahavamśa* under reference is supposed to have been compiled. The word *tikal*, according to Sir R. Temple, appears in Crawfor'd's *Malay Dictionary*, 1852."  

Since the above was written, Geiger's *Cūlavamśa* has appeared. According to him the reading of all the manuscripts is *nikkalanaṃ*, corrected in one case to *nikkalanaṃ*. But the Asgiri Vihārē book, which I have personally examined, most clearly has *tikkalanaṃ*. There seems to be no reason for thinking that the original word had any connexion with *nikkha*.

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1 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxvi, p. 245.  
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