

ART. XVII.—*Two Old Siṃhalese Inscriptions. The Sāhasa Malla Inscription, date 1200 A.D., and the Ruwanwæli Dāgaba Inscription, date 1191 A.D. Text, Translation, and Notes.* By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, late of the Ceylon Civil Service.

INTRODUCTION.

OF the following two inscriptions, the former is edited from a MS. in Dambulla Wihāre, of which I have a transcript in the Roman character by a native copyist; and the latter from a copy made by Nāranwiṭa Unnānse, which I owe to the courtesy of Mr. R. C. Childers. In the Dambulla MS. the inscription is repeated twice, and the readings of the two copies differ pretty frequently, as will be seen from the various readings given below the text.

The latter, the Ruwanwæli Inscription, was recorded in the fourth year of Niṣṣanka Malla, *i.e.* 1191 A.D., and was re-discovered near the Ruwanwæli Dāgaba, at Anurādhapura, in 1874, by Nāranwiṭa Unnānse; the former was recorded at the commencement of the reign of Sāhasa Malla in 1200 A.D., and is on an upright stone, resembling a very large grave-stone, a little north of the Hæṭa-dā-ge (or 60 days' house), close to the new path which I cut from the King's palace at Pulastipura to the Rankot Dāgaba. I much regret that I had no time to copy the inscription myself; but, except in one or two places, the text, at least of the Elu parts, seems to be pretty correct.

Both inscriptions are of great importance, the latter settling the question of the identity of Niṣṣanka Malla Parākrama Bāhu with the Kirti Nissanga of Mr. Turnour's list; and the former giving us, not only historical details not found in the Mahāvamsa, but also a date. Both have been translated before: the former by Mr. Armour in the *Ceylon Almanac* for 1834;¹ and the latter by the Interpreter Muda-

¹ I have never been able to procure this extremely rare book; but the translation is reprinted (under a wrong title) at page 353 of the second volume of Major Forbes's *Ceylon*. London: Bentley, 1841.

liyār of the Courts at Anurādhapura in the *Ceylon Observer* for the 29th of December, 1874. The texts have not as yet been published.

The Mahāvaṃsa at this period is extremely short, dismissing sixteen kings in one chapter of 80 verses, of which only one applies to Sāhasa Malla,¹ and only nine to Niṣṣanka Malla, who was certainly a powerful and successful king. This is explained by the mode in which the Mahāvaṃsa was written, viz. at intervals and by different hands: each new chronicler hurried over the reigns of the kings preceding the one under whom he wrote, and then enlarged at length on the events of that monarch's reign.²

Niṣṣanka Malla's reign is thus hastily sketched in the following verses of the 80th chapter of the Mahāvaṃsa (I quote from the India Office MS.) :—

18. Ghātetvā taṃ ahū rājā Kittinissankaṇāmakō

Raṇṇo Vijayabāhussa uparājā Kalingato

19. Patvā rājābhisekaṃ so Pulatthinagare vare

Dāṭhādātthūharāṇi rammaṇi kārāpesi silāmayāṃ

TRANSLATION.

18. Having killed him (viz. Mahendra), the Viceroy of Vijayabāhu, named Kirti Niṣṣanka, from Kalinga, became King. When he had been crowned, he had made in the fine city of Pulastipura a beautiful house of stone for the Tooth-

18. The MS. has Kalingaro. 19. The ruins of this Daladā Maḷigāwa still exist, and show that, though small, it must have been a building of exquisite beauty.

¹ It is given below in note 4.

² This consideration leads me to the supposition that Turnour (Mah. p. ii.) may be wrong in assigning the whole of the Mahāvaṃsa, from the period at which Mahānāma's work terminated to the end of Dambadeniya Parākrama's reign in A.D. 1300, to one hand. There seems to be a break at the end of the eventful reign of Parākrama the Great; no less than eighteen chapters, some of them of great length, being devoted to the life of that king, whilst the succeeding kings are hurried over till the time of Dambadeniya Parākrama, whose reign occupies seven chapters. Perhaps there has been some confusion between two Dharmakirtis, one the author of Dāṭhāvaṃsa, who lived in Parākrama the Great's time, and the other, the author of one portion of the Mahāvaṃsa, who lived in Dambadeniya Parākrama's time. When the whole text is published, the evidently late style of the latter portion, from which the above extract is made, may throw light on this question.

20. Bandhāpetvā samuttungam Ratanāvalicetiyaṃ
Alaṃkarittha sovaṇṇatthūpikāyaṇam uttamam
21. Kārayitvā sanāmena pāsādasatam addhikaṃ
Vihāraṃ bhikkhusaṅghassa niyyādetvā upatṭhahi
22. Sovaṇṇarajatubbhāsabhittitthambhehi bhāsuram
Hingulamayabhūbhāgaṃ sovannacchadaniṭṭhikaṃ
23. Vihāraṃ Jambukolavham kārayitva tahiṃ sudhī
Patitṭhāpayi sovaṇṇasatthubimbe tisattatiṃ
24. Senāya caturāṅginyā saddhiṃ hatthipurassaram
Gantvā Samantakūṭam so abhivandiya bhūpati
25. Pupphārāme phalārāme aneke ca sabhāsuhā
Tāvvaṇṇiyadīpasmim sādhu sabbattha kārayi
26. Evaṃ bahuvidham puññaṃ sañcinanto dine dine
Navasamvaccharaṃ sammā rajjaṃ kāsī sa bhūpati.

relic, and caused the lofty Rankot Dāgaba to be built, ornamenting the high road to the golden Sthūpa.

21. And he made one hundred rest-houses (on the road-side to it), called by his own name, and having delivered the vihāra near it into the keeping of the priests, he himself paid homage to it. 22. He made the vihāra called Dambulla, with golden roof-tiles and a vermillion floor, and dazzling with walls and pillars shining with silver and gold; and he, the pure-minded one, put up there seventy-three gilded images of Buddha.

24. The King also went with his fourfold army, and with elephants, to Adam's Peak, and worshipped there; and he established flower gardens, and orchards, and . . . and did good throughout the island.

25. Thus heaping up merit of different kinds from day to day, this King reigned for nine years.

21. The MS. has addhitam. For sanāmena compare line 15 of the inscription below. 22. The MS. has ubbhāya, bāsuram. 23. The form Jambukola throws interesting light on the derivation of Dambulla; but it is more probable that the Pāli word is a translation of the Sinhalese word, than that the Sinhalese word has come through the Pāli. Another Jambukola on the sea-coast is mentioned in the Mahāvamsa, pp. 110, 119, *vide* below, note 18 to the Sāhasa Malla Inscription. 24. The MS. has bhūpatim. 25. The reading of the MS. in this line neither agrees with the metre nor gives any sense.

A.—THE SĀHASA MALLA INSCRIPTION ON THE UPRIGHT SLAB
NORTH OF THE HĒTA-DĀ-GE, FOUND WHILST CUTTING THE
NEW PATH TO THE RANKOT.

Srīmat Sāhasa-mallaḥ Siṅhalapatiḥ Kālingawaṇṣāgrāṇī
Āgamyātra Kalingato 'rgghitavate Lankādhirājaśriyām
Āyushmatpṛtanādhipāya mahatīm grāmādhikāṇ sampadam
Dattavān* kṛtavān svayaṇ kṛtavidām ekādhirāyje padam.

Srī siri-sara Okāwas-parapurehi ¹ mulu sakwala ek-sat-
kala ² Kālinga cakrawartti paramparāyāta, Srī Goparājayan
wahanse Bahidāloka mahādēwīn wahanse kusin Siṅhapurehi
prasūtawū, ³ asama sāhasayen ⁴ Sāhasa Malla yayi wirudu lada,
siri Saṅgabo Kālinga Wijaya-bāhu raja pā wahanse, palamu
Laṅkāyehi rajasiri ⁵ pāmīna siṭi Niṣṣanka Malla nam bēnan
wahanse swarggastha wū pasu; hiru astayaṭa ⁶ giya tēna ⁷

TRANSLATION.

[Sanskrit.] The illustrious Sāhasa Malla, King of Ceylon,
and chief of the Kālingan race, having come over here from
Kalinga, gave to the deserving and venerable aged chieftain
the great fortune of the Lordship of Ceylon, together with
much land, giving a share in his absolute power to those who
were grateful to him.

Come of the stock of the *Kālinga* Emperors, who, descended
from the sacred and illustrious race of *Ikshwāku*, brought the
whole earth under one umbrella, born at *Siṅhapura*, in the
womb of *Bahidāloka* (the large-eyed one), the chief queen
of the illustrious *Goparāja*; the illustrious king Saṅgabo
Kālinga Wijaya Bāhu was, on account of his unequalled
daring, celebrated under the name of SĀHASA MALLA, "the
excellent by courage." After his elder brother, *Niṣṣanka*
Malla, who before him had come to the regal dignity in
Ceylon, had gone to heaven; when, like a number of stars

VARIOUS READINGS.

¹ A. sirisiramakāwas°, B. sisirisiramakāwas°. ² A. eksakwalasatkotāla. ³ A.
prasutawu. ⁴ A. asamasahayen, B. dasamasāhasayen. ⁵ B. rajasi. ⁶ A. B.
hastayaṭa. ⁷ B. tēna.

* The second syllable should be long; the MS. reads dattovan or dantyan.

taru gananak se kīpa rājakenakun⁸ gili giya kalhi,⁹ Laṅkāwa aswāmika wæ,¹⁰ sanda¹¹ udā no lat ræyak se anduruwa tubu sanda ;¹² Laṅkādhikāra Lolupælā¹³ kulu dun næwi ābonāwan,¹⁴ taman ṣṛata ṣila kulācārādi mantrī gunen yedi nītiparama wana¹⁵ heyin tamanta parama mita wū Laṅkādhikāra Lolupælākulu¹⁶ budalnāwan hā ekwa, “rajahu¹⁷ næti rājyaya¹⁸ nam niyamuwā næti næwak se no pawatneya, hiru næti dawasa se no hoboneya, Buddha ṣāsanaya da anasak nætiwa nirālabha¹⁹ wanneya, tawada Lakdiwa²⁰ Wijaya rājayan Yakshappraḷaya koṭa kanu mul bā tænu wiyalak se pawat kala heyin ema waṇṣayehi²¹ rajun bohose rakshākala²² tænaya, e²³ bæwin mehi raja kala Niṣṣanka Malla swāminge malanuwan wahanse Kalingu raṭa yawā waḍā-awut losasun

after the sun has set, several kings had sunk and gone, and Ceylon being without a ruler, was dark as a night without the rising of the moon, Lolupælākulu, Adhikār of the realm, and Lord High Admiral, spoke (as follows) with Lolupælākulu, Adhikār of the realm and Lord High Treasurer, who, —as he excelled in ethics, being endowed with all the qualities of an adviser, by his faithful disposition and family virtues,— had become his dearest friend.

“The kingdom without a king, like a ship without a steersman, will not continue; like a day without the sun, will not flourish; and the religion of Buddha, without regularity, will become profitless: and further, after Wijaya rāja drove away the devils, and made Ceylon like a field formed by the tearing out of stumps and roots, it is a place which has been much protected by kings of that family: therefore let us send to the country of Kalinga and fetch the younger brother of the Lord Niṣṣanka Malla who was reigning here, and thus secure the government of the world.” Having determined to do so, they sent to Kalinga the chief Malli-

⁸ A. B. kenakun. ⁹ A. tanhi. ¹⁰ A. wa. ¹¹ B. sana. ¹² A. awuruduwa-sata, B. anduruwatubusata. ¹³ B. pælæ. ¹⁴ A. duttæti abonāwan, B. dunnæwi ābonāwan. ¹⁵ A. parawawana, B. parawacana. ¹⁶ A. kulū. ¹⁷ A. raja. ¹⁸ A. rājyayanama, B. rājyanama. ¹⁹ B. niralamba. ²⁰ B. Lakdiwanam. ²¹ B. waṇṣayehi. ²² B. parikshākala. ²³ A. tawada e.

rakumha yi'' bænā niścaya koṭa, swāmi²⁴ paksha pāta dhīra
 sāra gunen yukta e raṭa wæsi Mallikārjjunā nam pradhāni
 Kalingu raṭa yawā, ārādhana koṭa, maha pelaharin genwā,
 Soli raṭin²⁵ Kahakoṇḍa-paṭṭana²⁶ mæ waḍā hinduwā, ratnā-
 bharāṇa wastrādīn matu wana rājya śrīyaṭa²⁷ anurūpa śrīn²⁸
 satkāra karana kalhi, e bawa²⁹ asū anugraha³⁰ parigraha
 dekaṭa pohosat losasun raknā rājawarayan no kæmæti wa
 tama tamāge³¹ ma adhipatwaya patā wignā karana durmmān-
 trīn de hawuruddakin³² sādha, pun sanda nagā pānā se subha
 nækat³³ mohot muhuda piṭa³⁴ maha potin³⁵ nirupadra wa
 koṭa waḍā awut, Tri-siṅhalaya ĕkādhapatra³⁶ koṭa Buddha³⁷
 warsha (1743) ek dahas hat siya te sūlis hawurudu tunmas
 sat wisi dawasak giya tena Binara pura doloswak lada Badā
 dā subha nækat mohotin abhiseka karawu me ananya-sādha-
 raṇa-daskamaṭa taman wahanseṭa palamuwannehi senewi rat

karjjunā, who was a resident of that country, well affected towards his master, and of a brave and firm disposition, and having conciliated (the prince), and brought him with a great retinue from the *Soli* country, and placed him at the port of *Kahakoṇḍa*, they hospitably entertained him with all the splendour of jewels, ornaments, and robes suitable to the dignity of the kingship to be.

Whilst this was being done, some evil-designing men, each considering and hoping for his own advancement, did not desire kings who would secure the government of the world, (but) in two years, having overthrown them, raising and showing as it were the moon in its fullness, they brought him safely, at a lucky moment, over the sea in a great ship, and having united the three divisions of Ceylon under one sceptre, 1743 years 3 months and 27 days after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, at the full moon of the month Binara, on Thursday, at a lucky moment, him they crowned. For this service, unequalled by others, in the first year of his reign he

²⁴ B. swāmi. ²⁵ B. raṭa. ²⁶ B. paṭṭamæ. ²⁷ B. rājjaśrīyaṭa. ²⁸ B. śrī. ²⁹ A. mabawa, B. eba. ³⁰ A. anugraha. ³¹ B. tamange. ³² B. hawuruddaki. ³³ A. sahanækat, B. sāhanakat. ³⁴ A. B. muhunupita. ³⁵ A. mahapeta, B. mahapeti. ³⁶ A. ĕkādapatra, B. ĕkātapatra. ³⁷ B. Budha.

paṭa bandawā³⁸ agra mantrikota siṭuwā, meweni daruwan³⁹ lada mawunṭa wædi⁴⁰ satkāra kalamana wē dæyi mowun māniyaṇṭa Lankātilakadēwī yayi nam dī baḍaran paṭa bandawā boho sammāna dī hira sanda pamunu koṭa Lak-wijayasingu senewi ābonāwanṭa⁴¹ dī wadāla gamwara hā pariwāra hā⁴² siyalu sampattiyāṭa, matu wana rajadaruwan udu taman⁴³ tamanta daskam kala un rakshā-kirīma rāja dharmma heyin, wilopayak no koṭa mema paridden tabā dī mawun waṇsha rakshā karanu mānawæyi silālekha karawā wadāla seka. Me balabalā rāja wallabha wa siṭi amāptytā-dihu da balātkārayen me kī deya gattu⁴⁴ nam wēwayi⁴⁵ rajasthaka kalāhu nam wēwayi⁴⁶ rājīyaya mækuwā nam weti, kulen hinayan hā da kawuḍu ballan⁴⁷ hā da samanam weti. Eheyin swāmi⁴⁸ pakshapāta wa rakshā karaṇṇa kāmættāwun-wisin⁴⁹ mowunṭa dun hæma sampat rakshā karanu mānawī.⁵⁰

gave to the honourable one the office of Commander-in-chief, and made him his Prime Minister: and thinking, "to the parents of such children much honour should be done," he gave their mother the name Lankātilakadēwī (the princess, the ornament of Ceylon), and girded her with a golden girdle, and gave her much honour.

And using (the royal sign manual of) sun and moon, he was pleased to make a record on stone that future princes might in a similar manner protect their family, and leave undisturbed the complete enjoyment of the lands and dignities he had been pleased to grant to the Commander-in-chief Lak-wijaya Singu; for it is the duty of kings to protect those who have done them service. If ministers and others who enjoy royal favour should, after seeing this (inscription), take by force the things here mentioned, or claim them as property of the crown, the kingdom will go to ruin, and they will become like low-caste men, and like dogs and crows. Therefore, let them protect the wealth granted to them by Him who desired to protect those who had been loyal.

³⁸ A. B. banawā. ³⁹ A. daru. ⁴⁰ A. B. wædi. ⁴¹ A. -sīngu-, B. -hingu-.
⁴² A. omits liā. ⁴³ A. tama. ⁴⁴ A. gattru, B. gathu. ⁴⁵ A. wæwayi. ⁴⁶ A. wewayi. ⁴⁷ B. ballā. ⁴⁸ A. swāmi. ⁴⁹ B. kāmætta. ⁵⁰ A. mānawī.

Devas Sāhasa-Malla esha jagatām mānyāṣayaṁ yācatē
 Trāyan yad dṛḍhapakshapātadhuriṇām kshātro 'bhidharm-
 māparam
 Āyushmatprtanāpateḥ kṛtavatām Kālingavaṇṣodayaṁ
 Candrākhyāvadhisaṁpadām sahasato rakshantu vaṇṣyān
 nrpāḥ.

B.—THE RUWANWÆLI INSCRIPTION FOUND IN 1874 BY
 NĀRANWIṬA UNNĀNSE, AT THE S.E. ENTRANCE TO THE
 TERRACE ROUND THE RUWANWÆLI DĀGABA AT ANU-
 RĀDHAPURA.

- (1). Śrīmat-wū, tyāga - satya - śauryyādi - guṇa - gaṇayen
 asādhārana wū, Okā-was-raja-parapuren ā, Kālinga-
- (2). cakrawarṛti-rāja-waṇṣayaṭa tilakāya-samāna wæ, Sinha-
 purayehi sajāta-wū, Nissanka
- (3). Malla-Kālinga-Parākramabāhu-rajapā-wahansē ; swa-
 waṇṣayaṭa pa ramparāyāta
4. Laṁkādwipayehi ek se-sat koṭṭa; mālu Parākrama-bāhu
 wahanse pūrwa-rāja-
5. carita ikmæ kala ati-dasa-awinayen piḍita-wū dilindu-
 wæ gos sorakam koṭṭa
6. jīwatwana boho janayā jīwitāsāhæræ sorakam karanne
 yan'
7. āsāwen wedæyi, ran-ridi-maṣuran-mutu-mænik-wastrā-
 bharaṇādi un-un-kæmati-wastu hā
8. sarak-gam-bim-ādī abhaya dī, sorakam harawā ; sesu
 boho janayā da ē ē dukkhayen galawā, mesē

TRANSLATION.

After Niṣṣanka Malla Kālinga Parākrama Bāhu, who was
 born at Sinhapura, as it were the crowning ornament of the
 imperial Kālingan race, the descendants of King Ikshvāku ;
 and who was unequalled in the number of his virtues, gene-
 rosity, truth, heroism, and the like ; (4) had made one authority
 (supreme) in the island of Ceylon, which belonged to his family
 by ancestral right ; (8) he put down robbery by relieving,
 through gifts of cattle and fields, and of gold and silver coins,

9. mæ wiwidha wicitra-wastu-dānayan sanātha-koṭæ; mādun-deya sthīrakotæ tawa da wæḍiyak samurddhawa ṣata-māna
10. wedæyi, awurudu gaṇanakata aya hæræ wadārā, tun rajayehi mæ hæma kalaṭa kæti aya hæræ wadārā; mā dawasækāk
11. no simhā suwase wisuwæ mænæwæyi, pera-rajadaruwan no kala wirulesekæ tulābhāra nægewi sitā
12. wadārā, urehi da Wīra-bāhu mahapānan wahansē hā agamahesun Kālinga Subhadrā bisowun wahansē
13. hā saha woṭuṇu abaraṇin sædī, taman wahansē hā tundenā-wahansē tulābhāra nægī sat ruwan
14. hā ætulu ridītiram hā anantakotæ, rāja-wīthiyehi (ne) swamin mahā-dāna-warshā pawatwā; tun rajayehi bohokotæ Niṣṣamka-namin satra nariwā, annadāna-da nirantara-

and pearls, and jewelry, and clothes, as each one desired, the anxiety of the people; who, impoverished and oppressed by the very severe taxations of Parākrama Bāhu the Old (which exceeded those customary under former kings), lived by robbery: for, thought he, they wish to steal only through their desire for life. (9) He relieved a great number of other people also, each one from the hardship that he felt, and having thus, by gifts of various kinds of goods, made the people feel that they had a protector, (10) he was pleased to take off taxes for a number of years, and to relinquish for ever in the three divisions (of Ceylon) the tax on chena cultivation, thinking, "may that which I have given be maintained, and prosperity be still further increased." (11) And further thinking "that no one may be unhappy in my time, I will mount the balance as no former princes have done," he mounted the balance together with Prince Wīra Bāhu, the fruit of his loins, and his chief queen, Queen Kālinga Subhadrā, three persons in all, wearing their crowns and ornaments, and so caused a rich rainfall of gifts in the royal street . . . silver . . . containing the seven jewels. (15) He

16. yen pawatwā ; siyalu dilindu-bhaya sora-bhaya kaṇṭaka-
bhaya durukoṭæ, Lak-diw-wāsi-hæmadenā
17. suwapatkoṭæ ; śāsanayehi da dussilayan da ukkaṇṭhitayan
da pahanowanne pratyaya lo-
18. bhayen hā kaṭayuttehi bhayin bawa dæna, śāsanaya
kiluṭu no koṭæ siwuruhaḷawunṭa kaṭayutu dæ-
19. næ, ran-ridi-yakaḍa-bat-bijuwata-sarak-ādīwū dælæbeyi
sammata-karawā wadārā ; susilawahansē-
20. warundæṭa da paribhoga no wuwamanāwedæyi, obage
næwadæyanta nowatunsituyen
21. saṅgrahakoṭa, siwpasayen dāna-prawāha paturuwā ; mesē
lokaya da śāsanaya da semehi tabā,
22. Pulastipurayehi wæḍa-wasana-seyen, Ruwanwæli dāgab
wahansē dā wandanā pinisæ siyura-
23. nga senaga piriwarā mahānubhāwayen taman wahansēṭa
satarawannehi nikmæ ; dāgab wa-

put up rest-houses in the name of Niṣṣanka in many places in the three provinces, and established food endowments to continue for ever ; and removing far away the fear of poverty, and the fear of thieves, and the fear of distress, he made every one in the island of Lankā happy.

(17) Having perceived that those who did not keep their vows, and those who still had (worldly) desires, would not leave the Church through greed of gain and fear of work, and having perceived what ought to be done for those who threw off the robes without disgracing the Church, he was pleased to order that they should receive gold and silver, and clothes, and rice, and seed paḍi, and cattle, and the like ; and thinking "it is not right for the reverend priests who keep their vows to have wealth," he poured out a stream of gifts of the things allowed to the priests, and took their relatives under his protection. . . . (21) Whilst he, having thus pacified the world and the church, was living at Pulastipura, he set out, in the fourth year of his reign, with great pomp and surrounded with a powerful army, to worship the relics

24. hansē penena mānayehi dīmæ wāhanayen bæsaē, ʃrī
pādayen Ruwanwæli-maluwaṭa wæḍa, malu-
25. wehi wæli tawarannā sē ananta mutu atuṭæ, wæli nalā-
pimanan kusum pudunnā sē
26. ran-mal ridi-mal satruwan sisārā niraturu koṭæ pudā ;
anaṅgi paṭa kaḍa patākāyen
27. dagabaṭa ātapaniwāraṇaya koṭæ, sisārā ; niraturu koṭæ
kapuragoda goḍa koṭæ, pahan
28. pudā ; taliyantel-suwanda tel-ādīwū telin satiyak pahan
pudā mesē mæ kalu wæl
29. dumin suwanda-malin pudā siwædgandin sisārā, piri-
baḍagenæ, satalis lakshayak masuraṇin
30. pūjākotæ ; nuwaraṭa hātpasin sat gawwak pamaṇa tænaē
hæma satun no mæriya hækkæyi
31. abhaya dī, bera lawā, dolos maha wæ tænaē masunṭa
abhaya dī, Kāmbodīṇṭa ranridi-ādī-
32. wū kæmati wastu dī, pakshīn no maraṇa niyāyen sam-
mata koṭæ, pakshīṇṭa abhaya dī ; prītin

in the sacred Dāgaba of Ruwanwæli. He alighted from his carriage as soon as the sacred Dāgaba appeared in sight, and walked on his royal feet to the terrace, and went round the Dāgaba ; having scattered countless pearls as if he were sprinkling sand on the terrace, and offered in perpetuity gold and silver flowers inlaid with the seven gems as if he were offering ordinary flowers on a bed of sand, and covered it with flags of priceless silken cloth. (27) Having heaped up heaps of camphor, he offered lamps in perpetuity, and for a week he offered lamps with taliyan oil, and scented oil, and the like, and likewise offered Kaluwel incense and sweet-scented flowers, surrounding it with the four kinds of odours, and had it swept, and offered forty *laks* of masurans. (30) He gave security to animals, ordering by beat of tom-tom that they should not be killed within a distance of seven *gaus* from the city ; he gave security to the fish in twelve great tanks ; giving gold and silver, and whatever other goods they wanted, to the Kāmbojians, he commanded them not to kill birds, and so gave security to birds. When in his joy

33. dā wandanā wēlehi ehi bauddha dewatāwan saha min
hā banannā duṭu minisungē prīti
34. ghoshaṇā asā e wēlehi upan Buddhālbana prītin Lak-
diwwāsinta nēwætæ hawu-
35. ruddakata aya hæræ ehi siṭi Lokē-arak mēnāwan adhi-
kāra koṭæ undæ pudā Mirisa-
36. wiṭi ādiwū wihāra karawawayi ananta wastu hā wi
siyagaṇan yāla dī siṭuwā nuwara dew-
37. nuwarak se peraparidden sarjjitakoṭæ wadāla niyādamēṭa
sitin pūjā kala
38. naṭa bauddha dewatāwangen memæ lesæ ārakshā æti
bawa da dæna matuwana rajadaruwanudu
39. wisin nuwaræ wihāra wihāra wāsīn lokaśāsana sanātha-
koṭæ rakshā kaṭayutu

Srīyāmnā ratnacaityāpacitim avikalair yo na lakshair dha-
nyānām

Catvāriṃṣatpramāṇair nnirupamaracitām dvikshasāndraiḥ
pramodyaiḥ

Pratyakshāny eva naikastutim akṛtattu prīticitto 'yam ab-
daīm

Laṅkā-Niṣṣaṅkamallo ḍaramayadakarā Śrī-Parākṛānta-
bāhuḥ.

he was worshipping the relics, he heard the joyful shouts of those who saw the Buddhist gods talking there with men, and from the enthusiasm towards Buddha which then arose in him, he again relinquished to the people of Ceylon a year's taxation. (35) He made the philanthropic men there present judges, and giving them countless wealth and hundreds of yālas of paḍi, told them to restore the Mirisawīti and other wihāras, and decorated the city like a city of the gods. (37) May future princes, perceiving that protection in like manner will be granted by the Buddhist gods to those who in their hearts worship this Dāgaba, protect and preserve the wihāras in this city, and those who dwell in the wihāras!

NOTES ON THE SĀHASA MALLA INSCRIPTION.

1. *Siri-sara*.—Sara here is derived from *sāra*, and means full of, whose very essence is. This sense is not given in Clough's Dictionary; but this compound *sirisara* occurs in *Sælalihini-sandese*, vv. 83, 93; and also in the *Ummaga Jātaka*, p. 60, line 13, and *Kusa Jātaka*, vv. 612, 633, 655, 678. In the sense of 'arrow' *sara* is common; compare *Malsara*, 'the flower-arrowed one,' as a name of *Anangayā* or *Cupid*; *Kusa Jātaka*, v. 204.

2. *Wirudulada*.—*Wirudu kiyanawaā* is to recite panegyrics in verse, usually at a feast, in praise of some chieftain (*Sanskrit viruda*, *wirudu* being the *Siṃhalese* pl.). Clough gives *wiridu kīma* with the sense of 'speaking verses extempore, repeating apropos,' but I doubt whether the form in *ri* was ever in use. In the *Guttila*, a poem composed by *Wettāwē* in the fourteenth century, and still popular among the *Siṃhalese*, at v. 237 occurs the phrase—

Kiyata noyek wirudāwali satose

—in a note on which passage Pandit *Batuwantudāwa* observes that, in a vocabulary called *Gadyapadya*, *wiruda* is explained by *rājastuti*. I do not understand the expression *wiradu rāja* on the Great Lion at the Audience Hall, *Pulastipura*, where it is used as an epithet of *Niṣṣanka Malla*. See the *Indian Antiquary* for September, 1873, pp. 246, 247.

3. *Rajapā*.—Compare *apā* in the contemporary Inscription on the fourth pillar of the Audience Hall at *Pulastipura*, and my note in the vocabulary, *Indian Antiquary* for September, 1873, p. 248. Compare also *Sidatsangarāwa*, line 44.

4. *Bānan*.—*Sāhasa Malla* is not mentioned at all in *Upham's Rājawaliya* (p. 255), and only in a list of sovereigns in *Upham's Rājaratnākara* (p. 93): in *Turnour's Epitome* his relationship to *Niṣṣanka Malla* is also not given, and in the *Mahāvaṃsa* itself his reign is dismissed in the following brief stanza (I extract from the *India Office MS.*, chap. lxxx. v. 32):—

Tato Sāhasamallo ti rājā vikkamakesarī (MS. kesari)
Rajjam kāsī duve vasse Okkākakulasambhavo.

The word *bānā* is now applied only to a daughter's husband, or a sister's son; but Niṣṣanka Malla, who came to the throne eighteen years before Sāhasa Malla, was probably his senior in age. Clough, who under *bānā* only gives 'a nephew, a sister's son,' has another form *bāhānā*, under which he gives also 'an elder brother.' In the charms used in the Bala ceremony to propitiate the planets, the expression *welendu de bā* occurs in the sense of 'two brothers, merchants.' I have translated 'elder brother'; but that meaning is doubtful, as *bhāgineya* in Sanskrit, and *bhāgineyya* in Pāli, both mean exclusively nephew.

5. *Udā* must mean the rising, but *udaya* or *udē* are the usual forms; the one used in the inscription being not even noticed by Clough, and only now occurring, as far as I recollect, in the verb *udāwenawā*, 'to rise' (of the heavenly bodies). But compare Guttīla, v. 118, and Kusa Jātaka, v. 369, where *udā* is used as a noun. The latter poem is an Elu version of the well-known Jātaka, written about 1610 A.D. by Alagiyawana Mohottāla, and is very popular among the Siṃhalese, some of whom consider it the finest poem in the language. A printed edition by Don Andris Tuḍāwa was published in Colombo in 1868.

6. *Tubusanda*.—I have ventured, against both MSS., to adopt this reading, which corresponds well with the *giya kalhi* above.

7. *Abonāwan* is still used in the hill country of Ceylon as a term of respect synonymous with elder.

8. *Budalnāwan* is used as equivalent to *mudalnāwan*, which only occurs with the meaning of treasurer, and is derived from the Tamil *mudal*, 'money'; *mudaliyā*, with its derivative *mudiyanse*, is derived from the Tamil *mudali*, 'first,' and is a native title of rank, not used in India, but much used in Ceylon. Clough gives *mudali*, with the meaning 'a treasurer, a cash keeper,' but *mudaliyā* does not occur with that meaning, and the form *mudali*, though good in Tamil, can only in Siṃhalese be the base used in compounds and in the plural.

9. *Niyamuvā* is not given in the Sinhalese dictionaries: if the reading is correct, it must, I think, be Sanskrit *niyā-*

maka, and must mean steersman, although *niyāmako* is given in *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, v. 667, as used of sailors generally. *Namaniya* is, I am told, still used by the Siṃhalese sailors engaged in the coasting trade in the sense of 'mast.'

10. *anasak* = *ājñācakra*, the wheel of command, the constantly recurring succession of orders and ordinances.

11. *bā tænu*.—*Bahanawā*, according to Clough, is 'to put in,' and *bānawā*, 'to lower, to let down, to unload;' the latter word being very common in that sense: *tænu* I take to be the p.p.p. of *tananawa*, but I am not certain that I have understood these words rightly.

12. *wiyalak*.—*Nāmāwaliya* explains this (v. 138) by *walanga*, snake; in which sense it must be derived from Sanskrit *vyāla*. *Sorawiyala* is the old form of the modern *porowwa*, 'sluice.' *Mæti-wiyala* is the moist clay ready for making the mud walls of native houses with. *Wiyalanawā*, according to Clough, is 'to dry,' and *wiyala*, besides a tiger, a snake, and wet clay, means also bedstead. Here it means a muddy field, *maḍabima*, a paḍi-field, rice-field: compare *wila*, which Clough explains by lotus, pond, cavern, etc., and which also means marsh.

13. *malanuwan* is not given in Clough or *Nāmāwaliya*, but is still in use occasionally as an honorific form of *malayā*.

14. *wadā-awut*.—*Wadā enawā* is used as the causal of the respectful expression *waḍinawā* = *yahapat wenawā*. Siṃhalese politeness does not (or did not) speak of priests or headmen eating, sleeping, coming or going, like ordinary mortals, but contrived euphemisms to be used of such distinguished persons alone.

15. *lo sasun*.—I have both here and below translated this government of the world; but it may also be a dvandva compound, and mean the Church and State: compare the expressions *lo wæda sasun wæda*, at line 15, and *lo wæda sasun rakshāya* at line 65 of the Palace Inscription, J. R. A. S. 1874.

16. *bænā* is so in both MSS., perhaps *bæna*, p. part. act. of *baninawā*, should be read.

17. *pradhāni*.—So read both MSS., but I think the form

should be *pradhāna*. It is difficult to determine the exact force of the titles of the high officials in ancient Ceylon, as they doubtless varied at different times. *Lankādhikāra*, used at the commencement of this inscription, is evidently the origin of the title *Adigar*, which the English, in their first intercourse with the King of Kandy, found applied to the Prime Minister. *Moggallāna*, at v. 982 of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, explains *padhāna* by *mahāmatta*, Councillor of State. On the pillars in Niṣṣanka Malla's Audience Hall are the remarkable inscriptions translated in the *Indian Antiquary*, *loc. cit.*, showing the position of those who were present when he sat in state. They were in the following order:—1. The *yucarāja*, seated. 2. The *āpās*=*adhipas*, seated. 3. On one side the *senewiradu*=*senāpatīs*; and on the other side the *māṇḍalikas*, governors of provinces. 4. On one side the *pradhānas*; on the other the *caurāsīs*, governors of 'hundreds' (from *caturāsi*, 84, see Sir H. Elliot's Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub voce*). 5. On one side the *kāyasthas*, or secretaries; and on the other the members of the *kaḍagoshthi* or bazar council (Chamber of Commerce).

In the seventeenth century, Knox, whose faithful and full description of the whole inner life and customs of the Siṃhalese is a mine of valuable information, gives the titles of the State officers as follows:—1. 'Adigars'=*adhikāra*. 2. 'Dissanvas,' *i.e.* *disāwas*=*disā*, the rulers of provinces. 3. The 'courlividani,' *i.e.* *kōralē vidānes*=*vidhānas* over the *kōrales*, into which the provinces of Ceylon are divided. 4. The 'congconna,' *i.e.* *kangāni*, a Tamil word for a petty officer; and courti-archila, which must be, I think, *kōralē ārracila*=*ārakshika*, the *t* being a misprint. The revenue officers under the *disāwas* were:—3. 'Liannahs,' *i.e.* *liyannās*, writers. 4. 'Undias,' *i.e.* *uṇḍiyās*, *uṇḍiya* meaning originally a lump or ball, and then a particular coin, four of which, according to Clough=1 *salī*, 4 *salī* being=1 *fanam*, *i.e.* 1½*d.* 5. The 'Monannahs,' *i.e.* *maninnās*, measurers, collectors of the king's tithe.

In the *Mahāvamśa* Turnour translates *purohita* (p. 61) by 'purohitta minister;' at p. 69 we have an *amaccapamukha*,

to whom the purohica is subsequently given in India; an *amacca*, who is made *daṇḍanāyaka* (cf. 146, 4; 153, 13, 14; 170, 5; 172, 9; 173, from which two passages it appears that Dushṭa-gāmini had at least eight amacce, p. 205, 5; 227, 6; 229, 9; 231 3; 233, 5; 248 9; 253 11); and a *gaṇaka*, who is made a *setthi*; while the honour of *senāpati* is given by Asoka to Devānam-Piyatissa's nephew. This word *senāpati* is several times translated by Turnour 'minister,' which is also his rendering for *camūpati* (Mah. 44, 13; where *camūpati*=*senāpati* at line 10, Mah. 137, 4; 204, 8, 9, 10; where *camūpati* = *senāpati* at line 7; at p. 64 both these words are translated commander, and so at pp. 219, 225, 16; 259, 9). *Nagaraguttika* is said at p. 65 to have been a permanent official in Anurādhapura. *Kumāra* used at pp. 23, 148, of the son of a king, is used at p. 141 of a village chief; apparently the same as *sammata* on p. 142 (an epithet applied to an *amacca* at p. 172, 4). At p. 248, 5, *kumārā* are the king's pages. *Rāja kammika*, king's overseer, pp. 175, 176, is perhaps not the title of an official, but *balattha*, pp. 175, 209, 210, 218, 219, peon, messenger, certainly is. *Dovārīka*, p. 117, 11, and *jetthadovārīka*, p. 209, 8, are also officials, but evidently much beneath the *dvāranāyaka*, p. 260, line 10, again mentioned in the 39th chap. v. 39, J.R.A.S. 1874, Pt. II. At p. 231, 3, we have a *bhaṇḍāgārīko amacco*, lord high treasurer. At p. 195 we have a *lekha*, secretary who keeps a diary of the king's good deeds, and another is mentioned at p. 236, 5. *Mahā-mattā* is the name of Wankanāsika's queen, p. 223, and also, on the authority of the translator only, of Ilanāga's queen, p. 216. The title *mahāmatta* does not occur in the Mah., but is applied by Buddhaghosa in the commentary on the Dhammapada (Dh. p. 307, 336) to Santati, who is also called (p. 336) an *amacca* of King Bindusāra: compare also p. 390, line 9. *Gāmaṇī* at Mah. 151, 1, seems to mean a village headman, but may also mean lord or owner of the village. There is a curious list given in the Sumangala Vilāsini, as quoted by Alwis, Pali Grammar, p. 99, where it is stated that on the arrest of a thief, he was tried first by the *viniccaya-*

mahāmattas, then by the *vohārikas*, then by the *suttadaras*, then by the *aṭṭhakulikas*, then by the *senāpati*, then by the *uparāja*, then by the King: each having the power of acquittal, but not of conviction and punishment.

Throughout the history of Ceylon the political constitution seems to have remained the same. At the head the King, bound by no law, but never altering the law; his despotism only restrained by his own sense of justice or fear: at his court one or more ministers, among whom the departments of state were sometimes divided, but to any one of whom usually an appeal lay from every inferior officer, and who advised the King, or administered in his name, on all affairs: over each province a chief, bound to pay into the treasury not the exact revenue he received, but a lump sum, and intermediate appeal judge in all cases arising in his district: under him, again, inferior officers, some of whom were clerks and accountants with specified duties, others petty territorial headmen over villages or small districts with judicial as well as administrative power. No great landowners, but the land in the hands of peasants bound only to pay some share from one-tenth to one-half to the King, or to a temple or chief when the King had made a grant to that effect. Sumptuary laws, or rather customs, and the great difficulty of obtaining justice against oppression, prevented any rise in the general scale of comfort, and prevented therefore at the same time any great extension of commerce. Three-fourths of the people belonged to one, the wellāla, or agricultural caste; but caste customs bound mechanics, barbers, washers, weavers, etc., to perpetual servitude; whilst slavery of a mild form was universal.

18. *paṭṭanamæ*.—I am not sure whether the *mæ* here should be taken separately as the adverb of emphasis, or whether this is one word, the Sinhalese locative *æ* added to the Tamil word *paṭṭanam*. Fausböll, in his *Five Jātakas*, p. 25, says, “*Paṭṭana* is given by Wilson in the general sense of town, but it must particularly mean a town near the sea, a port.” Compare *paṭun gam* in the Rankot Pillar Inscription, Journ. Royal As. Soc., Vol. VII. Part I. n.s. p. 164. I

think the word is of Dravidian origin. At Mahāvamsa, p. 110, Turnour translates Jambukola by Jambukolapattana: compare Mah. 119, 13, where the reading should probably be Jambukolavhapattane. Turnour reads Jambukolamhi-patthane, and the India Office MS. has J° paḍane.

19. patā from patanawā = prārthanā karanawā.

20. Both MSS. read wignā not wijñā. This is very curious. Compare the modern pronunciation of nirvāṇa which is usually in Ceylon = nirgwāna.

21. *sādhā*.—Compare F. Dh. p. 111, 21, ‘tassa rukkhasa pupphapalāsādin sādeti, where a MS. I had reads sādheti.

22. *subha*.—I have ventured to read so in accordance with an expression used below in this inscription.

23. *Mahāpotin*.—This word gave me much difficulty, owing to the MSS. reading peta and peti respectively; but I think the reading adopted must be right. *Pota* is given for a ship at Abhidh. 1118. Compare potādhāna, Clough s.v., a shoal of fish so large as to stop the course of a ship when sailing. Perhaps to distinguish it from pōt, a book, the word ought in Sinhalese, following the Sanskrit and Pāli, to be written with long o.

24. *sādhārana* in modern Sinhalese means justice, equity, sarwasādhāranawa, equitable towards all, is opposed to pak-shapātawa, partial, in the sixth column of the number for 3rd September, 1869, of the *Lakriwikirana* or *Ceylon Sunbeam*, a native newspaper, whose leading articles are as much distinguished for their idiomatic and correct Sinhalese as they are for loyalty and good sense. Clough’s derivation of the word is quite wrong.

25. *Ranpaṭa bandawā*.—Knox, p. 133, says: “Among the noblemen may be mentioned an honour that the king confers like unto knighthood; it ceaseth in the person’s death, and is not hereditary. The King confers it by putting about their heads a piece of silk or ribbon, embroidered with gold and silver, and bestowing a title upon them. They are styled mundianna (i.e. mudiyanse); there are not above two or three of them in the realm living now.”

26. *Rājawallabha*.—At Mah. 236, 5, rañño vallabhā is the

king's mistress. At 235, 4, Sonamacco rājavallabho means the minister Sona, a favourite of the King.

27. *kaivudu ballan*.—On several inscriptions recording grants I was surprised to see rough drawings of a crow and dog. This passage explains their meaning, but as several of these inscriptions were in alphabets much older than the time of Sāhasa Malla, the comparison must have been in common use from an early period.

28. The Sanskrit stanzas at the end of this and the next inscription are so corrupt in the MSS. that it would be useless to attempt a translation.

NOTES ON THE RUWANWÆLI DĀGABA INSCRIPTION.¹

2. *Samāna*.—The MS. reads *tilakāyamāna*, which gives no sense: *samāna* is the reading in the parallel passage at line 7 of the Palace Proclamation of Niṣṣanka Malla, J.R.A.S., Vol. VII. Part I. *Nissanka* is spelt with ṣṣ at line 8, and throughout the three inscriptions published in Vol. VII. Part I. of this Journal; but as the name is given with ss in the Inscription on the Great Lion by the Audience Hall at Pulastipura (see the *Indian Antiquary* for September, 1873, p. 246), I have not ventured to alter the reading of the MS.

3. The MS. has *wahanse*, which I have corrected to *wahansē*, see vv. 12 (bis), 13 (bis), 19, 22, 23, 24.

4. *Mālu* being used of Parākrama Bāhu the Great, who had only been dead less than ten years, must mean old in years, and not old in the sense of former. The Mudaliar, who does not translate the title, points out very rightly that this reference in Niṣṣanka Malla's inscription to Parākrama settles the question that Niṣṣanka Malla Parākrama Bāhu cannot be identical with the Parākrama Bāhu of Turnour's list. When, however, as an additional reason for the same

¹ The numbers prefixed to these notes refer to the numbers of the lines in the text.

conclusion, he points out that the Stone Book at Pulastipura gives a description of Niṣṣanka Malla agreeing in all important points with that given in the present inscription, he forgets that this proves nothing to the point at issue. Because one inscription of Niṣṣanka Malla's agrees with another, it does not follow that he is the Kirti Nissanga mentioned by Turnour. But that point also is settled by other facts mentioned in these inscriptions agreeing with the extract from the Mahāvaiṃsa now published, from which it also appears that Turnour's spelling Nissanga was incorrect.

The Mudaliar translates the whole of this passage: "Considering the great many people oppressed and impoverished by injudicious inordinate taxation repugnant to the ancient royal institutes of the exalted Malu Parākrama Bahu," etc., which seems to me grammatically impossible: the subject of the verbs *ikmæ kala* must be Parākrama Bāhu. Such a translation is also inconsistent with the known facts of history, as only one king, the mild and religious Wijayabāhu II., reigned between Mālu Parākrama and Niṣṣanka Malla.

9, 10. These lines, which must be written very closely on the stone, as they contain more than the other lines of the inscription, seem to have presented some difficulty to the copyist, and are corrupt. *sanātha-koṭæ* is a strange form; perhaps the stone has *swastha-koṭæ* which occurs in the parallel passage on the Rankot Dāgaba Pillars published by me in the present volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, p. 164, but compare v. 39. The MS. has *sthīra koṭæ*; I have ventured to read *sthīra*; and *wiwiya*, where I read *wiuidha*, the former giving no sense, and the *y* being so much like the *dh* of the twelfth-century alphabet. *Satamanā* also seems to be a mistake for *satamāna*, which I read, and *ma dawasækāk* should be *mā*. I do not understand *simhā* at the commencement of the new line. For *samurddhawa* compare the Palace Inscription, line 22.

14. (*ne*) *swamin*. *sic* in MS. The MS. here, and in vv. 7, 19, 26, has *ridi*, though *ridi* is the more common form. I have corrected the MS. reading *ætalū* into *ætulū*, which alone is correct.

17. The MS. here has *śāṣanayehi*, and at vv. 18, 21, *śāṣanaya*; at v. 39 it reads *śāsana*, which is right.

18. The MS. has *dænænæ*. The Mudaliar takes *hoḷaṁcunṭa* as a nominative, and translates *kaṭayutu dænæ* by "had no means of living."

19. For *ridi-yakaḍa-bat-bijuwaṭa*, the Mudaliar has "vestments, iron, seed, paddy," which is probably through a confusion with *kaḍa* 'cloth.'

20. The Mudaliar renders *oḇage . . . saṅgrahakoṭæ* by "presented their kith and kin with various articles of wealth."

22. The MS. has *Pulastī*.

27. *ātapanivāraṇaya koṭæ* the Mudaliar translates by "fanning it with fans."

33. This reference to gods talking with men is most curious, and certainly refers to a miracle supposed to have been wrought on this occasion. The *Bauddha-dewatāwan* cannot mean simply Buddhist priests, for it is said on the Stone Book at *Pulastipura* (*teste* *Armour apud* *Forbes*, *Ceylon*, vol. ii. p. 347, last line) that *Niṣṣanka Malla* "having made offerings worth a sum of seven *lakshas* to the great *Ruanweli Saya* at *Anooradhapura*, he caused statues to be made of the *Dewetas* who rejoiced at the said *puja*, and had the same gilded and placed in proper situations."

39. *Vihāra* meant, in the Post-Vedic times in India, firstly pleasure, relaxation, and then a pleasure-ground or place of relaxation; and after the rise of Buddhism it was applied to the Buddhist temples. It meant originally the meeting place of the Buddhist priests; but after images of Buddha began to be set up, and dwelling-houses for the priests to be permanently erected round the image-house, the word *vihāra* was used—as it still is—to denote either, 1. *dagaba* (or dome built over a relic), *Bo-tree* (*Ficus religiosa*), and more exactly the temple itself; or, 2. and more generally, the whole monastic establishment. This usually consists in all Buddhist countries alike of one or more of the following buildings:—1. The temple or *image-house* containing one or more figures of Buddha, either standing, sitting cross-legged,

or lying on his side: before these images the pious Buddhist goes through his simple worship, bowing, placing his palms together, and raising his hands to his forehead, repeats the creed or some moral sentences from the Buddhist books, and offers flowers. 2. The *dāgaba* or solid bell-shaped dome, sometimes of enormous dimensions, under which some relic of Buddha is supposed to be buried. 3. The sacred Bo-tree (*Ficus religiosa*). 4. A preaching hall. 5. A hall in which the priests meet; and lastly, the cells in which the priests sleep. See Davy's Ceylon, p. 220; Tennent's Ceylon, vol. i. pp. 347-349: for Siam, Pallegoix, Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Janr., 1854, pp. 31 *et seq.*: for Burma, Bigandet, Legend of the Burmese Buddha, p. 162: for Nepāl, Hodgson's Sketch of Buddhism, p. 241: for Tibet, Köppen, Religion des Buddha, vol. ii. p. 258, and *cf.* vol. i. p. 376.
