ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CEYLON

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF CEYLON

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PREFACE

In presenting this, the fourth volume of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, to the public, the editor feels it to be his melancholy duty to place on record an appreciation, however brief it may be, of the invaluable services rendered to the cause of epigraphical research in Ceylon by three distinguished scholars whose deaths we had to mourn, within two years of one another, during the period covered by the publication of this volume.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, who passed away on 6th September, 1937, at the ripe age of 86 years, was the Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon from 1890 to 1912, and will always be remembered as the great pioneer of archaeological research in Ceylon. In addition to the great work which Mr. Bell accomplished in exploring, excavating, and conserving the remains at a number of important archaeological sites in the island, he was instrumental in bringing to light hundreds of important epigraphs, some of which he has himself deciphered and published. It was mainly due to the exertions of Mr. Bell that the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* was initiated in 1903, with Dr. (then Mr.) D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe as the editor.

Of Dr. Wickremasinghe, who predeceased his erstwhile chief by three months, it can truly be said that he laid the foundations of the scientific study of Ceylon epigraphy on a firm basis. In the midst of his multifarious duties, first at Oxford University and later at London University, he edited and published, between 1903 and 1927, thirteen parts of this journal, consisting solely of his own contributions. The scholarly and able manner in which Dr. Wickremasinghe carried out this onerous task earned for him a first-class international reputation among Indianists; but it is sad to reflect on the indifference of his own countrymen towards the great service he has rendered his country by his researches into the history, language, and culture of the Sinhalese people, incidentally bringing credit to Ceylon scholarship.

Prof. A. M. Hocart, who died at Cairo, aged 56, on 9th March, 1939, was the Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon from 1921 to 1930. He was not an epigraphist himself but he fully appreciated the importance of epigraphical research and it was due to his foresight that this journal has continued to be published after Dr. Wickremasinghe ceased to be the Epigraphist of the Ceylon Government.

iv PREFACE

It will thus be seen that the initiation and continued existence of this journal is due to the labours of these three savants.

As in the case of Volume III, the writer had to be responsible for the great majority of the contributions to this volume. Mr. H. W. Codrington has contributed four valuable papers on inscriptions relating to a period of Ceylon history on which he has shed new light. A pleasing feature in this volume is the appearance of a paper from the pen of an Indian epigraphist, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, and it is hoped that this may lead to Indian scholars taking a greater interest in Ceylon epigraphy than they do at present.

The editor of this journal is not yet in the happy position of having the greater part of the material for his publication contributed by scholars outside the Archaeological Department. It is hoped that, before long, this state of affairs will improve and that we shall have a number of regular contributors to the Epigraphia Zeylanica among Sinhalese and Tamil scholars in the island.

I am indebted to Mr. C. E. Godakumbure, M.A., for considerable assistance in proof-reading. The index to the volume is mainly the work of Mr. D. S. Gunetilleke, the librarian of the department. It has not been considered necessary to include every Sinhalese word occurring in the volume, as has been done in the indexes to the previous volumes.

It now remains for me to express my sense of gratitude to the authorities of the Oxford University Press for the care bestowed on the production of this volume, particularly with regard to the last part which went through the press under extremely difficult conditions due to the War.

S. PARANAVITANA.

Office of the Archaeological Survey, Colombo. *1st November*, 1941.

CONTENTS

														PAGES
PREFA	ACE		•		•		•		•	•	•	•	•	iii
LIST	OF PL	ATES	•			•	•				•	•	•	vii
SYSTE	EM OF	TRANS	SLITE	RATI	ON.			į	•	•	•			ix
ABBRI	EVIATI	ONS.	•		•	•	•		•	•		•		хi
ADDIT	rions	AND A	MENI	OMEN	ITS .			•	•	•		•	•	xii
S. PAR	RANAV	ITANA,	Pн.D.	(Lugd	.).									
		U VIHĀR				ion .	•		•	•	•	•	•	1-8
H. W.	CODRII	NGTON,	c.c.s	. (Reti	red).									
2.	THE GA	DALĀDEŅ	IIYA IN	SCRIP	rion	of S	ĒNĀS	AMM	ATA	Vikr	AMA	Ван	U	8-15
3.	THE GA	ŅALĀDEŅ	iiya Si	LAB-PI	LLAR	Insc	RIPT	IONS		•	•	•	•	16-27
4.	THE KA	NDY NA	rha Di	ĒVĀLĒ	Insc	RIPT	IONS		•	•	•	•	, •	27-34
S. PAR	RANAV	ITANA,	Pн.D.	(Lugd	l.).									
	•	ARUVA:					LLAR-	Insc	RIPT	ION	•	•	•	34-49
6.	Vihāre	GAMA PI	llar-I	NSCRIE	TION		•		•	•	•	•	•	50-54
7.	Mada-U	ILPOTA F	ILLAR-	Inscr	IPTIC	N .			•	•	•	•	•	54-58
8.	PoĻonn	ARUVA:	Pillaf	R-INSC	RIPTI	о ио	f Ma	HIN	da V	•	•	•	•	59-67
9.	PoĻonn.	ARUVA:	FRAGI	MENTA	RY S	SLAB	-Insc	RIPT	NOI	OF	Sun	DAR	A-	
	MAH	łādevī	•			•	•			•	•	•	•	67-72
10.	BATALA	GODA-VA	va Sla	B-INS	CRIPT	rion		•	•	•	•	•	•	73-82
11.	Two Ro	ck-Insc	RIPTIO	NS AT	Кот	ȚANG:	Ē		•		•	•	•	82-90
12.	Gaṇalā	DEŅIYA	Rock-	Inscri	PTIO	N OF	DHA	RMM	A K ÌR'	TTI S	AHT	VIRA		90-110
13.	Anurāt) HAPURA	: SLAB	-Insci	RIPTI	ON O	ғ Кн	UDD.	a-Pā	RIND	A	•	•	111-115
14.	Nāgiri	kanda R	ock-In	SCRIP	TION	of K	UMÃ	RAD	ĀSA	•	•		•	115-128
15.	Four R	ock-Ins	CRIPTIC	ONS FR	om V	/ESSA	GIRI	YA A'	T AN	URĀ	DHAP	URA	•	128-136
16.	INSCRIP	TIONS (N TH	e St	EPS	NEA	R'B	URR	ows'	PA	VILIO	n' A	ΑT	
	Ant	JRĀDHAP	URA			•		•	•	•		•	•	136-141
17.	Seven	Sinhali	ESE IN	SCRIPT	CIONS	OF	THE	SEV	/ENTI	A H	D E	IGHT	H	
	CEN	TURIES	•	•	•			•	•	•	•	•	•	142-150
18.	Tiriyāy	Rock-1	NSCRIE	MOIT		•		•	•	•	•	•	•	151–160
19.	Two In	SCRIPTIO	ONS O	F VIH	ĀRA-	Ман	Ā-DE	VĪ I	ROM	MA	GUL-	Ман	A-	
	VIH.	ĀRA .	•			•				•	•	•	•	161–169
20.	THREE !	Rock-In	SCRIPT	IONS A	AT R	ASSAI	HELA				•	•	•	169-176
21	VIVAIII.	PATA PI	T.T.AR_T	NSCRII	ארודי	ī				_				176-180

				PAGES
	MALAGAŅĒ PILLAR-INSCRIPTION		•	180-186
	Inscription on a Pillar-Fragment at the Gonnäva Dēvāle	C	•	186–191
24.	A Tamil Slab-Inscription from Pālamōṭṭai		•	191-196
25.	GALAPĀTA VIHĀRA ROCK-INSCRIPTION			196-211
26.	Habässa Rock-Inscription			213-217
27.	VESSAGIRIYA ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF SIRINĀGA II			218-222
28.	A ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF GOTHABHAYA	A	T	
	TIMBIRIVAVA			-223-228
29.	VALLIPURAM GOLD-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF VASA	\BH	[A	229-237
30.	A NOTE ON THE INDIKATUSÄYA COPPER-PLAQUES			238-242
31.	THE TRIKAYASTAVA IN AN INSCRIPTION AT MIHINTALE.			242-246
32.	A FRAGMENTARY PILLAR-INSCRIPTION IN THE COLOMBO MUSEUM	M		246-252
33.	THE RUVANVÄLISÄYA SLAB-INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN KALYÄNAVA	TĪ		253-260
	ALUTNUVARA SLAB-INSCRIPTIONS			261-270
H. W.	CODRINGTON, C.C.S. (Retired).			
35.	THE AMPITIYA ROCK-INSCRIPTION		•	271-273
S. PA	RANAVITANA, Ph.D. (Lugd.).			
36.	A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM JETAVANĀRĀMA NOW IN	TF	ΗE	
	Colombo Museum			273-285
37.	NILAGAMA ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF DALA MUGALAN			285-296
38.	SAGAMA ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAIKABĀHU V		•	296-312
В. Сн.	CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (Lugd.).			
	TEXT OF THE TIRIYAY ROCK-INSCRIPTION		•	312-319
INDE	Y			220-228

LIST OF PLATES

Samgamu Vihāra Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 1		•	. to face p	age 6
The Gadalādeņiya Inscription of Senāsammata Vikrama Bā	hu. Plat	te No. 2	, ,,	14
The Gaḍalādeṇiya Slab-Pillar Inscriptions. Plate No. 3			• ,,	22
The Kandy Nātha Dēvālē Inscriptions, I, II. Plate No. 4		•	. ,,	32
Polonnaruva: Council Chamber Pillar-Inscription. Plate I	No. 5	•	• ,,	40
Vihāregama Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 6		•	• "	52
Mäda-Ulpota Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 6		•	. "	• 52
Polonnaruva: Pillar-Inscription of Mahinda V. Plate No.	7 .	•	• "	64
Polonnaruva: Fragmentary Slab-Inscription of Sundara-M	[ahād ev]	i. Plate	•	
No. 8		•	• "	78
Batalagoda-väva Slab-Inscription of Kalyāṇavatī. Plate N	o. 8 .	•	• "	78
Koţṭangē Rock-Inscription of Lokeśvarabāhu (No. 1). Pla	te No. 9		• ,,	86
Koṭṭangē Rock-Inscription (No. 2). Plate No. 9 .			• "	86
Gadalādeņiya Rock-Inscription of Dharmmakīrtti Sthavira.	Plate	No. 10	• "	102
Anurādhapura: Slab-Inscription of Khudda Pārinda. Plate	No. 11	•	. "	114
Nāgirikanda Rock-Inscription of Kumāradāsa. Plate No.	11 .	•	• "	114
Four Rock-Inscriptions from Vessagiriya. Plate No. 12		•	• "	132
Inscriptions on the Steps near 'Burrows' Pavilion'. Plate	e No. 13		. ,,	140
Seven Sinhalese Inscriptions of the Seventh and Eighth (Centuri e	s. Plat	е	
No. 14		•	. "	144
Table of Sinhalese Script between the Fourth and Ninth (Centuri c :	s. Plat	е	
No. 15	• •	•	• "	150
Tiriyāy Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 16		•	"	158
Two Inscriptions of Vihāra-Mahā-Devī from Magul-Mah	a-Vih ā ra	a. Plat	e	
No. 17	•	•	• "	166
Three Rock-Inscriptions at Rāssahela. Plate No. 18.	• •	•	• "	174
Viyaulpata Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 18	• •	•	• "	174
Malagaṇē Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 19		•	. "	184
Inscription at the Gonnāva Dēvāle. Plate No. 20 .	•	•	• "	188
A Tamil Slab-Inscription from Pālamōţţai. Plate No. 20		•	. "	188
Galapāta Vihāra Rock-Inscription Plate No. 01	hes	nueen ha	roes 201 an	d 205

viii

LIST OF PLATES

madassa Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 22	•	•	•	•	to fac	e pagi	217
Vessagiriya Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 22 .		•	•	•	•	,,	217
Timbiriväva Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 22 .				•	•	"	217
Vallipuram Gold Plate. Plate No. 23		•	•-	•	•	,,	237
Colombo Museum Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 23		•	•	•	•	,,	237
Sanskrit Rock-Inscription at Mihintaļē. Plate No.,	4	•		•	•	,,	245
Ruvanvalisaya Slab-Inscription of Queen Kalyanava	tī.	Plate	No.	25	•	12	257
Alutnuvara Slab-Inscriptions. Plate No. 26 .		•			•	,,	267
Ampițiya Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 27 1.					•	,,	273
Inscription from Jetavanārāma. Plate No. 27 .		•	•	•	•	,,	273
Nilagama Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 28.						,,	295
Sagama Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 28		•			•	"	295
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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

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ट	ව	(when doubled	ţa .	i	(visarga)	8		ķ ,
ढ	ඨ	****	ţha	1	(avagraba)		-	,

ABBREVIATIONS

A. = Apabhramsa.

Abh. = Abhidhānappadīpikā, edited by Waskaduwe Subhūti. Colombo, 1865.

A. I. C. = Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon. By Dr. E. Müller. 2 vols. London, 1883.

Am. = Amāvatura, edited by H. Jayatilaka. Colombo, 1885-86.

AMg. = Ardha-Māgadhī.

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.

Bt. = Bell's Text.

c. = current.

Ca. = Ceylon Antiquary.

C.B.R.A.S. = Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

C.I. I. or Corp. Inscript. Ind. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

C. I. Sc. G. = Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G. Comp. Gram. = A Comparative Grammar of the

Modern Aryan Languages of India. By John Beames. 3 vols. London, 1872-79.

Dh. = Dhammapada (Fausböll's edition. 1885). Dv. = Dīpavamsa

Ds. = Daladāsirita.

E.I. or Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.

E.S = Etymologie des Singhalesischen, von Wilhelm Geiger. München, 1897.

E. Z. or Ep. Zeyl. = Epigraphia Zeylanica.

Gram. = Grammar or Grammatik.

Hc. = Hēmacandra.

Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.

J. or Journ. = Journal.

JM. = Jaina-Māhārāstrī.

JŚ. = Jaina-Śaurasēnī.

Lit. = literally.

L.S.S. = Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen. von Wilhelm Geiger. Strassburg, 1900.

M. = Māhārāstrī.

Mg. = Māgadhī.

Mp. = Müller's plate/

Mr. = Mahāsammata-Rājāvaliya.

Mt. = Müller's text.

Mv. = Mahāvamsa. Mv. T. = Mahāvamsa Ţīkā.

M. W.Dict. = Sir Monier Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary. Oxford, 1899.

Nām. = Nāmāvaliya.

Nar. = Narendracaritāvalokana-pradīpikā.

Nik. = Nikāyasangraha.

Or. Soc. = Oriental Society.

P. = Pāli. p. = page.par. = paragraph.

Piyum. = Piyummala.

p.p.p. = past participle passive.

Pūj. = Pūjāvaliya. Pkt. = Prākrit.

R. = Rājāvaliya, printed edition.

R.A.S. = Royal Asiatic Society.

Rp. = Rājavikrama-pravritti.

Rr. = Rājaratnākara.

Ruvan. = Ruvanmala.

Ś. = Śaurasēnī.

S.B.E. = Sacred Books of the East, edited by F. Max Müller.

Sinh. = Sinhalese.

Skt. = Sanskrit.

Sr. = Saddharmaratnākara.

T. = George Turnour.

W. = L. C. Wijēsinha, translator of the Mahāvamsa.

Z.D.M.G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen. ländischen Gesellschaft.

ADDITIONS AND AMENDMENTS

- Page 9, line 9, for Rajaratnākaya read Rājaratnākaraya.
 - 49, footnote 2, for Parinavitana read Paranavitana.
 - 57, line 20, for survitors read servitors.
 - 58, footnote 3, for after read before.
 - 68, line 24, for 1164 read 1114.
 - 75, line 15, for partya read partyayen; for pratya read pratyayen.
 - 78, line 29, for වියල read වියල.
 - 80, line 10, for vivala read vivala.
 - 99, line 28, for Sandessa read Samdessa.
 - 109, line 12, after Dälivela, insert an amuna from (the field) Gattaradivela in Aludeniya.
 - 126, line 25, for Gajubāhu read Gajabāhu.
 - 141, line 6, for Vasadevaya read Vasadavaya.
 - 148, line 16, for medial vowels a, i and e read medial vowels a, i and e.
 - 172, line 16, for apipada read adipada.
 - 202, line 20, for Rāmachandra read Rāmacandra.
 - 221, line 7, for Bhatika Abhaya read Bhatika Tissa.
 - 250, lines 5-6 of Transcript B, read Pilakka.

No. 1. SAMGAMU VIHĀRA ROCK-INSCRIPTION.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

T Samgamuva, a village about two miles to the north-east of Gokarälla in A the Häṭahaya Kōraļē of the Kuruṇāgala District, there is a low, rocky hill on which are to be seen the remains of an ancient Buddhist monastery. The neighbouring tank, Mäddekätiya-väva, when full, approaches almost to the foot of the hill on the eastern side, along which ran the old path leading to the shrines and monastic dwellings. A series of steps, numbering over a hundred, cut on the bare side of the rock, leads one to a plateau, about ten acres in extent, on which are an old stūpa, now reduced to a low mound of debris, and a few stumps of rough stone pillars marking the sites of old monastic buildings. The modern vihāra is also in this area; and near the entrance to it are some architectural fragments, to wit, a guardstone, a moonstone, and a stone slab with a symbol resembling the old Brāhmī śa carved on it. From this plateau, rough stone steps lead to a shrine, dating from the Kandyan period, built in a cave near the top of the hill. This shrine is now undergoing renovation; and a new wall, built about five years ago, partly conceals a pre-Christian Brāhmī inscription incised on the drip-ledge of the cave. In the vicinity of this shrine, a gigantic rock boulder, under which was another, more spacious cave, has tumbled down at an unknown period, damaging the Brāhmī inscription 2 on its drip-ledge. There are four more caves at the site: two near the shrine, one at the foot of the hill close to the tank and the last, the most spacious one at the site, about 100 yards to the south of the shrine.

On a flat rock near the modern vihāra are fragments of several inscriptions (A.S.I. Nos. 732-742) which, from the script, may be ascribed to the period between the fifth and seventh centuries. One of these contains the name 'Gonagiri'; but the fragmentary nature of the record does not permit us to conclude that this was the ancient name of the place.

At the top of the flight of rock-cut steps mentioned above, to the left as one ascends the hill, an area measuring 4 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. $o_{\frac{1}{2}}$ in. has been made into a raised and smoothed panel by chiselling away the rock surface around it; and, on this, the record dealt with in the present paper has been incised.

¹ What is now visible of this inscription reads:—Parumaka Citagutaha bariya parumaka.....

The remaining letters of this inscription read:—Bata Śabanaśa...... laśa puta Ma.....

This, along with the other epigraphs at the place, was copied for the first time by the present writer in 1931.

Eighteen lines of the record are now visible and, after the last line, the dressed surface of the rock has room for four more lines; but no indications of any writing are now to be seen here. Owing to the fact that the record is engraved on a rock which is open on all sides to the weather and liable continually to be trodden by people going up and down the hill, it has suffered considerably. Lines 13–16 only are completely legible, the others being more or less damaged. Line 17 is completely illegible and, of lines 8–10, only a few letters can be made out, making it impossible to have a connected reading of this part of the record.

The letters, regularly incised, are, on an average, 2 in. in height. They belong to the script of the twelfth century and call for no remarks in particular. The last four lines of the document consist of a Sanskrit verse in the Vasantatilakā metre, of which the third pāda is completely, and the fourth more than half, damaged. The rest of the record is in Sinhalese which also contains a considerable number of Sanskrit tatsamas as is usual in the Sinhalese writings of this period. As regards orthography, it may be noted that conjoint letters are used in writing such Sinhalese words as karamha (l. 5) and mäkuvamha (l. 14), whereas in vamha (ll. 3-4), the virāma sign is used. The cerebral ! occurs in the Sanskrit word akṣarāli, though in classical Sanskrit this letter is absent. This peculiarity is also noticed in Sanskrit documents written in the Grantha script of South India.

As regards **grammar**, the use of the verbal forms of the present tense, e.g. nokaramha (l. 5) mäkuvamha and vūvamha (l. 14), to express the future tense, is noteworthy.

The contents tell us about an alliance between Gajabāhu and Parākramabāhu; and, as such, the record is of exceptional historical importance. We have no difficulty in identifying the two princes as Gajabāhu II and Parākramabāhu I. The script of the record is that of the period to which these two princes belong; and, moreover, there was only one occasion when a Gajabāhu was a contemporary of a Parākramabāhu. The document also tells us that the two princes were related to each other as maternal cousins or brothers-in-law; and this fact agrees with the statements of the chronicles regarding the relationship between Gajabāhu II and Parākramabāhu I.

¹ See A. S. C. Annual Report for 1930-31, p. 5.

The document is briefly worded; and, in it, the princes speak in the first person. After introducing themselves by name, they at once, and without any formalities, come to the subject-matter of the agreement. By its first clause, they promise that, till the ends of their lives, they will not wage war against each other. The second clause is not completely preserved; but we are in no doubt regarding what it dealt with. By it, the two princes come to an agreement that the possessions of the one who would be the first to pass away will become the property of the survivor. The third clause is almost completely illegible and we, therefore, cannot speak about it with any confidence. By the fourth and last clause of the treaty, the two princes declare that a king who is an enemy of one of them, is an enemy of both, i.e. they enter into an offensive and defensive alliance. Imprecations against themselves if they act contrary to this agreement are then followed by a benedictary verse in Sanskrit of which nearly half is obliterated.

Turning now to the *Mahāvamsa*, in which the events of this period are narrated with a wealth of detail, we read, in the seventieth chapter of that chronicle, how Parākramabāhu, after consolidating his position in the principality of the Dakkhiṇadesa to which he succeeded on the death of his uncle Kittisirimegha, undertook a campaign against his cousin Gajabāhu II, with the object of making himself the sole master of Lamkā. In the various encounters which took place during the course of this campaign, Parākramabāhu's generals have always the advantage over the troops of Gajabāhu and the latter's capital, Polonnaruva, itself falls into the invader's hands. Gajabāhu then solicits the help of Mānābharaṇa, the ruler of Rohaṇa, who readily comes on the scene and, instead of succouring Gajabāhu, schemes for his own aggrandizement.

Seeing this new danger, Gajabāhu appeals to Parākramabāhu for protection; and the latter, who had recovered from his temporary reverses at the hands of the Rohaṇa troops, recaptures Polonnaruva and becomes virtually the master of the Rājaraṭṭha. At this stage, the monks intervene and bring about a reconciliation between the two cousins. Parākramabāhu restores the dominions of Gajabāhu and himself retires to his province. Gajabāhu, on his part, now definitely takes the side of Parākramabāhu and not only refuses to listen to Mānābharaṇa's advances for an alliance; but, moreover, he makes Parākramabāhu the heir to his kingdom and has this fact engraved on a stone tablet at the Maṇḍalagiri Vihāra¹. Doubtless we have, in the present inscription,

¹ Mv. lxxi, vv. 1-5.

a copy of the treaty entered into, on this occasion, by Gajabāhu II and Parā-kramabāhu I. Perhaps, it was another copy of the same document that Gajabāhu caused to be engraved at the Maṇḍalagiri Vihāra.

The last named place, now known as Mädirigiriya, is situated in the Taman-kaduva District of the North-Central Province. The site was explored by the Archaeological Survey in 1897 and 1907, when two inscriptions of the tenth century were discovered 1; but the inscription of Gajabāhu II, mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*, has not come to light. Mr. Harry Storey, who visited the site in 1924, looked for this inscription; but, instead, he found a duplicate of the pillar inscription discovered in 1897 2. The site, which is very extensive, is in dense forest and some of the remains are yet buried in the debris. Gajabāhu's inscription, which must have been either identical with the present document or, at least, must have had many points in common with it, may, therefore, be yet discovered.

Comparing the *Mahāvamsa* account with the present document, there appear to be certain discrepancies between the two. The chronicle would have us believe that the settlement arrived at, on this occasion, between the two princes, was all to the advantage of Parākramabāhu and that Gajabāhu, as befitting a vanquished monarch, humbled himself in the presence of the former. It mentions the fact that Gajabāhu bequeathed his kingdom to Parākramabāhu; but does not indicate at all that this as well as the other conditions of the peace were reciprocal. Moreover, in this document, Gajabāhu's name is mentioned first, showing that his antagonist had conceded him precedence in rank.

These discrepancies may be due to the bias which the author of this part of the *Mahāvamsa* had in favour of Parākramabāhu; but, on the other hand, they are more apparent than real. The treaty is, in reality, to the advantage of Parākramabāhu. We must not forget that Gajabāhu, nominally at least, was Parākramabāhu's overlord and, had he not been worsted in warfare, he would not have treated his younger rival as an equal in status as he does in this document. The second clause, by which, apparently, each of the contracting parties makes the other his heir, becomes, in effect, the leaving of his kingdom by Gajabāhu to Parākramabāhu who was very much the younger of the two.

¹ See A.S.C. Annual Report for 1897, p. 7 and the Annual Report for 1907, pp. 30-32. For the inscriptions see E. Z. Vol. II, pp. 25-33.

² Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, vol. x, pp. 67-87.

In the ordinary course of events, there was very little probability that Parā-kramabāhu would predecease Gajabāhu for the latter to benefit by this agreement.

By consenting to forgo the opportunity of capturing the Polonnaruva throne when he was able to do so by force of arms and waiting to succeed to it in this manner, Parākramabāhu has shown much political sagacity. At that time, there were several other princes who could show a claim as good or better than that of Parākramabāhu to the overlordship of the Rājaraṭṭha¹; and,had Parākramabāhu at once taken possession of the throne when Gajabāhu was vanquished, he would have been considered, by many of his contemporaries, as a usurper. By this treaty, Parākramabāhu established a legitimate claim, above those of his rivals, to the territories under Gajabāhu's rule. It may, of course, be questioned whether, according to the Sinhalese law of succession, Gajabāhu could, in this manner, will away his kingdom.

The last clause is, apparently, directed against Mānābharaṇa, the ruler of Rohana. He, too, had ambitions similar to those of Parākramabāhu and was the latter's chief obstacle in his way to the throne of Polonnaruva. As Parākramabāhu had learned by his experience in the campaign that he had just brought to a successful end, Mānābharaņa's troops were not to be despised and a combination of the forces of Rohana and Rajarattha would possibly have become too powerful for him to resist. By this treaty, Parākramabāhu isolated Mānābharaṇa and prevented the possibility of such a combination. The statement in the Mahāvamsa (ch. lxxi, v. 2) that Gajabāhu refused to listen to Mānābharaņa's advances for an alliance, shows that he, on his part, faithfully observed the provisions of this treaty. Thus, we see that though, on the face of it, the treaty appears as advantageous to Gajabāhu as to Parākramabāhu, on a deeper study of it, we find that the latter was the person who stood to gain by it in reality. The document must have been worded in this manner in order to spare the feelings of the humiliated old monarch and the person who drafted it appears to have been a master in the somewhat Machiavellian diplomacy of the times. It may also be of interest to note that the occurrence of the technical terms vigraha and sandhāna proves that the document was drawn up by one familiar with the Arthaśāstra, the Indian science of politics.

¹ Gajabāhu had two brothers, Mahinda and Anikanga, who had a better claim to the throne of Polonnaruva than that of Parākramabāhu. Mānābharaṇa, the ruler of Rohaṇa, had as much right to the sovereignty as Parākramabāhu.

One other question that may arise is the reason why this document was engraved at the Samgamu Vihāra. We do not know what the place was called in mediaeval times; but, though it was within the territories under Parākramabāhu's rule before he became sole monarch of the island, there is nothing to prove that the place was close to his residence, even temporarily. Equally inexplicable is the reason why Gajabāhu, on his part, went to the Maṇḍalagiri Vihāra to register his version of the agreement, instead of doing so at his capital, Polonnaruva. If a conjecture be permissible, we may surmise that Maṇḍalagiri Vihāra and the Samgamu Vihāra were the residences of the principal monks who, on either side, exerted themselves to bring about a reconciliation between the contending rulers. Perhaps, the documents were engraved on stone at the instance of the monks who considered such a step necessary to ensure the faithful observance, by both parties, of the agreement entered into.

TEXT.

```
[සවසති] [॥*] ශුී මහා සම්මනපරම්පරා
   [යෙන්] නොපිරිනී ආ සතෳබනවූ ශජ
 3 බා[හු ප]රාකුමබාහු දෙසුරුබඩු වම්
   හ [॥*] [අ]ප කළ සනධානයට ජීවිතානත
    දක්වා විගුහයක් නොකරම්හ [॥*] ඔවු
    නොවුන් අයාමෙහි පළමුවූ කෙනකුන්
    ගෙ .. .. .. .. පසුවුවන් අත්පත්
 7
    (වන්න) .. .. .. එක් කෙනකුන් ..
    (වැ) මෙ .. .. . [රා]ජෳ වි[ලූපත] වන නියාගෙ
    න් .. .. .. .. [අප] දෙදෙනා කෙරෙන්
10
    එක්කෙනකු[න්හට] සතුරුවූ රජදරුකෙ
11
    නෙක් ඇත් නම් දෙදෙනාට මැ සතුරත [॥*] මේ
12
13
    ව විරුධයක් කළමො නම් තුවුරුවන් ආඥ
    මැකුවම්භ [ෳ*] නරකයෙන් මුකත නොවූවම්භ [ෳ*]
14
    ආ චනුතාරමවතාජජගදසාරාලි
15
    රෙෂා පරාතීඛනයොරනයොරනනෳම් [෦*]
17
    මෙසනහාඈිතා අ oldsymbol{arphi} oldsymbol{arphi} oldsymbol{arphi} oldsymbol{arphi} oldsymbol{arphi}
18
```

TRANSCRIPT.

- 1 [Svasti] [||*] Śrī-Mahāsammata-paramparā-
- 2 [-yen] no-pirihī ā satya-dhana-vū Gaja-



```
bā[hu Pa]rākramabāhu de-sūrubadu vam-
    -ha [||*] [A]pa kaļa sandhānayata jīvitānta
    dakvā vigrahayak no-karamha [11*] Ovu-
    -n/ovun ayāmehi paļamu-vū kenakun-
    ge .. .. .. pasuvūvan at-pat
    (vanna) .. .. .. ek-kenakun ..
    -(vä) me .. .. [rā]jya vi[lup]ta vana niyāye-
10 `-n .. .. .. .. [apa] de-denā keren
    ek-kenaku[nhaṭa] saturu-vū raja-daru-ke-
11
    -nek ät nam de-denāṭa mä saturaha [11*] Me-
12
    -ța viruddhayak kalamo nam tunuruvan ājñā
14
    mäkuvamha [||*] Narakayen mukta no-vūvamha [||*]
    Ā candra-tāram/avatāj/jagad/akṣar/āļi-
15
16
    -r/eṣā parārttha-dhanayor/anayor/ananyam [1*]
17
    sneh \neq ārddratām \vee \vee \vee - \vee \vee - tā- [\parallel^*]
```

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-4] Hail! We are the two brothers-in-law¹, Gajabāhu and Parā-kramabāhu, who have come down in unbroken succession from the lineage of the illustrious Mahāsammata, and to whom truth is a treasure.

[Lines 4-14] According to the treaty that we have contracted, we shall not, till the ends of our lives, wage war [against each other]. Of each other..... of the one who will be the first to pass away.... possession of the one who will survive 2.... of one.... so that the kingdom may be destroyed.... If there be any kings who are enemies to either of the two of us, they are enemies to both of us. Were we to do anything contrary to this [agreement], we shall

¹ Sūru-baḍu is a variant form of suhuru-baḍu which is found in Sinhalese literary works (e.g. the Nikāya Saṅgraha, Colombo edition of 1890, p. 28) and means 'brother-in-law'. For the explanation of the word, see my note 'Gajabāhu and Mahallakanāga: their relationship' in J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. xxx, pp. 452-454. According to the Sinhalese system of kinship, the same term is used to denote the relationship of maternal cousin and brother-in-law (see Mr. Hocart's 'Indo-European Kinship System' in C. J. Sc. G, vol. i, p. 185); the term suhuru-baḍu or sūru-baḍu may, therefore, also mean 'maternal cousin'. Parākramabāhu was the son of the sister of Gajabāhu's father; and a sister of Parākramabāhu was given in marriage to Gajabāhu. So the princes may either be called cousins or brothers-in-law.

² Pasuvūvan:—Literally 'the one who shall be the later' (to die).

be as if we had transgressed the command of the Three Gems ¹. We shall [also] never be delivered from hell.

[Lines 15-18] May this writing 2 protect the world so long as the Moon and the Stars endure; [May] the union 3 of these two, whose wealth is for the good of others, suffused with love

No. 2. THE GADALĀDEŅIYA INSCRIPTION OF SĒNĀSAMMATA VIKRAMA BĀHU.

By H. W. Codrington.

THIS inscription is cut on the rock immediately below the record of the monk Dharmmakīrtti, the founder of Gaḍalādeṇiya Vihārē, dated in the third year of Bhuvanaika Bāhu IV. It is followed by an epigraph dated the first of the waning moon of Nikini in the Buddhist year 2054 (1511 A.D.) in the reign of a king, whose name almost certainly is Jayavīra. A copy of our inscription exists on palm leaf and has been used in this edition.

The record is dated in the eighth year of Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu cakravartti, who, as we have seen while discussing the Palkumbura copper plate (E.Z., Vol. III, pp. 240–247), was the founder of Kandy as a capital. The Kobbākaduva Vihārē sannasa, now extant only in a copy, is dated in the thirty-seventh year of this king. The Galgānē Vihārē tudupata and that of Kuṭṭangal Vihārē or Vēravaļa, otherwise known as Radāgoda Vihārē, both also existing only in copies, are dated on the eighth of the waxing moon of Vesak, 2052 A.B. (1510 A.D.), but give no regnal year. As the inscription immediately following the present epigraph belongs to another reign and is dated in Nikini of 2054 A.B. (1511 A.D.), Vikrama Bāhu must have ceased to rule at some date between April 16, 1510 and August 10, 1511. If his thirty-seventh year was 'expired', he came to the throne at the latest in 1474 or 1475, and we may not be far wrong in placing his accession about the same time as that of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI, which took place in 2015 A.B. (1472–3 A.D.)⁴. This Kōṭṭē king's Dädigama inscription of the month of Poson in the year following the eighth or 1480–1 A.D.

¹ Tunuruvan = P. Ratanattaya. The Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha.

² Akṣarāļi:—Literally 'a row or series of letters'.

³ Ananyam:—Literally 'the absence of difference'.

⁴ Buduguņa Alankāraya, and Aramkälē documents, published by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka in the Svadeša Mitrayā of July 27 and August 3, 1924.

⁵ E. Z., Vol. III, pp 278-286.

rehearses the terms of an amnesty given on the suppression of the Simhala $samg\bar{e}$, 'Sinhalese war', to the people of the Four Korales, who feared that punishment would ensue 'when the affair in the Uda-raṭa has also been settled'. It is tempting to connect the rebellion, which clearly affected the greater part of the Kandyan kingdom and was suppressed according to our record by the month of Il in Vikrama Bāhu's eighth year, with this 'Sinhalese war', and to suppose that the settlement of 'the affair' $(k\bar{a}riya)$ in the Hill Country was the reduction of the Kandyan king's refractory subjects to order. Vikrama Bāhu, if we may trust the $R\bar{a}jaratn\bar{a}kaya$, was of the same clan as the Kōṭṭē monarch 1.

Tradition tells us of Vikrama Bāhu, the founder of Kandy, that there was no king of the Hill Country and that the state elephant, let loose to find one, discovered a young prince with his mother at Asgiriya in Mātalē District. In Kandy his mother founded the Talagahamula Vihārē on Mount Airy as well as a dēvālē and pansala; the Gedigē Vihārē was built over her ashes by her son, the king. Asgiri Vihārē was named after his mother's village. Tradition further attributes to one and the same king the building of Gedigē Vihārē and of Pōya Maļuva.

According to the *Mahāvamsa* one Vīra Vikrama became king in Kandy in 2085 A.B. (1542–3 A.D.). This portion of the Pāli chronicle is quite late and is based on the *Rājaratnākaraya*, itself a work of no great authority. Now, the name Vīra Vikrama nowhere appears in the *Rājaratnākaraya*; from the allusive epithets applied to the king his name may have been Vīra Vikrama or Vikrama Bāhu. The story of his reign is preceded by a lengthy account of the princess Mayurāvatī, who was born of a peahen's egg, and of the origin of the Mehenavaravamsa. The king himself is said to have been the 'grandson' (*munuburā*) of the great king Jayamahalēna Savulu Parākrama Bāhu, descended from the princess Mayurāvatī on the one side, and of the great king Vikrama Bāhu of the Mehenavara-vamsa on the other. He came to the throne in 'Kaṭupulla bada Senkhanda nam Śrīvarddhana-pura', which was his by birthright (*janma-pravēṇi*). He conquered his enemies, Sinhalese and Tamil. He placed bodily relics of

¹ In view of the evidence supplied by the Dädigama epigraph the Simhala peraliya of the Rājāvaliya, which affected the country between the Kaļuganga and the Valavē under the leadership of Śrīvarddhana Patirāja and Kūragama Himi and which was suppressed by Ambulugala Raja and the army of the Four Kōraļēs, cannot have been the whole of the movement. A rebellion in the same area in 1476 under Goruci, which was also suppressed by Bhuvanaika Bāhu's brother, is mentioned in the Pegu Kalyāṇi inscription. Perhaps the rebellion extended over several years. To have merited the name of the 'Sinhalese war' or 'rebellion' it must have been widespread. The eighth year of our present record possibly may be 'expired', in which case it corresponds with the year following the eighth of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI.

Buddha near his city, made a great *vehera* with stone pillars by it, and built a two-storied Uposatha enclosure, the reference being to the dāgāba and the Pōya Maļuva close to Malvattē Vihārē. Among other good works, he constructed a new Mahā Vihārē for the Great Elder, learned in the Three Piṭakas, who came from abroad with thirty-five monks. This Great Elder was Dharmmakīrtti, who reformed the Saṃgha and held an ordination in the Mahaväliganga; tradition has that he was of Pōya Maļuva. The king also went on pilgrimage to Adam's Peak and Mahyangana, and made offerings to the Tooth Relic of Buddha and to Bentoṭa Vihārē, where was enshrined the Tooth Relic of Mahā Kāśyapa. Between the first king of Ceylon, Vijaya, and this king were 250 anointed sovereigns, an impossible figure.

In spite of the absence of any explicit mention of Asgiri Vihārē, I think that there can be little doubt that this king is identical with Vikrama Bāhu, the traditional founder of Kandy as a capital. In my article on the Palkumbura copper plate we have seen that the date 2085 A.B. cannot be correct, for according to the Nātha Dēvālē record of the end of that year the reigning king was Śrī Jayavīra Mahā-väḍa-vun-täna. It may be noted that this erroneous date does not stand alone in the *Rājaratnākaraya*. A few sentences before, this work assigns the year 1929 A.B. (1386-7 A.D.) to the reign of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI.

Further details are supplied by the Siduruvāṇā Kadaim-pota, a short account of the great Baṇḍāras who ruled much of the present Kandy District in the Gampola period. The coronation of Bhuvanaika Bāhu (V) is mentioned. Seemingly after this the turbulence of the Baṇḍāras was brought to an end by Vikrama Bāhu. He migrated from Gaṅga-śrī-pura (Gampola) to Pērādeṇi-pura, and thence to the plot of land (bhūmiya), where dwelt Seṅkhaṇḍa. There on the Vijaya-bhūmi-bhāga, 'having suppressed the troubles', he made his capital. The Baṇḍāras were deprived of their umbrellas and shields and were given mudali titles. In other words they ceased to be semi-independent princes. The selection of the Vijaya-bhūmi-bhāga as the site of the palace in Kandy is said by legend to have been due to a hunted hare turning on and chasing its pursuers. The Siduruvāṇā Kaḍaim-pota, however, seems to connect the name with the suppression of the Baṇḍāras.

The title 'Sēnāsammata' itself to some extent confirms the tradition of the finding of the prince in the absence of any king in the Hill Country, and the length of the reign, at least of thirty-six years, indicates that the king came to

¹ E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 240-247.

the throne in his youth. In other documents his full name is given as Siri Sangabō Śrī Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu. He apparently was only of the Mehenavara clan on his mother's side.

The **script** of our record does not differ in any very marked degree from that of the Gaḍalādeṇiya slab pillar; it definitely is anterior to the middle of the sixteenth century. The orthography is poor. The Malayalam ∞ , found as early as the Hapugastänna inscription of Parākrama Bāhu V, is used throughout for ∞ .

The **contents** promise that no loss of life shall be inflicted on the people of certain provinces named, forming, if not the whole, at least a considerable part of the Kandyan kingdom of the time, and provide that the heriot or maļāraya of those who have fallen in warfare or in the elephant hunt shall, in the absence of an heir, be devoted to the restoration of vihārēs in disrepair. Aṭasiyapattuva applied to Mātalē is unknown elsewhere. Pansiyapattuva, where distinct from Dumbara, roughly equals the present Uda Dumbara and Vēṇḍaruva. Goda-rata has now disappeared, but is found in the Maha Kadaim-pota between Maturața and Pasgam-rața. The Lamkātilaka inscription of Vikrama Bāhu III speaks of Pattiyagama in Goda-rata; it was, therefore, identical with part of Lower Hēvāhäṭē. 'Aṭapeḍiya' appears in the Dambadeni Asna¹, but in connection with Kotmalē. Mahatoţa can hardly be Māntōddam, the Mahātittha of the Mahāvamsa², as no provinces on that side of the Island are mentioned and we know that the Adikāriya of Nuvarakalāviya was under Kōṭṭē; rather it must be Couto's Periyaturai, which he places between Trincomalee and 'the point of Jafanapatão' (Dec. V, lib. 1, cap. 5). The Maha Kadaim-pota mentions a 'Māvatu-rata' on the border of Ruhuna in Pihiti-rata, and also defines Ruhuna as lying between the Kaluganga, the Mahaväliganga in Kotmale, the limits of Māyā-rata, and the Mahaväliganga in Māyatu-rata in the Pihiti country.

The Yāpābhaṇḍāra of our inscription appears to have been a personage of importance, apparently next in dignity to the king. His name is of some interest, as the Siduruvāṇā Kaḍaim-pota mentions a Baṇḍāra of the name in Gangoḍa and another in Unambuva. Further a Yāpā Raja or Maharaja occurs in tradition. Bound up with the Colombo Museum Rājavainsa (M 4) are a few leaves giving the story of Mädagama Dēvālē in Sabaragamuva. On the last day of Äsaļa in Śaka 1304 (1382 A.D.) a Brahman staying at Mädagama had a dream revealing the presence of a weapon of the god Kandasāmi. The dēvālē was

¹ Aṭabāge mura pirissa vaga pirissa Kotmalē Aṭapeṭiyē (var. Aṭapeḍiyē) väddōya polu-väddōya mas-väddōya. ² Sinh. Mahavuṭu, Māvaṭu.

established and the fact reported to 'Sūryya Maharaja who united Lamkā under one canopy'. About 200 years later Sūryya Maharaja's 'third grandson' the king of Sītāvaka and Yāpā Raja twice went to war without success. The third time the two kings fought at Ōpanākē Māliyaddē-vela and the king of Sītāvaka was beaten. Peace was made, the boundary between the kingdoms being fixed at the Pēräs-äļa, and Yāpā went to the throne of Uḍa-kaṭṭuva or the Hill Country. In the proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, 1821, an ola report of Mahavaļatānnē Disāva gives the history of Uggal Alutnuvara Dēvālē. It was built by Sūriya Maharaja and afterwards endowed by Yāpā Maharaja; Rāsimha Maharaja also made offerings. Yāpā Maharaja, if these stories be not mythical, thus lived before Rājasimha I (1554–1593 A.D.)¹.

The word pajuruvan appears to be unknown elsewhere. The reading is certain. It is very tentatively suggested that it is derived from Skt. pajra, 'fat; wealthy, rich; powerful, strong', and means the 'great men'. 'Princes' suits the context, but the termination -vahansē is attached to mudalivarun in the Vīgulavatta inscription of Vikrama Bāhu III.

With $\ddot{a}t$ -vag \bar{e} , 'elephant hunt', may be compared vaga pangu vasam, the service holdings of the elephant department in $\bar{U}va$.

The maļāraya, later marāļaya, or heriot is well known in India and Ceylon. In the Island one third of the movables of the deceased escheated to the Crown if he left sons, and the whole if he left none 2. Knox says:

'Whensoever any man dies, that hath a stock of Cattel, immediately out thence must be paid a Bull and a Cow with a Calf, and a Male and Female Buffalo, which tax they call Marral' (*Historical Relation of Ceylon*, pt. II, chap. iv; cf. ib., chap. v), and:

'Lands of Inheritance which belong to Women are exempted from paying Heriots to the King' (ib., pt. III, chap. vii).

The impost was abolished by Kīrttiśrī (1747-82 A.D.), but on one occasion at least was enforced by the last king of Kandy. The provision in the present document was to secure merit for the deceased as well as for the king.

¹ Mr. Paranavitana writes to me: 'On the exterior of the walls of a cave shrine, now abandoned, at Mäṭiyaṅganē in the Dambadeṇi Hatpattu, there are paintings of gods with their names written below. In addition to such well-known deities as Brahma, Viṣṇu, Skanda, etc., we have here a figure of a deity labelled Yāpā-bhaṇḍāra. He holds a katty in one hand. The shrine appears to be at least two centuries old. Of course we cannot be certain that the deified Yāpā-bhaṇḍāra was the same as the person of that name mentioned in this inscription.'

² Documentos Remettidos da India, ii, p. 136, letter from the king of 3 January, 1612. See also Foral, fol. 169, 172.

Śakradumahādi in line 10 is meant for Śakra Brahmādī. There is no doubt as to the reading. Mr. Paranavitana writes: 'The akṣara read as du has some resemblance to the Grantha bra. As conjoint consonants are sometimes written so that they are not joined to each other, I would prefer to read this as Śakra Bramhādi.'

The name **Sanhas Sivattā Nāyinārun**, who attested our document, also appears in the Alutnuvara amnesty record, in the Vannipola grant of the year following the twentieth, and in the Kobbākaduva Vihārē sannasa of the thirty-seventh year, all of Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu. It does not follow that one and the same person is referred to. In the Galgānē Vihārē and the Kuṭṭaṅgal Vihārē grants of 2052 A.B. (1510 A.D.) the attestor was Sanhas Sivattēva Kala Perumāl and 'Sannissiwatte Kulapperumal'; the last mentioned document exists only in an English translation.

TEXT.

- 1 (සවසනි) පුශස්න [මහා] සම්මන පරම්පරානුයා(න සූ)රිය වංශාහිජාන ඉස්නා සම්මන විකුම [බාහු චකුව] එහි
- 2 සමාමීන්[වහ]න්සේට අවවනු හිල අව (ස)තවක සිදුරුවානා දෙනුවර බලවිට සරසියපතතුව ¹ මා[තලය]
- 3 අවසියප[නතුව දු]මබර ප(න්)සියපනතුව ගො(ඞ)රට මතුරට ඌව අටපෙඞිය සොරමබර වෙල
- 4 අසස කොත්මලෙ ගංපළ දෙළොස්බගේ ² [බූ](ලත්)[ග]ම මහතොට තිරුකු නාමලය මඬ
- 5 ක(ල)[පුව ඇ]තුළු[ච මෙ කී සැම]යෙහි උනතම මධම [අ]ඛම කනිෂටද ී චතු ජ පජු(රුවන්) පවති[නා] සේ
- 6 නා[ව](ගෙ)න් ශකනකුන්ට විකුම බාහු මහරජජුරුවන් සාපා**ස**ණාධාර රජදරු භණාර ඇ
- 7 තුළුවූ පජුරුවන්වහන්සේලා වසින් ් පාණ ් හානි ණෝ ් කරවනු නො ක [රනු](වත් සේවා)කම්ම]
- 8 සි වැටුණු කෙනකුන් හා ඇත්වගේ දුව වැටිනු ⁸ කෙනකුනුගේ මළාරයට හිම කෙනෙක්
- 9 ණැතුව ීතිබේ නම් ජරාවාසව තිබෙන විහාර කැරවීමට පුදතුවත් තුනු රුවන්ගේ අඥය

¹ For සාරසියපනතුව.

² For ඉදුළොස්බාගේ.

³ For කනිෂඨාදි.

⁴ Probably for මතු.

[්] For විසින්.

[්] For **පුා**ණ.

⁷ For ඉනා.

[්] For වැටුණු.

[්] For නැතුව.

14 Sic.

- 10 දලද පාතු බතුන් වනන්සේගේ ආශ්ය ශකුඩුමහාදි ² නිස් තුන් කොටියක් දෙවියන්
- 11 ඉග් ආශූය උත්පලවන්න සුමන විහිෂන ෂන්මූබාදි සතර වරම් ඉදවියන ී ඉග් ආශුය
- 12 මනිකාන්තාවගේ ආශූය පතතිනි දෙවියන්ගේ ආශූය මේ කී ආශු කියා වදළ මෙ
- 13 ඉ(හව)රි(න්) මේ ශිලාලෙඛාය කොට්වා දුන් බවට [සන්හ]ස් සිවහනා නායි නාරුම්භ

TRANSCRIPT.

- 1 (Svasti) praśasta [Mahā] Sammata paramparānuyā(ta Sū)riya vaṁśābhijāta Sēnāsammata Vikrama [Bāhu cakrava]rtti
- 2 svāmīn-[vaha]nsē-ṭa aṭavanu Hila ava (sa)tavaka Siduruvānā De-nuvara Balaviṭa Sarasiyapattuva Mā[talaya]
- 3 Aṭasiyapa[ttuva Du]mbara Pa(n)siyapattuva Go(ḍa)raṭa Maturaṭa Ūva Aṭapeḍiya Sorambara Vela-
- 4 assa Kotmale Gampala Dolosbagē [Bu](lat)[ga]ma Mahatoṭa Tirukunā-malaya Maňḍa-
- 5 ka(la)[puva ä]tuļu[va me kī sāma]yehi uttama maddhama [a]dhama kaniṣṭadi ⁶ catu ⁷ paju(ruvan) pavati[nā] sē-
- 6 nā[va-](ge)n kenakun-ṭa **Vikrama Bāhu** maharajjuruvan **Yāpābhaṇḍāra** raja-daru bhaṇḍāra ä-
- 7 tuļu-vū pajuruvan-vahansēlā vasin⁸ pāṇa⁹ hāni ṇo¹⁰ karavanu no ka[ranu-] (vat sēvā)ka[me-]
- 8 yi väṭuṇu kenakun hā ät-vagē duva väṭanu¹¹ kenakunu-gē maļāraya-ṭa himi kenek
- 9 nätuva 12 tibē-nam jarāvāsa-va tibena vihāra käravīma-ṭa pudanu-vat Tunuruvan-gē ājñāya
- 10 Daļadā Pātra dhatūn 13-vahansē-gē ājñāya Śakradumahādi 14 tis tun koṭiyak deviyan-

¹³ For dhātun. The dh as written is almost indistinguishable from ya.

[්] For බාතුන්. The බ as written is almost indistinguishable from ය.

2 Sic.

4 For Sārasiyapattuva.

5 For Dolosbāge.

6 For kaniṣṭhādī.

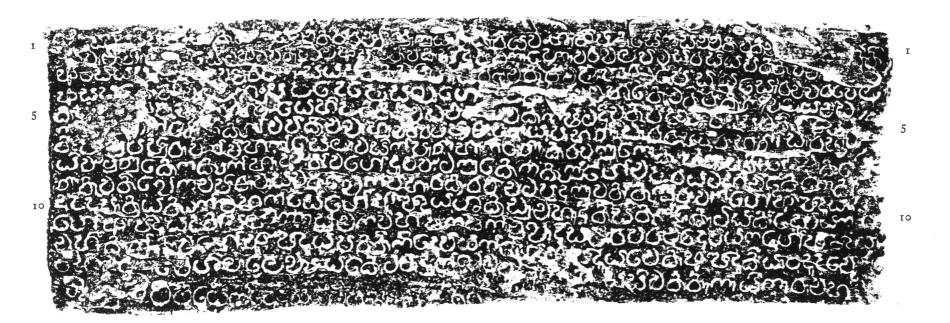
7 Probably for matu.

8 For visin.

9 For prāṇa.

10 For no.

11 For vätunu.



Scale about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch to I foot

- 11 gē ājñāya Utpalavarnna Sumana Vibhīşana Şanmukhādī satara varam deviyana¹-ge ājñāya
- 12 Mahīkāntāva-gē ājñāya Pattini deviyan-gē ājñāya me kī ājñā kiyā vadāļa me-
- 13 (h)e(va)ri(n) me śilālekhyaya koṭavā dun bava-ṭa [Sanha]s Sivattā Nāyinārumha

TRANSLATION.

Hail! On the seventh of the waning moon of Hila in the eighth year of His Majesty the Sovereign Lord Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu, born of the race of the Sun in lineal descent from the famous Mahā Sammata (it was decreed as follows):—

On no one, high, middling, low, or lowest, and the rest, of the host, in which the great men shall continue hereafter, of Siduruvānā De-nuvara, Balaviṭa, Sārasiyapattuva, Mātalē Aṭasiyapattuva, Dumbara Pansiyapattuva, Goḍa-raṭa, Maturaṭa, Ūva, Aṭapeḍiya, Sorambara, Vela-assa, Kotmalē, Gampaļa Doļosbāgē, Bulatgama, Mahatoṭa, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, of all this aforesaid region, shall loss of life be caused to be inflicted or be inflicted by the great king Vikrama Bāhu, Yāpābhaṇḍāra, the bhaṇḍāra the king's son, and the other great men. And should there be no owner for the heriot of any one who shall have fallen in warfare and in the elephant hunt, (this heriot) shall be offered for the restoration of vihārēs which are out of repair.

This is the command of the Three Gems; this is the command of the Tooth and Bowl Relics; this is the command of Śakra, (Brahma) and the rest of the thirty-three *koṭi* of gods; this is the command of the four guardian gods Utpalavarnna, Sumana, Vibhīṣana, Şanmukha, and the rest; this is the command of Mahīkāntāva; this is the command of the goddess Pattini.

To the effect that this stone inscription has been cut and given in obedience to the royal order setting forth (as sanctions) these aforesaid commands I, Sanhas Sivattā Nāyinārun, (do certify).

¹ For deviyan.

NOTE.—For the early kings of Kandy see 'Some Documents of Vikrama Bāhu', J.R.A.S., Ceylon Branch, XXXII, pp. 64 ff., and 'Notes on the Kandyan Dynasty in the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries', Ceylon Literary Register, II (1932), pp. 289 ff., 343 ff.

No. 3. THE GADALADENIYA SLAB-PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS.

By H. W. Codrington.

THIS slab pillar now stands outside the main entrance of the Gaḍalādeṇiya Vihārē, a foundation of the fourteenth century situated in Uḍunuvara of Kandy District; it was set up in its present position by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archaeological Commissioner, who found it inside the temple. It is inscribed on all four faces. On the front of the slab is a record of the fifth year of king Siri Sangabō Śrī Jayavīra Parākrama Bāhu granting an amnesty to Mēṇavara Tuṇayan, nephew of the āpā Parākrama Bāhu of Doḍamvela, and the people of the Five Countries, on the reduction of the Hill Country then recently effected before the Coronation Festival held on the twelfth of the bright half of Vesak. This is preceded on one of the narrow sides by the word Siddhi engraved beneath the sun and moon, a cakra and conch shell. On the reverse of the slab, continued on the other narrow side, is the undertaking of the rebels to be faithful to His Majesty; their leader is here called Mēṇavara Tuṇayārun.

The script definitely is posterior in date to that of the Madavala record of the year following the forty-sixth of Parākrama Bāhu VI. It differs but little from that of the Gadalādeņiya rock inscriptions of the eighth year of Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu and of 2054 A.B. (1511 A.D.) in the reign of Jayavīra.

The identity of the grantor of the amnesty, Jayavīra Parākrama Bāhu, is doubtful. The fact that, if the reading be correct, the king 'came to our country after raising one canopy of dominion over Tri Simhaļa', and also that he swore to the amnesty in the presence of the Tooth Relic, then undoubtedly at Kōṭṭē, proves that he was not merely a ruler of the Hill Country. It may, therefore, be taken as certain that he was a Kōṭṭē sovereign. If we confine ourselves to kings with $V\bar{\imath}ra$ or $\mathcal{J}ayav\bar{\imath}ra$ in their names, there are two to whom our inscription can be attributed, Vīra Parākrama Bāhu, who according to the $R\bar{\imath}aj\bar{\imath}avaliya$ followed Parākrama Bāhu VI, and Vīra Parākrama Bāhu VIII, the brother and ultimate successor of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI.

As shown in my article on the Oruvala copper plate (E.Z., Vol. III, pp. 51 ff.), Parākrama Bāhu VI died about 1467. From the Buduguṇa Alankāraya and the Aramkālē palm leaf records we know that Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI came to the throne in 2015 A.B. (1472-3 A.D.). There are, therefore, some five years to be accounted for. The history of this interval differs in the authorities. According to the Rājāvaliya Vīra Parākrama Bāhu, the grandson of Parākrama Bāhu VI,

was speedily dethroned and put to death by Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI. The version of this chronicle used by Valentyn styles him Jayavīra Parākrama Bāhu and gives him a reign of seven years, confusing him with Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI, who is omitted. Queyroz also calls him 'Javira-Paracrama-Bau' or 'Javira', but, as usual with this author, assigns to him an impossible number of years. The Rājaratnākaraya, however, places between Parākrama Bāhu VI and Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI a king Jaya Bāhu, and the eighteenth century Mahāvamsa, which for this period commonly is based on this work, follows suit. Couto, who had reliable information, has a very different account and gives two kings, namely 'Maha Pracura Mabago' or 'Javira', who reigned 'a few years', and his idiot son, who remained on the throne for two years until replaced at the request of his aunt the regent by Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI (Dec. V, book I, chap. 5).

The existence of Jaya Bāhu seems to be proved by the Mädagoḍa Vihārē copper plate of the year following the third of Siri Saňgabō Śrī Sakalakalā Sarvajña Paṇḍita Jaya Bāhu (registered N.W.P., 683). This purports to have been given at Yāpāpaṭana in Pihiṭi-rajaya to Vīdāgama Maitri Mahanetpāmula Maha Tera Sāmi. He was the tutor of Phussadeva Sumaṅgala Sāmi, the recipient of the grant of 2021 A.B. (1479 A.D.), rehearsed in the Araṅkālē records already mentioned. This grant of 2021 A.B., however, speaks of Mädagoḍa as having been given to Phussadeva Sumaṅgala. The Mädagoḍa plate has not been examined critically. But the copy shows the usual Kōṭṭē style, and the existing plate, even should it turn out to be of comparatively modern workmanship, probably reproduces a genuine document. Couto may be right in stating that there were two kings between Parākrama Bāhu VI and Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI. If this was the case, both may have dated their accession from the same year, as did the first two Gampola kings and Parākrama Bāhu IX and Vijaya Bāhu VII.

Parākrama Bāhu VIII is styled Vīra Parākrama Bāhu by the *Rājaratnākaraya* and the *Mahāvainsa*, and also by the *Rājāvaliya*, Valentyn, and Queyroz. Couto calls him 'Javira Pracura Mabago', that is Jayavīra Parākrama Bāhu. But the Kudumirissa inscription of the tenth year of Siri Sangabō Śrī Parākrama Bāhu confirms a grant to Brahmans by his 'father the great king', a grant spoken of at the end of the record as the original *sanhasa* given in the time of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu Väḍa-un-tän. The Kuḍumirissa king almost certainly is Parākrama Bāhu VIII. The Oruvaļa copper plate, which we have assigned to this king, also gives the same name. The Siri Sangabō Śrī Jayavīra Parākrama Bāhu of the present document, therefore, may not be the brother of Bhuvanaika

Bāhu VI. A stronger objection to such an identification is that Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu, who reigned at least for thirty-six years, came to the throne before Parākrama Bāhu VIII, and there is no record of his subjection to Kōṭṭē; he uses the title *cakravartti*. Of the two Vīra or Jayavīra Parākrama Bāhus the first is to be preferred. The record thus may belong to the year 1471-2. But this attribution hardly agrees with Couto's account of the idiot king.

If, however, the attempt to identify the king of our inscriptions with any known Jayavīra or Vīra Parākrama Bāhu of Kōṭṭē be abandoned, we are left with Paṇḍita Parākrama Bāhu VII and Dharmma Parākrama Bāhu IX. The first of these two seems to have sat on the throne but a short while and is ruled out, as control of the Hill Country is precluded by the reign of Vikrama Bāhu of Kandy. Of the second the Rājāvaliya says (ed. B. Gunasekara):—

'The king of Kotte having heard that the prince then ruling in the hill-country had ascended the throne and made a proclamation by beat of tom-tom, and in open defiance withheld payment of tribute, sent for prince Sri Rajasinha who was at Menikkadawara, and entrusted the army to him. He himself encamped in the Four Korales, and sent his brother-in-law Kirawelle Ralahami with an army, who encamped in Yatinuwara and took possession of Kunukohupitiya. But the king of the hill-country obtained peace by sending three lacs of panam and two elephants, and his own daughter to boot for a wife.

'Not many days after this, the king of the hill-country raised a rebellion in the Four Korales. Dharma Parakrama Bahu having heard of this, committed the army to his younger brother Sakalakala Walla of Udugampola, and sent him to seize the hill-country. Accordingly, Sakalakala Walla encamped in the heart of Yatinuwara. The king of the hill-country came to meet him, and, in token of homage, sent a pearl umbrella, a conch, and shield, and a neck ornament. Sakalakala Walla took the end of the said ornament and tied his beautiful feet with it. Then he put it on the neck of Ekanayaka Mudali, warning him by way of rebuke, "Act not thus again"; and having come to the city of Jayawardhana, presented himself before king Dharma Parakrama Bahu, and returned to his own city Udugampola 1.'

Parākrama Bāhu IX according to the Kälaņiya inscription of his nineteenth

¹ Better, 'At that time the king of Kōṭṭē having heard that the prince (raja) ruling the Hill Country'. 'He himself' from the context is Rājasimha. For 'brother-in-law', read 'brother' (sahōdara), and for 'his own daughter', 'a daughter of his'. In the second paragraph 'the king of the hill-country' is not in the Sinhalese. 'A conch and shield' (hak paliha) should be rendered 'a conch (coloured) shield'. This and the pearl umbrella were ensigns of royalty.

year came to the throne in 2051 A.B. (1508-9 A.D.). The Dondra record of his brother Vijaya Bāhu VII (A.I.C., no. 163) gives that king's accession year as Saka 1432, normally equal to 1510-11 A.D. Vijaya Bāhu's Udugampola copper plate (ib., no. 172) is dated in the year following the eighth on the fifteenth of the dark half of Poson on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There were eclipses on the required date in 1517 and 1518; the last is said not to have been visible in Ceylon. The Poson of the ninth year, therefore, was that of 1517, and consequently the Saka year 1432 must be 'current'. This Saka year, 1431 'expired', began on March 27 and the Buddhist year 2051 ended on May 4, 1509. two brothers thus came to the throne on some day between these two dates. According to Barros (II, iii, 1; FRAS., Ceylon Branch, XIX, no. 59, p. 366) in September or October, 1508, their father, Parākrama Bāhu VIII, was very ill, and it may have been this sickness which led him to raise his sons to the The death of the old king was reported to the king of Portugal royal dignity. by Albuquerque on November 15, 1513 (Alguns Documentos, p. 297).

If Jayavīra Parākrama Bāhu be Parākrama Bāhu IX, the date of the amnesty will fall on September 30, 1513. Mēnavara Tunayan may or may not be the prince who was ruling the Kandyan provinces as Jayavīra in 2054 A.B. (1511 A.D.). In his Gadalādeņiya epigraph of that year Jayavīra is styled 'great king'. His namesake of the Nātha Dēvālē inscriptions of 1543 calls himself Mahā Väda-vun-täna, Āsthāna, or Mahā Āsthāna. The change of style from the cakravartti of Vikrama Bāhu is noteworthy. Perhaps it resulted from Parākrama Bāhu's reduction of the Hill Country at least to a semblance of submission to Kōtṭē. There seems to be no ground for objecting to this identification of the Kötte king in the script, which is not very different from that of the epigraph of 2054 A.B. Against it is the fact that Dharmma Parākrama Bāhu IX is styled Siri Sangabō Śrī Parākrama Bāhu in his Kälaņiya inscription. On the whole, however, in spite of the difficulty caused by the name, I am inclined to identify the grantor of the amnesty with this king rather than with an earlier ruler of Kōṭṭē. The reduction of the Hill Country is recorded in the Rājāvaliya, and further the date of the coronation given in the inscription fits in perfectly with the limits fixed above for the accession, namely March 27 and May 4, 1509. In that year the twelfth of the bright half of Vesak fell on May 1.

The general contents of the inscriptions have been indicated. The Mehenavara clan, to which the principal beneficiary of the amnesty belonged, was that branch of the royal family descended from the ex-nun (meheni) Sunandā by her marriage with Bodhigupta, one of the seven Maurya princes who brought the

Bō tree to Ceylon. Another, Sumitra, the Jaya Maha Lē, was the ancestor claimed by the kings of Kōṭṭē.

The enumeration of the 'Five Countries' in our first record differs from that prevalent in later times. The De-nuvara of Gampala Siduruvāṇā is the later Udunuvara and Yaṭinuvara, but probably included the present Udapalāta, which from its name seems at one time to have formed part of the first named of these two divisions; the Gangapalāta, Mädapalāta, and Kandupalāta still remain. Balaviṭa is the modern Hārispattuva and part, if not the whole, of Tumpanē. Pansiyapattuva is Dumbara, In modern times the 'Five Countries' were Denuvara (Udunuvara and Yaṭinuvara), Tumpanē, Hārispattuva, Dumbara, and Hēvāhāṭē.

The reading ශක්තිවූ පණනට in C, line 33, is clear. Better sense would have been given by ශක්තිවූ පමණට, 'to the extent or best of our strength'. In C, lines 35, 36, the reading seems fairly certain in view of the phrase.... kara-vū kenaku-ṭa patak basak vat minissun kenakun vat no härä on slab B of the amnesty inscription of Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu at Alutnuvara.

With the 'commands' of the Three Gems, of the Tooth and Bowl Relics, and of the gods, may be compared the following curious sentence occurring in the proceedings of the Raṭa Sabhāva, the ancient Sinhalese court still held in the North Central Province:—

Simhalē maha-rajjuruvan-gē Koļamba maha-rajjuruvan-gē ran kaduvē ran otunnē aņa dannavānam tahanami . . . Nuvaravävē Kumārasimha Mudiyansēgē toppi haļuvē aņa dannavānam tahanami . . . devenivatva tunvenivatva tahanami tahanami tahanami.

'If you know the command of the golden sword and of the golden crown of the great king of Simhalē, of the great king of Colombo, it is forbidden.... If you know the command of the hat of Nuvaravavē Kumārasimha Mudiyansē [the Vanniyār], it is forbidden; A second time, a third time it is forbidden, it is forbidden.'

As will be seen the formula has been interpolated with a reference to the Governor of Ceylon; I have omitted the references to the Government Agent and to the Raṭēmahatmayā.

The god Boksal is Däḍimuṇḍa Dēvatā Baṇḍāra Deviyō of Alutnuvara. The 'four guardian divine great kings' are those of the *divya-loka*, namely Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍha, Virūpākṣa, and Vaiśravaṇa. Those of Ceylon are Viṣṇu, Saman, Vibhīṣaṇa and Skandha or Kataragam Deviyō.

TEXT.

I.

Α.

සුධ්

В.

- 1 සවසනි ප්‍රශසන මහා සම්මන පරම්පරා නුයාන සුගෑ වංශශ්ත් භූත මහාරාජාබ්රාජ
- 5 ශීමත් සිරි සහබෝ ශී ජසවීර පරාකුම බානු චකුවතීති සවාමින්වහ න්සේට පස්වනු වප පූර පැළවිය ඉදුඩම්වෙල පරා
- 10 කුම බාහු ඈපාණන්ගේ බැන මේණවර තුණසන් හා ගම්පළ සිදුරුවාණ දෙ නුවර බළම්ට මානලය පන්සියපත්තුව ඌව
- 15 ඇතුළුවූ පස්රව වාස ය කරන බොහෝ ජන යාත් මෙවන් වෙසග පු ර දෙ,ළොස්වක සවණිණ සුෂෙක මහලායට ප
- 20 ළමුව කළ දික්විජයෙහි දි භය පත්වැ අතය ද, න ඉල්වා සිටිනා හෙයින් ඉදිරියේ දවස මේ යථො ක්ත ජනපදයෙහි උත්

25 තම මධාවේගිම සිය ලූ මනුෂායන්ට අතී හානි අගහානි ජීවිත හානි නො කරනු නො කර වනුව තුනුරුවන්ගේ 30 අදෙය දළද, පාතු බා තුන්වහන්සෙගේ අ දෙය ශකු බුණි විෂණු මහෙරෙරුද්වූ දෙවිය න්ගේ අදෙය කියා දළද, 35 සාමින්ගේ සම්මුඛයෙහි ද සතාපුනිඥ කොටැ ලියා දෙන්නේයයි වදළ මෙහෙවරින් මේ ශිලාලෙ ඉාය ලියා දුන් බවට

II.

A

1 සවසන සිරි සතුබෝ ශී ජයවීර පරාකුම බාහු චකුවනීති සවාමින්වහන්සේව පස්වනු වප පූර පැළවිය දෙ 5 (ඩම්)වෙල පරාකුම බාහු ඇපාණ න් බැන මේණවර තුණයාරුන් ඇතුළුවූ (ඇම) දෙනම්හ අ පටත් රට සේනාවටත් අභ ය දුන ශිලාලෙබා කරවා 10 දෙවා වද,ළ නි(සිංහළ)යට එ කානපතුවැ අ(ප රට¹)ට පාපන ජයවීර පරාකම (බානු) මහා රාජොත්තමයාණන්(ව)හන් සේව අප (හා) රව සේනාව වි 15 සින් විරුධ නො වී එකාන්ත (පසුම) වැ පවතිනුවත් වැඩ උන් තැන ට විපසෘ රජ පූවරජ ඇපා මාපා සිටු සෙනෙවිරත් අදි කාර ඇතුළුවූ කවර තරම්

25 තම මධ්‍යමාඛම සිය ලූ මනුෂෲයන්ට අඪ් භානි අගහානි ජීවිත භානි නො කරනු නො කර වනුව තුනුරුවන්ගේ
30 ආශ්‍ය අල් පාතු ඛාතුන්වහන්සෙගේ ආශ්‍ය ශකු ඛණම විෂණු මහෙවෙරාදිවූ දෙවිය න්ගේ ආශ්‍ය කියා දලද,
35 සාමින්ගේ සම්මුඛයෙහි ද සත්‍යපුනිශ්‍ය කොටැලියා දෙන්නේයයි වද,ළ මෙහෙවරින් මේ ශිලාලෙ ඛෲය ලියා දුන් ඛවට

II.

A

1 සවසන සිරි සගබෝ ශී ජයවීර පරාකුම බාහු චකුවනීත් සවාමීන්වහන්සේව පස්වනු වප පූර පැළවිය දෙ 5 (ඩම්)වෙල පරාකුම බාහු ඈපාණ න් බෑන මේණවර තුණසාරුන් ඇතුළුවූ (ඇම) දෙනම්හ අ පටත් රට සේනාවටත් අභ ය දැන ශිලාලෙඛා කරවා 10 දෙවා වද,ළ නි(සිංහළ)යට එ කාතපතුවැ අ(ප රට¹)ට පාපත ජයවීර පරාකුම (බාහු) මහා රාජොත්තමයාණන්(ව)හන් සේට අප (හා) රට සේනාව වි 15 සින් විරුධ නො වී එකාන්න (පඤ) වැ පවතිනුවත් වැඩ උත් තැන ට විපසා රජ පූවරජ ඇපා මාපා සිටු සෙනෙවිරත් අදි කාර ඇතුළුවූ කවර තරම්

Epigraphia Zeylanica

Plate &

කෙනකුන්ටත් (පසෂ) නො ව 20 නුවත් වැඩ උන්(තැනව) එකා න්ත පසෘ කෙනකුන්ට විප සා නො වනුවත් (.. ත් වෙළ $)^2$ දෑම ඇතු(න් නැත) [ඒ]ම¹ පණ 25 ම් ගස්වීම පටබැඳවීම ආ කර කැ(ර) වීම (ද) .. (දිය) නො කරනුවත් .. ත් ඔවුන් .. (ය)න් (කැඳව) ගමන් ක(ර)වනුවත් සම්(ම) 30 (න)යක්¹ පැමිණිව්ව අප අ (ප ෙත්වකමට [ර]ට¹ සමුදුව කැඳවා ගෙන ගොස් එ කියන [කාරි] \mathfrak{a}^1 ශක්තිවූ පණිතට සා [දූ]¹ දෙනුවන් විපරිනයකට 35 [කෙ](නකු)ව පතැක් බසක් මි [නි](ස්සූ)න් කෙනකුන් ගමන් නො කරවනුවත් අදහස වරදවා 🕫 හි(ය) කෙනකුන් නො (සි)ටුවා ගමන් කරවනු 40 වද තුනුරුවන්ගේ ආශූය දළද පාතු ධාතුන්ව[හ]න්සේ ගේ ආශූය (ශකු ඛ)හම විෂණු මහෙයවරාදි ගැදු

В.

1 විශන්ගේ ආ සූග කිහිරැළි උපුල්වන් සමන් බොක්සල් සක 5 න්ධ විහිෂණිදි දෙවිශන්ගේ ආ සූග සනර වර ම දෙවි ම(හරජ) දරුවන්(ගෝ) ආ 10 සූව කි(යා) මේ සනාදුපුනිසූ) ශි ලා ලෙඛාස ලි සවා දුන් (බ)ව(ව)

..

15 මේණ(වර) [නුණ](සා)රුන් ¹ පෙරු(මාඵන් ව) මහ

TRANSCRIPT.

I.

A.

Siddhi

В.

- 1 Svasti prašasta Mahā Sammata paramparānuyāta Sūryya-vamsotbhūta mahārājādhirāja
- 5 Śrīmat Siri Sangabō Śrī Jayavīra Parākrama Bāhu cakravartti svāmīnvahansē-ṭa pasvanu Vapa pura päļaviya Dodamvela Parā-
- 10 **krama Bāhu** āpāṇan-gē bāna **Mēṇavara Tuṇayan** hā Gampaļa Siduruvāṇā Denuvara Baļaviṭa Mātalaya Pansiyapattuva Ūva
- 15 ätuļu-vū pas-raṭa vāsaya karana bohō janayāt mevan Vesaga pura doļosvaka svarṇṇābhiṣeka mangalyaya-ṭa pa-
- 20 lamuva kala dik-vijayehi-

- di bhaya pat-vä abhaya dāna ilvā siṭinā-heyin
 idiriyē davasa me yathokta janapadayehi ut25 tama maddhyamādhama siyalu manuṣyayan-ṭa artthahāni anga-hāni jīvitahāni no karanu no karavanuva Tunu-ruvan-gē
 30 ājñāya Daļadā Pātra dhā-
- 30 ājñāya Daļadā Pātra dhātunvahanse-gē ājñāya Śakra Brahma Viṣṇu Maheśvarādi-vū deviyan-gē ājñāya kiyā Daļadā-
- 35 sāmīn-gē sammukhayehidi satya-pratijñā koṭā liyā dennēyayi vadāļa mehevarin mē śilā-lekhyaya liyā dun bava-ṭa

¹ A 11, පරට; 24, ඇතුන් නැග[ඒ]ම; 29, 30, සම්(මත)යක්; 30, 31, අ (ප)ේස්වකමට රට; 33, [කාරි]ය; 34, [ද,]; B 15, are as read by Mr. S. Paranavitana.
² Doubtful.

15

II. A.

25

1 Svasti Siri Sangabo Śrī Jayavīra Parākrama Bāhu cakravartti svāmīnvahansē-ta pasvanu Vapa pura pälaviya Do-

5 (dam)vela Parākrama Bāhu āpāņa-

n bāna **Mēņavara Tuņayārun** ätuļu-vū (äma) denamha apa-ţat rata sēnāva-tat abhaya dāna śilā-lekhya karavā

10 devā vadāļa Tri (Simhala) ya-ta ekātapatra-vä a(pa raṭa-1)ţa prāpta Jayavīra Parākrama (Bāhu)

mahā-

rājottamayāņan (va)hansē-ţa apa (hā) raţa sēnāva visin viruddha no vī ekānta (pakṣa-) vä pavatinuvat Väda-un-tänata vipaksa raja yuvaraja āpā māpā situ senevirat adikāra ätulu-vū kavara taram

kenakun-tat (pakṣa) no va-20 nuvat Väda-un-(täna-ţa) ekā-

1 viyan-gē ājñāya Kihiräļi-Upulvan Saman Boksal Ska-

5 ndha Vibhisanādi deviyan-gē ājñāya satara varam devi ma(haraja-) daruvan-(gē) ānta paksa kenakun-ta vipakşa no vanuvat (.. t veļa-)2 ňdāma ätu(n näga-)[ē]ma1 paņam gasvīma paṭabäňdavīma ākara kä(ra)vīma (da) .. (diya)

no karanuvat .. t ovun .. (ya)t (käňdava) gaman ka(ra)vanuvat sam(ma-)

30 (ta)yak¹ pämini-vita apa a-(p)e s(ē)vakama-ţa (ra)ţa¹ samudāva

käňdavā gena gos e kiyana

[kāri]ya1 şakti-vū panata-ţa sā-[dā]¹ denuvat viparītayaka-ţa 35 [ke](naku)-ţa patäk basak mi-[ni](ssu)n kenakun gaman no karavanuvat adahasa varadavā ā gi(ya) kenakun no (si)tuvā gaman karavanu-

va-da Tunu-ruvan-gē ājñāya 40 Daļadā Pātra dhātunva ha insēgē ājñāya (Śakra Bra)hma Vișnu Maheśvarādi [d]e-

В.

jñāva ki(yā) mē 10 satya-(pratijñā-) śilā-lekhyaya liyavā dun (ba)va-(ţa)

.. Mēṇa(vara) [Tuṇa](yā)run¹ 15 Peru(māļun va-)

> mha

¹ **A** 11, pa raļa; 24, ätun näga $[\bar{e}]$ ma; 29, 30, sam(mata)yak; 30, 31, a(p)e s(\bar{e})vakama-ļa raļa; ² Doubtful. 33, $[k\bar{a}ri]ya$; 34, $[d\bar{a}]$; **B** 15, are as read by Mr. S. Paranavitana. Ε VOL. IV

TRANSLATION.

I.

Prosperity! Hail! On the first of the waxing moon of Vap in the fifth year of His Majesty the Sovereign Lord **Śrīmat Siri Sangabō Śrī Jayavīra**Parākrama Bāhu, the great king sprung from the race of the Sun in lineal descent from the famous Mahā Sammata.

Whereas Mēṇavara Tuṇayan, nephew of the āpā Doḍamvela Parākrama Bāhu, and the great multitude dwelling in the Five Countries, (to wit) De-nuvara of Gampaļa Siduruvāṇā, Baļaviṭa, Mātalē, Pansiyapattuva, and Ūva, asked for the grant of an amnesty having been put in fear on the subjugation of the realm effected before the Golden Anointing (Coronation) Festival on the twelfth of the waxing moon of this Vesak just past, (His Majesty) faithfully promised in the presence of the Tooth Relic that henceforth loss of property or of limb or of life should not be inflicted or caused to be inflicted upon the people in this aforesaid country, all whether great or middling or small, setting forth that such is the command of the Three Gems, the command of the Tooth and Bowl Relics, the command of Śakra, Brahma, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara and the rest of the gods, and he ordered that (this) should be written and given.

In obedience thereto (it is certified) that this stone record has been written and given.

II.

Hail! On the first of the waxing moon of Vap in the fifth year of His Majesty the Sovereign Lord Siri Sangabō Śrī Jayavīra Parākrama Bāhu. We are Mēṇavara Tuṇayārun, nephew of the $\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ Doḍamvela Parākrama Bāhu, and all the other (chiefs). Stone records of amnesty having been drawn up and given to us and to the host of the country by His Majesty, who came to our country after raising one canopy of dominion over Tri Simhala, on the part of ourselves and of the host of the country (we undertake as follows):—

We will not resist the great king Jayayīra Parākrāma Bāhu, but will be entirely on his side; we will not be on the side of any one, whether king, sub-king, prince, heir-apparent, grandee, commander-in-chief, or adigar, who is opposed to His Majesty; we will not oppose any who are entirely on the side of His Majesty; we will not do [the following acts, viz.]? trading in elephants, riding on elephants, striking fanams, conferring titles, digging for precious stones, and the like

.... having summoned them we will send them (for duty). When an edict is brought we will summon the host of the country and go with it on our service and carry out that aforesaid business in obedience to the mighty command. We will not send either word or letter or any men to any one for a rebellion; should any one come or go frustrating (this rebellious) intention, we will not detain him but will send him on his way.

(This is) to the effect that, setting forth that such is the command of the Three Gems, the command of the Tooth and Bowl Relics, the command of Śakra, Brahma, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara and the other gods, the command of Kihiräli-Upulvan, Saman, Boksal, Skandha, Vibhīṣaṇa and the other gods, the command of the four guardian divine (? great kings), we have caused to be written and have given this stone record of faithful promise.

I am Mēṇavara [Tuṇa]yārun Perumāl.

No. 4. THE KANDY NĀTHA DĒVĀLĒ INSCRIPTIONS.

By H. W. Codrington.

THE inscriptions here discussed are cut out on eight stones forming part of the western wall of the Nātha Dēvālē in Kandy; five stones are in one row and three in the next. The first record is complete. The text reads straight across stones A and B, and is continued first on C and then on D. The fifth stone, E, of the top row contains part of another epigraph. Immediately beneath this are two smaller stones, F and G. These two with another, H, to their right present a consecutive text. There is missing one inscribed stone, if not more. The temple authorities have not improved the condition of the record by the use of cement wash and paint. The estampage reproduced is that recently made by the Archaeological Department. It has been carefully checked with the original. Use also has been made of photographs of an older estampage, supplied to me by the kindness of Mr. H. C. P. Bell, retired Archaeological Commissioner.

I.

The first epigraph is dated on the tenth of the dark half of Bak in the Buddhist year 2085 (30 March, 1543), and records the grant of various concessions

by the king Śrī Jayavīra Mahā Väda-vun-täna to the people of Dumbara, Pansiyapattuva, Mātalē, and Ūva Tunkiňda, and of the village Alutgama for their services in an attack by the Portuguese on the Hill Country. The identity of this king has been discussed in the paper on the Palkumbura copper plate (E.Z. Vol. III, pp. 240 ff.). The present inscription chiefly is of value in giving us the correct name of the ruler who was on the throne of Kandy in 2085 A.B., as this year, according to tradition, marks the accession of Vikrama Bāhu, the founder of that city as the capital. We have already seen that this date in all probability was derived from the record now published, engraved as it is on a temple the foundation of which was attributed to this Vikrama Bāhu. A shrine of the god Nātha in Senkadagala or Kandy is mentioned in the Sagama inscription of the reign of Bhuvanaika Bāhu V. This shrine, if identical in site with the present dēvālē, quite possibly was rebuilt by Vikrama Bāhu. The existing building, however, as it stands, cannot be his, for the wall, on which our inscriptions are cut, evidently has been rebuilt, and at least one stone of the second epigraph lost in the process.

The **script** calls for no comments. It is of use for purposes of comparison with that of the Gaḍalādeṇiya record of Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu. The document is not the work of a scholar.

The date was read as 2085 many years ago, when the inscription was in a better condition. The akṣara හ of දහස් is quite clear, and there is only room for two akṣaras between the ස් and the unmistakable පස්වනු on stone B. From the arrival of the Portuguese in Ceylon up to the expulsion of the earlier Kandyan dynasty by Rājasimha I there are only three dates requiring two akṣaras, namely the Buddhist years 2065 (හැට), 2085 (අසූ), and 2095 (අනූ). Between these the question must be settled in favour of 2085 by the remains of the second akṣara සූ on the stone and in the older estampage.

Mē (sa) ... raṭavala. There is space only for two akṣaras, the last of which from the traces remaining seems to have been ra. The defective word, therefore, may be satara, 'of these four countries'. Pansiyapattuva often is used almost as a synonym of Dumbara. If this be the case here, only three countries are mentioned. But many Kandyan palm leaf registers differentiate between Dumbara and Pansiyapattuva, this last corresponding with the present Uḍa Dumbara, Vēṇḍaruva, and Palispattuva. 'The remaining two countries' spoken of later are Siduruvāṇā Denuvara and Baļaviṭa. The 'Five Countries above the mountains' were these two with Dumbara, Mātalē, and Ūva (cf. the Gaḍalādeṇiya slab-pillar inscription of Jayavīra Parākrama Bāhu).

The word *Paraingi*, 'Frank', occurs here seemingly for the first time in Sinhalese literature. Which attack by the Portuguese on the Kandyan country accompanied by local rebellion is referred to is unknown. Nuno Alvarez Pereira was attached to the Court of Kandy from July 1542 and there is no indication of hostilities in the documents published by Schurhammer (*Ceylon*, Schurhammer and Voretzsch, Leipzig, 1928) between Pereira's arrival and the date of the inscription. Fr. S. G. Perera, S.J., writes to me:—

'I suppose the "disturbance made by the Portuguese" must be some petty affair dignified into an incursion and defeat of the Portuguese. In 1543 February Nuno Alvares Pereira set out from Kandy with a Captain and 2000 men to meet the Portuguese Factor Amaro Mendez who had come to Trincomalee with Miguel Ferreira at the King's request (Schurhammer, pp. 175-6). Pereira met with some opposition from the "ladram que sosegua aquela terra"; and Miguel Ferreira and the Factor went away. It is perhaps this incident that has been magnified into an expulsion of the Portuguese. At least I do not know of any other before March 1543, which can even bear a semblance of a "disturbance by the Portuguese"; unless perhaps an attack by Mayadunne or Bhuvaneka Bahu was believed to have been instigated by the Portuguese.'

Fr. Perera's supposition may be right, for the countries most favoured by the present edict are those from which the people would have been called out for service towards Trincomalee. The remaining two countries; Siduruvāṇā Denuvara and Baḷaviṭa, would be exposed to an attack from the side of Colombo.

Viyadama, literally 'expenses', here clearly mean the supplies to the royal household. Nängi-avurudu-kada presumably is the kat rājakāriya or pingo duty; a pingo load of sweets and the like, now known as peņum kada, 'appearance pingo', is still presented to landlords at the New Year. The hybrid Sinhalese and Tamil term ājñā-murittu-dada or fine for breaking orders is now unknown; perhaps it may be the same as hinga-kāsi, the money paid for default of personal service.

The sentence pisiya pera-vā atana idam-batut is difficult. The idama or idam-ge was the official guest house of the gama-rāļa, whose duty it was to entertain chiefs on circuit therein, and to supply them with adukku or cooked provisions; here, as it is mentioned in connexion with supplies to the royal household, it must mean the king's resting-place, later known as gaman-māligāva, 'journey palace'. The word atana usually means 'there', 'in that place'; if this is the case in this sentence, it must be understood to refer to the countries and village mentioned,

a somewhat forced meaning. If, however, we can take it as the Sinhalese equivalent of āsthāna, qualifying idam, that is 'the royal resting places', the sense is somewhat better. Pera-vā can hardly be peravā, 'having wrapped up or covered'. The word occurs in the phrase me vak pera-vā, 'up to this time', in the Nikāya Sangraha and elsewhere. Clough gives vā as a particle of comparison, 'as', 'like', 'so'; pera-vā thus could mean 'as before'. Pisiya may be the conditional mood of pisanavā, 'should one cook' (Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasekara's Sinhalese Grammar, p. 249), or 'that which is cooked'. If the first be correct, pera-vā will have to be understood in the sense 'as before' qualifying idam-batut; if the second, it will go with pisiya, 'up to and including what is cooked', that is the cooking, but in this case the whole phrase is superfluous as bat is cooked as opposed to uncooked rice. And it may be doubted whether pisiya can bear the meaning 'cooking'.

The liyannō were the minor headmen; liyana-rāla was so used in certain provinces until recent times. Balu-parageri-as-madala must be identical with the later Kukkan-maduva, Sudu-harak-pantiya, and As-pantiya, the Departments of the Hunting Dogs, of the White (foreign) Cattle, and of the Horses. The first named department, as being contrary to the principles of Buddhism, was abolished by Kīrttiśrī and its people turned into a military body, the Maduvē ättō.

Peraļi-koṭa de-piṭa at .. karavā. The missing akṣara almost certainly is @ or @. I have read this tentatively as @, $m\bar{e}$, the contracted form of @ @, mehe, 'work'.

II.

As already stated, the second inscription is defective. It deals, among other things, with the *nila panduru* or money presents on appointment to office and with the *malāraya* or heriot. *Deya* on slab E has been taken not as 'thing' but as $d\bar{e}ya$, 'what is proper to be given', which suits the preceding words. *Ekalosayi* may have reference to some monetary denomination such as $rid\bar{\iota}$ or panam, larins or fanams.

The Tunkiňda of Ūva, of course, is Udukiňda, Mädakiňda and Yaṭikiňda. Mädakiňda no longer exists, but is found in the Kandyan and early British documents.

The king here is styled Āsthāna or Mahā Āsthāna. The title was in common use in the sixteenth century; in later Kandyan times it seems to have been restricted to the king's brother.

TEXT.

I.

A, B.

- 1 යු බූධ වම්යෙන් (දෙද)හ(ස්) [අ](සූ) පස්වනු බග අව දසවක
- 2 උඩරටට පරංගී(න් ෙ)[කරෙ]වූ වියවුලවූ තැන් දුම්බර ප(න්)
- 3 සියපත්තුව මාතලෙ උව [තුන්කි]ද අලුත්ගම(ත්) [ල]ත්දන් ජසවීර
- 4 මහා වැඩවුන්නෙනට මේ (ස) රටවල කුඩා මහත් සේනාව
- 5 පරංගීන්වත් කොටා බොහෝ ප(සාපා)නව සිටි නිසා මෙ කියන සේනා වගෙන්
- 6 රජගෙව ගන්නා වියදමින් නැති අවුරුදු කදත් ආශුමුරිත්තුදඩත් පිසිය පෙරවා අතන
- 7 ඉඩම් බතුත් ඇර සෙසු දෙරව්ව ගම්වත් රව්ව ඇරි රදලට්වත් කොරළයාට ලිය(න්)
- 8 නන්වවත් බ(ලු) පරගෙරි අස්මඩලව අගයක් නො දෙන්වත් හිය රදල කෙනතු

C.

- 1 (න්)ව කෝරළයාකුව
- 2 එක දවසකව සාල් තු
- 3 නෙ බත් ඇර අමුතු බතක් ඉනා කන්
- 4 වත් අමුතු අගයක් නො ගන්වත් ජසවීර
- 5 වැඩවුන් $oldsymbol{o}$ නෙනට පෙරළි කොට දෙපිට අත් .. 1
- 6 (ක)රවා සිටි එකෙක් ඇත්නම් උගෙන් රජ
- 7 ගෙට ගන්නා ඇම වියදම්ම ගන්වන් වැඩවූන්
- 8 නැන ආඥ පවතිනා නෙක් මෙ අස්න රග
- 9 ට පවතිනා පණතට සක් (ඇම) සතර වරම් දෙවි

D.

- 1 යන් ඇතුළුවූ සියලු තිස් (තුන් කො)
- 2 ටියක් දෙවියන් දෙස්කොට කු(ඩා ම)හ
- 3 ත් සේනාවට මේ සිලාලෙබාය ම
- 4 කාටාවා දුන් බවට ශී්ජයවීර ම
- 5 හා වැඩිවුන්නැන වම්හ

¹ Traces of @ or D; perhaps @ .

II.

E.

- 1 උව තුන්කිදව
- 2 ඇතුළුවූ කුඩා මහත් සේනාවට
- 3 ජසවීර ආස්ථාන පවත්වා දෙන තැ
- 4 න්ම නම් නිල කත් ත ..¹ ..² සෙසු දෙය
- 5 ඇර නිල පඩුරු එකලොසයි මළාර

F. G. H.

- 1 නති 3 සරක් (ආ)නි එකෙක් මළෙ නම් උගෙන් එ ක(ම)
- 2 රජගෙව ගන්වන් ජසවීර මහා ආස්ථාන ආඥ
- 3 මේ රගට පැවති බව දැනගැන්ම යහපති

TRANSCRIPT.

A, B.

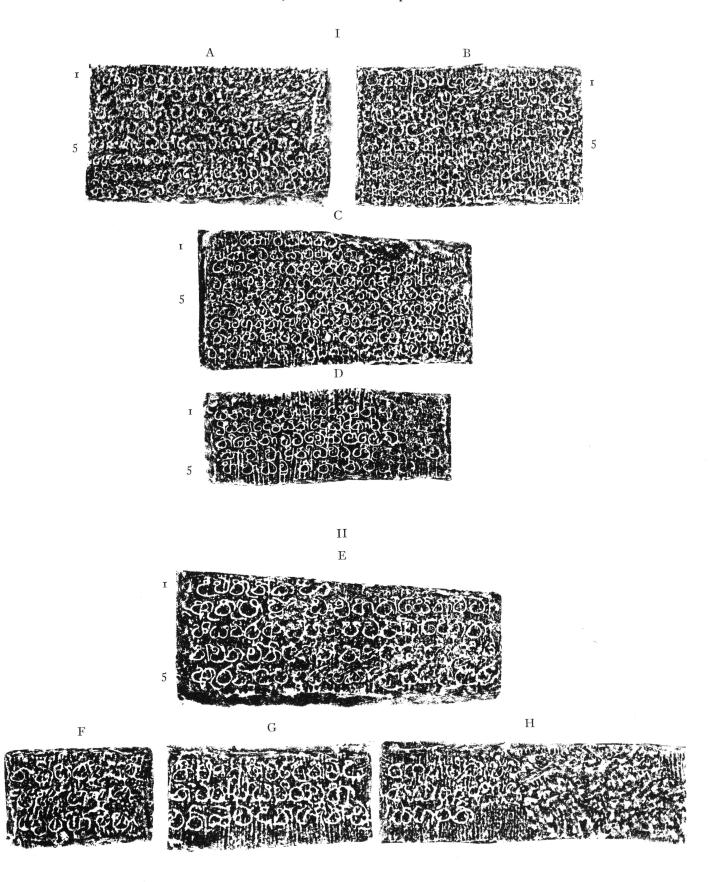
- 1 Śrī Buddha varşayen (de-da)ha(s) [a](sū) pasvanu Baga ava dasavaka
- 2 Uda-rața-ța Paramgī(n) [kere-]vū viyavula-vū tän Dumbara Pa(n-)
- 3 siyapattuva Mātale Uva [Tunki]ňda Alutgama(t) [l]atdan Jayavīra
- 4 Mahā Väḍa-vun-tena-ṭa mē (sa) raṭavala kuḍā mahat sēnāva
- 5 Paramgīn-ṭat koṭā bohō pa(kṣapā)ta-va siṭi nisā me kiyana sēnāvagen
- 6 raja-ge-ṭa gannā viyadamin nängi-avurudu kadat ājnā-murittu daḍat pisiya pera-vā atana
- 7 idam batut ära sesu de-raṭa-ṭa gama-ṭat raṭa-ṭa äri radala-ṭa-vaṭ koralayāṭa liya(n-)
- 8 nan-ṭa-vat ba(lu)-parageri-as-maḍala-ṭa agayak no denṭat giya radala kenaku-

C.

- 1 (n-)ța kōraļayāku-ţa
- 2 eka davasaka-ṭa sāl tu-
- 3 ne bat ära amutu batak no kan-
- 4 tat amutu agayak no gantat Jayavira
- 5 Väda-vun-tena-ța perali-koța de-pița at ..4
- 6 (ka)ravā siți ekek ät-nam u-gen raja-
- 7 ge-ța gannā äma viyadam-ma ganțat Väda-vun-
- 8 täna ājñā pavatinā tek me asna raňga-
- 9 ța pavatinā paṇata-ța Sak (äma) satara varam devi-

¹ නි or නි. ² ල්, ලි, or ල. ³ Or නැනි, or නැති.

^{&#}x27; Traces of m or v; perhaps $m\bar{\epsilon}$.



D.

- 1 yan ätuļu-vū siyalu tis (tun ko-)
- 2 tiyak deviyan des-kota ku(dā ma)ha-
- 3 t sēnāva-ţa mē silā-lekhyaya
- 4 kotāvā dun bava-ta Śrī Jayavīra Ma-
- 5 hā Väda-vun-täna vamha

II.

E.

- 1 Uva Tunkiňda-ta
- 2 ätuļu-vū kudā mahat sēnāva-ţa
- 3 Jayavīra Āsthāna pavatvā dena tä-
- 4 nma nam nila kat ta ..1 ..2 sesu deya
- 5 ära nila paňduru ekalosayi malara-

F, G, H.

- 1 nani ³ sarak (ä)ti ekek male nam u-gen e ka(maṭa)
- 2 raja-ge-ta gantat Jayavīra Mahā Asthāna ājñā
- 3 mē ranga-ta pävati bava dänagänma yahapati

TRANSLATION.

I.

A, B, C, D.

On the tenth of the waning moon of Bak in the year of Buddha 2085. Because, when there was a disturbance made by the Portuguese against the Hill Country, the governors of Dumbara, Pansiyapattuva, Mātalē, Ūva Tunkiňda, and Alutgama, (and) the host, small and great, of these (four) countries, having beaten the Portuguese, were very loyal to Jayavīra Mahā Väḍa-vun-tena, from the supplies taken for the king's house from this aforesaid host there shall be remitted the New Year pingo, the fine for infringing orders, and, should food be cooked, the supplies of cooked rice for the royal resting places as heretofore.

For the remaining two countries and the village neither to the chief sent to (govern) the division nor to the $k\bar{o}ralay\bar{a}$ and the minor headmen shall any money be paid for the departments of the hunting dogs, the foreign cattle, and the horses. Except the cooked rice (equal to) three (parts of) uncooked rice a day for any chief or $k\bar{o}ralay\bar{a}$ who has gone (on circuit), no new (contribution of) cooked rice shall be eaten, no new (contribution of) money shall be taken.

¹ *ni* or *ti*.

² *l*, *li*, or *la*.

³ Or näni, or näti.

If there be any one who has rebelled against **Jayavīra Väḍa-vun-tena** or who has (worked) for both sides, from him shall be taken for the king's house all and every one of the (usual) supplies.

To the command, which is to endure according to this edict so long as the order of Majesty shall endure, I, **Śrī Jayavīra Mahā Väḍa-vun-tāna**, (certify) that I have called to witness all the thirty-three *koṭi* of gods including Śakra and all the four guardian gods and have caused to be inscribed this stone record and have given it to the host, small and great.

II.

E.

- 1. To the Tunkinda of Uva
- 2. to the host, small and great, including
- 3. established and given by Jayavīra Āsthāna
- 4. titles, offices, ? pingos, (and) the remaining things proper to be given
- 5. except the money presents for offices, II; the heriot . . .

F, G, H.

If any one dies having cattle they shall be taken from him for the king's house for that business. It is well to know that the commands of **Jayavīra Mahā Āsthāna** are to this effect.

No. 5. POLONNARUVA: COUNCIL CHAMBER PILLAR-INSCRIPTION.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THE sub-joined record is engraved on the four sides of a pillar, broken into two nearly equal pieces, which are now joined together and preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Anurādhapura. It was discovered in the vicinity of Niśśamka Malla's Council Chamber on the embankment of the Tōpāväva at Polonnaruva; and has been noticed in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1909, p. 39. The base of the pillar and its capital, if it had one, have both been broken off; and it seems to have served some architectural purpose, possibly as a tread in a flight of steps¹. The two pieces of the pillar now

¹ An inscribed pillar serves a similar purpose in the pavilion popularly known as the Rajamāligāva in the Citadel at Polonnaruva.

stand together to a height of 5 ft. 9 in.; and the sides are $11\frac{1}{2}$ and 8 in in breadth. Owing to the rough usage the pillar has been subjected to, the ends and the edges are considerably wasted and some chips are missing at the fractures. The pillar has also suffered to some extent from its exposure to the weather; and the writing on the upper part of side A, the greater part of side C, and a few lines at the top of sides B and D are, therefore, deciphered with some difficulty. Nevertheless a reasonably full and accurate reading of the whole text is possible with the aid of two other fragmentary inscriptions, to be noticed later, whose contents are very similar to those of the present epigraph.

The letters, engraved fairly deep, vary in size from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches. The script, which is somewhat cursive in type, is Sinhalese of about the ninth, or early tenth, century. The akṣaras pa and ga can hardly be distinguished, respectively, from ta and ha. The following orthographical peculiarities may also be noted:— $K\bar{a}mbur$ in A l. 25 is obviously the same as the familiar word kumbur; but it is not certain whether this is actually a variant form or a clerical error. Munumburan (B ll. 4-5) is evidently the same as munumburan, the genitive plural of munumbur. The loss of r in this nominal form is noteworthy; but, again, there is the possibility of a clerical error. The termination \ddot{a} in Doti Valaknä (B ll. 11-12) is strange; from the analogy of similar names in mediaeval documents, one would have expected the form Valaknā. $P\ddot{a}la$ (B l. 21) occurs in other documents as $p\ddot{a}la^{1}$.

The language presents several points of interest. We have, in the present epigraph, a number of words which are not found in other records of the period. Pupak (A l. 21) and sud-hingur (B l. 22) help us to determine the correct etymology of the modern words puvak and siddinguru, of which these forms, respectively, are the prototypes. Arigiya in A ll. 16–17 is, most probably, derived from Skt. $\bar{a}raksya$; and the change of k to g in this word is noteworthy. Punapuna A l. 18) is taken to be the same as Skt. punah-punah, P. punappunam. Atiyan in C l. 27 has the instrumental singular termination an, instead of the usual en; a parallel form is valan in the pillar inscription of Mahinda V^2 . The record also contains certain words of which the meaning is either doubtful or altogether obscure. These will be discussed in the footnotes attached to the translation. The passive verbal form devanu labamha (C ll. 26–27) is also worthy of note, as such forms, though very common in the later stages of the language, are rare in the period to which

¹ See E. Z. Vol I, p. 133; Vol. II, pp. 110, 233, 286, and 288, and Vol. III, p. 193.

² See below p. 60.

this epigraph belongs. That part of the document coming on side B lacks clearness in its syntax; for instance, the gerund $valand\bar{a}$ in ll. 8-9 is superfluous as the finite verb valandanu occurs at the end of this clause.

The date given in the record is the fourth year of a king referred to by his viruda title of Abhaya Salamevan. Mr. Bell 1 has identified this monarch with Kassapa V (circa 908-918); but, as we have no other data, except the form of the script, to decide this point, we cannot be quite certain. Palaeographically, the record may be ascribed to Dappula V (circa 918-930) or Kassapa V, both of whom had this viruda title; but there is no other evidence which would help us to determine the question as to which of these two monarchs the Abhaya Salamevan of this inscription has to be identified with.

The record is concerned with the grant of immunites to certain lands held by an individual, whose name is not clearly legible, as a pamanu (freehold) on condition of paying, annually, one $p\bar{a}|a$ of dried ginger to a hospital founded by **Doti Valaknä**. The paying of a small quit-rent by holders of freehold land to a religious or charitable institution was a custom not infrequently met with in mediaeval Ceylon².

We have numerous examples of edicts, granting immunities to estates, belonging to religious institutions, and, sometimes, to private individuals, in mediaeval Ceylon; and they are all written in the same style³. In fact, in the ninth and tenth centuries, a formula in which such documents were worded, seems to have been in use. There are, of course, many variations in detail; but, in the main, all these grants of immunities were drawn up according to a stereotyped model. They open with the date in the regnal year of the reigning monarch and, after giving the names of the land and the institution or person concerned, mention the order delivered, with the consent of the Council, by the king or the heir-apparent, as the case may be, granting the immunities specified. Then follow the names of the officials who were deputed to proclaim the edict in the village concerned and the details of the immunities, such as the dues from which the land was exempted, or the officials whose entry to the estate in question was forbidden. Sometimes, the names of the officials who proclaimed the edict follow the details regarding the immunities. Such edicts are referred to, in the documents themselves, as attāni, pārahār, attāni-pārahār, abhaya or samvatā.

¹ A. S. C. Annual Report for 1909, p. 39.

² For instance, see the Nägama Pillar-Inscription (E. Z., Vol. II, No. 4) and the Rambäva Slab Inscription (*ibid.*, No. 12).

³ See E. Z., Vol. I, Nos. 11-13, 16 and 17; Vol. II, Nos. 1-12 and Vol. III, Nos. 5 and 28.

The present document departs almost entirely from this model. The order is not delivered by the king, nor by the heir-apparent; but by some dignitary whose personal name, but not his official title, is given. No mention is made of the Council $(sabh\bar{a})$. The order is addressed to certain officials, two of whom, the administrators of the districts in which the lands concerned were situated, are referred to by their personal names. The other minor officials are merely referred to by the names of their offices; and all these functionaries are exhorted to protect the lands in question. Then follow the details regarding the tenure of the land and the immunities to which it was entitled. After this occurs the statement that the pillar was set up, at the request of the first-named of the officials to whom the order was addressed, so that the notice of kings may be received and the land may become a pamaņu (free-hold). The regnal year and the date are given towards the end of the document which is referred to, not by any of the technical terms above mentioned, but by arak 'protection'.

Only two other inscriptions of this type—both of them fragmentary—are so far known to me. One of these is from Rajamahavihāra at Vihāregama in the Dambadeṇi Hatpattu of the Kuruṇāgala District; and the other has been found at a place named Mäda-Ulpota in Gangala Pallēsiya Pattuva, Mātalē East. These two inscriptions, though not of much interest in themselves, were of some help in arriving at the correct reading in certain places of the present record where the writing is not clearly legible; and, for purposes of comparison, I have, therefore, taken them as the subject of the next two articles.

The document throws some light on the economic conditions of Ceylon in the ninth and tenth centuries. We have already mentioned that the owner of the land had annually to pay one $p\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ of ginger, as quit-rent, to a hospital. The ginger was to be measured by a particular lahassa (modern Sinhalese $l\bar{a}ha$) which held four admanā. This statement shows that there were, in the tenth century, various lahasu measures of different capacities. The same conclusion can be arrived at from the Badulla pillar inscription which also mentions a particular lahasu measure, but without giving its capacity. Even at the present day, in different parts of Ceylon, the grain measures, though bearing the same designation, vary in capacity.

If the owner of the land failed to supply the ginger as specified, he was required to give, in lieu of it, one huna of gold computed at the rate of one aka for each lahassa. It may reasonably be assumed that the gold given in lieu of the

¹ E. Z., Vol. III, p. 79.

ginger was the market value of the commodity then prevailing. But it is somewhat difficult to utilize this information for comparing the price of this commodity in the ninth century with that prevailing now, as we are not certain that the mediaeval lahassa is of the same capacity as the modern lāha. This statement also proves that the number of lahasu in a pāla was the same as that of akas in a huna. As the systems of weights and measures which were current in Ceylon at this period are not well ascertained, the data supplied by the present epigraph cannot, however, be utilized with certainty. Three valuable notes dealing with these questions, kindly supplied by Mr. Codrington, have been appended to this paper and I do not, therefore, propose to discuss them here.

Mahamal Bud (Mahāmalla Buddha), who issued the order embodied in this document, is referred to without mentioning his official position; but from the fact that he issued orders to the governors of two districts, we can infer that he held a very high position in the administration of the state. An inscription discovered in 1931 in a garden near the Malvatu Oya, within the municipal limits of Anurādhapura, is concerned with the grant of immunities to certain lands held as pamunu in the family of Mahamal Bud. This record is also dated in the reign of a king named Abā Salamevan and it is possible that it refers to the same Mahamal Bud figuring in the present epigraph. Diyavällä Kasbā who, in addition to the governorship of the district called Maharat, also held the office of muk-hi¹, figures in the fragmentary pillar inscription from Mäda-Ulpota, in the same capacity as he does in this record. It is at his representation that the order was issued, and, therefore, his position is similar to that of the officer called the vijñapti in Indian documents. Hivalä Agbo, the other official mentioned in this inscription, is not otherwise known.

As regards the **geographical names** occurring in this document, **Maharat**, which is evidently the name of a district, seems to be the same as the **Mahāratṭha** mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (chap. lxxii, vv. 141, 163, 190 and 199). It figures in the chronicle in the account of Parākramabāhu I's campaign against Gajabāhu II; and from the trend of the narrative, it seems to have been the country adjoining the Kalāvava. If the original site of the present inscription was anywhere near Polonnaruva—as it is natural to believe, because the builders who utilized the pillar would not have taken the trouble to transport it from a very great distance—the territory included in the Mahāraṭṭha seems to have extended from the Kalāvava to the neighbourhood of Polonnaruva. We may, however,

¹ The exact meaning of this term is not known. See below p. 45, footnote 12.

surmise that the original site of the pillar was very near the eastern boundary of that district, as the order was addressed to the governors of both that district as well as the adjoining one. This was evidently due to the fact that the two lands affected by the order were in two different districts. It is natural to believe that two properties belonging to the same person and forming the subject of the same document were situated not far from each other, and therefore it follows that they were near the very confines of the respective districts in which they were included.

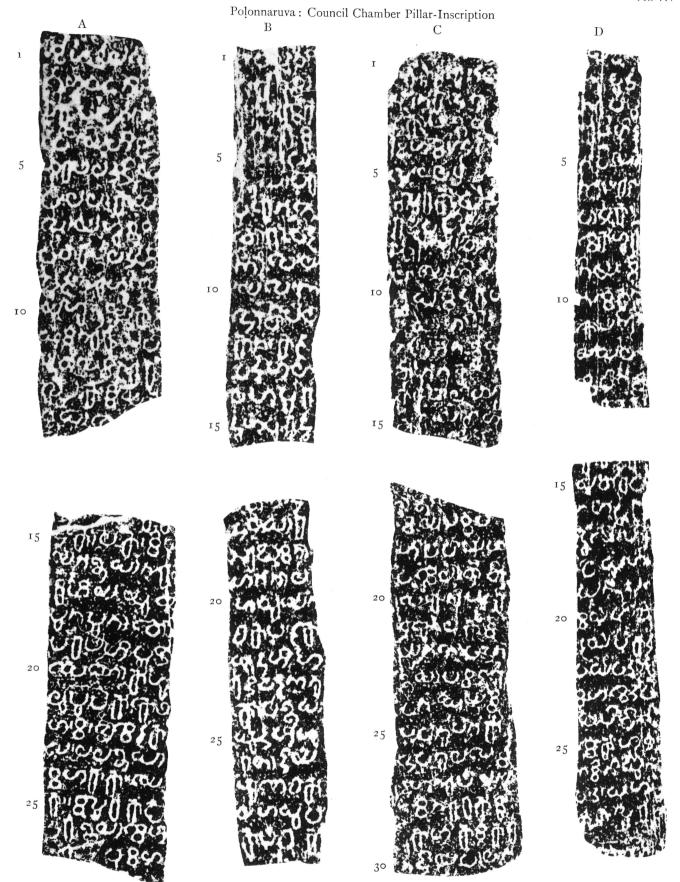
Maharaț was included in a danaviya called (Giri)vadunnā, not known from other sources. A danaviya, therefore, was a territorial division larger than a raṭa.

TEXT.

		A.		
1	මහමල් බු		15	ද්කොල්කැම්
2	දුනු වජනින්		16	යන් ඉසා අ
3	(ශිරි)වඩුන්නා ද		17	රිගිය යුතු
4	නවියෙහි ම		18	පුනපුනා [‖*] නො
5	නරට් ලද් දිය		19	ප රට්හි වූ ඉද
6	වැල්ලැ කස්		20	සෙණාක් නු
7	බායනු ඉසා		21	ලුපුපක් කොට්
8	වෙනරට්ලද් ශි		22	ගැමැ දෙමෙළ්කැ
9	වලැ අග්බො		23	
10	ය නු ඉසා කුළ			මහරැකැ ඉස
11	සම්අරුබ් පිට			කැමබුර් කඩ
12	ත්සම්අරු			වර් ඉසා මෙහි
13	බ්කැමියන්		27	වූ මහ
14	ඉසා සෙ[සු ර]			
		в.		
1	(වෙද්)නා		11	දෙනි වල
2	(රක් තු)මා		12	•
3	ඉසා මෙක්		13	වෙදහල
4	නු දරු මු		14	B
5	[නු]මබුවන්		15	දු හවුරුදු
6	ඉසා පර		16	[පතා බද්]
7			17	•
8	_ නොරා වළ		18	
9	ஆ පොලි	•	19	•
10	ය බැ දු		20	හසුයෙන්
				•

21	එක්පැලක්			2 6	ර් නොදිය
22	සුද්තිතු			27	නුණ එක්
23	ර් දි වලඤනු			2 8	ලහසුව
24	කොට් ඉසා			29	කට් එක්
25	සුද්තිගු				
			C.		
1	අකස් රන්		•	16	න්නා ඉසා
$rac{1}{2}$	•			17	නමා ඉ යා මෙසට් මක්
3	නුනක් දෙනු කොට් ඉසා			18	නිව පි ය නි
ծ 4	කොට ඉසා මෙ ගමැ දෙ[කැ]			19	හර එසග ව මෙලාත්නි
5	බැල්ලව් [කෑ]			20	පෙරෙනාවටු ර
6	බැලිලිට [යාෑ] මබුර්කඩව			21	ද්කොල්කැම <u>ි</u>
7	රට් වූ වි[ය වූ			22	යන් නොවදනා
8	ලක්] ඇත ස			23	ඉසා පමණු
9	බාගෙ හිණු්			24	වන සෙය් මි
10	න සම්දරුව			25	පල් නුවනක්
11	න් සාහා (පසි)			26	දෙවනු ලබම්
12	න සාහා (පස) න්වන්නා ඉසා			27	
13	තුන්නකයැ			28	
14	කැබැලි ගනු			29	ක්හිකම් කර්
15	ත් කැබැලි ග			30	න දියවැල්ලැ
10			_		
			D.		40
1	[කස්බා]			15	සනරව
2	අවුද්			16	න හවුරු
3	අප් පූ			17	දුයෙහි
4	රච්භි ද			18	වෙස ග් ූ
5	න්වියෙන්			19	
6	අප්			20	මස්හි නෙ
7	වා කැ			21	ලෙස්වක්
8	මෙක්හු				දවස් වදළ
9	නියම්			23	
10	න් මේ කනු			24	
11	කො[ට්] අ[යා]			25	-
12	ස සල				න මිනිසුන්
13	මෙවන් ම	.*		27	•
14	[පුර්මුකා]			28	(න්) කුබුර්
14	[පුර්මුකා]			28	(න්

21	එ ක්පැලක්		26	ර් නොදිස
22	සුද්තිතු		27	ගුණ එක්
23	ර් දි විළුඤ්නු		28	ලහසුව
24	කොට් ඉසා		29	කට් එක්
25	සුද්තිතු			
		C.		
1	අකක් රන්	0.	16	න්නා ඉසා
$rac{1}{2}$	ශූනක් දෙනු -		17	නෙනා ඉයා මෙයට් මන්
3	කොට් ඉසා		18	නිව පි ය නි
4	මේ ගමැ දෙ[කැ]		19	ව මෙලාත්නි
5	බැල්ලට් [කෑ]		20	පෙරෙනාව්ටු ර
6	මබුර්කඩව මබුර්කඩව		21	ද් ක ොල්කැම්
7	රව වූ වි[යවු		$\frac{22}{22}$	යන් නොවදනා
8	ලක්] ඇත ස		23	ඉසා පමණු
9	බාගය හින්		24	වන සෙස් මි
10	න සම්දරුව		25	පල් නුවනක්
11	න් සාහා (පසි)		2 6	_
$\frac{11}{12}$	න් සාමා (Ca) න්වන්නා ඉසා		27	
13	තුන්නක යැ			මේ අරක් මු
14	කැබැලි ගනු		29	
15	ක් කැබැලි ග ත් කැබැලි ග		30	න දියවැල්ලැ
10	3 W. 1881 C 3			, 500
		D.		46
1	[කස්බා]		15	සනරව
2	අවුද්		16	CLI.
3	අප් පූ		17	ш
4	රට්නි ද		18	
5	න්වියෙන්		19	
6	∉ප්		20	මස්හි තෙ
7	වා කැ		21	_
8	මෙක්නු		22	
9	නියම්		23	
10	න් මේ කනු		24	
11	කො[ට්] අ[ඡා]		25	
12	ස සල			න මිනිසුන්
13	මෙවන් ම		27	
14	[පූර්මුකා]		28	(න්) කුබුර්



Scale about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches to 1 foot

NO. 5] POLONNARUVA: COUNCIL CHAMBER INSCRIPTION 41

TRANSCRIPT.

A.

1	Mahamal Bu-		15	-d-kol-kämi-
2	-dāhu vajanin		16	-yan isā a-
3	(Giri)vaḍunnā-da-		17	-rigiya yutu
4	-naviyehi Ma-		18	punapunā [11*] To-
5	-haraț-lad Diya-		19	-pa raṭ-hi vū de-
6	vällä Kas-		2 0	seņāk hu-
7	- bā yahu isā		21	-lu-pupak Koṭ-
8	${f v}({f e})$ ta-raț-lad ${f Hi}$ -		22	gämä Demel-kä-
9	-vaļä Agbo-		23	-bälla isā
10	-yahu isā kuļa-¹		24	Maharäkäye
11	sam-arub piṭa-		25	Kāmbur-kaḍa-
12	-t-sam-aru-		2 6	-var isā mehi
13	-b-kämiyan		27	vū maha-2
14	isā se[su-ra]-			
		В.		
1	(ved)nā		16	[patā bad]-4
2	(Rak tu)mā		17	-daṭ sār-
3	isā mek-		18	aḍ-manā
4	-hu daru-mu-		19	gannā la-
5	-[nu]mbuvan		20	-hasuyen
6	isā para-		21	ek-päļak
7	-puren no-		$\bf 22$	sud-hingu-
8	torā vaļa-		23	-r di vaļandanu
9	-ndā pol[i]-		24	koț isā
10	-ya bändä		25	sud-hingu-
11	Doti Vala		26	-r no-diya-
12	- knä ³ kaļa		27	huṇa ek-
13	vedahala-		28	lahasuva-
14	-ṭ havuru-		29	-kaṭ ek-
15	-du havurudu			

¹ The letter ku is not quite clear; but the reading given above is supported by the Vihāregama inscription, below p. 53.

² This letter can also be read as 'ga'.

⁸ Can be read as *Palaknä* also.

^{&#}x27; Though the letters of this line are for the most part destroyed, the reading given is fairly certain.

C.

		٥.	
1	akak ran	16	s -nnā isā
2	hunak denu	17	meyat mang-
3	koț isā	18	3 giva piyag[i]-
4	me gamä de-[kä]-	19	-va melātti
5	-bällaṭ [Kā]-	20) perenāṭṭu ra-
6	-mbur-kaḍava-	21	-d-kol-kämi-
7	-raț vū vi[yavu-	22	2 -yan novadanā
8	-lak] äta sa-	28	B isā pamaņu
9	-bāye hind-	24	ł vana sey mi-
10	-na sam-daruva-	25	5 pal nuvanak
11	-n sāhā (pasi)-	20	B devanu labam-
12	-ndvann ā isā	27	7 -ha aṭiyän
13	tun-nakayä	28	B me arak mu-
14	käbäli ganu-	29	-k-hi- kam kar-
15	-t käbäli ga-	30) -na Diyavällä
		D.	
1	[Kasbā] ¹	18	satara-va-
2	avud	16	3 -na havuru-
3	ap pu-	17	7 -duyehi
4	-raṭ-hi dä-	18	8 Vesag-
5	-nviyen	19	sand pun-
6	ap	20) mas-hi te-
7	-vā kä ²	2	l -ļesvak
8	mek-hu	25	2 davas vadāļa-
9	niyami-	23	3 -mha [∥*] Me dava-
10	-n me kanu	24	4 -s pițin 3
11	koț A[bha-]	25	5 mek-hu tä-
12	-ya Sala-	20	3 -na minisun
13	mevan ma-	2'	7 vädä saga-
14	-[purmukā]	: 2 8	8 -(t) kubur 4

¹ Compare the Mäda-Ulpota inscription, below p. 57.

³ May also be pivin.

² No connected reading of lines D 6-7 is possible.

⁴ No traces of writing are visible after line 28: but the Mäda-Ulpota record shows that this inscription did not end here.

TRANSLATION.

[Lines A 1-18]. By the command of **Mahamal Bud**¹. By **Diyävälla Kasbā**² who has received [the governorship of] the district of **Mahara**; in the province of (**Giri**)vaḍunnā⁴, and by **Hivaļā Agbo**⁵, who has received [the governorship of] the adjoining district, and by the officers called the *kuļa-sam-arub* and *piṭat-sam-arub*⁶, and by the other officers of the royal household, [this] should be protected again and again.

¹ P. Mahāmalla Buddha. In this name, Mahāmalla is obviously a viruda title for which see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 199.

² Kasbā = P. Kassapa, Skt. Kāsyapa. Diyavälla is a place name.

³ With the expressions *Maharat-lad* and *veta-rat-lad*, it may be interesting to compare modern expressions like *rata läbī karavana*, which are used in referring to officials like Ratēmahatmayās.

⁴ Girivadunnā:—If this reading is correct, the name is equivalent to P. Girivaddhamāna.

⁵ Agbo = P. Aggabodhi. Hivala is the name of a village.

⁶ Kula-sam-arub and pitat-sam-arub which, obviously, are the designations of some minor officials, have here been met with for the first time. The same two classes of officials are referred to, in the Vihāregama inscription, by the slightly different terms kulat-sam-arub and pitas-samun. The Mäda-Ulpota pillar has pilassam arub and, in the missing portion of that record, the other term too must have occurred. From the contexts in which they occur in the three records, it is clear that these terms refer to two classes of government officers. All the documents in which these officials are mentioned together are concerned with the grant of pamunu lands to private individuals and from the fact that they are expressly named while the other classes of royal officers are referred to in a general way, we may presume that they had an intimate connexion with this branch of the administration of the government. An officer called a pitassam is mentioned in the Mihintalē tablets of Mahinda IV in company with another styled raj-ge upāni kāmi (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 95). Both these officials were given a certain allowance from the income of the monastery and, therefore, we may be justified in presuming that they were servants of the monastery. But the second named officer, from his title itself, appears to have had some connexion with the palace as well. It is a well-known fact that certain functionaries were common both to the monasteries and to the royal palace. The term pilassamu, occurring in the Mihintalē inscription, has not been satisfactorily explained. Dr. Wickremasinghe renders it conjecturally by 'one who arranges outside affairs' (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 108, n. 9). In both these terms, the essential element appears to be atsam or assam which also occurs in other names of monastery officials mentioned in the Mihintale tablets, to wit, veher-atsam, karandu-atsamu, dage-atsam, and dummal-assam. An earlier form of atsam, namely, atasama, occurs in a fragmentary inscription at Puvarasankuļam near Mihintaļē. Various suggestions have been put forward for the interpretation of atsamu. Müller, deriving it from Skt. hasta + sam, renders it by 'receiver of revenues'; Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara by 'sealing' and Dr. Wickremasinghe by 'keeper'. None of these interpretations, however, has anything to recommend it. In pitat-sam-arub, pitat means 'outer'; therefore, in the term used in juxtaposition with it, namely, kulat-sam-arub, kulat may mean 'interior', though I do not know of any place where the word is found used in this sense, nor any etymological reasons for this meaning. Arub, the last element of these two compounds, is also obscure both in meaning and etymology. It is doubtful whether it is the same as arub, equivalent to Pāļi ārāma, occurring in the Mihintalē tablets (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 92).

[Lines A 19-C 3]. The Tamil allotment¹, comprising of two seṇās² of hulu³ and areca-palms⁴ in [the village of] **Koṭgam** and **Kāmbur-kaḍavar** in⁵ [the village of] **Maharakāya**.... in this... shall be enjoyed in [their] lineage, without cessation⁶, by His Worship (Mahavednā) **Rak**⁷ and the children and grandchildren of this [personage]. The same shall be rented [to yield] interest⁸ and one pāļa⁹ of dried ginger¹⁰ [measured] by a lahasu⁹ taking four admanā⁹

- ¹ Demela-käbälla:—See E.Z., Vol. III, p. 143.
- ² For the explanation of this word, see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 143.
- ³ Fenugreek, trigonella foenum graecum. See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 140, n. 4 and p. 143.
- ' Pupak:—This word is a compound of pu (Skt. pūga) 'areca-nut' and pak which, in literary Sinhalese, means 'fruit' and is probably derived from Skt. pakva 'ripe', used in a secondary sense to denote 'ripe fruit or nut' and later extended in meaning to express 'fruit' or 'nut' in general. See Geiger, E. S., s.v. The modern equivalent of pupak is puvak which Geiger derives from pūga, but is at a difficulty to account for ak. The form preserved in this epigraph helps us to understand the correct etymology of the modern Sinhalese word puvak.
- ⁵ Kāmbur-kadavar is evidently the name of a land. Kāmbur, however, appears to be a variant form of, or a clerical error for, the familiar word kumbur. The name is repeated on side C; but, as the first letter is not legible, we are not able to test the correctness of the form occurring here. The word kadavar is possibly the earlier form of kadavara occurring in the fourteenth-century rockinscription at Gaḍalādeṇiya, in the phrase kumburu biju muṇak hā gam-kaḍavara ekek. Here the word appears to mean 'share'. Kada is perhaps equivalent to Skt. khaṇḍa 'piece'; but no conjecture is possible as to the meaning of vara. Kāmbur-kaḍavar may, if the first member of the compound be taken as equivalent to kumbur, be interpreted as 'share of a field'.
- ⁶ The occurrence of the gerund *valandā* in B ll. 8-9, interrupts the smooth flow of the order of words in the sentence. It is unnecessary, as the finite verb *valandanu* at the end of this sentence refers to this as well as the other clauses.
- ⁷ The reading $mahavedn\bar{a}$ is very doubtful. $Mahavedn\bar{a}$ 'the Chief Physician' occurs in the $Nik\bar{a}ya$ Sangraha as one of the principal functionaries of the state under Parākramabāhu I. The cognate title of $Suluvedan\bar{a}$ 'the Junior Physician' is found in an inscription of the reign of Parākramabāhu I, found at Anurādhapura. But the word has not been met with in any other document of the tenth century. Rak = P. Rakkha.
- ⁸ Poliya bändä:—Poli 'interest' occurs very commonly in the modern language and is connected with the Tamil root poli, 'to increase'. Bändä, literally, 'having tied' may mean 'having rented or mortgaged'. It may be conjectured that the holder of the land, in order to ensure the regular payment of the dues to the hospital, was requested to rent out as much of the land as would be necessary for this purpose.
 - ⁹ About these terms of capacity, see Mr. Codrington's notes appended to this paper.
- ¹⁰ Sud-hingur = Skt. śuddha śṛṇgavera, P. suddha singivera. In modern Sinhalese, the phrase suddha karanavā has the meaning of 'cleaning' or 'removing the husk', of cereals, &c. Sud might also be the same as the modern Sinhalese sudu 'white'. Thus sud-hingur may mean 'prepared or cleaned ginger' or 'white ginger'. Sud-hingur is undoubtedly the earlier form of siddinguru which is the term by which the Skt. nāgara is translated in Sinhalese books on medicine. I have, therefore, treated it as having the same meaning as Skt. nāgara and translated it by 'dried ginger'.

should be given year after year as rent to the hospital founded by **Doti Valaknä**¹. Should it not be possible to give the dried ginger, [as specified], a *huna*² of gold, [computed at the rate of] one *aka* for one *lahasu* of ginger, should be given in lieu of it.

[Lines C 3-23]. Should there be any dispute in connexion with the Tamil allotment³ of this village or the *kāmbur-kaḍavar*, the gentlemen⁴ who sit in the assembly shall arbitrate and settle the same. *Kābāli*⁵ shall be taken [from these lands] if *kābāli* be taken from [the lands belonging to] the three fraternities⁶. The officers of the royal household, such as *magiva*, *pegiva*⁷, *melātti* ⁸ and *perenāṭṭu* ⁹ are not to enter this [estate].

[Lines C 23-D 23]. With the desire that we shall be noticed ¹⁰ by kings in order that [this estate] may become a pamaņu¹¹, and as **Diyavällä Kasbā** who performs the office of muk-hi¹² came and notified in our presence ¹³.....¹⁴ this

¹ Doti Valaknä:—Doti = P. Joti, frequently met with as a personal name. Valaknä is obviously a title; but its significance is not clear and it has also not been met with elsewhere.

² For these terms, see Mr. Codrington's notes appended to this article.

³ Dekäbälla:—It is quite clear from the context that the names of the lands given in A ll. 21-26 are repeated in C ll. 4-7. In place of the word Demala-käbälla in the earlier part of the record, dekäbälla is substituted here. We can, therefore, be almost certain that these two words are synonymous. In fact, dekäbälla seems to be nothing more than an abbreviated form of demel-käbälla. The compound word dekäbäli-laduvan occurs in the slab-inscription near the Stone Canoe in the Citadel at Anurādhapura (E.Z., Vol. I, No. 8), where it has been translated by Dr. Wickremasinghe as 'the recipients of two allotments'.

⁴ Sam-daruvan:—See E.Z., Vol. III, p. 88.

⁵ See E.Z., Vol. III, p. 277, n. 9.

⁶ Tun-nakaya (P. Nikāyattaya, the three fraternities) were the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri, and the Jetavana sects of monks.

⁷ For these two terms, see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 146.

⁸ See *E.Z.*, Vol. III, p. 110. ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹⁰ Literally, 'we shall be caused to be given an eye by kings', if the reading *mipal nuvanak* devanu labamha be correct. The reading as well as the translation offered of this phrase are not beyond doubt.¹

¹¹ For this word, which is usually spelt pamunu, see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 276, n. 3.

This word has not been found elsewhere; but from the context it is clear that it is the name of an office, though we do not know exactly what its nature was. Muk-hi may be derived from Skt. mukhya, in which case, it means 'chief'. In South Indian documents, mugam (Skt. mukham) means the 'word of the king' and the officer, whose duty it was to note down the verbal orders of the king, was called mugaveṭṭi, an official title which was, in the slightly different forms of mukaveṭṭi and mohoṭṭi, also current in Ceylon during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Muk-hi in this record is perhaps the precursor of mukaveṭṭi of later times. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that it was on the representation of Diyavällä Kasbā, who performed the office of muk-hi, that the order embodied in this document was issued. Probably it was the royal consent which was communicated by Diyavällä Kasbā.

¹⁸ Purat-hi is also not known from any other document. I have taken purat to be derived from puras or purasthāt.

¹⁴ No reading, which would give any sense, of lines. D 6-7 is possible, though most of the letters are clear.

pillar was set up by the order of this [Diyavällä Kasbā]¹, and we delivered these [regulations of] protection² on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Vesag³ in the fourth year of His Majesty **Abhaya Salamevan**⁴.

[Lines D 23-28]. After⁵ this day, the field men from the place of this [person], having come⁶

APPENDIX.

NOTES ON THE HUNA AND GRAIN MEASURES.

By H. W. CODRINGTON.

I. I UNDERSTAND the text to mean that the grantee was to pay yearly I pāļa of white ginger measured by a lahassa of 4 admanās, or, in default, I huna, that is, I aka of gold for each lahassa.

The modern Table of grain measures is:-

pata huṇḍuva näḷiya laha tim̆ba pāḷa amuṇa 640 320 160 40 10 4 1

Twenty amunas make 1 yāļa.

This Table, however, does not represent actual practice; the number of patas or single handfuls in the näliya varies, as does the number of näli in the laha. There is also a small and a large laha. In some places it is ten of the small which make a $p \bar{a} l a$, in others ten of the large. The timba and the $p \bar{a} l a$ are considered to be fixed as the tenth and quarter of the amuna; each is divided into so many lahas, the number varying with their size.

Moggallāna's Abhidhānappadīpikā gives the following Table:—

kuduba, pasata pattha āļhaka doņa mānikā khāri vāha 20,480 5,120 1,280 320 80 20 1

He also gives a few other details. Thus, another name for the $\bar{a}lhaka$ is the tumba, for the pattha the $n\bar{a}l\bar{i}$, and for the $v\bar{a}ha$ the sakata, which last is etymologically the equivalent

¹ It is not clear from the context to whom *mek-hu* refers. I have assumed that it refers to Diyavällä Kasbā, as his name precedes this word. But this gives rise to a difficulty. The sentence can then be interpreted to mean that the pillar was set up by Mahamal Bud on the orders of Diyavällä Kasbā. The opening clause of the document makes it quite clear that Mahamal Bud was a higher official than Diyavällä Kasbā, for the former issues orders to the latter. In order to avoid this difficulty, I have, though in a somewhat forced manner, taken this part of the record to mean that the actual setting up of the pillar was executed at the orders of Diyavällä Kasbā, while the regulations embodied in the document were according to the command of Mahamal Budā, who speaks in the first person, in the opening words of the document.

² $Arak = Skt. \bar{a}rak s\bar{a}.$

³ P. Vesākha, Skt. Vaiśākha. The second Sinhalese month, April-May.

⁴ P. Silāmeghavanņa.

⁵ Pițin, literally 'outside'.

⁶ The exact purport of the clause contained in ll. D 23-28 is not clear as the reading, in some places, is not certain. The same clause occurs in the Mäda-Ulpota inscription with the addition of some more words, not clearly legible, after *kubur* with which the present record seems to end. Perhaps, this epigraph also contained the additional words found in that inscription.

of the Sinhalese yāļa. Further, 10 doņa are said to make 1 ammaņa, and 10 ammaņas 1 kumhha.

Moggallāna's Table is based on Pāli authorities and does not agree with the Sinhalese. That part of it, however, dealing with the pasata or single handful and the next two denominations is common also to the Cōla, Malabar, and Kandyan Tables; above the pattha or nālī all differ. Combining Moggallāna's figures, where the others are in agreement, with his supplementary material, and including the dona, which corresponds with the Sinhalese timba, we get .—

His information touching the ammana doubtless is from Sinhalese usage, as the number of single handfuls in it agrees with the modern Table. The $p\bar{a}la$ is absent, but it occurs as the fourth of the amuna in Niśśamka Malla's inscriptions.

The Mihintale Tablets mention the näliya, the admanā, and the pata. In one place we find I admanā 2 patas, in another 2 admanās (the highest given), and once the näliya, but not in connexion with the other denominations. More than 2 patas are never mentioned, and it is fairly certain that 4 patas equal the admanā.

Combining the Mihintalē data with those supplied by the present inscription, we find:—

$$4 patas = 1 adman\bar{a}$$

16 patas = 4 adman
$$\bar{a}$$
 = 1 lahassa.

The *lahassa* thus equals the modern *laha*, and the *admanā* the ordinary $n\ddot{a}liya$, the $n\bar{a}l\bar{i}$ of Moggallāna.

The lahassa is still in use in Jaffna in the Tamil form of lāccam, that is lāssa, as a measure of superficial area. In the Peninsula 4 cuṇḍu make 1 kottu or paḍi (seer), and 2 seers of paddy seed are required to sow one lāccam of ground. If the lāccam be restored to its place in the Table of grain measures we get:—

$$8 cundu = 2 padi = 1 lāccam.$$

The number of cundu in the laccam thus agrees with the number of hundu in the laha.

II. It is evident from the present inscription that, as I aka is to the huna, so I lahassa is to the $p\ddot{a}la$. We may consider the huna as a weight and as a coin.

The huna as a weight is given in the Yogārṇava of the reign of Bhuvanaika Bāhu I and in subsequent Tables as the equivalent of 3 kaļandas or 24 akas. Moggallāna, on the other hand, makes I suvaṇṇa equal to 5 dharaṇas (kaļandas) or 40 akkhas (akas). A huna of 24 akas implies a pāļa of 96 aḍmanās, and a huna of 40 akas a pāļa of 160 aḍmanās. Both these figures are far in excess of the value of the pāļa, 640 patas, that is, 160 aḍmanās, making the amuṇa both in Moggallāna and the modern Tables. We need not further consider the huna as a weight.

In inscriptions the huna occurs but rarely:—

- (1) 19 Sena II (Ceylon Coins and Currency, p. 197), dasa hunak ran, ten hunas of gold.
 - (2) 9 Udaya I (ibid.), pas hunak ran, five hunas of gold.
 - (3) ? Kassapa IV (ibid.), eka huna de äkakä mal, one huna two akas (? worth of) flowers.
- (4) Mr. Paranavitana supplies a fourth instance dating from about the sixth century, namely:—eka saya huna kavaṇa one hundred huna ka[ha]vaṇa. This occurs on a step leading to a shrine in the Northern Dāgāba area near 'Burrows' Pavilion'. Mr. Paranavitana

compares the formation of huna ka[ha]vaṇa with that of mala-kahavaṇa, dama-kahavaṇa, already known from inscriptions.

Examples (1) and (2) may refer to bullion; (3) may refer to bullion or coin; (4) certainly must mean coin.

It may be noted that the word huna is spelt with the dental 3. But as sunu, 'lime', is also so spelt in E.Z., Vol. I, p. 97, though derived from Skt. cūrnṇa, there is no difficulty in tracing huna to suvarṇṇa. That this is the correct etymology is rendered more than probable by the names of the weight corresponding to the huna in the cognate Tables. Thus in the Malabar 3 kaļancu make 1 kārṣam, in the old Tamil 2 kaļanju make 1 kaisu, and in the Gaṇita Sāra Sangraha for gold 2 dharaṇas are equal to 1 karṣa. Moggallāna's value of the suvanṇa has been given above. Karṣa and suvarnṇa are synonyms.

From the analogy of the Tamil pon and Canarese honnu 'gold', it may be argued that huna was a synonym for the kahavanuva coin. But the Mahāvamsa Tīkā calls this coin hirañña, and this is in accordance with the usual practice of the commentators, who render the Pāli hirañña by kahavunu and suvanna by rat-rana, 'red gold', that is fine gold bullion (Ceylon Coins and Currency, pp. 52, 188, 254). In spite of this, the expression huna-ka[ha]-vana in the sixth-century inscription coupled with sonna-kahāpana in Mahāvamsa, lxxxi, 45, though much later in date than the epigraph now under discussion, inclines me to think that the huna was the largest gold coin of the period or a coin of account of the same value. This gold coin was 8 akas in weight. Accordingly, the pāļa of the present document should contain 8 lahassas or 32 admanās. This is two lahas short of the modern pāļa. But if by the converse process of reasoning we work back from the existing measure, we arrive at a huna of 10 akas, and no coin of this weight is known.

Thus, the most likely solution of the problem presented by the inscription seems to be one by which the *huna* is a coin and not a weight, and the $p\bar{a}|a$ not the modern one of 10 *lahas*, but rather one of 8 *lahassas*. There is no direct evidence for such a $p\bar{a}|a$, but the analogy of small and large $n\bar{a}|i$ and *lahas* and the great variation in measure now in use make its existence not impossible. The *bara*, the equivalent of this hypothetical $p\bar{a}|a$, is mentioned in the following Note.

III. The relation of the admanā, 'half manāva', to the nāļiya in the Mihintalē Tablets is obscure. Rhys Davids surmised that the two were identical, and Moggallāna's Table supports this view. But the fact that both are mentioned in the same inscription makes this identification doubtful. A solution of the problem, perhaps, is to be found in the existence at the present day of two nāļi, the ordinary measure of the name, and the hambā- or bandāra-nāļiya, 'royal nāļiya', in use in temples.

The first mentioned $n\ddot{a}liya$ according to the Tables should consist of 4 patas, but in practice varies greatly. The bandāra-näliya in general usage is slightly in excess of the ordinary $n\ddot{a}liya$. Thus in Vavuniya District it is of 10 single handfuls against the usual 7, and at Dambulla of 6 against 4; in Lower Dumbara it is said by some to be $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the ordinary $n\ddot{a}liya$ of 3 handfuls, by others to be of 5 handfuls of a big man.

Also in the temples is the bandāra-kuruniya. This seems to be a variety of the larger laha, kuruniya in some parts of the country being a synonym of laha.¹ In Lower Dumbara

¹ The difference between the *laha* and the *kuruniya* is in the shape of the measure. The former a wooden plate, the latter a pot-like vessel, as is also the *näliya*.

it is said to be of 9 näļi; it is not connected in the popular mind with any definite number of bandāra-näļi.

The silver näliya, of the Daļadā Māligāva, as tested in my presence, contains 8 single handfuls.¹ It is known simply as näliya, though double the ordinary measure of this name in the Tables. Four make a baṇḍāra-kuruṇiya, and 16 the bara, 'burden' or head-load'. This kuruṇiya is identical with the old Cola kuruni or marakkāl.

But anciently there was also a näļiya of 4 admanās, witness the Dampiyā aṭuvā sannaya:—'aḍḍha-nāli mattam, aḍa-nāļiyak matu—de aḍamanāk matuyayi sēyi' (ed. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, p. 100).² This näļiya of 16 handfuls thus is equal to the lahassa of our inscription; it may be the Mihintalē measure.

We thus find three distinct näļi, of 4 handfuls, of 16 handfuls, and an intermediate one represented by the Māligāva silver näļiya and the different baṇḍāra-näļi. The smallest, agreeing as it does with the South Indian, may be the 'Tamil', and the largest the 'Sinhalese' nāļī of the Vinayattha Mañjūsa (Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī Tīkā, Colombo, 1912, p. 174). The Māligāva näļiya, being a double aḍmanā, seems really to be an old manāva. A measure of this name still exists in the Low Country, and according to the Tables is half the usual näļiya. But its contents in handfuls may well have varied with the näļiya.

The following Table of early mediaeval grain measures is put forward tentatively. The figures in heavy type are those obtained from the Mihintalē Tablets, the present inscription, the Dampiyā aṭuvā sannaya, and the Māligāva. The hypothetical pāṭa of 8 lahassas has been included. The division of the amuṇa into 5 instead of 4 pāṭas is required by its value of 640 patas given both by Moggallāna and by the modern Tables.

pata	admanā nāļī	? manāva (Māligāva näļiya)	näliya lahassa³	(baṇḍāra- kuruṇiya)	doṇa (timba)	pāļa (bara)	amuṇa
4	I						
8	2	I					
16	4	2	I				
32	8	4	2	I			
64	16	8	4	2	I		
128	32	16	8	4	2	1	
640	160	80	40	20	10	5	I

Support for the above Table is given by the mediaeval kiriya and its fractions, once employed for measuring paddy land. The kiriya was equated with 4 amunas and was divided into 4 $p\bar{a}$ or quarters, 20 massas, and 80 känas, on the same principle as the kahāpaṇa. The $p\bar{a}$, therefore, was the amuṇa, the massa the $p\bar{a}$ la of 8 lahassas, and the kaṇa the bandāra-kuruṇiya. We must, however, await further light from inscriptions before this Table can be fixed with absolute certainty.

¹ This is the exact capacity of the official Maldivian näliya of 4 lāhi (Sinh. hundu).

² I am indebted for this reference to Mr. S. Parinavitana.

³ See p. 48, note 1.

No. 6. VIHĀREGAMA PILLAR-INSCRIPTION.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

A Vihāregama, in the Udukaha Kōraļē West of the Dambadeņi Hatpattu in the Kuruņāgala District, there is an ancient monastery now known as Rajamaha Vihāra. The site, which is on a low hill, has been restored in recent times. The remains include some caves, one of which has a Brāhmī inscription¹ of pre-Christian date, a ruined shrine with pillars of the Polonnaruva style, and various architectural fragments now displaced and utilized in modern works. A flight of rough stone steps leads to the top of the hill; and, at the bottom of this, to the right, is now placed the upper half of an inscribed pillar² with kalasashaped capital. It is said to have been removed, several decades ago, to its present site from a neighbouring chena; but nobody was able to tell me exactly from where.

The preserved portion of the pillar measures, without the capital, $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 10 in. by 2 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height. The first five lines of side A are badly worn and the whole of side B, except the first six lines, is altogether illegible. After the fifth line on side D occur four symbols which are usually found at the close of pillar inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries; but the record does not appear to have ended here. Possibly, the remaining part of the sentence was inscribed below these symbols on the missing portion of the pillar. Horizontal lines are drawn, roughly parallel to one another, at an average distance of $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, on three sides of the pillar; and in the spaces thus formed are written three or four lines of writing, according to the size of the letters which, on an average, are $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height.

The script may be ascribed to the first half of the tenth century and shows forms more developed than in the record dealt with in the foregoing article. The writing is regular and uniform and there is nothing regarding it calling for special attention. As regards grammar, the only point to be noted is the form munuburavun in B l. 3 which may be compared with munubuvan in the Polonnaruva Council Chamber pillar-inscription. This word is the genitive plural of munu-

¹ A. S. I. No. 659, see C. J. Sc. G, vol. ii, p. 211.

² A. S. I. No. 660, see C. J. Sc. G, vol. ii, p. 211. The two records were copied, for the first time, by the writer in 1931.

buru and the regular form would be munuburan or munuburuvan. The word nind in C l. 4 has not been found in any other document of the period.

The record is **dated** in the ninth year of an unnamed king who was the elder brother or cousin $(b\bar{a})$ of the heir-apparent $(mahap\bar{a})$, also unnamed, by whom the edict was issued. Palaeographically, the epigraph ought to be assigned to a reign between Kassapa IV and Mahinda V and, in order to identify the monarch, we have to select a ruler of this period whose reign extended for nine years or more and whose mahapā was related to him as a younger brother or cousin. In this period, Kassapa V, Dappula V, Sena III, Mahinda IV and Sena V, had reigns extending to nine years or more. In the reign of Kassapa V, the mahapā was Dappula whose relationship to the former is not stated. But I have elsewhere¹ shown that Dappula could possibly have been a son of Udaya I; and, if this be correct, he was a younger cousin of Kassapa V, and could have referred to the latter as $b\bar{a}$. In the reign of Dappula V, the heir-apparent was Udaya (III) who, it is certain, was not the former's younger brother or cousin². In Sena III's reign, the mahapā was Udaya (II) who, from the Velmilla inscription³, is known to have been a son of Kassapa IV. If the statement in the Pūjāvalī that Sena III was a brother of Udaya II and if the parentage of the latter suggested by me in E.Z. III, p. 141, be accepted, these two princes were not related in the manner given by the present record. Mahinda IV, who had a son of his as the heir-apparent, Sena V had a younger brother of his own as mahapā. is out of the question. Thus, our epigraph may belong to Kassapa V or Sena V. We are unable, at present, to be more exact; but the earlier monarch appears to be the likelier candidate.

The **object** of the record was to register the gift of a land, the name of which is not preserved, to a person named **Niligalu Bud**, and the immunities granted thereto. In style, the document closely resembles the Polonnaruva Council Chamber pillar-inscription, many words and phrases being peculiar to both. Of the officers instrumental in proclaiming the edict, the name is preserved of one only and he is not known to us from other documents.

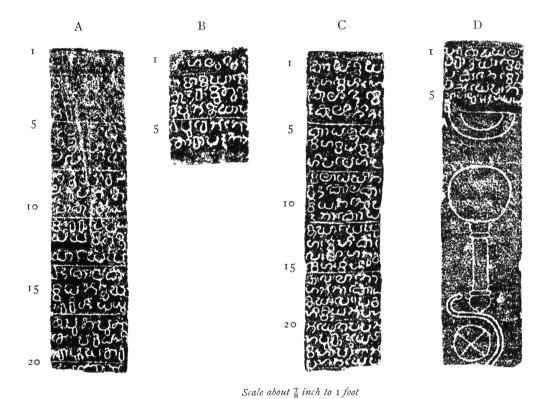
¹ E. Z., Vol. III, p. 142.

² See the Puliyankulam slab-inscription (E. Z., Vol. I, pp. 182-190) and E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 141-142.

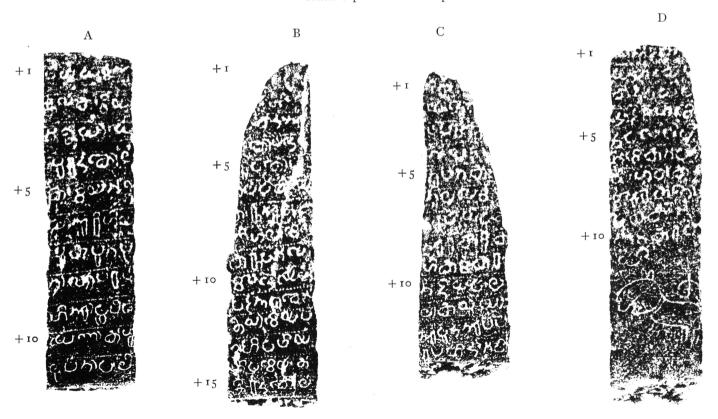
³ E. Z., Vol. III, p. 296.

TEXT.

		A.		
1	•• •• •• •		12	ස්සමුන් ඉ
2	ම		13	සා මසසු
3			14	ර ද් කොල්කා
4	න්		15	මියන් ඉසා
5	ක		16	අරිහිග පූ
6	න් ඉසා වෙ		17	තු පුනපූනා [॥*]
7	ල්වැස්ස		18	නොප රච්නි
8	න් ඉසා ර.ව්		19	1 07
9	ලදුවන් ඉ		20	ෙස ණාක්
10	සා කුළන්ස			
11	ම්අරුබ් පිට			
		в.		
1	ලිගලු බුද්		5	රපුරෙන් නො
2	තුමා ඉසා මෙ		6	නොරා වළඥ
3	කු දරුමුනුබු			
4	රවුන් ඉසා ප			
		C.		
1	කොට් ඉසා		13	ගැම්හි කැ
2	මෙ ගැම්ති හෙ		14	බැලි ගනුත්
3	ළ්කුලී දෙමෙ		15	මේ ගැම්හි
4	ළ්කුලී නිඤ්		16	කැබැලි නො
5	නොට් ඉසා කොට්		17	
6	මෙ ගමට් මන්		18	ඉසා බෑවත්
. 7	ශි ව පෙහිව		19	නිම් යන් වහ
8	මෙලාට්සින්		20	න්සෙ නවවන
9	ර ද්කොල්කැ		21	හවුරුදු යෙහි
10	මියන් නො ව		22	මහපාණන්
11	දනා කොට්		23	වහන්සෙ ව
12	ං ඉසා මසසු			
	•	D.		
.1	වර කුඩසලා	_,	4	එක්සෙ වැ නි
2	එරා ඉසා මෙතු		5	ලිගලු බුද් හට් මෙ
3	වක් ඉදනමො			
	7			



Mäda-Ulpota Pillar-Inscription



Scale about $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches to 1 foot

TRANSCRIPT.

		A.		
1			12	-ssamun i-
2	ma		13	-sā sesu-
3			14	-radkol-kä-
4	n		15	-miyan isā
5	ka-		16	arigiya yu-
6	-n isā ve-		17	-tu punapunā [‖*]
7	-l-vässa-		18	Topa raț-hi
8	-n isā raț-		19	āvū satar-
9	laduvan i-		2 0	seņāk
10	-sā kuļat-sa-			
11	-m-arub piṭa-			
		В.		
1	-ligalu Bud	ţ	5	-rapuren no-
2	tumā isā me-		6	torā vaļandā
3	-ku daru-munubu-			
4	-ravun isā pa-			
	•	C.		
1	koț isā		13	gämhi kä-
2	me gämhi he-		14	-bäli ganut
3	-ļ-kulī deme-		15	me gämhi
4	-l-kulī nind		16	käbäli no-
5	ko <u>t</u> isā		17	gannā koţ
6	me gamat mang-		18	isā bā-vat-
7	giva pegiva		19	himiyan vaha-
8	melāţsin		20	-nse navavana
9	rad-kol-kä-		21	havurudyehi
10	-miyan no-va-		22	mahapāṇan
11	-danā kot		23	vahanse va
12	isā sesu-			
_		D.		
1	vara Kuḍasalā		4	eks e vä Ni-
2	•		5	-ligalu Bud-hat me
3				

TRANSLATION.

kuļat-sam-arub, the piṭassam-arub³ and the other officers of the royal household, this should be protected again and again which is in your districts and which comprises of four seṇās⁴ of His Worship Niligalu Bud⁵ and his children and grandchildren should enjoy (this) in their lineage without interruption and having . . . and having made the heļ-kulī and demeļ-kulī oproprietary¹ (to this estate itself) and having made the maṅg-giva, piya-giva, melāṭsi⁵ and other officers of the royal household not to enter this estate and having made the käbäli¹¹¹¹ to be not levied from this estate¹¹¹ even if käbäli be levied from other estates, as it was ordered by His Highness, the mahapā, in the ninth year of His Majesty, the King, his elder brother¹² the aforesaid persons including and Kuḍasalā Erā, having come together, to Niligalu Bud, this

No. 7. MÄDA-ULPOTA PILLAR-INSCRIPTION.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

ABOUT three years ago, the lower portion of an inscribed pillar was unearthed in the paddy field at Mäda-Ulpota, an abandoned village in the Gangala Udasiya Pattuva of the Mātalē District. It now stands in a *chena* adjoining the field and the inscription on it was copied by the present writer in July, 1932. Without taking into account the base of the pillar, which was buried below the

¹ By this term is meant, most probably, a class of agricultural officers. It also occurs in the Buddhannehäla pillar inscription, *E.Z.*, Vol. I, p. 197.

² Rat-laduvan, see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 111.

³ For these two terms, see above, p. 43, n. 6.

⁴ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 143.

⁵ P. Nīlagalla Buddha.

⁶ These two terms occur also in the Īripinniyāva pillar-inscription (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 168). Two kinds of imposts levied respectively on the Sinhalese and Tamil inhabitants of the country are probably to be understood by these two technical terms.

⁷ Nind:—This is undoubtedly the earlier form of ninda in the modern word ninda-gama. In the Kandyan land tenure system, a ninda village or field was one held in exclusive possession. The word nind is probably derived from Skt. nija 'one's own', cf. the Bengali nij, a word which denotes the demesne lands of a landlord (J.R.A.S. for 1929, p. 90).

⁸ For these two terms, see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 146.

⁹ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 110.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 277, n. 9.

¹¹ For the interpretation of gam as 'estate', see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 276, n. 1.

The word $b\bar{a}$ may also mean an elder paternal cousin.

ground, the preserved portion measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. square by 3 ft. in height. Sides A and D have each eleven lines of writing preserved, side B fifteen and C thirteen. The figure of a dog is engraved below the last line on side D.

The writing is between parallel lines three inches apart from one another. The letters average $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in size. Lines +1 to +7 of side B and +1 and +2 of side C are wholly or partly illegible; the rest of the writing on this fragment is fairly well preserved. The script may be assigned to the first half of the tenth, or the closing decades of the ninth, century. It shows more developed forms than the script of the Polonnaruva Council Chamber pillar-inscription; but the two records cannot be separated from each other by a considerable number of years, as Diyavälla Kasbā figures in both in the same capacity.

The name of the king in whose reign the document was **dated** has not been preserved. The **object** of the epigraph was the grant of immunities to a land which was situated in a village called **Panāväli** and which, apparently, was set apart for the benefit of the servitors at the Council Hall (attāni-hala). Owing to the fragmentary nature of the record, we are not in a position to ascertain further details regarding the grant.

In **style**, the document resembles the Polonnaruva Council Chamber pillar-inscription and it enables us to settle one or two doubtful points in the reading of that record. Therefore, this fragment is published here though not of much interest in itself.

TEXT 1. A. වස්සම්අ + 1 සුතු සුනසු නා[🎁 නොප රච් 2 රුබ්කැම්ය 9 ගි ආවූ එක් 3 න් ඉසා මස සූ රද්කොල් සෙණාක් නු 10 + කැමියන් ඉ 11 ලූ පනාවැලි සා අරිගිය 6 в. කරුවන් බ 9 1 + 10 **ඔබ**දෙයෙන් $\mathbf{2}$ වළ අනු කොට් 3 (ගන්නා) 11 + ඉසා මෙයට් 12 4 .. කොට් දෙ + මතිව පිය 5 .. ට් නො 13 ගිව මෙලාත් 14 ට් වැ (ම) 15 ති රද්කොල් .. රු අන්(තා) + ණි්හල මෙහෙ

¹ See Plate 6, facing p. 52.

C.

+	1	•• •• •• ••		+	8	අරක් මුක්
. +	2			+	9	හි ක ම් කර
+	3	ට් පමණු [වි]		+	10	න දියවැල්
+	4	න සෙස් [ම්පල්]		+	11	ලැ කස්බා
+	5	නුවනක් [දෙ]		+	12	අවුද් අප සූ
+	6	නු ලබම්[හ]		+	13	රට්හි දූන්වි
+	7	අටියැන් [මෙ]				
			D.			
	1	an ard marks			77	an can and

+	1	සඥ් පුන්ම	+ 7	සගත් කු
+	2	ස්ති දසප	+ 8	මබුර්(හි) නො
+	3	ක් දවස් ව	+ 9	තැන්
+	4	ද, ල ම්හ [∥*] මෙ	+ 10	(ක)ම් කරව
+	5	දවස් පිට්	+ 11	යි [#*]
+	6	න් මෙකුන් වැදැ		

TRANSCRIPT.

A.

+	1	-ṭassam-a-		+	7	yutu punapu-
+	2	-rub-kämiya-		+	8	-nā[u*] Topa raț-
+	3	-n isā se-		+	9	-hi āv ū ek-
+	4	-su-rad-kol-		+	10	seņāk hu-
+	5	kämiyan i-		+	11	-lu Panāväli
+	6	-sā arigiya				
		•	В.			
+	1			+	9	karuvan ba-
+	2	•••••		+	10	-mbadeyen
+	3	(gannā)		+	11	vaļandanu koṭ
+	4	kot de		+	12	isā meyaț
+	5	t to		+	13	mangiva piya-
+	6	-ţ vä (ma)		+	14	giva melāt-
+	7	ru at(tā)-		+	15	-ti rad-kol-
÷	8	-ṇi-hala mehe-				

C.

+ + + + + + +	1 2 3 4 5 6 7				8 9 10 11 12	arak mukhi-kam karana Diyaväl- -lä Kasbā avud apa puraṭ-hi dänvi-
		, []	D.			
+	1	sand pun-ma-		+	7	sagat ku-
+	2	-shi dasapa-		+	8	-mbur(hi) no
+	3	-k davas va-		+	9	tän
+	4	-dāļamha [¶*] Me		+ :	10	(ka)m karava-
+	5	davas piţi-		+ 3	11	-yi ³ [n*]
+	6	-n mekun vädä ²				- <u>-</u>

TRANSLATION.

of the royal household, [this] should be protected again and again. [The village] **Panāvāli** which is in your district and which comprises of one seṇā of hulu should be enjoyed, unreservedly, by the survitors at the Council Hall. To this [estate], mangiva, piyagiva, melātsi of and the other

¹ The Polonnaruva Council Chamber pillar-inscription has devanu labamha in place of denu labamha of this record. See above, p. 40.

² The Polonnaruva inscription has mekhu tänä minisun vädä.

³ With ll. D+4-11 of this pillar, compare ll. D 23-28 of the Polonnaruva record. It is a pity that this particular passage in both these epigraphs is not well preserved and a correct reading of it is, therefore, not possible.

⁴ See above, p. 43, n. 6.

⁵ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 143.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 143.

⁷ Bambadeyen:—For the explanation of this word, see below, p. 67, n. 5.

^{*} Attāṇi-hala is probably derived from Skt. āsthāna-śālā. This compound, which has not been met with before, seems to support Dr. Wickremasinghe's suggestion (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 161, n. 8) that attāṇi in the oft-recurring word attāṇi-pārahār, in the mediaeval Sinhalese inscriptions, means 'assembly' or 'council'. See below, p. 66, n. 3.

⁹ For these two terms, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 146.

¹⁰ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 110.

¹ Ll. C+3-13 of this record are identical with ll. C 23-D 5 of the Polonnaruva Council Chamber pillar-inscription. Compare the translation and notes relating to this part of that record.

² Pitin:—See above, p. 46, n. 5.

The meaning of the word sagat occurring after kumbur in 1. D+7 is not quite clear.

⁴ For the passage occurring in ll. D+4-11, compare above, p. 46, n. 6.

No. 8. POLONNARUVA PILLAR-INSCRIPTION OF MAHINDA V.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THIS pillar was discovered at the eastern porch of the Quadrangle at Polonnaruva and is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Anurādhapura. Its base and its capital are both missing and it seems to have been utilized as a lintel, for on one side are two square mortice holes, which were obviously intended for fitting it to the two door-jambs. Its present dimensions are 8 in. by 7 in. by 5 ft. in height.

The epigraph, which covers all the four faces of the pillar, has been included as No. 42 in the list of inscriptions, copied between 1901 and 1905, appended to the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* for 1905 (p. 40). An eye-copy of it, prepared under the supervision of Mr. Bell, is also preserved in the Office of the Archaeological Commissioner. I edit the epigraph from the original stone.

The letters, which are very shallowly incised between parallel lines, each 1½ in. apart from one another, are, on an average, an inch in height. Owing to the rough treatment that the pillar has undergone, the writing is in a very bad state of preservation. Excepting some letters in lines 16–19, side A is fairly well preserved; and, on the second face, lines 2 and 6 are partly, and lines 18–20 completely, illegible. The third face has been badly damaged in cutting the two mortice holes; and of this side, lines 7–28 are almost completely obliterated. The fourth side is also considerably worn, but the writing can be deciphered without much difficulty. Sides A and B each contain 32 lines of writing. How many lines there were on side C cannot be definitely ascertained, though it may be conjectured that it also had the same number as sides A and B. Side D has nine lines of writing and the figures of the sun, the moon, a monk's fan, a scythe, a crow and a dog.

The **script** is Sinhalese of the tenth century and agrees, almost in every detail, with that of the inscriptions of Mahinda IV ¹. The introductory part of the document is written in a very florid style. Some of the phrases used here are also found in a fragmentary inscription, from Ranava in the Nuvarakalāviya District,

VOL. IV.

¹ See the Mihintalē Tablets (E. Z., Vol. I, plates 14 and 15) and the slab-inscription near the Stone Canoe at Anurādhapura (E. Z., Vol. I, plate 16).

belonging to the reign of a king named Abhā Salamevan, who, from the form of the script employed, may be identified with Dappula V or Kassapa V¹. As regards **orthography** and **grammar**, the present document is in keeping with the standard of the period; nevertheless, attention may be drawn to the following words:— Vuṭunu (Skt. veṣṭana), in A ll. 7-8, is generally found in literature as voṭunu; the forms vuṭun and vuṭunä (locative singular), however, are found in the 'Jetavanārāma' Slab inscription (No. 1) attributed to Mahinda IV². For väṭān in A l. 9, see my remarks on this word in the Kataragama pillar inscription³. As regards the instrumental singular termination in this word, the form pähän, occurring in the phrase sivipähän vana-aturu hobavamin, in the Dharmma-pradīpikā⁴, may be compared. Pīmen in A l. 10 is the instrumental singular of pīm which is a variant form of piyum (Skt. padma) found in the standard Sinhalese dialect. The form occurring in our record, though earlier in date, shows more advanced phonetic decay, than piyum. Äsäṭä in A ll. 25-26 is found more commonly in the form of Āseṭā.

The record is **dated** in the second year of a king styled **Sirisangbo** who has been identified by Mr. Bell with **Mahinda IV** (954-970 A.D.) ⁶; but from the names of the parents of this king given in the epigraph, the identification becomes untenable. The mother of Sirisangbo of the present record is called **Sangā-rājna** and his father is said to have been **Mihind-maha[rad]**. The reading maha-radun in the name of Sirisangbo's father is, of course, conjectural, the last three akṣaras being too much weathered to be deciphered with certainty. The only other possible reading to be substituted for maha-radun is maha-pāṇan; but, if we adopt this reading, we cannot reconcile the data gathered from this record with other well-established facts. During the tenth century, to which this record should be ascribed on palaeographical grounds, there was only one king, with the throne name of Sirisangbo, whose father was a prince named Mihind Mahayā (or Mahapā). This was Udaya II ⁶; but his mother was named Kitāräjna, whereas the mother of the Sirisangbo of this record was Sangā. The two cannot, therefore, be considered identical. Thus we have to reject the possible

¹ This inscription is yet unpublished. See A.S.C. Annual Report for 1895, p. 9.

² E. Z., Vol. I, pp. 222 and 223.

⁸ See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 220.

⁴ Colombo Edition of 1915, p. 273.

⁵ A.S.C. Annual Report for 1905, p. 40.

⁴ Colombo Edition of 1915, p. 273.

⁵ A.S.C. Annual Report for 1905, p. 40.

⁶ E. Z., Vol. I, p. 183. Udaya III, who was also a Sirisangbo, has been taken by Dr. Wickremasinghe to be a son of Mihind Mahayā (see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 20). But see the Velmilla inscription, E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 294-302.

alternative reading mahapāṇan and adopt the reading maharadun. The only monarch named Mihind (Mahinda) who could have been a father of a tenth-century king was the fourth of that name. Mahinda III flourished towards the end of the eighth century and a son of his is, therefore, out of consideration. Two sons of Mahinda IV, namely, Sena V (971–981 A.D.) and Mahinda V (981–1017 A.D.), reigned after him; but the first mentioned was a Salamevan¹ and cannot, therefore, be identified with the Sirisangbo of this record. Hence, it is only with **Mahinda V**, who, from the order of succession, was entitled to the viruda name of Sirisangbo, that the author of the present epigraph can be identified.

As regards Sangārājna, the mother of Sirisangbo (Mahinda V) and wife of Mihindmaharad (Mahinda IV), it may be stated that, according to the Mahāvamsa, Mahinda IV espoused a princess of the Kālinga royal family; and by her he had two sons², one of whom, according to the explicit statement of the chronicle³, was Sena V. The *Mahāvainsa* does not give the name of the other son of the Kālinga princess, nor does it state who the mother of the third son of Mahinda was. Dr. Wickremasinghe assumes that prince Udaya, who was the yuvarāja of Sena V, but, for some unknown reason, did not succeed him on the throne, was the second son of Mahinda IV from the Kālinga princess, and that Mahinda V was a son of a princess Kitti, another consort of Mahinda IV4. Mr. John Still, on the other hand, takes Kitti to be the same as the Kālinga princess and assumes that she was the mother of all the known children of Mahinda IV⁵. Prof. Geiger seems to be of the same opinion as Mr. Still⁶. From this inscription, it becomes clear that the mother of Mahinda V was not Kitti; but we cannot be quite certain whether Sangā was the same as the Kālinga princess or was a wife of Mahinda IV not mentioned in the chronicles. of this record has been correctly read, Mahinda V claims to belong to the Kālinga stock; and as none of his ancestors professes to belong to this royal family, we may conjecture that it was through his mother that he traced his descent from the Kālinga lineage. If so, Sangā, the mother of Mahinda V, may be considered the same as the Kālinga princess whom Mahinda IV espoused. And as it is

¹ See Cūlavamsa, English translation, Pt. I, p. 185, n. 5.

² Mhv. liv. 9-11.

³ Ibid., v. 57. ⁴ See Genealogical Tree facing p. 59 of E. Z., Vol. II.

⁵ Index to the Mahāvamsa, Genealogical Tree No. 5.

⁶ Cūlavamsa, English translation, Pt. I, p. 356.

⁷ For the custom of sons being regarded as of the same stock as that of their mothers, see C. J. Sc. (G.), vol. ii, pp. 235-240.

expressly stated that this princess bore only two sons, one of whom was Sena V, and as the second son can reasonably be identified with Mahinda V, prince Udaya, the third son of Mahinda IV, must have been born of Kitti or some other princess not mentioned in the chronicles.

In contrast to the fulsome eulogies bestowed on Mahinda V in the present epigraph, he appears from the chronicles to have been a weak and incapable ruler. A certain tragic interest attaches to his name as the last of the long line of Anurādhapura kings. In the thirty-sixth year of his inglorious reign, the armies of the great Cola king Rājarāja swept over his kindgdom; he himself with his queen and his treasures fell into the invader's hands and had to pay the penalty of his inefficient rule by ending his days as a captive at the Cola court¹.

The epigraph is a grant of immunities to land in the village of **Muhundnaru**, in the Eastern Quarter, belonging to a *pirivena*, of which the name is obliterated, in the monastery called **Mahamevnā Tisaram**. The names of the officers who were instrumental in promulgating this edict cannot all be made out. **Vaṭrak Kasbā Äraksamaṇa**, the name of one of the $\bar{a}j\bar{n}aptis$, also occurs in the Äṭavīragollāva Pillar-Inscription attributed to Dappula V²; but it is doubtful whether both inscriptions refer to the same person, for the Äṭavīragollāva pillar is fifty-three years earlier in date than the present epigraph.

TEXT.

А	

		А.	
1	[සි]රිබර්කැන්කු	13	කුලකෙව්ලු සුදෙ
2	2 ලකොත් ඔකාවස්	14	නාපරපුරෙන් ආ
5	3 පරපුරෙන් බ[ට	15	ලක්නිරිඤ්කිරි[ළ්]
4	l ල]ක්දිව්පොළොගො	16	කුළ්හි නෙද්ගිනි
Ę	ර න් පරපුරෙන් හි	17	න් දූව් පවර්
6	ි මිවූ නාගදෙවුදෙ	18	ක[ලිගු]කුලකෙ[ා
7	7 විබමබුන් වුටු	19	ත්] මිහිිඤ්මහ[ර
8	B නුමැණමෙ බමර	20	දුන්] වහන්[සෙ
ç	වාලාත් හෙබ් සර	21	ට] සඟාරැජ්න
10) ණිපීමෙන් ලකුඵ	${\bf 22}$	කුසැ දුනු සිරිස
11	[ඉ]ලාපිළිසරණමු	23	ග්බො මහරජ්හු
12	2 නිකුනිපත් සැහැ	24	සත් ලැඟු දෙවන

¹ See Mhv., chap. lv.

² E.Z., Vol. II, p. 48.

25	හවුරුදුයෙහි ඇ		29	න් අත්තාණ්කණු
26	සැලැ අව අටව		30	හිæ්වන්නට් නි
27	ක් දවස් වැණැ වද,		31	ල්ගොන්නා අශ්
28	ල එක්තැන්සමියෙ		32	බොනාවන් වරැ [ව]
		в.		
1	න මේකාප්පර්		17	හ]වෙහෙර්හි
2	මහ		18	
3	ඉසා දම්ගමු		19	
4	සිවිම් ඉසා ම		20	[8]
5	හකිලිගම් නි		21	රිවෙන්හි
6	ම් ඉසා ව		$\boldsymbol{22}$	පැදුම්පස්හි
7	ට්රක් කස්[බා]		23	මුහු ඤ්නරු[වෙන්]
8	අරක්සමණ		$\bf 24$	බහාලූ පස්ප
9	න් විරැ කුඩිස		25	•
10	ලාවන්කැමි ස		26	මායෙන් ඇතුළ්
11	ග්හයි ඉසා ඉ[ම]			[චූ]තාක් තැ[න]ව්
12	තුවක් දෙනමො		28	[ම]ශ්[ගි]ව් පි[ය]ගි
13	වැද වජාළ එක්		29	
14	තැන්සමියෙන්		30	~
15	මහඉම්චිනා [නි]	÷	31	, · · · ·
16	සර[ම්] රජ්[ම		32	න් නොවද්නා] ඉස
		C.		
1	වැරි පෙරෙනාට්ට්		7-28	* * * * * *
${f 2}$	යම් නොවද්[නා*] ඉසා		29	[කිලිග්ගම්]
3	දෙරුවනැ දෙකම්		30	දෙවිම් ඉසා [වට්]
4	තැන් නොවද්නා ඉ		31	රක් කස්බා [අ]ර
5	සා ගැල්ගොන් මිවු		32	ක්සමණන් වරැ
6	න් නොගන්නා ඉසා			
		D.		
1	[කුඩි]සලා සග්		6	න් මෙ අත්තණි
2	[හස් ඇතුළු] මෙ		7	කණු පෙරගැ
3	තුවා ක් දෙනමො		8	ර් බම්බදෙ[යෙ]
4	[වැæැ] වදුළ එ	*	9	න් දු[න්]මහයි [ෳ*]
5	ක්තැන්සම්යෙ			

TRANSCRIPT.

_	

		A.	
1	[Si]ribar-kät-ku-	17	-n dävi pavar
2	-la-kot Okāvas-	18	Ka[liṅgu]-kula- k[o-
3	parapuren ba[ṭa	19	-t] M ihind-maha[ra-
4	La]kdiv-poļo-yo-	20	-dun] vahan[se-
5	-n parapuren hi-	21	-ṭa] Saṅgā-räjna
6	-mi-vū nā-gadevu-de-	22	kusä dunu Sirisa-
7	-vi-bambun vuṭu-	23	-ṅgbo- maharaj-hu
8	-nu-mäṇa-me bamara-	24	sat lä n gu devana
9	väļän hebi sara-	25	havuruduyehi Ä-
10	-ṇa-pīmen lakuļu	26	-säļä ava aṭava-
11	lo-piļisaraņa-mu-	27	-k davas vändä vadā-
12	-nindun≈ipat Sähä-	28	-ļa ek-tän-samiye-
13	kula-kevlu Sudo-	2 9	-n attāṇi-kaṇu
14	-nā-parapuren ā	30	hindvannaț Ni-
15	Lak-nirind-kiri[ḷ]-	31	-lgonnā Ag-
16	kuļhi ted-gini-	32	-bonāvan varä [va]-
		В.	
1	-na Mekāppar	17	-ha]-veherhi
2	M aha	18	
3	isā Damgamu	19	
4	Sivim isā Ma-	20	[p]i-
5	-hakiliṅgam Ni-	21	-rivenhi
6	m isā Va-	22	pädum-pas-hi
7	-ṭrak Kas[bā]	23	Muh[u]ndnaru [ven]
8	Araksamaņa-	24	bahālū pas-pa-
9	-n varä Kuḍsa-	25	-yalä satar-sī-
10	-lā-vatkämi Sa-	26	-māyen ätuļ-
11			
40	-ṅghayi isā [m]e-	27	′ [vū]tāk tä[na]ţ
12	•-tuvak denamo	27 28	
12 13			[ma]ng-[gi]v pi[ya]-gi- -v no-vadnā i-
	 tuvak denamo vädä vajāļa ek- tän-samiyen 	28	[ma]ng-[gi]v pi[ya]-gi- -v no-vadnā i- -sā melā[t]si ra-
13	•-tuvak denamo vädä vajāļa ek-	28 29	[ma]ng-[gi]v pi[ya]-gi- -v no-vadnā i- -sā melā[ṭ]si ra-

Scale about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches to 1 foot

	· ·	C.		
1	väri perenāṭṭi-		7–28	Illegible
2	-yam no-vad [nā*] isā		29	[Kiling-gam]
3	deruvanä dekam-		3 0	Devim isā [Vaṭ]-
4	tän no-vadnā i-		31	rak Kasbā [A]ra-
5	-sā gäl-gon mivu-		32	-ksamaṇan varä
6	-n no-gannā isā			
		D.		
1	[Kuḍ]salā Saṅg-		6	-n me attaṇi-
2	-[hay ätuļu] me-		7	kaņu perähä-
3	-tuvāk denamo		8	-r bamba-de[ye]-
4	[vändä] vadāļa e-		9	-n du[n]mahayi[n*]
5	-k-tän-samive-			

TRANSLATION.

[Lines A 1-27]. On the eighth day of the waxing moon in the month of Äsäl¹ in the second year after the raising of the umbrella [of dominion] by the great king Sirisaṅgbo² who is descended from the lineage of Okāvas³, the pinnacle of the very illustrious kṣatriya race; who is, by [right of] descent, the lord of the young damsel, the land of Lakdiv⁴; who has come in succession from Sudonā⁵, the banner of the Sähä⁶ race in which was born the Chief of the Sagesⁿ, the Refuge of the World, who is adorned with [a pair of] lotuses, which are his two feet, made beauteous by swarms of bees, which are the jewels on the diadems of nāgas³, gandharvas³, gods and brahmas³; who, by the fire of his majesty caused burning on mountain peaks which are the crowns of the [other] kings of Laṅkā³; who is the pinnacle of the Kāliṅga royal house; and who was born unto the great king Mihind¹o in the womb of queen Saṅgā¹¹.

¹ Skt. Āṣādha, June-July. ² P. Siri Sanghabodhi. ³ P. Okkāka, Skt. Ikṣvāku.

⁴ P. Lankādīpa, Skt. Lankādvīpa, i.e. the island of Ceylon.

⁵ P. Suddhodana. 'The name of the Buddha's father.

⁶ P. Sākya or Sakka. Skt. Śākya.

⁷ Munindu = Skt. munindra, P. muninda, a name of the Buddha.

⁸ Different classes of supernatural beings.

⁹ Lak-nirind-kiril-kulhi ted-ginin dävi:—Though this phrase is not quite well preserved on the stone, the reading is beyond doubt as it is supported by a fragmentary pillar inscription from Bayava in the Dēvamādi Hatpattu of the Kuruṇāgala District, the relevant part of which reads 'Sähä-kula-kevulu Sudonā-parapuren ā Lak-nirind-kiril-kulhi ted-ginin dävi pavar Sirisangbo rad-haṭ dā Sangā-rājna kusā dunu Abhā Salamevan maharad-hu. But, though I have given the literal translation of this phrase, its appropriateness here is not quite obvious, and the metaphor used is unusual.

[Lines A 27-C 6]. In accordance with the decree of unanimous assent¹ declared, after making salutations² [to the king], that an edictal pillar³ should be set up, I, Maha and I, Damgamu Siva and I, Mahakiliṅgam Ni Members of the Bodyguard, [all] in the service of Nilgonnā Agbonā; and Kuḍsalā-vatkāmi Saṅghay, in the service of Vaṭrak Kasbā Araksamaṇa—We all of us—in accordance with the decree of unanimous assent declared after making salutations [to the king, order] that in regard to all those lands included within the four boundaries of the five payalas⁴ from Muhundnaruva⁵ in the Eastern Quarter given to the pirivena in the great royal monastery of Mahamevnā Tisaram⁶, [the said lands] are, not to be entered by maṅggiv¹ and piyagiv,¹ not to be entered by melātsi⁵ and other officers of the royal

¹ Ek-tän-samiyen:—The exact meaning of this word still remains obscure. For this tentative rendering see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 107.

 $^{^2}$ Vändä vadāļa:—This phrase, which occurs thrice in the present record, is also found in the Mädirigiriya Pillar-Inscription of Kassapa V (E.Z., Vol. II, p. 31), and the Bilibāva Pillar-Inscription of the same king (E.Z., Vol. II, p. 42). It also occurs in the Ambagamuva Rock-Inscription of Vijayabāhu I as $p\bar{a}$ vändä \bar{a} . From these phrases, it appears that when the officers delivered the royal order to the messengers, they bowed down to the king. For similar customs in Kandyan times, see Pybus's Mission to Kandy, Colombo, 1862, p. 58.

³ The word attāṇi-kaṇu is of frequent occurrence in inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. Dr. Wickremasinghe derives the word attāṇi from Skt. āsthāṇa 'assembly' or 'council' (E.Z., Vol. I, p. 161, n. 8) and this seems to be supported by the phrase attāṇi-hala mehekaruvan occurring in a fragmentary inscription at Mäda Ulpota (see above, p. 56). The word attāṇi also occurs frequently in the compound attāṇi-pārahār 'immunities granted by the Council'. Attāṇi-kaṇu is probably a shortened form of attāṇi-pārahār-kaṇu 'the pillar (on which is written) the immunities granted by the Council'.

⁴ The word payala is often found in inscriptions of this period. See Index to E.Z., Vol. II, for references. It appears to have been a term of land measurement; but it is doubtful whether it is connected with the form $p\bar{a}la$.

⁵ A fragmentary pillar of Sena I (see *E. Z.*, Vol. III, pp. 291-294) from Polonnaruva mentions a village named Muhundehigama which may perhaps be the same as Muhundnaru (P. Samuddanagara) of our inscription. A village named Muhunnaruggāma is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. lviii, v. 42); but as this was in the Southern Quarter, it was different from the village mentioned here.

⁶ P. Mahāmeghavana Tissārama. This monastery is also mentioned in the 'Vessagiriya' slab inscription of Mahinda IV (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 33). It appears to be another name of the well-known Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura which was established by king Devānampiya Tissa in the garden named Mahāmeghavana. Dr. Wickremasinghe equates mevnā with meghavanna; but the latter assumes the form of mevan in mediaeval Sinhalese (cf. Salamevan for Silāmeghavanna) and the garden called Mahāmeghavana is referred to, in Sinhalese literature, as Mahamevnā (see Pūjāvaliya, Colombo, 1922, p. 666).

⁸ See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 110. The interpretation of *melāţsi* and its variant forms suggested there is supported by the occurrence, in North-Indian inscriptions, of the word *uparikara* as the name of

household¹, not to be entered by $v\ddot{a}ri^2$ and $peren\bar{a}ttiyam^3$, not to be entered by $deruv\ddot{a}na^4$ and $dekamt\ddot{a}n^4$; that carts, oxen and buffaloes are not to be impressed.

[Lines C 29-D 9]. We, all of us, [namely], I, Kilinggam Devu and Kuḍsalā Saṅghay in the service of Vaṭrak Kasbā Araksamaṇa, gave these immunities as a brahmadeya⁵ gift in the form of an edictal pillar, in accordance with [the decree] of unanimous assent declared after saluting [the king].

No. 9. POĻONNARUVA: FRAGMENTARY SLAB-INSCRIPTION OF SUNDARA-MAHĀDEVĪ.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

EAR the Royal Palace at Polonnaruva, there are the remains of a mandapa which is built on a platform in three tiers faced with sculptured slabs of stone. This edifice, which has been identified by Mr. A. M. Hocart with the Rājaveśyā-bhujaṅga-maṇḍapa, mentioned in the Mahāvaṅssa as built by Parākramabāhu I, was conserved by the Archaeological Department in 1931; and, in the course of the work, it was found that the builders of this structure had

some kind of impost. (See Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. xvi, p. 78.) Skt. uparikara and Tamil $m\bar{e}l\bar{a}/si$ are of the same meaning (upari = $m\bar{e}l$ 'above' and $kara = \bar{a}/si$ 'tax') and one may actually be a translation of the other.

¹ The compound *melāṭsi-radkol-kämiyan* can also be translated as 'officers of the royal household called the *melāṭsi*'.

² See E. Z., Vol. I, p. 53, n. 7.
³ See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 144.
⁴ See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 143.

b Bambadeyen or bambadesen:—See E.Z., Vol. III, p. 191, n. 12. For the meaning of this word, which is the same as Pāli brahmadeyya, the following passages from Buddhaghosa's Sumangalavilāsinī, the Commentary to the Dīgha Nikāya, will be helpful. Brahmadeyyan ti setthadeyyam, chattamussāpetvā rāja-samkhepe bhuñjitabban ti attho (P.T.S. Edition, Part I, p. 246). 'A brahmadeyya is a most excellent gift; it means that (what is granted) should be enjoyed in royal manner having the umbrella (of possession) raised.' As an alternative explanation Buddhaghosa adds:—Brahmadeyyan ti setthadeyyam yathā dinnam na puna gahetabbam hoti nissattham paricchattam evam dinnam ti attho. 'A brahmadeyya means an excellent gift; what is given is not to be taken back; it is given up and renounced; what is given in this manner is meant.' A brahmadeyya gift, according to this explanation, appears to be a gift over which the donor renounces any sort of future claim.

⁶ For descriptions of this building see A. S. C. Annual Report for 1905, pp. 3-5; for 1930-31, pp. 7-8 and A. S. C. Memoirs, vol. ii, p. 3.

utilized several earlier inscribed stones for the steps, mouldings, and coping stones. At the same time, evidence was found, which, while confirming Mr. Hocart's hypothesis concerning the identity of this edifice, also proves that it had been repaired, and its original design materially altered, at a later period, probably during the reign of Parākramabāhu II. It is therefore not certain whether these inscribed stones were used in the building when it was first constructed or when it was restored later. The fragmentary record which forms the subject of the present paper is inscribed on a slab used for the coping on the eastern side of the lowest of the three tiers of this platform.

The slab measures 5 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft.; and originally one face of it was inscribed all over and must have contained about 45 lines of writing. Only about one-sixth of the record, consisting of its first seven lines, is now preserved, the rest having been effaced, perhaps wilfully, when the slab was utilized for its present purpose. Even in the preserved portion, some letters of the first two lines are illegible, while lines 3-7 are fairly clear. The letters, which have been rather shallowly incised, are about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in size. The script is of the twelfth century and contains nothing worthy of particular mention. The orthography calls for no remarks; and, as regards grammar, the gerund $kop\bar{a}$, from the root kup, is noteworthy as it has not been found elsewhere.

The preserved part of the record is not enough to determine what its purport was. The first two lines contain a Pāli stanza eulogizing a thera named **Ānanda**; and the next five lines introduce us to **Sundaramahādevī**, the queen of **Vīkramabāhu I** (1116–1137 A.D.) who was the son of **Vijayabāhu I** (1058–1164 A.D.). The only other epigraph mentioning this princess, who came from Kālinga, is the inscription in a cave at Dimbulāgala in the Tamankaḍuva District². The present record, so far as the preserved portion goes, does not contain anything which we do not already know about these rulers and the queen.

The thera named Ānanda, mentioned in the opening Pāli verse, is described as a great dignitary of the Buddhist Church in Ceylon. He is called 'a banner raised aloft in the land of Lamkā' and is said to have had some connexion with the Buddhist Church of Tambaraṭṭha as well as that of the Cola country; but, as the full text of the verse in question cannot be made out, we cannot say precisely what this connexion was.

¹ A preliminary account of these inscriptions will be found in C. J. Sc. (G.), vol. ii, pp. 186 and 208-209.

² E. Z., Vol. II, pp. 184-189 and 194-202.

Tambarattha was the country from which Parākramabāhu II, as stated in the Mahāvamsa 1, invited a Buddhist monk of saintly character, named Dhammakitti. Professor Geiger is of opinion that this Tambarattha was a district of South India²; but there are facts which go against this identification. In Sinhalese writings, like the $P\bar{u}j\bar{a}val\bar{i}$ 3, the country from which the elder Dhammakitti came to Ceylon is called Tamalingamu. The Sinhalese chronicles also state that Candrabhānu, the Jāvaka king who twice invaded Ceylon during the reign of Parākramabāhu II, and was on both occasions repelled, was a king of Tamalingamu 4. The Pāli chronicle Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vamsa 5, on the other hand, states that Candrabhānu's country was called Tambalinga (Skt. Tāmralinga). Therefore it is clear that the Sinhalese Tamalingamu and the Pāli Tambarattha and Tambalinga were names of one and the same region. The country called Mādamalingam, mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājendra Coļa as one of the territories which submitted to his arms, also appears to be the same as Tamalingamu of the Sinhalese writings. $M\bar{a}$ in the Tamil name means 'great', and is found prefixed to the names of countries and towns, as, for instance, in Ma-pappalam for Pappālam (Papphāla of the Mahāvamsa)7. In Rājendra-Coļa's inscriptions, Mādamalingam is mentioned along with the names of other countries in Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula, and its location must also be looked for in that area.

Now, Monsieur G. Coedés published in 1918 an inscription in incorrect Sanskrit, found at a place named Jaiya in the Malay Peninsula, and dated in the Kaliyuga year 4332 (1230 A.D.), of a king to whom the epithet Candrabhānu is given 8. There is no doubt, as M. Coedés has shown 9, that Candrabhānu of the Jaiya inscription is the same as the Jāvaka king Candrabhānu who twice raided Ceylon in the reign of Parākramabāhu II. The date of the accession of Parā-

¹ Chap. lxxxiv, vv. 11-14. ² Cūļavamsa, text, part II, p. 606.

³ The 34th chapter, edited by the Rev. Pandit Mābōpitiye Medhamkara, Colombo, 1932, p. 33.

⁴ The Sinhalese Attanagaluvamsa, Colombo edition of 1925, p. 47; and Dambadeni Asna, Colombo edition of 1917, p. 3.

⁵ English translation by James de Alwis, Colombo, 1866, p. 128

⁶ South Indian Inscriptions, vol. ii, p. 109.

⁷ Ibid., vol. iii, Introduction, p. 21, and Mv. lxxvi. 63.

⁸ Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, tome XVIII, pp. 15 fl.

⁹ See Monsieur Coedés's paper 'A propos de la chute du royaume de Çrīvijaya' in Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, Deel 83, pp. 459-472.

kramabāhu II is 1234 A.D.¹, and he and Candrabhānu of the Jaiya inscription were therefore contemporaries. This epigraph tells us that Candrabhānu was the king of Śrī Dharmmarāja (Nagara Śrī Dharmmarāja, the modern Nakhon Si Thammarat or Ligor) and also gives him the epithet of Tāmbralingeśvara (the lord of Tāmbralinga). It thus proves that *Tāmbralinga* (P. *Tambalinga*) was another name for Nagara Śrī Dharmmarāja, the modern Ligor. And, as we have shown above that the names *Tambaraṭṭha* and *Tambalinga* in Pāli were applied to the same country, Tambaraṭṭha must be identified with Ligor.

Professor Sylvain Lévi, in his paper *Ptolèmée*, le Niddesa et la Bṛhatkathā², has pointed out that Tamali, which occurs in a stereotyped list of geographical names in the Mahāniddesa, is the same as Tambalinga; and has identified it with Ligor. Nagara Śrī Dharmmarāja, in the vernacular language of the country, is called Nakhon Si Thammarat; and it appears that Tambaraṭṭha of the Mahāvamsa is nothing but the vernacular form 'Thammarat' in a Pāli garb.

The country with which Tambarattha can thus be identified, namely, the modern Ligor or Nakhon Si Thammarat, and which was known in ancient days as Śrī Dharmarāja Nagara, was a centre of Indian culture from the early centuries of the Christian era, and at the time of this record, Theravāda Buddhism was flourishing in that region. It was from this country that Rāma Khomhëng, one of the earliest kings of Sukhodaya, invited a learned *mahāthera* to organize the Buddhist religious institutions of the newly founded state of Siam³. Therefore it is not improbable that there were relations between the monks of Ceylon and those of Nakhon Si Thammarat⁴; and our inscription may well be taken as referring to that country when it mentions Tambarattha.

On the other hand, there is also evidence for the existence, in South India, of a region known as Tambaraṭṭha. Anuruddha, who was the author of three treatises on the Abhidhamma, and who is generally believed to have flourished at the beginning of the twelfth century, says, in the colophon of one of his works, the *Paramattha-vinicchaya*, that he, who was born at Kāvīra-nagara in the country round Kāñcīpura, composed that work while he was staying at the city

¹ Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, vol. i, p. 98.

² In Études asiatiques, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.

³ Fournerau, Le Siam ancienne, Paris, 1895, part I, p. 237.

^{&#}x27; See my paper 'Religious Intercourse between Ceylon and Siam in the 13th-15th Centuries' in J. R. A. S., C. B., vol xxxii, pp. 190-213.

of Tañja (Tanjore) in Tambaraṭṭha¹. This would show us that Tambaraṭṭha was that part of the Cola country in which Tanjore was situated, unless we assume that there was a town called Tañja in the Malay Peninsula as well. The coupling of Tambaraṭṭha, in our inscription, with the Colas would also lend weight to the argument that it was in South India. But in South Indian inscriptions and in Tamil literature, so far as I know, there is no territorial division of this or a similar name.

The evidence forthcoming in our inscription is not sufficient to attempt an identification of the *thera* Ānanda mentioned therein with one of the many *theras* of this name who are known to us from Pāli literature, and who can roughly be ascribed to the period of this record.

TEXT

TRANSCRIPT.

1 Svasti Śrī[ı*]

Ānanda-nāma-vidito jayat≠i(ddhi)-patto Laṁkātal≠ussita-dhajo

Seithe Kañci-pure ratthe Kūvīra-nagare vare Kule sañjāta-bhūtena bahussutena ñāninā Anuruddhena therena anuruddha-yasassinā Tambaratthe vasantena nagare Tañja nāmake.

² වසනතනිලකා වෘතතයයි.

pavaro yatī[so] [ı*]
Yo **Tamba-raṭṭha**-yati - \(\cap \) thera-bhūto **Colesu** sāsana \(\cap - \(\cap \) kāsi dhīro[\(\mathbf{u} \)*]\(\text{1} \)

- 3 Sirivat apiriyat-lo-ikut-guna-mulin euturat mulu-Dambadi-
- 4 -vahi an-kät-kula pāmili kaļa Okāvas-raja-parapuren baţa lo-
- 5 -ka-śāsan aika-śaraṇa-vä daśa-rāja-dharmma no-kopā muļu-Lakdiva ek-sa-
- 6 -t kärä raja kaļa Sirisangabo Vijayabāhu-devayan urehidā
- 7 Vikramabāhu-devayanṭa aga-mehesun vū rivi-kula-kot Sundara-mahāde-

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! May that noble chief of monks, known by the name of **Ānanda**, be victorious—[he] who has attained psychic power, who is like unto a banner raised aloft in the land of Lamkā, who is a *thera*.... the monks of the **Tamba** country and who, the Wise One, has effected..... of the religious discipline among the **Colas**.

Sundaramahādevī, the pinnacle of the Solar dynasty, the chief queen of His Majesty **Vikramabāhu**, who is the son of His Majesty **Sirisaṅgabo Vijayabāhu**, who was descended from the royal line of the Okkāka ² dynasty which, abounding in an assemblage of illustrious, boundless and transcendental virtues, has made the other *kṣatriya* dynasties of Jambudvīpa its vassals ³, and who reigned, after having made the island of Lamkā [subject to the authority] of one umbrella, being the only refuge of the world and the religion of Buddha, and without violating the ten principles of royal conduct ⁴

Dānam sīlam pariccāgam ajjavam maddavam tapam Akkodho avihimsā ca khantī ca avirodhatā.

¹ Metre Vasantatilakā.

² Skt. Iksvāku.

³ Lines 3-4 of this record contain the stereotyped phrases occurring in many inscriptions of the tenth and twelfth centuries, see E. Z., Vol. I, p. 234, Vol. II, p. 213, and Vol. III, p. 321.

⁴ The daśa-rājadharmma are, charity, piety, liberality, rectitude, gentleness, religious austerity, freedom from wrath, humanity, forbearance, and absence of malice. They are given in the following mnemonic verse in Pāli:—

No. 10. BATALAGODA-VÄVA SLAB-INSCRIPTION.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

BATALAGOPA-VÄVA is an ancient irrigation reservoir situated about eight miles from Kurunāgala on the road to Dambulla. It was restored by the Ceylon Government about forty years ago, and is now irrigating many thousands of acres of rice fields. Mr. H. Parker, who was in charge of the work of restoration, has, in his well-known work *Ancient Ceylon* (pp. 252 and 397–400), given a detailed account of the reservoir. Close to the Batalagodaväva, there is the site of an ancient town, now known as 'Paraṇa-nuvara', which has also been dealt with by Mr. Parker. This site, which has been identified beyond doubt with Badalatthalī of the *Mahāvamsa*¹, has now passed into private ownership and is covered with coco-nut plantations.

The slab-inscription discovered near this reservoir, which forms the subject of the present paper, seems to be the same as No. 166 of Müller's *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, referred to by the name Batalagoda-luva². Dr. Müller gives neither a reading nor a translation of the inscription and incorrectly ascribes it to the fifteenth century³.

Mr. Parker has the following reference to this inscription in his account of the adjoining ancient site:—'The last reference to the place (Paraṇa-nuvara) is contained in an inscription which was left on a large slab on the embankment of the reservoir, by Queen Kalyāṇavatī (1202–1208 A.D.), the widow of King Niśśamka-Malla, in the third year of her reign, that is 1204 or 1205. In it she recorded her restoration of the tank at "Batalagoda at Mahalapura", the old town, and her reconstruction of a wihāra—now termed Koṭā-wēriya [sic?], from its "short" dagaba, the Koṭa Waehaera—at an adjoining village, Pannala, as related in the Mahāvansa (II. p. 268) 4.' In his account of the tank, Mr. Parker says:—'There is a worn inscription in characters of the tenth century on a pillar at the embankment, which indicates that it was then restored, or was in working order 5, and a longer one on a large slab left there by Queen Kalyāṇawatī (1202–

¹ See Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 253 and Codrington, in J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. xxix, p. 66.

² Probably a misprint for 'Batalagoda-väva'.

³ A. I. C. p. 71.

⁴ Ancient Ceylon, p. 254.

⁵ This inscribed pillar is not to be seen at the place now. When I visited Batalagoda in 1931, I was told that it is in the bed of the reservoir, and can only be seen when the water level is low.

1208 A.D.) and cut in the third year of her reign, in which she relates that she had examined the sites of "the known sluices" and had rebuilt one of them; besides causing three breaches to be filled up'. Again, he says, 'A tradition, to which the inscription of Kalyāṇawatī appears to contain a reference, states that the reservoir once possessed seven sluices; it seems to have been without any foundation'.

Mr. Parker has given neither the text nor a translation of the record; and he also seems to have misunderstood certain parts of it. He gives the date incorrectly as the third year of Kalyāṇavatī; and the presumption that the modern name, 'Paraṇavuvara', of the ancient site near by, goes back to a considerable antiquity, had led him to read the alternative name of Badalagoda as 'Mahalapura'. As will be seen from the translation given below, Mr. Parker's statements that it was Queen Kalyāṇavatī herself who was responsible for the repairs to the reservoir and religious benefactions mentioned in the document, and that the record seems to support the modern tradition of the reservoir having had seven sluices, are not supported by the inscription.

The text and translation of this epigraph were first published by Mr. H. C. P. Bell³ to whom we are indebted for bringing to light many Sinhalese records of historical value. Mr. Bell corrected Mr. Parker's error of attributing the record to the third year of Kalyāṇavatī; and his translation also pointed out the inaccuracy of some of Mr. Parker's statements regarding the history of the reservoir. But he retains Mr. Parker's wrong reading 'Mahalapura'; and there are also several other points in the text as read by him, which admit of improvement. Mr. Bell himself admits that his text and translation are only tentative; hence, a new edition of this interesting document may be found useful.

The slab on which this inscription is engraved measures 4 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 10 in. It has been broken into several fragments, some of which are missing. The preserved pieces have been joined, and the gaps filled with cement, by some one, presumably by Mr. Parker when he was in charge of the restoration of the reservoir. The slab thus restored has been built to the parapet of the culvert over the sluice. The restorer's zeal for the preservation of this inscription has led him to overdo the work; for he was not content with merely putting together what was left of the record, but has also tried to restore, conjecturally,

¹ Ancient Ceylon, p. 299.

⁸ Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, vol. iv, pp. 29-31.

² *Ibid.*, p. 400.

the lacunae in the text, and had these inscribed on the cement, in characters resembling those of the period to which the inscription belongs. The conjectural restorations thus made are generally unacceptable, except in the case of the most obvious ones, and they have, for the most part, been ignored in the text given below.

The record now consists of seventeen lines; but, as the end of the last line does not bring the sentence to a close, a few more letters must have formed an eighteenth line of which no traces are now visible. The **letters** are, on an average, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size. The **script** agrees in detail with that of the numerous inscriptions of Niśśamka Malla and his successors, and calls for no remarks.

As regards **orthography**, the following points are noteworthy:—In line 1, ek-sät is used for the usual ek-sat; the Sanskrit tatsama form pureśvara is written in line 4 as puresvara; the ligature tvā is found in the Sinhalese word pavatvā in line 6; and partya in line 12 stands for pratya. Lakvijaya Sam Singu in line 9 is perhaps a clerical error for Lakvijaya Singu; but there is also the possibility that it is a name distinct from that occurring in line 3. As regards **grammar**, the only point worth mentioning is the active verbal form kadā in line 5 which seems to have been used here in a passive sense. The **style** is that of other documents of the period. Unusual words occurring in the record are atpasa (line 11), pān-pāl (line 12), kasu-dāgaba (line 11), and kāvuņuvā (line 16) which will be dealt with in the notes attached to the translation.

The record is **dated** in the fifth year of **Queen Kalyāṇavatī** who ascended the throne in 1202 A.D. The object of the inscription was to record the repairs effected to the **Batalagoḍa-väva**, and the benefactions made to a neighbouring shrine, by an officer (adhikāri) named **Cūḍāmaṇi**. That part of the record containing the titles of this dignitary is mutilated; and we are, therefore, deprived of the means by which we could have ascertained what the position he held was. There is also no other mention of this officer, so far as I know, in the records of the period.

The general **Lakvijaya Ābo Siṅgu Senevinā** is also mentioned; but in what connexion, it is not clear, as that part of the record in which his name occurs is very fragmentary. It may, however, be surmised that it was at his command that Cūḍāmaṇi carried out the works at Batalagoḍa. This general is obviously the same as Lakvijaya Siṅgu Senevi Ābonā, who placed Sāhasamalla on the throne¹, and Lakvijaya Siṅgu Senevi Tāvurunā who is mentioned in

¹ See E. Z., Vol. II, p. 220.

Niśśamka Malla's inscriptions as the general who led that monarch's expedition to South India and to whom was entrusted the work of building the Vaṭadāgē at Polonnaruva¹. In the Sanskrit portion of the inscription of Sāhasamalla at Polonnaruva, this general is referred to by the name 'Āyuṣmat'²; and therefore it is reasonable to believe that he is the same as the general, called Āyasmanta³ in the *Mahāvamsa*, who placed Kalyāṇavatī on the throne and administered the kingdom in her name, and who, together with the infant ruler Dhammāsoka, was put to death by Aṇikaṅga, an adventurer from South India⁴. As the title 'Tāvurunā' is given to this general in the epigraphical records, he was possibly the same as Tāvuru Senevirat who, according to the *Pūjāvalī*, murdered Vīrabāhu, the son and successor of Niśśamka Malla⁵. But the *Pūjāvalī* refers to the general who maintained Kalyāṇavatī on the throne, by the title 'Elalu Ābō Senevirat'⁶; hence this last identification is not beyond question.

Dr. Wickremasinghe ⁷ has also suggested the identification, with the same general, of Lakvijaya Singu Kit Senevi who, according to the Abhayaväva pillar inscription, was the prime minister of Līlāvatī and is called Kitti in the *Mahāvamsa*. But the reasons given by him for this identification are not conclusive. However that may be, this general seems to have been the most important figure in Ceylon during the first decade of the thirteenth century—a veritable king-maker who held the reins of government in his own hands whilst maintaining puppet sovereigns on the throne.

It is not certain whether the general named Lakvijaya Sam Singu, mentioned in line 9, was the same as Lakvijaya Ābo Singu mentioned earlier in the record. If we take the syllable Sam to be a clerical error, we may consider the two names as identical; but, on the other hand, Sam can easily stand for Sangha, a personal name common enough in mediaeval times. It is stated that Cūḍāmaṇi repaired a monastery, at Batalagoḍa, founded by this general, but which was, in the reign of Kalyāṇavatī, dilapidated and abandoned. It is difficult to believe that an edifice built by Lakvijaya Ābo Singu would have been of so ephemeral a character as to require extensive repairs during his own lifetime. I am therefore inclined to take these two names as those of two different personages.

¹ E. Z., Vol. II., pp. 167 and 176.

² *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁸ Ayasmanta is the Pāli form of the Sanskrit Ayuşmat.

^{&#}x27; Mahāvamsa, chap. lxxx, vv. 33-34 and 43-44.

⁵ Pūjāvalī, chap. xxxiv, ed. B. Gunasekara (Colombo, 1893), p. 31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p 31. ⁷ *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 191.

The record, so far as it is preserved, does not contain anything to show that Queen Kalyāṇavatī herself was concerned with the works of repair to the Batalagoḍa-väva and the religious foundations at the place. But she is said, in the *Mahāvainsa*, to have founded a *vihāra* at the village named Paṇṇasāla which has been identified with the modern Pannala near Batalagoḍa.

Touching the geographical names occurring in this record, Badalagoda (now Batalagoda) has been identified by Messrs. Parker and Codrington with the Badalatthalī of the Mahāvamsa. This place seems to have been of considerable importance in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was one of the strongholds captured by the general of Vijayabāhu I in his campaign against the Colas in the Dakkhinadesa¹. The town was the head-quarters of Sankha-senāpati, a trusted general of Kittisirimegha; and it was here that the ceremony of investing with the sacred thread was performed on the young prince Parākramabāhu². It was also here that Parākramabāhu, in order to escape from the guardianship of his uncle, Kittisirimegha, caused the murder of Sankha-senāpati, whilst he was enjoying the hospitality of that general³. The place also figures in the story of the reconciliation of Parākramabāhu to his uncle after his escapade in the Rājaraṭṭha4. The longer version of the 34th chapter of the $P\bar{u}j\bar{a}val\bar{i}$ states that in the reign of Parākramabāhu II, the king's eldest son Vijayabāhu, after fortifying Kuruņāgala and establishing monasteries there, appointed the people of Badalagodanuvara to guard that fortress. The Lankātilaka inscription of the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV records the grant, to that temple, of lands in Paraņa (old) Badalagoḍa and Alut (new) Badalagoda 6. This town is said, in the present record, to have been in the Māyā kingdom, which is as one would expect; but it is not clear in what connexion the territorial division Madhyadeśa occurs. A district of this name, in ancient Ceylon, has not been met with elsewhere. At the time of this inscription, Badalagoda had also the appellation 'Mangalapura' (the auspicious city). Parker has read this name as 'Mahalapura' and equates it with the name 'Parana-nuvara' by which the ancient site at the place is now known. Sotemuna, the land granted to the vihāra at Badalagoda, does not admit of identification.

¹ Mahāvamsa, chap. lviii, v. 43.

² *Ibid.*, chap. lxiv, vv. 6-17.

³ Ibid., chap. lxv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. lxvii, vv. 81-82.

⁶ Edited by the Rev. Pandit Mābōpitiye Medhankara Thera (Colombo, 1932), p. 46.

⁶ J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. x, p. 91.

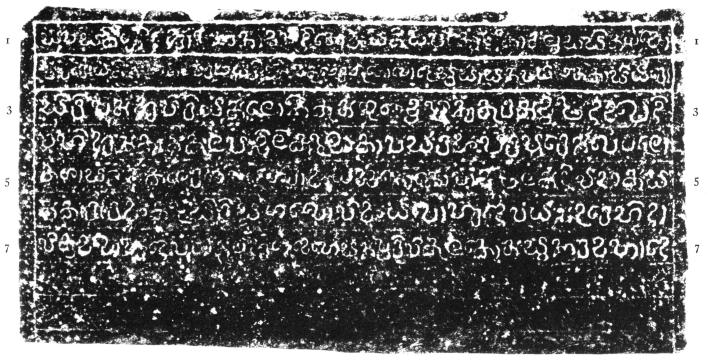
TEXT.

1	••	[නිු]සිංහළගෙ	6නි එක්සැප	ත්රජසිරි පැ((මිණි	••	 	 •
		[අභා ස						

- 2 ලබම]වන් කාලකණවකී පස්වන්නෙහි රාජශාසන ශාසන(ය)
- 3 ෂිත ලක්වීජය ආබෝ සිතු මෙස නෙවිනාවන් වැ මායාරාජා
- 4 ැ මධානදෙශ ස ය බදලගොඩ නැමැති මනලපුරෙසවර ාධිකාරි මන
- 5 වූඩාමණි තෙමැ මේ වැව තුන්කඩෙකින් කඩා හැලිසොරො සුන් [බූන්]වැ නොපවත්[වැ]
- 6 තුබූ කල්හි මේ බ හැලිසොරො ලවා පවතා පෙර.මැ දෙවැනි සො රොවක් නැති හෙයින්
- 7 බොහො කෙත්[වත් නො]පවත් සෙ ද කැ සව්බුඩින් [සොරො]බිම් බලා සුදුසු බිමක් දකැ එතැ
- 8 න්හි තමන් නමින් අඛිකාරසොරොවයැ යන සොරොවක් ලවා යැටි මියරින් කණව
- 9 ට් නැතිවැ හස්වදනා කොටැ මෙමැ නුවරැ ලක්වීජය සං සිතු මෙනෙවි නාවන් කැරැවූ [සෙ]
- 10 නෙවීරන්පිරිවෙනයැ [යන] විහාරය ජීණීණවැ අනාචාසවැ තුබුවා දකැ පිළිමගෙය
- 11 කරවා දශබ කසුද,ගබ කොටැ බණුවා මෙහිමැ ජීණිණිවූ සංසාරාමය ද අත්පස
- 12 පැන්පැල් සහිත කොටැ කරවා මහසංසයා වඩා හිඤුවා චතුබ්බ්ඛපන\$ යෙන්¹ උප
- 13 සථාන කෙරෙමින් මෙසෙ [ලො]සසුන්වැඩ කරන්නානු තමන් වැවට ගත් දුක් අතිශයෙ[න්]
- 14 සාඪක කරනු කැමැතිවැ තමන් නමින් ලැවූ **සොනෙමුණින්** කණුමුල් උදුරා විශල බහා තැනු
- 15 බ්ජුවට සත[රඅමුණක් විහ]ාරයට කුසලාන් කරනු කැමැතිවැ පෙර කුසලාන්හස්නම

¹ 'පුතෳගෙන්' යි කියවනු.

 $Polonnaruva: \ Fragmentary \ Slab-Inscription \ of \ Sundara-mah\bar{a} dev\bar{\iota}$



Scale 3½ inches to 1 foot

Batalagoda-väva Slab-Inscription of Kalyāṇavatī



- 17 (ඛු වූයේයැ අවම)හනරකයෙහි පැසුණෙයැ $[{
 m II}^*]$ මේ අප කළ කුසල මතු වන්නවුන් තමන් කළ සෙ අ .. 1

TRANSCRIPT.

- 2 -lame]van Kalyāṇavatī pas-vannehi rāja-śāsana śāsana(ya)
- 3 șita **Lakvijaya ⁴ Ābo Siṅgu Senevinā**van vä ⁵ Māyā-rājya
- 4 ä Madhyadeśa sa ya **Badalagoda** nämäti **Maṅgala ⁶-puresvara** **ādhikāri** ⁷ **Man** ⁸
- 5 **Cūḍāmaṇi** ⁹ temä me ¹⁰ väva tun-kaḍekin kaḍā häli ¹¹-soro sun-[bun]vä no-pavat-vä
- 6 12 tubū kalhi me b häli-soro lavā pavatvā perä-mä deväni sorovak näti heyin
- 7 boho ket-[vat no]-pavat se däkä sva-buddhīn 13 [soro]-bim balā sudusu bimak däkä e-tä-14
- 8 -nhi taman namin Adhikāra-sorova-yä yana sorovak lavā yäṭi- 15 miyarin kanāva 16
- 9 -ți näti-vä has-¹⁷vadanā koțä memä nuvarä ¹⁸ **Lakvijaya Saṁ** ¹⁹ **Siṅgu senevi-nā**van kärävū ²⁰ [**So**]-

^{ා &#}x27;ආරසාංකළයුතු' කියා වාකෳය සමපුණි කරගත හැකියි.

² The two syllables missing might have been Svasti. Mr. Parker's restoration has śrīḥ.

³ Bt. (Lolupäla) kulaku Vijaya.

⁵ Bt. vädu. Mr. Parker has restored as vädärumen. Vädärumen may be a likelier restoration.

⁶ Bt. Mahala. ⁷ Mr. Bell reads (Lankā A)dhikāri which is a possible restoration.

⁸ Bt. $Man(da-n\bar{a}van)$.

⁹ Mr. Bell, leaves the letters after $C\bar{u}d\bar{a}$ unread, but the above reading is supported by what is left on the stone, ignoring Mr. Parker's restorations.

¹⁰ Mr. Parker restores as maha-väva.

¹² The sixth line up to the 18th akṣara has been read by Mr. Bell as tu . . Kaligimbe . . Alisorolivā Vijambe which gives no sense.

¹³ Bt. Sedu Käsba Budim.
14 Bt. bim madak e(ta).
15 Bt. Lacha dheli.

²⁰ Bt. kala.

- 10 **-nevirat-pirivena**-yä [yana]¹ vihāraya jīrṇṇa-vä anāvāsa-vä² tubuvā däkä piḷima-geya
- 11 karavā ⁸ dāgaba ⁴ kasu-dāgaba ⁵ koṭä bandavā ⁶ mehi-mä ⁷ jīrṇṇa- vū saṁghārāmaya ⁸ da atpasa
- 12 pän-päl sahita koṭā karavā maha-saṃghayā vaḍā hinduvā 9 caturbbidhapartyayen 10 upa- 11
- 13 sthāna keremin mese [lo]-sasun-väḍa karannāhu taman vävaṭa gat duk 12 atiśaye[n 18]
- 14 sārtthaka 14 karanu kämäti-vä taman namin lävū **Sotemuņin** 15 kaņu-mul udurā viyala bahā tänu .. 16
- 15 bijuvaṭa sata[ra-amuṇak vih]ārayaṭa kusalān karanu kämäti-vä perä kusalān-hasna-ma 17
- 16 [me] kusalānaṭa uddharaṇayak 18 kaļa ekek ät nam kāvuṇuvä lū 19 bat kā sēya 20 balu-kavu-
- 17 -(ḍu vūyē-yä aṭa-ma)ha-narakayehi ²¹ päsuṇe-yä ²² [∥*] Me apa kaḷa kusala matu vannavun taman kala se a .. ²³

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-6] In the fifth year of **Abhā Salamevan Kalyāṇavatī**,²⁴ who has attained ²⁵ the supreme regal splendour in the three Simhalas ²⁶ royal decree decree (? by the order) of the generalissimo **Lakvijaya Ābo Siṅgu**, the *adhikāri* **Man** . . . **Cūdāmaṇi**, lord of **Maṅgalapura**

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<sup>2</sup> Bt. an vadava.
<sup>1</sup> Bt. se (.. na).
                                                                                    <sup>5</sup> Bt. Kadu Däga(ba).
<sup>3</sup> Bt. däkävä vimasā Yatalavā.
                                                    <sup>4</sup> Bt. Dägaba.
<sup>6</sup> Bt. (kara)vā.
                                                                                      8 Bt. pusphārāmaya.
                                              <sup>7</sup> Bt. mo.
9 Bt. vädä hindavä.
                                  <sup>10</sup> Read pratyayen which is Mr. Bell's reading.
                                                                                                      11 Bt. (dasa).
<sup>12</sup> Bt. du . . .
                                               18 Bt. atiśayin.
                                                                                               <sup>14</sup> Bt. .. .. ka.
16 Bt. Lävu-Sotemumijni.
                                                   16 Viyala bahā tänu is wanting in Mr. Bell's text.
17 Bt. gastra(ra).
                                          18 Bt. hasaranayak,
                                                                                         19 Bt. kävudu bälu.
20 Bt. käyok.
                                        21 Bt. narakayedī duk.
                                                                                            22 Bt. pasunoya.
<sup>28</sup> Perhaps the missing portion is to be restored as ārakṣā kaļa yutu. Mr. Bell has kaļā sē veyi.
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- ²³ Perhaps the missing portion is to be restored as ārakṣā kaļa yutu. Mr. Bell has kaļā sē veyi.

 ²⁴ The viruda title Abhā Salameyan is given to this queen in other records also see E. Z...
- ²⁴ The *viruda* title Abhā Salamevan is given to this queen in other records also, see E. Z., Vol. II, p. 191 and J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. vii, p. 181.
- ²⁶ According to the reading *pāmiņi*. If the reading *pāmiṇā* be preferred, the translation should be altered to 'who, having attained'.
- ²⁶ The three kingdoms into which Ceylon was divided in ancient times, viz., Ruhuṇu, Māyā, and Pihiṭi.

alias Badalagoda... Madhyadeśa in the kingdom of Māyā¹, at the time this ... reservoir was lying unused,² [its embankment] being breached in three places³ [and its] canals and sluice being destroyed.... repaired the canals and the sluice and made them to be of use.

[Lines 6-13] Having seen that not many fields and gardens were flourishing, as there was no second sluice even in former times, he, by his own judgement, examined sites [fit] for sluices, and having found a suitable site [for a sluice], he constructed there a sluice called, after his own name, the Adhikāra-sluice and brought under cultivation 4 from the lower embankment 5. Having seen that the monastery called **Senevirat-pirivena**, established in this town by the generalissimo **Lakvijaya Saṁ Siṅgu**, remained dilapidated and uninhabited, he repaired the image-house, rebuilt the dāgaba making it a mantle-dāgaba 6, repaired also the dilapidated residences of the monks in the same place, including the latrine 7 and the water-closet 8, invited the members of the great community of monks, made them reside therein and attended on them with the four requisites 9.

[Lines 13-15] Performing, in this wise, service to the world and to the religion, and being desirous of making the pains that he had taken on account of this reservoir exceedingly fruitful, and also being desirous of making a religious endowment ¹⁰, to the *vihāra*, of the sowing extent of four *āmuṇas* ¹¹ of

¹ See E. Z., Vol. II, p. 330, n. 4.

² Nopavat = Skt. apravṛtta.

³ Tun-kadekin. Kada may mean 'breach' (Skt. khanda) or 'place' (cf. T. kadai).

⁴ The fragmentary nature of the record does not permit us to guess the meaning of the word kanāva, which does not occur elsewhere, from the context.

⁵ Yäṭi-miyarin may also be rendered as 'from below the embankment'. This might be more appropriate as there is no evidence of the reservoir having had two embankments.

⁶ Kasu-dāgaba is taken as equivalent to P. kañcuka-dhātugabbha. Cf. the word kañcuka-cetiya occurring in the Mahāvaṁsa (chap. i, v. 42) and in the Pāli Thūpavaṁsa (Colombo edition of 1896, pp. 46 and 47). The Sinhalese Thūpavaṁsa, in the printed editions, has kasuk-dāgaba and kasun-dāgāba in the corresponding passages. Probably these readings are due to clerical errors and the correct reading ought to be, as in the present epigraph, kasu-dāgaba.

⁷ The word *atpasa* occurs with the same meaning in the *Heranasika*, Colombo edition of 1911, p, 24.

⁸ Pänpäla occurs in the Pūjāvalī (34th chapter, op. cit. p. 29) with the same meaning.

⁹ The four requisites of the Buddhist monks (P. catupaccaya) are:—robes, food, residences, and medicaments.

¹⁰ Kusalān:—See E. Z. Vol. III, p. 95, for the meaning of this word.

¹¹ See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 325, n. 7.

seed paddy 1 from **Sotemuna**, which was made suitable for sowing 2 by having the stumps of trees 3 and roots removed, and which was granted in his own name the former endowment-decree itself.

[Lines 16-17] Should there be any one who has caused harm to this religious endowment, he is as if he has eaten the rice put in the kāvuņuva4; he also will become a crow or a dog and will be boiled in the eight great hells. This merit that we have performed (should be protected) by those of the future as if it has been performed by their own selves.

No. 11. TWO ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS AT KOŢŢANGE.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THE two inscriptions 5 dealt with in this paper were copied by the Archaeological Department in 1997 for the contract of the c logical Department, in 1931, from the village called Kottange in the Mādurē Kōraļē of the Vāudavili Hatpattu in the Kuruņāgala District. The first inscription (Reg. No. 689) is engraved on the top of a boulder in a land, belonging to the villagers, and known as Puvak-aramba or Kottange-aramba. The second inscription (Reg. No. 690), though engraved on a flat rock not more than twenty feet from the first, is within the boundaries of a coco-nut plantation, called the Ogodapola Estate, in the Delvita Group. The soil washed down from the hill-side had completely buried this rock; and its existence was altogether

¹ Fields were measured in mediaeval Ceylon, as they are in the villages to-day, according to their capacity of being sown with seed paddy.

² Viyala bahā tänu:—The word viyala is current in the modern colloquial language to mean 'a heap of mud', for example in mäṭi-viyala. In inscriptions of the tenth and twelfth centuries, it seems to denote the fields prepared for sowing paddy by making them muddy. In the slab-inscription of Mahinda IV near the Stone Canoe in the Citadel of Anurādhapura, we find the expressions viya! nerut, viya! no nernā, viyal ne! tänhi (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 117). In an unpublished slab-inscription found near the Malvatu Oya, and now in the Anurādhapura Museum, belonging to the reign of Parākramabāhu I, we have the phrase dāturē tānū viyaļa.

³ Kaņu = P. khāņu, for which see P.T.S. Pāli Dictionary, s.v.

⁴ Kāvuņuvä lū bat kā seya:—Similar imprecations occur in other records of the period. In the Galapāta Vihāra rock-inscription we have kāvaņuyehi lū bat kāvun samānayo yā Mr. Bell explains kāvaņuva as 'the bowl or other utensil in which rice is received for eating by Rodiyas and beggars or sherds for feeding crows and other birds' (J. R. A. S., C. B., Notes and Queries, April, 1914, p. xxiv).

⁵ A preliminary account of these epigraphs will be found in the A. S. C. A. R. for 1930-31, p. 6, and in C. J. Sc. (G.), vol. ii, pp. 187-188 and 217.

unsuspected till a villager, who had seen it many years ago, informed the writer about it when he visited the site to copy the first inscription. It was necessary to remove the earth to a depth of about two feet before the inscription was exposed. The existence of an inscription at this place is mentioned in the Return of the Architectural and Archaeological and other Antiquities existing in Ceylon, published by the Ceylon Government in 1890; but the records do not seem to have been studied by any one before they were copied by the Archaeological Department. No other antiquities of any description are to be seen in the vicinity of these rock-inscriptions.

I.

The first epigraph is incised in two panels separated from each other by a natural transversal crevice at the middle of the rock surface, which has been avoided by the engraver. The panel on the left-hand side measures 3 ft. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 2 ft. $0\frac{1}{2}$ in. and is enclosed in a rectangular framing. Parallel horizontal lines, drawn at distances varying from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches from one another, divide this area into eight unequal spaces in which the letters are engraved. The last letters of all the lines, excepting the fourth and the eighth, are written partly outside the framing on the right-hand side. Above the inscribed area are engraved the figures of the sun and the crescent moon; and to the left of it is the figure of a crow, facing the inscription. The right-hand side panel measures 4 ft. $0\frac{1}{2}$ in. by I ft. 3 in. and is also enclosed in a rectangular linear framing; and the whole area is divided into five spaces by horizontal parallel lines drawn at a distance varying from $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. from one another. To the right of this panel is engraved the figure of a dog, facing the inscription.

The letters, engraved fairly deep, vary in size from 2 to 1½ inches. The execution of the record, on the whole, has been done with some care; but in line 3, the syllable se has been left out by mistake and added later, below the line. The document is in a fairly good state of preservation; and it is only in lines 4 and 10, that some letters—three in each—are too weathered for a reading which is beyond doubt.

The **script**, on the whole, resembles that of the inscriptions of Niśśamka Malla and other monarchs of the later Polonnaruva period; but, in certain particulars, it has points in common with the script of about a century later. For instance, the medial vowel sign for \ddot{a} , occurring in this record, differs markedly from that of the inscriptions of Niśśamka Malla. This symbol, in the script of that king's records, consists of a vertical stroke slightly curved towards the left,

VOL. IV.

detached, and written to the right of the consonantal symbol; but, in the present record, it comprises an almost semicircular stroke joined to the consonantal symbol by means of another short vertical stroke, and on a much higher level. The letters, in general, assume more rounded forms than in the script of Niśśamka Malla's reign. This difference in script seems to be due more to the individual idiosyncracies of the scribe rather than to natural development caused by the passage of time, for in the particulars noted above, the script of the Dambadeniya period, which is about half a century later than the date of this record, seems to agree with that of Niśśamka Malla's inscriptions.

There is nothing noteworthy about the **orthography** of the document; and, as for **grammar**, the use of the verbal form *siti* in connexion with inanimate objects may be worth mentioning. In the modern language, as well as in the classical literature, *pihiti* would have been used instead. The **language** and **style** are in keeping with those of other documents of the period to which this inscription belongs.

The record is of considerable historical interest. Its **object** was to register the grant of a village named Kalama to the general Loke Arakmenā, by king Lokeśvara-bāhu Cakravartti, in recognition of the former's services in defeating the Colas. The name Lokeśvara-bāhu in this record obviously stands for Lokissara or Lokeśvara of the chronicles. Two rulers of this name are mentioned in the historical writings of Ceylon; and both of them occupied the throne for short periods in troubled times and were not distinguished for any remarkable achieve-The first of these was the general, named Loka and Lokanātha in the Mahāvamsa¹, and Lokeśvara in the Pūjāvalī and other Sinhalese writings², who, when the Colas were dominating the greater part of Ceylon, wielded some authority over the Rohana country for six years, having Kataragama as his head-quarters, and was in the end vanquished by Kitti, the prince who later repelled the Colas and ascended the throne of Polonnaruva as Vijayabāhu I3. The second Lokesvara reigned for seven months at Polonnaruva in 1210 and was preceded and also followed on the throne by Līlāvatī⁴. On palaeographical grounds, the record ought to be ascribed to Lokesvara II, of whom this is the only document so far brought to light.

¹ Mv. lvii. 1-2.

² A Contribution to the History of Ceylon, translated from 'Pūjāvaliya', by B. Gunasekara (Colombo, 1895), p. 33, and Rājāvaliya, B. Gunasekara's translation (Colombo, 1900), p. 59.

³ Mv. lvii. 64. ⁴ Ibid., lxxx. 46-50.

The chronicles say nothing more about Lokesvara beyond the fact that he had been wounded in the shoulder by a spear and that he, after possessing himself of the throne with the help of a great Tamil army from the opposite shore, ruled for seven months till he was ousted by a general named Parakkama¹. The authorities are silent about his lineage; and Dr. Wickremasinghe considers him to have been a usurper 2. The present record informs us that he had the throne name Sirisangabo and belonged to the Kālinga dynasty. The last piece of information shows us that he must have been related somehow to Niśśamka Malla and Sāhasamalla, both of whom were members of the Kālinga dynasty; but neither this inscription nor any other record helps us to determine what the relationship was. At any rate, he must have had as good a title to the throne as any of the ephemeral kings and queens who followed one another in quick succession in the period between the death of Niśśamka Malla and the invasion of the island by Māgha.

The encounter, referred to in this record, between the Colas and the Sinhalese, in which the latter were victorious, is not mentioned in the chronicles. Nothing is said as to whether the struggle took place in Ceylon or abroad; but we can be quite certain that, in the confused times in which Lokeśvara reigned, he could not have fitted out and sent an expedition to give battle to the Colas in their own territories. The fight, therefore, must have been with an army sent by the Cola king to this island. The Cola monarch at this time was Kulottunga III, whose reign began in 1178 A.D. and lasted till 12163. Kulottunga, in his inscriptions dated the 9th and 21st years of his reign, boasts of victories he gained over the Sinhalese 4; but these cannot refer to the encounter in the reign of Lokeśvara, as they occurred before the latter's accession. I have elsewhere shown that these expeditions must have occurred sometime between 1190 and 1200 A.D.⁵ This particular invasion which was repelled by Loke Arakmenā does not seem to have been mentioned in the South Indian inscriptions, which is quite natural as the Colas were not successful in their attempt.

The general Loke Arakmenā also figures in the Ruvanvälisāya slab inscrip-He is said there to have been entrusted with the care tion of Niśśamka Malla. of the Ruvanvälisäya after the great offerings made to that shrine by the king. 'Arakmenā' is a title which was given to the officials who guarded the Bō-tree

¹ *Ibid.*, lxxx. 47-48.

³ South Indian Inscriptions, vol. iii, pp. 204 and 43.

⁵ J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. xxxi, pp. 384-386.

² E.Z., Vol. III, p. 24. 4 Ibid., p. 206.

⁶ E. Z., Vol. II, p. 83.

at Anurādhapura; and the first to hold this office was Jutindhara, one of the Maurya princes who are said to have accompanied the sacred tree to Ceylon in the time of Aśoka¹.

The land granted, it is stated, was to be enjoyed in the Māpaṇḍi family, having had any disputes concerning it settled by the senior thera of the Vapasināāyatan of the Vilgammuļa fraternity. 'Māpaṇḍi' is obviously the same as 'Mahāpaṇḍi', the name of the family to which the author of the Pūjāvalā belonged, as stated in the 34th chapter of that work². This family is said therein to have been a branch of the Gaṇaväsi clan which traced its origin to the Maurya princes. The Saddharmmaratnākara³ states that Gaṇaväsi is another name for the Lämäni family to which belonged most of the kings of mediaeval Ceylon. Loke Arakmenā was, in all probability, a scion of the Lämäni or Gaṇaväsi stock, a supposition strengthened by what we learn from the other inscription 4 at the site and also by the title Arakmenā which he bore.

The fraternity of monks known as **Vilgammuļa** (P. Sarogāmamūla), so far as I know, figures in history for the first time in the Polonnaruva period. Moggallāna Thera, the author of the Pāli lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā, and who lived in the Jetavana-vihāra built by Parākramabāhu I at Polonnaruva, was a member of this fraternity. The authors of several well-known Sinhalese and Pāli works produced in the fourteenth century were of this fraternity of monks. Vapasinā Āyatan which seems to have belonged to this college of monks, is not known from other sources.

As regards the **geographical names** occurring in the record, **Kalama** is obviously the old name of the land in which the inscription is found. Its boundaries, which are given, cannot now be identified, as most of them, for instance, 'the silk-cotton tree standing by the side of the high road' and 'the

1932, p. 50.)

⁸ Colombo edition of 1923, p. 296.

¹ Simhala Bodhivamsa (Colombo edition of 1928), p. 220. The Pāli word translated by arakmenā is ārakkha-pāricariya (see Mahābodhivamsa, P.T.S. edition, p. 166).

² Ubhaya-kula-pariśuddhava päväti Gaṇaväsi-kulehi avinaṣṭa-vū Mahāpaṇḍi-vaṁśa äti Mayūrapāda-pariveṇādhipati Buddhaputra-sthavirayan.

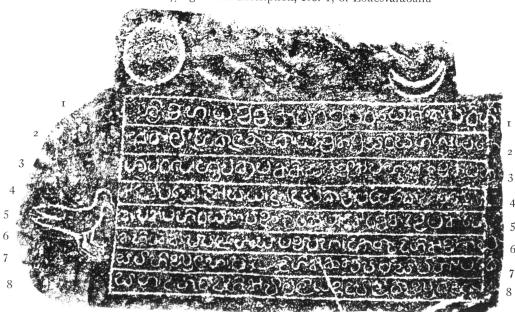
(The 34th chapter of the Pūjāvalī, edited by Rev. Pandit Mābōpiṭiye Medhankara Thera, Colombo,

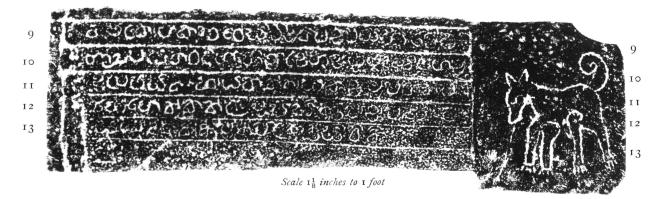
⁴ See below, pp. 88-90.

⁵ See Abhidhānappadīpikā, Colombo, 1883, p. 313.

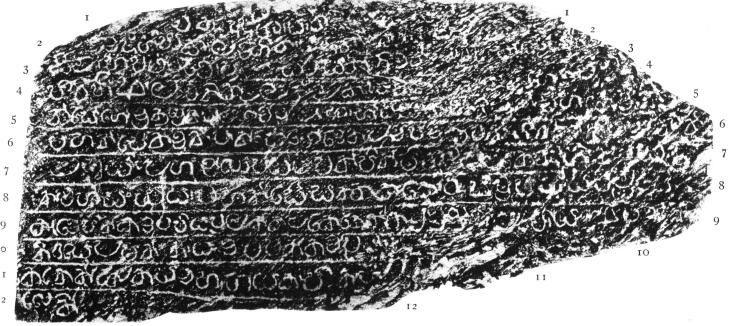
⁶ Wickremasinghe, Catalogue of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum, p. xviii, and Malalasekara, The Pāli Literature of Ceylon, pp. 253-254.

IO





Koṭṭangē Rock-Inscription, No. 2



Scale 1 1 inches to 1 foot

gata-kos tree standing on the side of the hill', are not permanent landmarks. I was, however, told by the villagers that a field called Pīlikumbura still exists. 'Villiya', too, still exists in the names of the villages 'Udavili' and 'Yaṭivili' and possibly has given its name to the Villi- or Vāudavilli-Hatpattu.

TEXT.

- 1 යුමහාසම්මතපරම්පරාසෙන් නොපිරිනී
- 2 ϕ කාලිගකුලනිලකායමානවූ සිරිසහබො ලෙ $[ar{ar{\mu}}]$ ෙක
- 3 වෙරබාහු චනුවඨානිසවාමින්වහන්සෙ නමන්වහ
- 4 න්සෙට සොළින් සාධා දුන් දස්කමට ලොකෙ අ[රක්මෙ]
- 5 නාවන්ට හිරසඥපමුණු කොටැ දුන් මේ කළමට නැගෙ
- 6 නහිරින් කපපලගොඩ වඹ හා දකුණුදිගින් මංකඩ
- 7 සිටි නිඹුල හා පැළදිගින් කඤපිට සිටි ගැටකො
- 8 ස හා උතුරුදිගින් විල්ලිය මැද පිලිකුඹුර ඇ
- 9 තුළු කොට කæුරෙ සිටි ඇටඹය හා මේ පමු
- 10 ණුවට සතරදිගැ හිමි $[{\mathfrak g}^*]$ මෙ (හිමැ වූ) විල්ගම්
- 11 මුළ වපසිනැආයතන්නායක මලුවරුන්වාන්
- 12 සෙගෙන් කන්ලැවූ පසිණුවා මාපඩිවං
- 13 සගෙ ඇත්තවුන් වළදෙනු සිරිති $[1^*]$

TRANSCRIPT.

- 1 Śrī-Mahāsammata-paramparāyen no-pirihī
- 2 ā Kālinga-kula-tilakāyamāna-vū Sirisangabo Loke-
- 3 -śvara-bāhu cakravartti-svāmīn-vahanse 1 taman-vaha-
- 4 -nse-ta Solīn sādhā dun das-kamaţa Loke A[rakme]-
- 5 nāvan-ṭa hira-sanda-pamuņu koṭä dun me Kalama-ṭa näge-
- 6 -nahirin Kappalagoda tamba hā dakuņu-digin mam-kada
- 7 siți himbula hā päļa-digin kandu-pița siți gäța-ko-
- 8 -sa hā uturu-digin Villiya mäda Pilikumbura ä-
- 9 -tuļu koṭa kandure siṭi äṭambaya hā me pamu-
- 10 -nuvața satara-digä himi [n*] Me (himä vū) Vilgam-
- 11 muļa Vapasinā-āyatan-nāyaka maluvarun-vān-
- 12 -segen kanlävu pasinduvā Māpaņdi-vam-
- 13 -saye ättavun valandanu siriti ["*].

¹ Written below the line.

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1–10] To this [village of] Kalama, granted, as a pamunu 1 [to exist till] the Sun and Moon endure, by His Majesty, the Emperor Sirisangabo Lokeśvara-bāhu, who is descended in unbroken succession from the lineage of the illustrious Mahāsammata and who is like unto an adornment of the Kālinga dynasty, to Loke Arakmenā, for the valour shown 2 in disposing 3 of the Colas for His Majesty—to this pamunu [village]—the boundaries on the four directions are:—on the east, the pillar at Kappalagoda, on the south, the silk-cotton tree standing by the side of the high-road, on the west, the gäṭa-kos 4 tree standing on the side of the hill, on the north, the äṭamba 5 tree standing near the mountain stream, thus including, [within its limits], the field called Pilikumbura in the middle of Villi.

[Lines 10–13] It shall be customary for the land within these boundaries to be enjoyed by those of the **Māpaṇḍi** family, getting any complaints ⁶ [regarding it] settled by His Worship the prior ⁷ who is the head of the Vapasinä Āyatan of **Vilgammuļa**.

II.

The second inscription at the site, as has already been mentioned, is engraved on a rock very close to the first. It covers an irregular rock-surface measuring, approximately, 7 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. 2 in. The rock has not been dressed before the writing was executed and, in avoiding the uneven areas at the right-hand side, the lines have become of unequal length. The **letters** have been engraved between parallel lines which are, on an average, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches from one another. The average height of the letters is about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The record has suffered badly from the action of the weather, particularly the right half of it, and about a third of the document is completely illegible.

¹ See E. Z., Vol. II, p. 117, n. 5.

² The above rendering is by taking das as equivalent to Skt. dakṣa. It may also stand for Skt. dāsya, in which case 'services rendered' may be substituted for 'valour shown'.

³ The root $s\bar{a}dh$, from which the gerund $s\bar{a}dh\bar{a}$ comes, has the primary meaning of 'to make', 'to prepare', &c.; but it is capable of assuming various shades of secondary meaning. This verb is used with the same meaning as in this record, in the following passage from the Nikāya Sangraha (Colombo edition of 1890, p. 20):—Mahalu Vijayabāhu nam maharajāṇō sayāsū havuruddak muļullē Lakdiva gam niyamgam rājadhāni purā un Demaļa-mahasenaga sādhā Sirilaka eksat koļa.

⁴ A species of jack.

⁵ A species of mango.

⁶ The word rendered by 'complaints' is kanlävu. I have taken it to be a variant form of kannalavu, occurring with this meaning in literature.

⁷ Maluvarun, a contraction of mahaluvarun. The form maluvarun also occurs in the Lankātilaka rock-inscription, l. 10. (See J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. x pp. 87 and 95).

The script shows more developed forms than in that of the first inscription and it may therefore be inferred that this record belongs to a somewhat later date—a conclusion which is also supported by a study of its contents. is given in the document. It opens with a Sanskrit verse of which not a single line is completely preserved. The rest of the document, which is in Sinhalese, tells us that a mahāthera of the **Vilgammula** fraternity, whose name is obliterated, granted to the sangha the pamunu village of Kalama, and some other lands belonging to him. This mahāthera is said to have been the grandson of a personage who belonged to the Lämäni family; but, unfortunately, the name of the latter is also not preserved. We may presume that the *mahāthera* was a grandson of Loke Arakmenā, to whom the village was originally granted by Lokeśvara, as recorded in the first inscription. This supposition gains further strength from the fact that, as shown by the title 'Arakmena', general Loke belonged to the His connexion with the Vilgammula fraternity is also shown by the stipulation in the first inscription that any disputes concerning the lands in question were to be settled by a mahāthera of that religious institution.

TEXT.

1	චතුද්දිශා යා ත
2	මෙ දිගීඝකාලමහිතාය නා
3	ශිලා (භවථ) මො පු $\left[\mathbf{u}^{*}\right]$ සවසනි ශීමත් $\left[\mathbf{e}$ නා $\left[\mathbf{u}^{*}\right]$
4	පිරිහි ආ ලැමැනිකුලතිලකායමාන වහ
5	න්සේගේ මුනුබුරු විල්ශම්මුලැ අතය මහනෙරැන්
6	වහන්සෙ නමන්වහන්සෙගෙ මෙ කළම පමුණුවත් වත්
7	උඩුසැළ ගම්බාවසටවත් පින් පිණිස සතරදිගින් වඩ
8	න මහසංඝයාවහන්සේ සනතක කොට සිවුපසයට ලූසේ
9	කැ $[\mathbf{II}^*]$ මේ පින්කමට වියවුලක් කළ කෙනෙක් කවුඩු බලු වූවොය අටමහ
10	නිරගෙ උපන්නොය මට පින්කමට
11	ඉකුනෙක් ඇත සමභාගයක පින් ලැ
12	බෙ න් [။*]

TRANSCRIPT.

- 5 -nsēgē munuburu Vilgam-muļā Abhaya mahaterun-
- 6 vahanse taman-vahansege me Kalam-pamunuvat vat
- 7 Udusäla Gambāvasatavat pin piņisa satara-digin vada-
- 8 -na maha-samghayā-vahansē santaka koṭa sivu-pasayaṭa lū-sē-
- 9 -kä[n*]Me pin-kamaṭa viyavulak kala kenek kavudu balu vūvoya aṭa-maha-
- 10 niraye upannoya mata pin-kamata
- 11 kenek äta sama-bhāgayaka pin lä-
- 12 -bet[n*]

TRANSLATION.

..... for my benefit for a long time Hail! His Worship, the great thera Abhaya of Vilgammuļa, the grandson of His Holiness who was like unto an adornment to the Lämäni family, and who was descended in unbroken succession from the illustrious for gaining merit, made this pamuņu [village called] Kaļama and Udusäla and Gambāvasaṭava², belonging to His Holiness, the property of the saṃgha coming from the four directions, and gave them for the four requisites.

Any persons who shall cause hindrance to this act of charity will be [born as] crows and dogs and will [also] be born in the eight great hells. If there be any persons who (would support) me in this act of charity they would receive the merit of an equal share.³

No. 12. GADALĀDEŅIYA ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF DHARMMAKĪRTTI STHAVIRA.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

A Gaḍalādeṇiya, a village in the Udunuvara division of the Kandy District, there is, on a wide stretch of flat rock, a Buddhist shrine of the fourteenth century. This temple, which was originally built entirely of stone, is remarkable

¹ See *E. Z.*. Vol. III, p. 267, n. 3.

² Though the letters of this name are quite clear, it does not look like an ordinary place name in Ceylon.

³ I.e. half of the merit.

for the fact that, though it was intended for purposes of Buddhist religious worship, it resembles, in its architectural features, the contemporary Hindu shrines of South India in the early Vijayanagara style. A roof in the later Kandyan style, constructed of timber, on brick piers, covers the *vimāna*; and thus the original architectural design is much obscured at present.

The ascent to the rock on which the shrine is built was, in olden days, on the north-eastern side; and, to the right of the rock-cut steps, as one ascends, a large area of rock-surface, measuring, roughly, 24 ft. by 13 ft., is covered with inscriptions contiguous to one another, all more or less damaged. The record which occupies the top-most position of this inscribed area is a short and much weathered one of four lines, datable in the fifteenth century, of a king styled Sirisangabo Śrī Parākramabāhu Vikramabāhu. Below this is another record of five lines, also very fragmentary, and of the same period, dated in the third year of a Sirisangabo Śrī Parākramabāhu. The record dealt with in the present paper is incised immediately below this, and occupies more than half of the inscribed rock-surface at this place. Immediately below this epigraph is the inscription of Senāsammata Vikramabāhu, edited by Mr. H. W. Codrington (see ante, pp. 8-15), which is followed by a much weathered record dated 2054 of the Buddhist era. On the rock near the Bo-tree, there are two other inscriptions which are almost totally obliterated; and a slab-pillar, now standing near the entrance to the shrine, bears inscriptions which have also been dealt with by Mr. Codrington (ante, pp. 16-27)².

The inscription now dealt with, which is the earliest in date of all the records found at this site, is also the longest; and covers a rock-surface measuring, approximately, 14 ft. by 13 ft. 6 in. It consists of 45 lines of which the last three are almost totally effaced. The first line extends about a foot more to the right than the other lines; possibly it has been done so in order to finish the opening Sanskrit stanza in this line alone. The letters, which are, on an average, 3 in. in size, have been boldly incised to a considerable depth and, in the preserved portions of the record, are clearly legible. Large patches of the inscribed rock-surface have peeled off, thereby causing many lacunae in the text. The incumbent priest told me that this damage has been wantonly caused by the

¹ For a description of Gadalādeniya, see H. W. Cave, *The Book of Ceylon*, New edition, pp. 341 ff.

² For a preliminary account of the inscriptions at Gadalādeniya, see C.J. Sc., G., vol. ii, pp. 109 and 205-206.

villagers at the instance of a certain chief who lived about a century ago, with the intention of depriving the temple of the lands mentioned in the record as having been dedicated to it. Whether this story is true or not, the peeling off of the rock-surface seems to have been due to the kindling of fire on it.

The **script** is Sinhalese of the fourteenth century. As this is the first example of an inscription of this period to be reproduced in facsimile in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, a few remarks about the script may not be out of place here. Between the script of the fourteenth century and that of the Polonnaruva period, of which numerous examples have been reproduced in this journal, there is not much of a divergence. The letters which have undergone considerable change during the one and a half centuries which divide these two periods are na, na, ma, ra, va, sa, and la, as may be seen from the symbols for these syllables in the two periods shown side by side:—

	ņa	na	ma	ra	va	sa	ļа
Twelfth century	ورجه	Ъ	8	IJ	\mathcal{U}	ಬ	کے
Fourteenth century	\mathcal{E}^{γ}	3	ව	O	ى	ಬ	2

The general tendency of the script during this period is to emphasize, much more than in the preceding one, the sinuous curves which are characteristic of the modern Sinhalese alphabet. The script of the fourteenth century differs but little from the modern; and any one familiar with the Sinhalese writing of to-day will find no difficulty in recognizing the letters in an inscription of the Gampola period, except the symbols for *i*, *ja*, *na*, *ma*, *ra*, and *la*. Even in the case of these letters, the relation of the modern symbols to their prototypes of the fourteenth century requires very little explanation to be understood. Within this inscription itself, there are certain letters which are not uniform in type. For example, we find the letter *ma*, almost identical with the Polonnaruva form, side by side with the more developed form shown above; compare the 17th letter of line 31 with the 15th of line 14. Other letters of which we find slightly differing types are *na*, *ja*, *ra*, and *la*.

This want of uniformity is a characteristic feature of the script of the Gampola period in general. The Lankātilaka rock-inscription¹, dated in the same year as this record, contains forms which are closer to the Polonnaruva

¹ See J.R. A.S., C. B., vol. xxii, plate C facing p. 360, which gives only a section of this record.

NO. 12]

script; for example the letter ra (). The Hapugastänna 1 and the Vigulavatta 2 inscriptions, which are, respectively, only fifteen and sixteen years later than the present document, have forms of ra, la, na, and na differing widely from the corresponding letters in this epigraph. Nevertheless, the script of all these records shows, even without the aid of the dates given therein, that they belong to the same period.

After the auspicious words at the beginning, the first line contains a Sanskrit śloka in the Indravajrā metre; and the rest of the record is in Sinhalese. document belongs to the period which has produced the best Sinhalese prose writings; hence, as may be expected, the language, reminiscent of that of these works, is correct and grammatical. Many Sanskrit tatsamas have been introduced into the document, as is also the case with the literary Sinhalese prose of In the fourth line of the Sanskrit verse, however, the rules of prosody have been infringed by making the seventh syllable a long one. perhaps due to having overlooked the fact that a short vowel followed by a combination of consonants is counted as long. The following orthographical peculiarities may also be noted:—Maddhaye (l. 12), Mayitrī (l. 13), and Niśśamkha (l. 29), should correctly have been madhyaye, Maitrī, and Niśśamka, respectively. As in the South-Indian Grantha documents, the medial sign for the vowel r is the same as the symbol for the consonant ra occurring as the last member of a ligature. Hence the words vṛkṣa (ll. 15-16) and mātṛ (l. 16) can also be read as vrakṣa and mātra. The form narendraya-haṭa occurring in 1. 3, might be a variant form of, or a clerical error for, narendrayā-hata. The words kumāra (l. 31) and gamin (l. 32) have been repeated owing to an inadvertence of the engraver. Kadavara in the compound gam-kadavara (l. 35), does not occur in any other document of the period; and the Sanskrit word sthapati 'sculptor' (l. 11) has not been found in any other Sinhalese writing, literary or epigraphical, except in this and the Lankātilaka inscriptions.

The record is dated in the third year of Bhuvanaikabāhu (the Fourth) and also mentions the Saka year 1266, expired. That part of the sentence which contains the date has been interpreted to mean that the Śaka year given is the same as the year of accession of Bhuvanaikabāhu³, but a proper analysis of the sentence is against such an interpretation and would show that the Śaka year mentioned in the epigraph is equivalent to the third year of the king. According

¹ Ibid., plate D facing p. 362. ² Ibid., plate E facing p. 362

³ Bell. Report on the Kägalla District, p. 92, n. 1, and Codrington, Short History of Ceylon, p. 88.

to the context, it is rather difficult to take $Sr\bar{i}$ Saka-varṣayen piruṇu sanda as an adverbial clause modifying raja pāmiṇi. The occurrence of the word mekal between the two is against such an analysis of the sentence; and hence, the Śaka date cannot, in my opinion, be taken as that of Bhuvanaikabāhu's accession. On the other hand, the more reasonable way of analysing this sentence would be to take the two clauses $Sr\bar{i}$ Saka-varṣayen piruṇu sanda and mekal raja pāmini tunvanne as independent of each other and both qualifying that part of the sentence in which details regarding the month and day of the date are given. If the sentence be thus analysed, the Śaka year has to be taken, not as the date of Bhuvanaikabāhu's accession, but as equivalent to his third regnal year. The passage giving the date in the Laṅkātilaka rock-inscription is almost in the very words of the corresponding passage in our inscription; hence, the above remarks apply to it as well.

The Śaka year mentioned in this inscription as well as in the Laṅkātilaka record has already been correctly read by Mr. Bell as 12662; the text of the Laṅkātilaka inscription published by Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara also gives the same year as the date of that document3. Mr. Codrington, in his Short History of Ceylon (p. 88) has similarly given the Śaka year mentioned in both these records. Dr. Wickremasinghe, however, on the authority of a manuscript copy of the Laṅkātilaka inscription, found in the British Museum, has taken Śaka 1264 as the date given in that record4, and Professor Geiger5 also follows Dr. Wickremasinghe in this respect. In both these inscriptions, the reading sasäta is quite clear on the rocks and the date in the British Museum copy of the Laṅkātilaka record can easily be taken as a clerical error (susäṭa for sasäṭa).

Messrs. Bell and Codrington, who take the Śaka year given in this epigraph as that of Bhuvanaikabāhu's accession, come to the conclusion that this monarch's initial regnal year was 1344-5 A.D. Dr. Wickremasinghe, who interprets the

¹ See J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. x, p. 83.

² See Report on the Kegalla District, p. 92, n. 1, and A. S. C. Annual Report for 1911-12, p. 120.

⁸ The text of the Lankātilaka inscription published in the J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. x, pp. 83–86, by Mudaliyar Gunasekara, towards the end, differs widely from what is on the rock. Perhaps this text is based not on the rock-inscription but on some other version of the same document written on copper-plates or palm-leaves.

⁴ E. Z., Vol. III, p. 29.

⁵ Cūļavamsa, English translation, Part II, p. xxii. Professor Geiger in n. 1 at p. 211 of the same work takes the date as Śaka 1266.

sentence similarly, but reads the date differently, has given 1342 A.D. as the first year of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV. Professor Geiger, however, places more reliance on a statement in the *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, which will be noticed in the sequel, than on contemporary documents engraved on stone, and comes to the conclusion that this king's reign began in 1350-51 A.D.

If, on the other hand, the passages which contain the date in these two inscriptions be interpreted in the manner I have suggested above, the Śaka year 1266 has to be taken not as the date of Bhuvanaikabāhu's accession but as equivalent to his third regnal year. The exact date of the present record is the full-moon day of the month of Vesaga (Skt. Vaiśākha) in Śaka 1266, which is equivalent to Wednesday, April 28, 1344 A.D. 1; and as the third regnal year was current at this date his reign must have commenced in 1341-2 AD.

As has already been referred to, the Nikāya Sangraha², and, following it, the Saddharmmaratnākara³, and the Mahāvamsa⁴, equate the fourth year of this king with 1894 A.B., which makes his first year 1350–1 A.D., as has been taken by Professor Geiger. Between this and the date arrived at by us, there is a discrepancy of nine years. Dr. Wickremasinghe and Professor Geiger try to explain this discrepancy between the authorities by assuming that the earlier date was the one on which Bhuvanaikabāhu became the $\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ (heir-apparent) of his predecessor and the later one, 1347 A.D., was that of his accession to the throne ⁵. But this hypothesis becomes untenable when we consider the fact that in this inscription, which is dated 1344 A.D., Bhuvanaikabāhu is referred to by epithets which are applicable to a reigning king only, and not to an $\bar{a}p\bar{a}$. We should, I think, place more reliance on the statements found in contemporary stone inscriptions than on those in literary works, the earliest of which was written about half a century after the accession of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV. Mr. Codrington has shown that the Nikāya Sangraha is definitely wrong in two other dates given therein ⁶.

About this monarch himself, our record does not help us to learn anything new. He was the first Sinhalese king to rule from Gampola, and in the chronicles there is nothing to show why he left the earlier capital. He is rather a vague personage and, in the writings of the period, his figure is overshadowed by that of his powerful minister, Senā Lamkādhikāra.

¹ According to Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris.

² Colombo edition of 1890, p. 25.

³ Ibid., 1923, p. 293.

⁴ Chap. xc, v. 108.

⁵ E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 29-30 and Cūļavamsa, translation, pp. xxii-xxiii. Ceylon Antiquary, vol. ix, p. 186.

The contents tell us about the foundation of a shrine of Buddha at Gaḍa-lādeṇiya by the great sthavira Dharmmakīrtti who came of the Gaṇaväsi stock. The account of the building of the temple, which comprises more than one-third of the record, is followed by a long list of lands dedicated to it by various personages. The Gaṇaväsi family is said to have come to Ceylon bringing the Sacred Bo-tree. The origin of this family, which produced some of the greatest figures in the history of Ceylon during the fourteenth century, is similarly given in the Sagama inscription of the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu V¹. According to the Saddharmaratnākara², Gaṇaväsi is another name for the Lämäni family which had, as its progenitors, the Śākya princes Sumitra and Bodhigupta who were sent to Ceylon by Aśoka to accompany the branch of the sacred Bodhi tree. The name Gaṇaväsi is said to have attached itself to this family because its members, in course of time, became numerous and constituted themselves into a corporate body (gaṇa)³.

The hierarch Dharmmakīrtti of this record was one of the greatest figures of the Buddhist Church in Ceylon in the middle of the fourteenth century. He belonged to the sect of forest-dwelling monks, which had its head-quarters at the hermitage founded at Palābatgala (P. Puṭabhattasela) near Adam's Peak, in the reign of Parākramabāhu II⁴. Laudatory accounts of this hierarch, from which we can also gather a few biographical facts about him, are given in the Nikāya Saṅgraha⁵ and the colophon of the Saddharmmālaṅkāra⁶, both of which are works of his pupil and namesake, Dharmmakīrtti, and in the Saddharmaratnā-kara⁷, a work of Vimalakīrtti who was a pupil of the second Dharmmakīrtti. These accounts not only confirm what we learn about him from the inscription, but add that he was the author of several Pāli works among which were included

¹ J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. xxii, pp. 364-365.

³ Kramayen samūhava ganīvū heyin Gaṇaväsivamsaya yi kiyā da. There is no doubt that this is a popular etymology of the word Gaṇaväsi. It can be interpreted to mean 'monastery official'. Gaṇa means 'the Buddhist congregation' and later acquired the secondary meaning of 'monastery'; and väsi is found in the tenth century inscriptions with the meaning 'employee' or 'official' (see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 113). The family probably had its origin in some temple officials who acquired power and influence. This derivation of the word does not preclude the possibility of the family having been descended from the princes who accompanied the Bo-tree in the third century B.C. The officials entrusted with the administration of the vast estates of the mediaeval monasteries were often of noble birth.

⁴ See *Pūjāvalī*, Colombo, 1922, p. 694 and *Mv*. lxxxiv. 24.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 28 and 32.

⁶ Colombo edition of 1924, pp. 764-765.

⁷ Op. cit., p. 490.

Pāramīsataka and Janānurāgacarita¹; that he, in addition to the Gaḍalādeṇiya-vihāra, also built a vihāra adorned with stone-work at Alavatura (in the Kāgalla District). He was also responsible for the purification of the saṅgha and the unification of the sects carried out during the administration of the great Alakeś-vara, and is said to have lived up to the age of 110.

Our record also tells us that Dharmmakīrtti, before he started the building of the Gaḍalādeṇiya temple, constructed, or rather repaired, a two-storied imagehouse at Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka (i.e. Amarāvatī) in India 2. This statement is also confirmed by the Saddharmaratnākara which gives a more detailed account of Dharmmakīrtti's works of religious devotion at Amarāvatī. The passage in question in the Saddharmaratnākara, which is also interesting to show how the images were worshipped in the Buddhist shrines of the fourteenth century, is translated below:—

'Abroad, he (Dharmmakīrtti) also restored a stone-built vihāra named Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka making it, in workmanship, as it originally was. The marble image of the Lord, in sitting posture, eighteen cubits in height, which was in that stone shrine, and which was daily being anointed with water, he besmeared with scented paste to a thickness of two inches and offered to it sevuvandi flowers, affixed thereon so that the stalk of one flower touched that of the other. In the morning of the second day, he anointed the stone image, which appeared like an image of flowers, (firstly) with scented water, secondly with pots of sesamum oil, thirdly with milk, and fourthly with pure water, after the image was rubbed with scented powder; and was thus made exceedingly clean. He next offered to the image five thousand balls of rice, fifty at a time, in addition to dishes filled with milk-rice and bowls of rice and curries. Moreover, in one day alone, he lighted nine thousand lamps with sesamum oil and offered twenty koṭis of idda flowers and seventy-five lakhs of jasmine flowers. Thus he made different kinds of offerings to that image of the Lord.'

The references to Amarāvatī in our inscription and in the Saddharmaratnā-kara contain, I think, the last recorded events in the history of that great monument of the Āndhra country before it was discovered in modern times; and it is rather a pity that the author of the Saddharmaratnākara has not given a fuller

¹ For *Pāramīsataka*, see Malalasekara's *Pāli Literature of Ceylon* (London, 1928), p. 242. Manuscripts of the *Janānurāgacarita* have not been heard of.

² For the identification of Dhānyakaṭaka with the modern Amarāvatī, see Burgess, Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeṭa Stūpas, p. 13.

account of the place as it then existed. The work of Dharmakīrtti at Amarāvatī is not the only instance of the Ceylon Buddhists of the fourteenth century striving to revive the dying flame of South Indian Buddhism. The great minister Senā Lamkādhikāra, who was a contemporary of Dharmakīrtti, is said to have dispatched men and money to Kāñci and established a Buddhist shrine in that city 1.

The inscription also gives certain details about the architectural features of the shrine and the images and paintings with which it was adorned. The shrine is said to have been of three storeys which seem to have been calculated by taking the terraced roof of the ardha-mandapa and antarāla as the second storey and a cell in the *vimāna*, on a higher level, as the topmost storey, in addition to the ground floor. As stated in the inscription, there are three images on the ground floor—a seated Buddha attended by two standing figures. On the makara-torana behind the Buddha are figures of deities. No trace can be seen, however, of the representation of a Bodhi-tree under which the Buddha figure is said in the record to have been shown seated. We cannot be certain whether the paintings to be seen in the cella, which are only decorative designs, are the ones mentioned in the inscription. Inside the cell of the vimāna, the inscription says, there was originally an image depicting the Buddha preaching the Abhidhamma to the gods. This image has now disappeared; and on the walls are to be seen some scenes from the Vessantara Jātaka painted during Kandyan times. We cannot expect anything of the original paintings of this shrine to be preserved till now as it is stated that Parākramabāhu VI (1412-1467) renewed the plaster work 2. The name of the architect who designed the building is given His name indicates, as we can also guess from the style of as **Ganeśvarācāri**. architecture, that he was a South Indian.

Among the persons who granted lands to the shrine, after it was completed, are a number of the great dignitaries of the time—princes, feudal lords, generals, bankers, and so forth. The majority of these personages are not known from other sources, while a few are mentioned in the other epigraphical records of the time as well as in literature. The most important among these is **Senā Laṁkā-dhikāra** who has already been referred to. It was this minister who built the other great architectural monument of the Gampola period, the Laṅkātilaka-

¹ See Nikāya Sangraha, English translation, p. 24.

² See Saddharmaratnākara, op. at., p. 298.

vihāra, about three miles from Gaḍalādeṇiya. The two long inscriptions at Laṅkātilaka, one in Sinhalese and the other in Tamil, and the rock inscription at Alavala in the Kuruṇāgala District¹, give an account of the building of that shrine and the lands dedicated to it by this minister as well as by others. Senā Laṅkādhikāra is also one of the signatories in the Vigulavatta (Gampola) inscription² and he is mentioned in the Nikāya Saṅgraha³, Saddharmaratnākara⁴ and other Sinhalese writings. Vīrasiṁha Patirāja was also one of the signatories in the Vigulavatta inscription. Prince Vīrasundara is mentioned in an inscription of about the fourteenth century, discovered at the village called Malvattegala in Hēvāgam Kōraļē⁵, as the founder of a vihāra at that place. There is not sufficient ground to take, as Mr. Bell has done ʿ, that Niśśaṁka Patirāja of this inscription is the same as the great warrior and statesman, Niśśaṁka Alakeśvara, who was the most important figure in Ceylon a decade or two after the date of this inscription.

As regards the **geographical names** mentioned in the record, Dhānyakaṭaka has already been dealt with. Singuruvāņa (also spelt Sinduruvāņa) was the name of this part of the country in mediaeval times; and the two nuvaras (cities) of Singuruvāņa are now preserved in the two territorial divisions 'Udu-Nuvara' and 'Yaţi-Nuvara'. Our inscription shows that, in the fourteenth century, the site of the Gadaladeniya temple was at the boundary of these two districts. Among the names of villages in which lands were dedicated to the shrine, I have not been able to find Ilupändeniya, Māyatgamu, Nāram-riyana, Minginiyāpotta, and Unapatānge, in the official village lists or in the maps of the topographical survey. The majority of the others are still known by the same names as are given in the inscription; and are situated, as may be expected, not very far from the shrine. Gadalādeņiya, Pamuņuva, Rangama, Dälivela, Kirivavula, and Piligama are in Mädapaļāta Kōraļē of the Udunuvara Division. Ambäkka and Sāpāṇa are the modern Āmbäkka and Hāpāṇa of the same Kōraļē. Sandessa is the modern Handessa in Gangapalāta Kōraļē in Udunuvara. Piļimatalavuva is in Mädapalāta Kōralē of the Yatinuvara Division and Ambulmīgama is most probably the modern Ämbilimīgama in the same Koraļē. Gannoruva and

¹ The Sinhalese inscription at the place has already been noted. The Tamil inscription is yet unpublished. For the Alavala record, see C. J. Sc. (G.), vol. ii, p. 188.

² J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. xxii, p. 363.

⁸ Op. cit., p. 25.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 293-294.

⁵ C. J. Sc., G., vol. ii, p. 200.

⁶ Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, vol. ii, p. 184. VOL. IV.

Mangalagama are in Gangapalāta Kōralē in the Yaṭinuvara Division. Uduvela is in Gandahē Kōralē of the Pāta Hēvāhäṭa Division and Aludeṇiya in Uḍapalāta Kōralē of Tumpanē. All the above-mentioned villages are in the Kandy District. Bisōvala is a village in Kandupiṭa North, Beligal Kōralē, and Iddavela in Tunpalāta West, Paraṇakūru Kōralē, both in the Kāgalla District. Uturālla may be the same as Uturala in Egodapota Kōralē, Kāgalla District. In that case Eliraṭa, in which Uturālla is said to have been included, must have been a territorial division of the fourteenth century which comprised that part of the modern Kāgalla District. I have not come across an old territorial division of this name in the *Kadaimpot* which deals with the geography of late mediaeval Ceylon.

TEXT.

- 1 සවසනි ශුභමසනු [෦*] ලිඛම්මකිත්තිසඑවිරාබි(කාමෙර) ^ ^ - ^ ^ -ජනාණි ^ ^ [෦*]
 - $oldsymbol{\wedge} oldsymbol{\wedge} oldsymbol{\wedge} oldsymbol{\wedge} oldsymbol{\circ}$ පුණාමනෙකරූපා කාරාපයන් ශුිඝනශුිවිහාරං $oldsymbol{ [\|^*] }$
- 2 ශීශකවළීගෙන් එක්වා[දහස්] දෙසිය සසැට අවුරු[ද්දක් පි]රුණු [ස]කු [මෙ]කල් රජපැමිණි හිසිංහ
- 3 ළාසිඥවර **භූවශෛතක**බා[**හු** න]රෙ සුසහව තුන්වනු (වෙසහ) [පුර] පසළො ස්වක ශීමහාබොහි වඩා
- 4 ශුලංකාචීපයට පැම්ණ් [ගණ]වැ[සි]වංශාභිජාත ධ**ණිඛ්ණති**සථවිරපාදයන් වහන්සෙ ද
- 5, මබදිවැන් සීධා නාෘකාට ශස 1 (ඉදමා)ල් පිළිමගෙයක් ගබාගො $[\sigma]$ න් $[\sigma]$ න් $[\sigma]$ න් $[\sigma]$ $[\sigma]$ නාවීප
- 6 යෙහිත් [බොහො]කාලයක් පවත්නා ලෙසැ සි[ලාමය පිළි]මගෙයක් කර වනු කැමැතිවැ රජ පූව
- 7 රජ අ[ඛිකාර මස]නෙවිරත් (අපම්)නාය[ක] නායක නායක ලිය
- 8 න්නත් ආ[දිවූ පෘ]ථුවිශවරයන් ² ද න් ද (සෘණුය) බුා(ගමණ මෛව) ශෘ ශුදුාදි [උතත]මා
- 9 බම ජනයන් ද සිංහළ දෙමළ අදිවූ සෙනා කෙ නත කරවා පණමින් ල[ක්]
- 10 ෂයක් විචරත් වී තුන්සියක් යාළ විචරත් [දි] වාසතුශාසතුපුතිමාශ[ාසතුාදි] ඉයහි වී

^{් &#}x27;බානාංකටකගෙ' යි කියවනු. ් 'පෘජිවීඥවරයන්' යි කියවනු.

- GADALĀDENIYA ROCK-INSCRIPTION NO. 12 IOI 11 සථපතිගණබිපති ශ[ණෙ]මෙරාචාරින් පුබාන කොට ඇති ආචාරිවරුන් ලවා සි[ගුරු]වා ණෙලද නුවර මධයෙ¹ දික්ගලඅතළෙ තුන්මාල් පිළිමගෙය² කරවනසෙක් පල්ලෙ **12** මාලෙ ශකු බුණුම 13 සුයාම සනතුෂිත නාථ මයිහුී අදි දෙවියන් විසින් පිරිවරනලද වජාසනා රුඪවැ බොධීන්වහ 14 න්සෙට පිට ලා වැඩැ හුන් සබාතුක මහපිළිමසාම්[නුන්] අනුපිළිම දෙදෙනාවහන්සෙත් [නො] යෙක් චිතුකම්වානතයෙන් විචිතු කොට කරවා මුදුන්මාලෙ චෛතෳගණික 15 යෙහි පා[රිජාත]වෘ 16 සමේ ල ගෙනි පාණ්ඩුකම්බලා[සනාරු] එවැ මාතෘදෙවපුනු පුමුබ ශකුඛ හමාදි දෙ[වියන් පි]රි වරා විජම්දෙශනාවට වැඩ නුන් [බුධ]රූපය කරවා වි[හාර]යට ආරස්ෂා 17 වකුත් උව මැනැවැ යි ඉද විරජගෙයකුත් කරවා බොබ් චෛතෘ පූෂපාරාම එලාරාමා[දින්] සරහා 18 තමන්වහන්සෙ ය න් කරවනලද ධණීමකීතීත් නම් මෙවිහා[රය දකැ] සමාබිවැ 19 ඉදෙණි ඉ 20 මියා ෧ [කම්මා]නතයට පණම තුන්ද,සක් වි[චරන්] ඉනවළ දි(වෙල් වහ)ල් සරක් ස ා නරබත්ගමින් පිදු බිජූ මස[නෙවි] 21SE, 22න් හා වීරසිංහ පතිරාජයන් (හා) දෙන්නා ම ඉඳුපැ(න්දෙ ණ්ගෙ)න් පිදු මුල්බ්ජු සාමුණෙක් සෙනා ලංකාඛිකාරයන් තම(න්ව දිවෙලව) සිටි සං[දෙස්සෙ]න් 23
 - පිදූ කුබුරු බි24 ජු එක්යාළ දසාමුණෙක් කොසව වණණකකයේ හා දන්(ශමු)
 මන් හා දෙන්නා
 - 25 සතු ස .. (ගඩි)ලාදෙණ්ගම් දෙභාගයෙන් මුල්බ්ජු මුණක් මූලාර මහ[යෙහි පි]
 - 26 දෑ**ය ෙ(ද)වශිරි පනිරාජ[සන්**] තමන්ට දිවෙලට සිටි ල්පිටිගමින් බ්ජූ සාමුණක්
 - 27 පුද, සරක්රු දසශෙක් බිශසාවල ඉද **පතිරාජයන්** එළිරව උතුරාලි

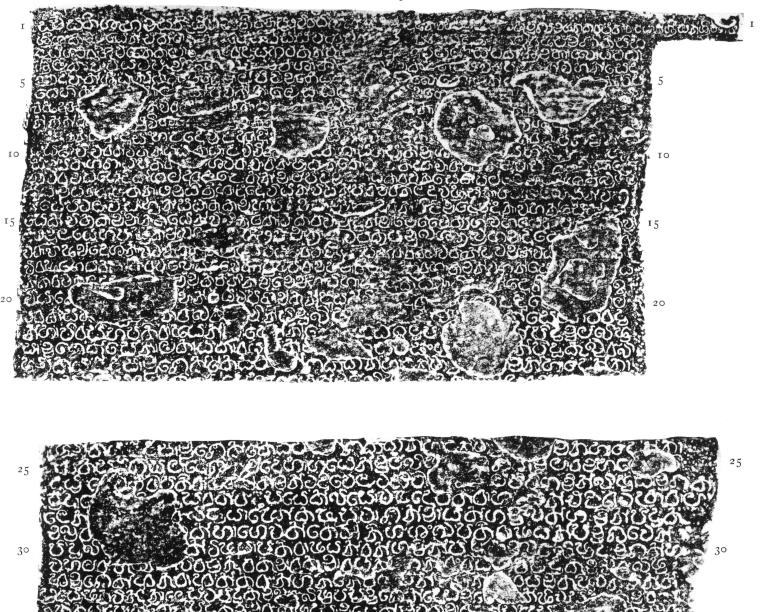
^{&#}x27;මඛාශය' සි කියවනු. ² ගෙයක්? ³ 'මෛතුී' සි කියවනු. VOL. IV. P 2

- 28 ලන්¹ [පිදු කුමබු]රු බ්ජු **යාලෙක් කථ සිටාණන්** මායන්ගමු බන්ගමින් පිදු කු
- 29 මබුරු [බිජූ] ... ක් හා ගෙවත්තෙක් නිශකංඛ පතිරාජයන් පමුණුවෙන්
- 30 පිදු බ්[ජු අමුණෙ]ක් විජයා පතිරාජයන් රන්ගමින් පිදු කුමබුරු බ්ජු දැමුණක් හා
- 31 වහල්රු තුණෙක් වීරසුපැර (කුමාර)² කුමාරයන්ගෙ නාරංරිය[නින්] පිදු කුම්බුරු බිජු
- 32 අමු ණෙක් **අනුරා අන්නරුන්** ගන්නොරුගමින් (ගමින්) ² අය ඔතු දි බන්[ධූනු]ත්
- 33 පුගොජන විනිදනා ලෙසට පිදු කුම්බුරු බ්ජු පසමුණෙක් (දෙසිම දෙකෙක්) ජීවසිං[හ] කුමාරයන්
- 34 මිගිනිශාපොත්තෙන් පිදූ කුම්බුරු බිජු දසාමුණෙක් සුව **කුමාරයන්** සං දෙස්[සෙන් පිදූ] කුම්බුරු
- 35 බ්ජූ මුණක් හා ගම්කඩවර එකෙක් සුව[පතිරා]ජසන් උඩුවෙලින් පිදු ගම්කඩවරක් හා කු
- .36 ම්බූරු [බ්ජු අ]මු[ණෝක් මෙසෙම දැලිවෙලි[න් කුම්බුරු] බ්ජු දෑමුණෙක් අළුදෙණියෙ ගත්තරදි
- 37 වෙලින් අමුණෙක් පිළිමතලවුවෙ[න් අමුණෙක්] කිරිවවුලෙන් අමුණෙක් සැපාණින් අ
- 38 මුණෙක් ඉද්දවෙලින් අමුණෙක් අ න් අමුණෙක් ඇම්බුල්ම්ගමින් තුන්පැළෙ
- 39 ක් උණපතාගෙන් තුන්පැළෙක් මංගලගමින් තුන්පැළෙක් පිලිගමින් දෙපැළෙක් **දි**හි
- $oldsymbol{40}$ ළි මසනානායකයන් අම්බැක්කෙ බොකේකුම්බුරෙන් පිදු බ්ජූ දැමුණෙක්
- 41 **මින් දහම්පසක්නාවන්** කිරිවඩුලෙන් පිදු බිජු [අමුණෙක්] ඉදපැම**ී**
- 42 ක් විවිනාපස දෙපැලෙසක් ශට්මිගෙනන් දෙරුවේ[ක් *] කුම්බු[රු බිජූ] ක්
- 43 (සෙට්ටි) ක් (බෙ)රෙගමින් පණම් ක් දී ග[ත) ක්

¹ 'උතුරාල්ලෙන්' යි කියවනු.

² මේ අසාර තුණ වැරදිමකින් දෙවරක් ලියවී තිබේ**.**

Gaḍalādeṇiya Rock-Inscription of Dharmmakīrtti



Scale 1 inch to I foot

¹ Read Dhānyakaṭakaye.

² Read pṛthivīśvarayan.

³ Read madhyaye.

⁴ Perhaps to be read as geyak.

⁵ Read Maitrī.

- 14 -nse-ța pița lā väḍā hun sadhātuka maha-pilima-sāmī[nut] anu-pilima dedenā-vahanset [no]-
- 15 -yek citra-karmmāntayen vicitra koṭa karavā mudun-māle caitya-garbbhayehi pā[rijāta] -vṛ-
- 16 -kṣa-mūlayehi pāṇḍu-kambalā[san>ārū]ḍha-vä Mātṛ-devaputra-pramukha Śakra-Brahm>ādi de[viyan pi]ri-
- 17 -varā vijam-deśanāva-ṭa väḍa hun [Buddha]-rūpaya karavā vi[hāra]ya-ṭa ārakṣāvak-ut uva mänävä yi de-
- 18 -viraja-geyak-ut karavā bodhi caitya puṣpārāma phalārām々ā[dīn] sarahā taman-vahanse ya-
- 19 -n karavana-lada Dharmmakīrtti nam me-vihā[raya däkä] samādhi-vä deṇi i-
- 20 -miyā e [karm]māntaya-ṭa paṇam tun-dāsak vi[carat] gevaļa di(vel vaha)l
- 21 sarak sa nara-batgamin pidū biju se[nevi]-radu-
- 22 -n hā Vīrasimha Patirājayan (hā) dennā .e Ilupā(ndeņiye)n pidū mul-biju
- 23 sāmuņek **Senā Laṁkādhikārayan** tama (n-ṭa) (divelaṭa) siṭi Saṁ[desse]n pidū kuburu bi-
- 24 -ju ek-yāļa dasāmuņek **Kesava Vaņņakkan** hā **Dan(gamu) man** hā dennā
- 25 satu sa.. (Gadi)lādeņi-gam de-bhāgayen mul-biju muņak mūlā-rambha[yehi pi]-
- 26 -dūya (**D)evagiri Patirāja[yan**] taman-ṭa divelaṭa siṭi lpiṭi-gamin biju sāmuṇak
- 27 pudā sarak-rū dasayek **Bisovaļa De Patirājayan** Eļiraṭa Uturāli-
- 28 -len¹ [pidū kumbu]ru biju yāļek **Kaļu Siṭāṇan** Māyatgamu batgamin pidū ku-
- 29 -mburu [biju] k hā ge-vattek **Niśśamkha** ² **Patirājayan** Pamunuven
- 30 pidū bi[ju amuņe]k **Vijayā Patirājayan** Rangamin pidū kumburu biju dāmuņak hā
- 31 vahal-rū tuņek **Vīrasundara** (kumāra)³ **Kumārayan**ge Nāraṁriya[nin] pidū kumburu biju

¹ Read Uturāllen.

² Read Niśśamka.

³ Three akṣaras have been repeated here by mistake.

- 32amunek Anurā Attarun Gannoru-gamin (gamin) aya otu di ban dhūnu t 33 prayojana vindinā lesata pidū kumburu biju paszamunek (desima deke)k Jīvasim[ha] Kumārayan 34 Minginiyapotten pidū kumburu biju daseamuņek Suva Kumarayan Samdes[sen pidū] kumburu 35 biju munak hā gam-kadavara ekek Suva [Patirā]jayan Uduvelin pidū gam-kadavarak hā ku-36 -mburu [biju a]mu[ne]k mese-ma Däliveli[n kumburu] biju dāmunek Aludeniye Gattara-di-37 -velin amunek Pilimatalavuve[n amunek] Kirivavulen amunek Sāpānin -munek Iddavelin amunek A n amunek Ämbulmigamin tun-38 39 -k Unapatängen tun-pälek Mangala[ga]min tun-pälek Piligamin de-pälek Digi-40 -li Senānāyakayan Ambäkke Bokē-kumburen pidū biju dāmuņek Min Dahampasak-nāvan Kirivavulen pidū biju [amuņek] 41 de-päle--k vaţanā-pasa de-päļek yaţi-mīgon de-ruve[k*] kumbu[ru biju]..... 42 k (Sețți) k (Be)regamin paṇam k dī ga[t] 43
- Peragama [Se]nānāya[kayan] a (vili-yāya) 44
- kota Nāra n uda tänu kumburu biju 45 na[va]

TRANSLATION.

[Line 1] Hail! Let there be Happiness! By the exertion of Śrī Dharmmakīrtti-sthavira, people merit of diverse kinds, in causing a vihāra for Buddha 2 to be constructed.

..

¹ Three aksaras have been repeated here by mistake.

² The word vihāra, which originally meant a monastery, is here applied, as it is also in modern Sinhalese, to an image-house, on the ground that it is the abode of Buddha (i.e. the image of Buddha).

[Lines 2-3] When One Thousand Two Hundred and Sixty Six years had been completed from the year of the illustrious Śaka, and in the third year unto King **Bhuvanaikabāhu**, the overlord of the three Simhaļas¹, who has attained sovereignty at the present time—on the fifteenth day of the waxing moon in Vesaga.

[Lines 3-5] His Holiness **Dharmmakīrtti-sthavira**, born in the family of Gaṇaväsi which has come to the island of Śrī Laṁkā bringing the holy Mahābodhi (tree), (restored) a two-storied image-house at Śrī **Dhānyakaṭaka** in Dambadiva², too, [by spending] much gold and jewels.

[Lines 5-12] He, being desirous of causing an image-house of stone to be founded in the island of Lamkā, so that it may last a long time, lords of the earth such as kings, sub-kings, officers of state, commanders of the army, judges 3, . . . chiefs chiefs, scribes, high and low folk such as kṣatriyas, brāhmaṇas, vaisyas, and śūdras, army, such as Sinhalese, Tamils . . . being made 4 and having given about a hundred thousand in fanams 5 and three thousand yāļas 6 of paddy, he caused to be built, on the expanse of flat rock called Dikgala, between the two towns of Singuruvāṇā, a three-storied image-house, by engaging master-artisans, at whose head was Gaṇeśvarācāri, the chief of the guild of sculptors, who was (well versed) in such arts as architecture and image-making.

[Lines 12–18] In the lowest storey [of that image-house, he] caused to be made, beautified by diverse paintings, the principal image, containing relics 7, which [depicted Buddha] seated on the *vajrāsana* 8, with his back to the Sacred Bodhi-tree and attended by gods such as Sakra, Brahma, Suyāma 9, Santuṣita 10,

¹ See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 330, n. 2, for the three kingdoms into which Ceylon was theoretically divided.

² Skt. Jambudvīpa, i.e. India.

³ Arthanāyaka.

⁴ The purport of this part of the sentence, which is fragmentary, seems to be to state that Dharmmakīrtti secured the co-operation of various dignitaries of state, as well as ordinary men, in the work of building the shrine.

⁵ For this coin, see Codrington, Ceylon Coins and Currency, pp. 80-81.

⁶ See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 183.

⁷ The practice of depositing relics inside images is first mentioned in this period.

⁸ Buddha was seated on a vajrāsana, under the Bodhi-tree, when he attained omniscience. For the vajrāsana in Buddhist iconography, see B. Bhattacarya, Buddhist Iconography, p. 11.

⁹ The king of the heaven called Yāma, the third from below according to Buddhist cosmology.

¹⁰ The king of the heaven called Tusita, the one above Yāma.

Nātha ¹, and Mayitrī ²; and two attendant images. In the cell of the caitya ³ on the top-most storey, he caused to be made an image of Buddha [depicting him seated], for delivering the discourse on the Abhidharmma ⁴, on the throne Paṇḍu-kambala ⁵ under the Pārijāta ⁶ tree, and attended by the gods Śakra, Brahma, and others, led by Māṭṛ-devaputra ⁷. [Thinking] that there should also be a protection for this vihāra, he caused a shrine of , the king of gods, too, to be built в.

[Lines 18-45] Pleased at seeing this great vihāra, named **Dharmmakīrtti**, caused to be established by His Holiness, and which was provided with Bodhi-trees, caityas, flower gardens, &c. 10 Deni . . . imiyā about three thousand fanams for the work, 11 maintenance lands 12, slaves, cattle and [the sowing extent of] seed from the batgama 13 nara; the sowing extent of six amuṇas 14 of sprouted seed 15 paddy from Ilupä(ndeniya),

- ¹ Nātha is the shortened form of Lokeśvara Nātha, the name by which the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is known in Ceylon (see C. J. Sc., (G.), vol. ii, pp. 52 ff.).
 - ² Maitreya, the Buddha-to-be, is believed to exist, at present, as a god in the Tusita heaven.
 - ³ What is referred to as a caitya here is the dome-shaped vimāna of the shrine.
- ⁴ The third section of the Pāli Tipiṭaka (in Sinhalese *Vijam*), which deals with psychological matters, is said to have been first delivered by Buddha to the gods.
 - ⁵ The stone seat of Śakra, king of the gods.
 - ⁶ A celestial tree in the Nandana park in Sakra's heaven.
- ⁷ Queen Māyā, the mother of Buddha, who died a week after his birth, is said to have been born in the Tuṣita heaven and is known as Mātṛ-devaputra.
- ⁸ The shrines of Hindu gods now attached to almost every Buddhist temple in Ceylon, seem first to have been introduced in order to install these deities as guardians. The title *dev-raja* 'king of gods' being applicable to more than one god, we are not in a position to say what particular deity was originally installed at Gaḍalādeṇiya.
- ⁹ According to the Saddharmmaratnākara (op. cit., p. 490), the vihāra at Gaḍalādeṇiya was known as Saddharmmatilaka.
- The record being fragmentary here, the connexion of this clause to those which follow is not clear. The missing words probably expressed the idea that the personages, whose names follow, granted lands, &c., to the shrine for its maintenance.
- ¹¹ The fragmentary nature of the text here does not permit us to conjecture what *gevala* stands for.
 - ¹² Divel, see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 191, foot-note 9.
- ¹³ A batgama, in Kandyan times, was a royal village tenanted by people of the Padu caste, see Codrington, Glossary of Native, Foreign, and Anglicised Words, s.v.
 - ¹⁴ See *E.Z.*, Vol. III, p. 184.
- ¹⁵ Mul-biju:—Paddy, before being sown, is kept in water till roots sprout forth. In the fourteenth century, as it is still in Sinhalese villages, fields were measured according to the quantity of paddy with which they were capable of being sown.

granted by the two, Senevirad and Vīrasimha Patirāja; fields [of the sowing extent of] one yāļa and ten amuņas of seed from Samdessa, which has been held as maintenance lands of his, granted by Senā Lamkādhikāra; [the sowing extent of] amuņas of sprouted seed [paddy] from the two shares of the (Gaḍi)lādeṇi village, belonging to the two, Kesava Vaṇṇakka² and Dan(gamu).... man, were granted at the beginning of the work; [the sowing extent of] ten amuṇas of seed from piṭigama, which is a maintenance land of his, and ten head of cattle granted by (D)evagiri Patirāja; fields [of the sowing extent of] a yāļa of seed from Uturālla in Eliraṭa granted by De Patirāja³ of Bisovaļa; fields [of the sowing extent of] seed, and one house and garden from the batgama Māyatgamu, granted by Kaļu Siṭāṇa⁴; [the sowing extent of] an amuṇa of seed from Pamuņuva, granted by

¹ Patirāja, occurring in this as well as in several other names of persons figuring in this record, is obviously a title. Persons bearing this title also figure in other contemporary records (see J. R. A. S., C. B., vol x, p. 91 and vol. xxii, p. 363) and in literary works of the period such as the Pūjāvalī (op. cit. p. 698) and the Attanagalu-vamsa (Colombo edition of 1925, p. 48). In the printed editions of these works, the word, however, is given as pratirāja; and Sinhalese pandits take it as a compound of Skt. prati and rājan, and interpret in some way to mean 'viceroy'. But the Sanskrit compound pratirāja means 'enemy king' and is altogether inappropriate for the title of a state official or courtier. Our inscription mentions a number of patirājas who flourished in the reign of Bhuvanaika bāhu IV, and probably there were others who had this title at that time. All of those could not have been 'viceroys'. Moreover, the inscriptions invariably use the form patirāja, and as it is reasonable to assume that the contemporary documents used the correct form, we may take pratirāja as due either to the ignorance of copyists, or to the pedantry of the modern editors, of the literary works. We may therefore take this word as a compound of Skt. pati and rājan. The material part of the compound is pati 'lord' and $r\bar{a}ja$ is most probably suffixed as an honorific, precisely as it occurs in the Sinhalese word senevirada (Skt. senāpatirāja). The Nikāya Sangraha (op. cit. p. 27), in order to justify the title of prabhurāja borne by Alakeśvara, says that there were five catagories of persons to whom the title $r\bar{a}ja$ can be applied, namely, supreme ruler of the island (dīpādhirāja), ruler of a district (mandalika-rāja), ruler of a province (pradeśa-rāja), feudatory nobles (antarabhogika-rāja) and counsellors (anuśāsaka-rāja). Pati and prabhu being synonymous, the titles patirāja and prabhurāja might have had the same significance and were possibly adopted by the feudatory nobles who, in mediaeval Ceylon, wielded a good deal of influence, like the feudal barons of contemporary Europe. The title patirāja first occurs in the thirteenth century and continued in use till about the end of the fifteenth.

² Vannakka means 'appraiser'. In Kandyan times, there was an official called 'Vannaku Nilame' (see D'Oyly, Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom, Colombo, 1929, p. 137).

³ The expression Bisovala de patirājayan can also be translated as 'the two patirājas of Bisovala'. I have taken De as a personal name equivalent to Deva.

⁴ Sitāna is the Sinhalese form of Skt. śresthin, P. setthi 'a banker'. Compare 'Joti Sitāṇa' in the Madavala rock inscription (E. Z. Vol. III, p. 239).

Niśśamka Patirāja; fields [of the sowing extent of] two amunas of seed from Rangama and three head of slaves 1 granted by Vijayā Patirāja; fields [of the sowing extent of] an amuna of seed from Nāramriyana, granted by Prince Virasundara; fields [of the sowing extent of] five amunas of seed, from the village of Gannoru, and two desima², granted by Anurā Attara³, reserving the right for his relations to enjoy [them] paying [the usual] dues and tithes 4; fields [of the sowing extent of] ten amunas of seed from Minginiyapotta, granted by **Prince Jīvasimha**; fields [of the sowing extent of].... amunas of seed and one gam-kadavara from Samdessa, granted by **Prince Suva**; one gam-kadavara and fields [of the sowing extent of] one amuna of seed from Uduvela granted by Suva Patirāja; likewise [granted by the same person], fields [of the sowing extent of] two amunas of seed from Dälivela, an amuna from Pilimatalavuva, an amuna from Kirivavula, an amuna from Sāpāna, an amunā from Iddavela, an amuna from A..., three pälas from Ämbulmigama, three pälas from Unapatānga, three pāļas from Mangalagama, two pāļas from Piligama; [the sowing extent of] two amunas of seed from Boke-kumbura in Ambäkka, granted by Digili Senānāyaka 7; [the sowing extent of] an amuna of seed from Kirivavula granted by **Min Dahampasaknā** ⁸; two *pālas* two *pālas* for requisites ⁹ for the

¹ Vahal-rū, literally 'bodies of slaves'. The same expression is used in connexion with cattle in line 27, sarak-rū dasayek.

² The reading of this word is doubtful and its meaning is altogether obscure.

³ Attara occurring in this name appears to be a title, the significance of which is not known. It also occurs in an earlier form in the names Parākrama Atvara, and Mīnd Atvara in the Nākolagaņē inscription, see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 70. It is also preserved in the place-name Attaragama.

⁴ Otu:—For details regarding the levying of this due in Kandyan times, see D'Oyly, Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom, op. cit., p. 55, and Codrington, Glossary of Native, Foreign, and Anglicised Words, op. cit., s.v

⁵ The term gam-kadavara, so far as I know, occurs only in this document. Gam means 'village' or 'estate'. Kadavara may be the same as kadavar occurring in the expression kāmbur-kadavar in the Polonnaruva Council Chamber pillar-inscription, which, I have conjectured, may mean 'share' (see above, p. 44, n. 3).

⁶ For päla, see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 184.

⁷ Digiliya' was the name by which Hanguranketa was known in the time of Rajasimha II (see Robert Knox, An Historical Relation of Ceylon, Glasgow, 1911, p. 9). 'Senanayaka' means 'commander of the army'.

⁸ Daham-pasak-nā is an official title. A dignitary having this title was one of the chief state officials in the system of administration established by Parākramabāhu I (Nikāya Sangraha, op. cit., p. 21); but it is not known what the precise duties of this functionary were.

⁹ The expression valanā pasa occurs in the Nākolagaņē rock-inscription, Nāgalata valanāpasayata pidū Mungayinayi (E. Z., Vol. III, p. 70); and not infrequently in Sinhalese literary works

maintenance [of the monks], two head of buffaloes 1, fields [of the sowing extent of]..... seed..... (Seṭṭi)..... from Beragama which was bought by paying..... fanams..... Peragama Senānāyaka..... the stretch of fields, field [of the sowing extent of] nine.... prepared above Nara...... having made.

POSTCRIPT.

Since going to press, I have been supplied, through the kindness of the Rev. Välivita Saranankara Thera of Malvatte Vihāra, Kandy, with four manuscript copies of this inscription written on palm-leaves. It is not known by whom or when these copies were made; but, from a comparison of the variant readings found in them, it becomes apparent that the four copies contain two different attempts made in deciphering this inscription. The lacunae in the text seem to have been very much the same as they are now when these copies were made; and attempts have been made, in many places, to restore the missing words and phrases, particularly in the Sanskrit stanza in l. 1. As may be expected, these attempts at restoration are altogether arbitrary and sometimes go very wide of the mark. Some of the words, which are even to-day legible on the stone, have been left out in these copies, for instance sthapati in 1. 11. On the other hand, there are certain readings which might have been due to the preservation, at that time, of letters which are now worn. But one cannot be certain on this point, as these might very well be only lucky guesses. However, I have adopted the following readings on the authority of these manuscript copies: (Vesaga) in 1. 3, si(lāmaya) and (karavanu kämäti-vä) in 1. 6, Dan(gamu) in 1. 24 and (D)evagiri in 1. 26. On the whole, these copies do not help us in arriving at a better and more complete text of this epigraph.

of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for example, in the Nikāya Sangraha (op. cit.), p. 29. Pasa is derived from P. paccaya and means 'the requisites of the Buddhist monks'. Vaṭanā may be equivalent to P. vaṭṭa (as in dāna-vaṭṭam), and Skt. vṛṭti or varṭṭana and may mean 'maintenance'. The compound therefore may be rendered as 'requisites necessary for the maintenance (of monks in a vihāra)'. In a secondary meaning the word is used, as it is here, to denote lands dedicated for the above purpose.

¹ Yaṭi-mīgon:—What the word yaṭi means in this expression is not clear. Mīgon means 'buffalo' and yaṭi (Skt. yaṣṭi) ordinarily means 'staff'. Perhaps yaṭi-mīgon meant buffaloes trained to be yoked to wagons.

No. 13. ANURĀDHAPURA: SLAB-INSCRIPTION OF KHUDDA-PĀRINDA.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THIS inscribed slab, which is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Anurādhapura, is said to have been discovered in the area of the Abhayagiri (mis-called the Jetavana) Vihāra at that ancient city. It is included in A. S. C., A.R. for 1911-12, p. 73, as No. 16 in the list of lithic inscriptions from Nuvara-kalāviya exhibited at Anurādhapura; but I have not been able to find out any other reference to it giving further details about its provenance.

The slab, excluding its base which is now buried below ground, measures 5 ft. 2 in. by $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 5 in. It is inscribed not only on its face (A) but also on one of the sides formed by its thickness (B), and on the back (C) which has not been dressed. The lines of writing run vertically, there being three on side A and one line each on B and C. The line on side C consists of only a few letters. Side A is well preserved, but for two letters at the beginning of line 3, which are totally illegible. Side B is considerably weathered, many letters both at the beginning and the end of the line on this side being completely effaced, and side C is also partly effaced. The letters, which are well formed and boldly engraved, measure two to three inches in size.

The **script** of this record is somewhat archaic for its date which, as will be seen, is the last quarter of the fifth century. The alphabet of the Tissama-hārāma slab-inscription of Mahānāma (A.I.C. No. 67), which is somewhat earlier in date than this epigraph, is distinctly of a more developed type. Similarly, the Nāgirikanda rock-inscription of Kumāradāsa¹, which is only about three-quarters of a century later, is written in a script considerably more developed than that of this epigraph. The changes which one notices between the scripts of the two epigraphs would have justified the assumption, if both of them had been undatable, that the period which separated them from each other was much greater than it actually is. Of the individual letters in the present epigraph, ta is of a form hardly distinguishable from the da occurring in other inscriptions of a slightly earlier date and a, A, helps us to understand how the second-century form of this letter, A, came to assume the form which it had in the eighth and ninth centuries,

¹ See below, pp. 115-128.

Two types of ma occur in the epigraph; compare, for instance, the letter occurring as the third in line 1 with that which is the third from the end of line 3. The na occurring in this inscription is also of a form worth noticing. The horizontal bar at the base of the second-century form of this letter has, in this record, lost that part which extended to the left of the vertical stroke and the right half of this stroke is diagonal instead of being horizontal.

As regards orthography, it is worthy of note that the medial e-sign is not marked in places where it should occur. For instance, the first five letters legible of line 4 read ma da-kariha, whereas, on the analogy of other inscriptions of the period, it should be me de-kariha. This peculiarity is also noticed in some words in the Nāgirikanda inscription and the Vessagiriya epigraphs of the sixth century dealt with below. It is, therefore, justifiable to treat this as a peculiar orthographical feature of the period rather than as a clerical error. As regards grammar, the forms mapurumu and biseva show phonetic decay of a degree which we should not have suspected that the fifth-century language had reached. The first of these two forms is equivalent to Skt. *mahāpramukha; and occurs in an inscription of the reign of Buddhadāsa¹, less than a century earlier than this record, in the form of mapurumaka, showing that this interval of time was sufficient for the complete loss of the last syllable and the change of a in the preceding one to u. Thus the word had already, in the fifth century, assumed a form almost identical with mapurum, which was current in the tenth century 2. Biseva is equivalent to Skt. abhisiktā and is almost identical with its tenthcentury form bisev 3. In the modern language it occurs as biso. The word tiri (l. 2) is evidently the same as Skt. śrī (P. siri) and may be compared with Tamil tiru. Another word which shows Tamil influence is la in the name 'Laparideva', which will be discussed in the sequel. These Tamil influences are not surprising, for they occur in the names of a Tamil king and his consort. The form vahira (l. 4) for the earlier vihara (P. vihāra) is also noteworthy.

Mr. Bell, in the list of inscriptions already referred to, has given the name of the king occurring in this epigraph as Buddhadāsa Dāpura. No king of such a name is known in the period to which this record belongs palaeographically. What Mr. Bell has read as $D\bar{a}pura$ is, in fact, Lapari- and the full name of the king, as appearing in the record, is $Budadasa\ La-Parideva$. Parideva may be taken as a clerical error for, or a variant form of, $Paridadeva^4$, particularly in

¹ E. Z., Vol. III, p. 122.
² E. Z., Vol. I, pp. 25 and 46.
⁸ Ibid., pp. 46 and 91.

⁴ As the syllable da occurs immediately before de in this word, the former might very well have been slurred over in pronunciation and thus given rise to the form Parideva.

view of the fact that the latter name occurs in an inscription found at Aragama in the Kuruṇāgala District¹. Parida is obviously the same as Pārinda, the name given in the chronicle to one of the six Tamil rulers who occupied the throne of Anurādhapura before the accession of Dhātusena. Deva can be added to the name of any royal personage and there should be no objection to the assumption that Paridadeva and Pārinda refer to the same person. La in Sinhalese means 'tender' or 'young' and is etymologically connected with Tamil iļai of the same meaning². La-Pari(da)deva would therefore mean 'Pārindadeva the Younger' and is equivalent to Khudda ³ Pārinda (the lesser Pārinda), the name given in the chronicle to Pārinda's younger brother and successor. We can, therefore, assign this record without any doubt to Khudda Pārinda, the Tamil king who reigned, according to Wickremasinghe, from 498 to 513. According to the chronological tables of Wijesinha and Geiger, Khuddha Pārinda's date was about half a century earlier.

The **object** of the epigraph was to register some donations made to a Buddhist monastery by the queen of Khudda Pārinda. Neither the name of the queen nor that of the monastery which benefited by her munificence is, however, preserved in full. The name of the monastery ended in la and, therefore, it was not the Abhayagiri Vihāra, in the precincts of which the inscription was found. It is therefore reasonable to assume that this inscribed stone had been removed from its original position to the Abhayagiri Vihāra, probably for some architectural purpose.

The queen of Khudda Pārinda figures in this record as the benefactress of a Buddhist monastery. Khudda Pārinda himself is given the epithet of Budadasa 'the servant of Buddha'. Pārinda also, in his inscription found at Aragama, has recorded his donations to a Buddhist monastery. I have elsewhere 'given plausible reasons for the identification of Mahadali Mahana (P. Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga) and his father Sarataraya (P. Sirīdhara), mentioned in an inscription

¹ See C. J. Sc., G, vol. ii, p. 181.

² The Tamil *iļai* becomes *iļa* in compounds. Compare *iļankō* and *iḷavarasan*, corresponding to Skt. *yuvarāja*. *Iḷa-* in *Iḷanāga*, the name of a first-century king of Ceylon, is also probably connected with T. *iḷai*.

³ P. Khudda and Sin. kudā, though literally meaning 'small', are found prefixed to the names of kings to distinguish them from their earlier namesakes. Thus, in the Pūjāvalī, Aggabodhi II is called Kudā Agbō to distinguish him from his uncle and predecessor Aggabodhi I. Compare also Mahāvamsa, chapter 42, v. 40.

⁴ C. J. Sc., G, vol. ii, pp. 181-182.

at Kataragama¹, with Dāṭhika and Tirītara, who belonged to the same Tamil dynasty as Pārinda and Khudda Pārinda. Mahadaļi Mahana is represented in that inscription as making gifts to the Buddhist shrine at Kataragama. It appears, therefore, that the Tamil princes who ruled at Anurādhapura for twenty-seven years towards the end of the fifth century were Buddhist by faith. Owing to its fragmentary nature, it is not possible to say what exactly were the gifts recorded in this epigraph; they, however, included fields to the extent of two karīsas.

TEXT.

- 1 Siddham Mapurumu **Budadasa La-Parideva** ² ma-
- 2 -haraja-apayah-ata biseva-r(e) jana ³ **Tiri-maha**
- 3saba rej(e)na 4 Acabalana Valakaya Kadaba-namabara 5
- 4 m(e) d(e)-kariha kubura nava thama 6 ca (dukula dasa ca) va ..
- 5 la-vahiraţa dina

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Queen **Tiri Maha****saba**, queen of His Majesty ⁷ the great king **Budadasa** ⁸ **Laparideva** ⁹ **Apaya** ¹⁰, gave Acabalana, Valakaya, Kadaba-nama-

¹ E.Z., Vol. III, pp. 216-219.

² Perhaps to be corrected to La-Paridadeva, see above, p. 113.

³ The *e*-sign of *re* is not clear. There are two strokes visible, attached to the *na*, which, if they are not due to the weathering of the stone, would justify the reading of this syllable as *no*.

⁴ The short vertical stroke attached to ja is unlike the sign for the medial vowel i. It has been conjecturally read as the sign for the medial vowel e.

⁵ The akṣaras occurring in line 3 after the word rej(e)na, are meant to indicate some place-names and it may be possible to separate them into words somewhat differently from the way in which it has been done above.

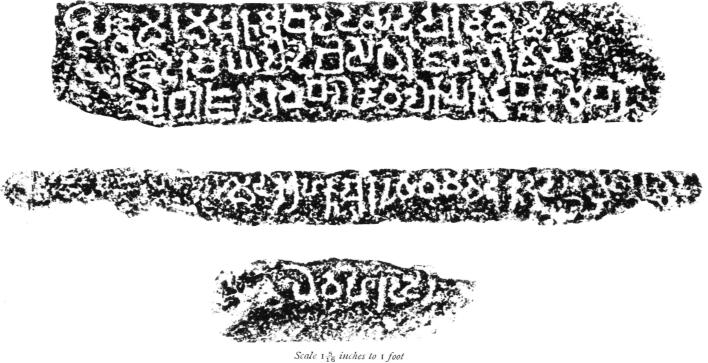
⁶ May be read as *thama* also. The only difference between *tha* and *tha* is the dot in the centre of the circle. What appears as a dot in the estampage may be due to the weathering of the stone.

⁷ What has been translated by 'His Majesty' is the word mapurumu, for which, see above, p. 112.

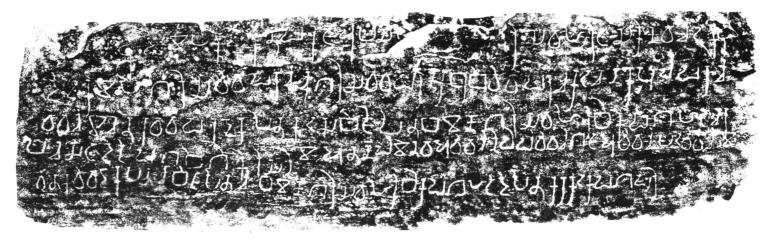
⁸ P. Buddhadāsa.

⁹ La-Parideva = P. Khudda-Pārinda, see above, p. 113. The word Pārinda seems to be a hybrid compound of T. pār 'earth' and P. inda 'lord'. The name therefore means 'lord of the earth'.

¹⁰ The word Apaya (P. Abhaya) occurs after maharaja and is used as a title, rather than as a part of the personal name, of the king. See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 124.



Nāgirikanda Rock-Inscription of Kumāradāsa



bara 1 these two karīsas 2 of fields, nine pillars 3, (ten silk cloths 4) to the monastery of la.

No. 14. NĀGIRIKANDA ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRADĀSA. By S. Paranavitana.

Tagirikanda 5, situated in the Kadavat Kōralē of the North-Central Province, about half a mile to the east of the fourth mile-post on the road from Mädavacciya to Käppitigolläva, is the site of an ancient Buddhist monastery which was re-occupied in the Kandyan period, after having been abandoned for centuries. The modern shrine is in an old cave and contains images and paintings of the usual Kandyan style. Very few vestiges are to be seen of the ancient monastery which, as we know from the evidence of inscriptions found at the site, existed there in the early centuries of the present era. Two inscriptions, both on rocks, have been discovered at the place. The earlier one is a short record of three lines and, from the script, can be assigned to about the fourth century; the later and longer one is the record dealt with in the present paper.

The two inscriptions at Nāgirikanda are included as No. 97 in Müller's A. I. C. Müller's texts of both inscriptions contain numerous errors, as was natural at a time when the study of Ceylon epigraphy was in its infancy, and his translations are consequently not accurate. The inscriptions are also included in the list appearing on p. 9 of the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1890; and eye-copies of them, prepared in 1894 under the direction of Mr. Bell, are preserved in the library of the Archaeological Department. The inscription now edited was re-copied by me in 1928, has been numbered A.S.I. 445, and a short notice of it has been included in the 'Epigraphical Summary' published in the C.J. Sc. G., vol. ii, part 2 (p. 103).

¹ See above, p. 114, footnote 5.

² For karihi (P. karīsa, mediaeval Sin. kiri), see E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 189-190.

³ Thama is taken as equivalent to P. thambha, Skt. stambha, Sin. täm. Even if the alternative reading thama be adopted, there would be no change in the meaning as it could be of the same origin. Compare thabhe (thabha) in the Paderia Edict of Aśoka (Ep. Ind., vol. v, p. 4).

⁴ The reading dukuļa dasa ca, which has been tentatively translated as 'ten silk cloths', is very doubtful. Even if the reading be correct, there is some difficulty in equating dukuļa with Skt. dukūla (woven silk) in order to get the above meaning, for, in Skt., the word is spelt with a dental l.

⁵ A brief notice of Nāgirikanda is found in A. S. C. Annual Report for 1890, p. 8.

The inscription covers a rock surface of $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 2 ft. and contains seven lines of writing. The first line is rather badly damaged, five letters being completely obliterated and the upper portions of another five being partly broken away. The other four lines are in a fairly good state of preservation. The average size of the letters is 2 inches.

This epigraph is written in a script which represents the transitional stage between the Brāhmī and the mediaeval Sinhalese. Till about the third or fourth century, the Brāhmī script in Ceylon was practically the same as that which was in vogue in India; but, by about the fifth century, the development of the alphabet in Ceylon took a distinctive turn and by the eighth century was evolved an alphabet which can definitely be called Sinhalese, as it differed, in the shape of its letters, from the many alphabets that were then prevailing in India. Our inscription comes midway between these two dates and is, therefore, of considerable value for an understanding of the evolution of the Sinhalese script. This period is the most obscure in the epigraphical history of the island, for it has left very few inscriptions which contain the name of the reigning king and can, therefore, be dated. The present record is one of the only two inscriptions, known so far, belonging to the sixth and seventh centuries, which can be assigned without any doubt to particular reigns 1. No inscription of this period has yet been published in the Epigraphia Zeylanica and some detailed remarks about the script may not therefore be out of place.

Comparing the script of this record with that of the Tōṇigala inscription of the reign of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa 2 , which also we have examined in some detail, we find that, in the period of about one and a half centuries which intervened between the dates of these two epigraphs, the script has undergone a considerable degree of development. The letters in which much change is noticed are a, ca, ja, da, ta, cha, ma, ya, and sa, as may be seen from the symbols for those syllables from the two epigraphs shown in the chart reproduced on Plate 15. The letters ka, ga, ta, na, na, pa, ba, ra, va, and ha, show very little or no change. In the case of ja, ta, and ya, though the forms appearing here differ considerably from those of the Tōṇigala inscription, there were forms closely resembling them in records contemporary with, or even somewhat earlier than, that epigraph.

The ja occurring as the twelfth letter in 1. 5 is of archaic type and differs from the symbol for that akṣara occurring elsewhere in the record. The letter

¹ The other is an inscription, recently discovered at Nilagama in the Mātalē District, dated in the reign of Dala-Mugalana (Mogallāna II, *circa* 542-561).

² See *E.Z.*, Vol. III, pp. 172-188.

da, too, shows variant forms, the form occurring in l. I being markedly different from that in l. 3, the former being distinctly cursive in type. It is also noteworthy that the auspicious word siddham, with which the record begins, is written in letters which are different in form from those used in the rest of the document, and nearly identical in type with the corresponding symbols of the second century. This practice of writing a word, considered to be of auspicious significance or of special importance, in archaic letters, is met with in other records. For instance, in some records of the first or second century, the word śagaśa is written in the earliest form of the Brāhmī script which, for ordinary writing, had gone out of use at that time. In the matter of attaching signs for the medial vowels, the script does not show any departure from the methods which were prevalent in the fourth century.

In comparing this script with that of the succeeding period, i.e., the eighth to the tenth centuries, we find that certain letters like ka, ja, pa, ma, ya, ra, and sa are very similar in both; and, in the case of those letters, the forms appearing in this and other contemporary records can be regarded as the prototypes of the corresponding symbols of the eighth century. But in certain other aksaras like a, ca, na, na, ba, &c., it is difficult to see the connexion between the forms of the two periods. When we compare the writing of the sixth century with that of the eighth and ninth centuries, one fact which strikes us is that there must have been, in the intervening period, some influence at work which accelerated the change in the form of the letters; and that this has worked in a direction somewhat different from that in which the evolution of the script during the first five centuries of the Christian era seemed to be tending. Up to about the sixth or seventh century, the script favoured horizontal lines and angular forms; but after this period, they are, as far as possible, avoided, curved lines and circular forms coming into favour. It is precisely in such letters as do not contain horizontal lines and angular forms, that there is the least change between the two periods. It is true that there are certain documents, dating from about the fourth century, which show a preference for curvilinear forms of writing and, as I have already suggested 1, many of the eighth- and ninth-century forms can be traced to symbols appearing in those. But such documents are not very common and we might, therefore, inquire as to why the Sinhalese script assumed curved and rounded forms in the eighth century or thereabouts. The Pallava Grantha script may have had some influence in this sudden change; but, in my opinion,

¹ See E.Z., Vol. III, pp. 120-121 and 173-174.

the most important factor seems to have been a change in the material used for writing.

In Ceylon, the material used for writing before the introduction of paper by Europeans, consisted of palm-leaves, on which the letters were incised with a sharp-pointed stylus. As the palm-leaves contain longitudinal fibre, they tend to split if straight horizontal strokes are incised and the studious avoidance of such strokes may be due to the adoption, at this period, of palm-leaves as the common writing material. Curved and rounded forms of writing have been developed in all parts of India and the neighbouring countries which have adopted palm-leaves as material for writing upon. In North India, where they are not so commonly used for the purpose, the development of the script has been in a different direction ¹.

If we accept this hypothesis, it naturally follows that, before the Sinhalese alphabet assumed distinctly round and curved forms, and when horizontal strokes were not avoided as such, the common material used for writing must have been something other than palm-leaves. The commentator of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, in his remarks on chap. xi, v. 13, of that chronicle, mentions bamboo boards of books, suggesting that they were used as writing material². The word meaning 'a missive' in classical Sinhalese is käṭa-pat which, being a compound of two words derived from Skt. kāṣṭha and patra, would etymologically mean 'wooden board'. The use of such a word points to a time when documents were written on wooden tablets with a paint brush as was the custom among the Indianized people of Central Asia ³.

The language, which is old Sinhalese, shows, in some particulars, considerable development from the stage reached in the fourth century as exemplified by the Tōṇigala inscription. The change of intervocalic da to ta is seen in Kumaratasa for $Kum\bar{a}rad\bar{a}sa$; the similar change of b to p is noticed in earlier records d. Other phonetic changes, affecting consonants, which are found in this record, are also noticed in the language of the period between the second and fourth centuries. The vowel changes noticed in the words vahera for P. $vih\bar{a}ra$

¹ For the influence of writing material on the shapes of letters, see John Beames, A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, vol. i, pp. 64-65.

² See Mahāvamsa-ļīkā, Colombo edition of 1894, p. 210: Potthakavamsaphalake vaņņādi-kammāni viya.

³ Hundreds of examples of such documents written on wooden tablets have been found by Sir Aurel Stein in his excavations in the sand-buried cities of Central Asia (see Sir Aurel Stein, On Central Asian Tracks, London 1933, pp. 75 ff.).

⁴ See E.Z., Vol. III, p. 121 and p. 172, n. 2.

and peta for pati (P. patti) are also found in earlier records 1. The change of o to e is seen in beja- (or beji-) pati which represents boji-pati of the second century inscriptions 2. The phonetic changes undergone by the word vavi, occurring in the second-century inscriptions, in assuming the form veva, found in this record, are the same as those of the change of pati to peta; but the word veva has not been found in any earlier record. By the change of e to \ddot{a} , this word has assumed the form which has been in use from the eighth century up to the present day. In the conjunction ce (Skt. & P. ca), the vowel a has changed to e. This conjunction is found in the earliest Sinhalese documents as ca and later as ica, and $\bar{i}ca^3$. The dropping of an intervocalic consonant (possibly k) is found in the words Tavaa and Gajaa, the result being that the vowel a is immediately followed by another. This is the only document in which this phenomenon has been noticed in the Sinhalese language, though it is the rule in most Prakrit dialects, particularly in Mahārāṣṭrī 4. In Sinhalese, the place of the intervocalic k, g, t, and d are very often taken by y; and arguing from evidence in the present document it may be permissible to hold that this y is no other than the weakly articulated y (laghu-prayatnatara-ya-kāra) which was pronounced in the Prakrits in place of the omitted consonant. This y was never graphically represented in the Prakrits, except in manuscripts written by the Jainas 5. The y in such Sinhalese words as paya (P. pāda) diya (P. udaka), &c., which takes the place of intervocalic consonants dropped in most Prakrits, is articulated very weakly when compared with initial y occurring in words such as yatura (Skt. yantra), yakā (P. yakkha), &c. The dropping out of a whole syllable (ta) is found in cara (P. cattāri), if this is not taken as a clerical error. But as the form catara occurs in the same line, we are, I think, justified in regarding it as a clerical error and not as a variant form. If it is taken as a variant form, it is possible to treat it as the prototype of the forms sār and sāra occurring in the later language. The length of the vowel in this form would, however, point to an earlier form *cayara and not cara.

As regards inflexions, the genitive singular (used in an instrumental sense) terminating in -ha, the use of the stem form to denote the nominative and accusative singular of neuter nouns, and the nominative singular in -e, are features common enough in earlier records and they are also found in the later

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 121 and 175.

² Ibid., p. 117. The word also occurs in the variant forms bojaka-pati and bojiya-pati.

⁵ Pischel, op. cit., para. 187, and A. C. Woolner, Introduction to Prakrit, p. 12.

stages of the language. Three forms of the dative are found in this record, namely, in the words vaherataya (l. 1) bikusagahata and pacayata (l. 4). The last form has the modern termination for this case 1. The locative singular terminates in -e, e.g., vahere in l. 3. This termination has not been found in earlier records, in which the locative ends in -śi or -hi. The earliest form is -śi which, if we recollect that the palatal s is almost universal in the Brāhmī script of Ceylon, would seem to be the same as the locative termination in the Khālsī and Dhauli edicts of Aśoka². With the change of sa to ha, this termination became -hi. It is difficult to imagine how the termination -e could have been derived from the earlier -hi; and one has to come to the conclusion that its origin lies in the termination of a-bases in Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prakrit. The form vahere occurring in this record would thus be equivalent to Skt. P. and Pkt. vihāre; and in the later stages of the Sinhalese language it assumed the form veherä. We should not be justified in assuming, on account of the fact that it has not been found in any earlier document, that this termination came into the Sinhalese language in the fifth or sixth century. It was probably existing side by side with the termination -hi, though not preferred by the writers of inscriptions, and came to be regarded as a good literary form about this period. This termination changed to $-\ddot{a}$ in the eighth century or so; and, in classical Sinhalese, it existed side by side with -hi and its variants. The change undergone by this case-ending is additional evidence for the conjecture that the vowel \ddot{a} in the Sinhalese language is a modification of e3. In the nominative and accusative cases of words denoting inanimate objects, there is no termination by which the plural can be distinguished from the singular. For instance, the word veva in the phrases mevataka veva and me catara veva seems, from the context, to be in the plural, while the same word, occurring elsewhere in the record, must be in the singular. In the modern language the plural of neuter a-stems is formed by the elision of the final vowel, while the stem form itself indicates the singular. In the script of this period, the use of the virāma sign to indicate that a consonant is not vocalized has not come into vogue and it is therefore possible that, though the singular and plural forms are graphically represented alike, there was some difference in pronunciation. Possibly, the retention, in the later language, of the vowel in the last syllable of forms in the singular number, was due to the fact that this was accented. In atano, we seem to have the Pāli and Prakrit genitive single termination of n-stems.

¹ For this termination, see Müller, A. I. C., p. 10.

² See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 58.

³ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 121.

As regards verbal forms, we have only examples of the past passive participle (dine) and the gerund (koţu) with its causative form (keṇavi). These do not show any development from the earlier stage of the language, except in the case of the last in which the earlier termination -vaya has contracted to vi.

The **object** of the record was to register the gift of some tanks and paddy fields to the ancient monastery on the site, which was called Bamanagiriya (P. Brāhmanagiri), by king Maha-Kumaratasa. The king's name is unfortunately not preserved intact and Dr. Müller, in the text of this record given in A. I. C., has read it quite differently and has not even recognized a proper name. However not even one of the seven letters comprising the king's name has been entirely obliterated and the lower portions, which are still preserved, of the damaged letters, leave us in no doubt as to what they are. The first letter ma is quite intact and of the next one, ha, only a small portion, at the end of the right-hand stroke, is missing. The only other letter which can be mistaken for it is pa; but comparison with other pa's and ha's occurring in the record makes it reasonable to take this aksara as a ha. Of the third letter, the short cross-bar in the centre, of which the left half is clearly, and the right half faintly, visible, makes it impossible to mistake it for ru, the only other aksara which has a resemblance to it. The lower half, which is preserved, of the next letter, makes it certain that it is a $m\alpha$ and the letter which follows is almost intact and can be read as ra only. The next two letters are quite clear and are ta and sa. Thus the whole name reads Maha-Kumaratasa. This stands etymologically for Skt. The shortening of long vowels is a rule in early Mahā-Kumāradāsa. Sinhalese and the change of intervocalic d to t is noticed in other records of the period, Skt. $p\bar{a}da$, for instance, becoming $pata^{1}$. The word maha 'great' can be ignored, as this is often found prefixed to the names of kings who in no sense can be called great; and the part of the name which matters is Kumāradāsa.

No Sinhalese king of this name occurs in the *Mahāvamsa*; but the ruler who is called **Kumāra-Dhātusena** in that chronicle, is referred to, in all Sinhalese historical writings from the *Pujāvalī* (thirteenth century) downwards, as **Kumāradāsa** (Sin. Kumaradas)². This inscription proves that there was

¹ This word occurs in the Diyagama inscription of about the fifth century. See Müller, A. I. C., p. 77, where the word has, however, been wrongly read as pita. Compare also patagada in the Kataragama inscription (E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 215-216).

² See *Pūjāvalī* (37th chapter) translated by B. Gunasekara (Colombo, 1895), p. 27; *Nik*. C. M. Fernando's translation (Colombo, 1908), pp. 16 and 18; and *R*., B. Gunasekara's translation (Colombo, 1900), p. 55.

actually a king called Kumāradāsa sometime in the sixth century and in view of the fact that there was only one king of Ceylon, known from any sources, who bore this name, and the similarity of the names 'Kumāra-Dhātusena' and 'Kumāradāsa', we may be certain that the present record is of that monarch. Our inscription does not contain any historical information concerning this king, and the Mahāvamsa also dismisses him with the statement that he was a son of Moggallana I, that he caused a revision to be made of the sacred texts and that he died in the ninth year of his reign, beside a few conventional words of praise about his prowess and liberality towards the religion. Later legends, alluded to in the Pūjāvalī, have, however, been busy with his name and have identified him with his namesake, the author of the Sanskrit poem Janakiharana. They also make him a contemporary of the great Indian poet Kālidāsa who is said to have come to Kumāradāsa's court and both are said, in a popular story, to have lost their lives through their common attachment to a courtesan, the king sacrificing his own life in his grief at the death of his friend the poet. The incident is said to have taken place at Mātara in the south of the island; and the very spot where the king was cremated is still pointed out to visitors by the inhabitants of the place. These stories, however, are not taken seriously by sober students of history; and Sanskrit scholars do not admit the alleged contemporaneity of the author of the Janakīharaņa with Kālidāsa. Nor do they admit that that poem was the work of a Ceylon king 1. The date of Kumāradāsa cannot be exactly determined. According to Wijesinghe, his initial regnal year was 515 A.D., and Codrington has adopted this merely for the sake of convenience. According to the systems of Ceylon chronology evolved independently by Geiger and Wickremasinghe, this date has been given respectively as 513 and 570.

The record enables us to learn that the ancient name of the monastery which existed at Nāgirikanda was **Bamaṇagiri** (P. Brāhmaṇagiri). No *vihāra* of this name finds mention in the chronicles.

¹ See A. B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 80. Prof. Keith and other scholars also doubt the tradition that the author of the *Jānakīharaṇa* was a native of Ceylon. But the verses appearing at the end of the last canto, in a manuscript of the poem recently found in Malabar, definitely state that the author of the poem was a member of the royal family of Ceylon. These verses also give some biographical details of Kumāradāsa the poet, which do not fit in with what we know of Kumāradāsa the king. It is therefore evident that though the king and the poet were two distinct personages, the latter was also a scion of the Sinhalese royal family. For the subject, see Mr. M. Doraswamayya in *Tirumalai Śrī Venkateśvara*, vol. i, pp. 203-212.

TEXT 1.

- 1 Siddham **Maha-Kumaratasa**-raja-Apaya[ha **Bamaṇaga]riya-**vaher aṭaya keṇavi caḍa ² koṭu
- 2 dinaka Mahagariya veva-sara c[e] Cugariya veva-sara c[e] Kabube veva-sara c[e] Katacanaka-pula sara ce
- 3 v[e]va c[e] ma catara veva-sara daka-peta kaḍaya beji-peta **Bamaṇa- gariya-**vahere bika-sagah≈aṭa cara ³
- 4 pacayata dine 4 saga-begi- kereyani ma atano sime 5 Tavaa-veva ce Nilasa-veva ce Gajaa-veva ce Pada-veva ce ma
- 5 vataka veva daka-p[e]ta ce beja-peta ce **Bamaṇagariya-**vahere bika-sagah/aṭa de-peta-kara-kaḍaka saga-sari.

TRANSLATION 6.

Hail! By king **Maha-Kumaratasa Apaya** were caused to be purchased and granted as donations to the **Bamaṇagariya** monastery, the tank [and] wet lands of Mahagariya, the tank [and] wet lands of Kabuba [and] the wet lands [and] the tank of Kaṭacanakapula. Of these four tanks [and] the wet lands, the water-share has been remitted and the proprietor's share granted to the *bhikkhu* community at the **Bamaṇagariya** monastery, for their four requisites. These have been made possessions of the community [of monks]. Of the following tanks which belong to himself, namely, Tavaa

¹ Müller's text runs as follows:—.... ta... mama parumaka sakata puta ha Bamanogiriya vehera dayo kino wenadaka dawaka maha-bariye (2) wawisara kanugariya wawisara kabuba (?) wawisara katinaka pulasara (3) wawa sama satara wawisara dakapati kanaya badipita Bamanogiriya wihara bikasagahata caka (4) paca yata dine saga baga kariya kama atanā samita wa awiwa nila sawiwa.. gata awiwa kahawana (5) wataka wawi daka pata.. bojapata.. Bamanogiriya wihara bikasaga dina pita karakataka saga sari.

² This reading is not quite certain. The symbol read as da differs from that letter occurring elsewhere in the record.

³ Possibly to be read as catara.

⁴ The sign for the medial yowel in di is not clear and the word might also be read as dene.

⁵ The stroke read as the sign for i is not so extended as the i-sign in other aksaras of this record. But this may be due to the fact that the pa of the line above does not permit of its being further extended. May be also read as seme.

⁶ Müller's translation runs:—...... I the parumaka and his (?) son the Bamanogiriya temple..... the tank of the great queen and the Kanugariya tank and the Kabuba tank and the Katinaka tank, altogether four tanks, having seen the embankments to the priesthood of the Bamanogiriya wihara six and five (?) he gave the karshāpanas at the Wataka tank, having seen after having assigned he gave the Bamanogiriya wihāra to the priesthood.......

tank, Nilasa tank, Gajaa tank, and Pada tank—of the above mentioned tanks—the water-share and the overlord's share (were given) to the *bhikkhu* community at the **Bamaṇagariya** monastery. These are the wet lands belonging to the community, of which the dues on account of the two shares have been remitted.

REMARKS.

[Line 1]. Maha-Kumaratasa-raja-Apaya: The word raja 'king' stands between Apaya (P. Abhaya) and the rest of the name. For this, see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 124 and above, p. 114, n. 10.

[Line I]. Keṇa(vi) caḍa-koṭu: The reading of this phrase is not beyond doubt. The vowel sign in vi is not quite clear and the symbol read as ḍa is unlike the ḍa occurring elsewhere in the record. It also cannot be read definitely as any other akṣara; and possibly we have here a blunder of the engraver. A similar phrase occurs in an unpublished inscription at Burutankanda¹ in Māgam Pattu. In that epigraph, too, the reading is not quite certain, as the vowel signs are not well preserved. But, caya occurs there instead of caḍa in our inscription and I, therefore, propose to correct this phrase to keṇavi caya-koṭu. Even then, the sense of the words is not quite obvious, the rendering given above being purely conjectural and put forward with considerable diffidence. Keṇavi is taken as the causative form of the old Sinhalese gerund corresponding to Pāli kiniṭvā. Cf. kiniya in the Vihāregoḍa inscription of Saba². In later Sinhalese, this verbal form occurs only with the prefix vi added, when it means 'selling' and not 'buying'. Caya is taken as equivalent to P. cāga, the change of g to y in the word being analogous to that of t to y in paya for pāda.

[Line 2]. Veva-sara is an expression which occurs several times in this inscription. It is obviously an earlier form of $v\bar{a}sar$ or $v\bar{a}sara$ which occurs in tenth-century records 3. Dr. Müller takes it as a composition analogous to candra- $m\bar{a}sa$, i.e., he thinks that veva and sara both have the same meaning. Such compounds are, of course, not rare in the Sinhalese language; but the occurrence of the phrase sara ca veva ca (sara and tank) in one place, instead of veva-sara, indicates that veva and sara are used with two distinct meanings. Veva, of course, is from Skt. $v\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}$ and means 'tank'; and the most obvious course is to take sara as equivalent to Skt. saras 'lake'. But this meaning does not suit the context. As the Sanskrit word $v\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}$, from which veva is derived,

¹ Referred to in E. Z., Vol. III, p. 183.

³ Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 49 and 93.

² E. Z., Vol. III, p. 168.

⁴ A. I. C., p. 51.

comes from the root vap 'to sow', there is room for the conjecture that veva actually denotes the area below a tank which is sown with paddy, i.e., the field, and that sara is used for the sheet of water in the tank. In translating thus, however, we are attaching to the word veva a sense which is not found in Sanskrit or Pāli for $v\bar{a}p\bar{i}$, though it is etymologically possible. We have also no other instance of the use of vapi, vavi, veva or $v\bar{a}va$ with this meaning in Sinhalese epigraphy or literature.

If we knew exactly what $v\bar{a}sar$ connoted in the tenth century, we could have guessed the meaning of sara in this record; but, unfortunately, we do not. The word occurs in the phrase $\bar{A}t$ -vehera bad-tuv $\bar{a}t(k)$ gam-bimin tumanat dun dasakärä-mut $v\bar{a}sar$ -pät pamuņu no $gann\bar{a}$ $is\bar{a}$ in the Anurādhapura slab-inscription of Kassapa V¹. Dr. Wickremasinghe has translated $v\bar{a}sar$ -pät as 'land on the tank-side'. The word also occurs in the tablets of Mahinda IV at Mihintaļē, in the phrases Manu-v $\bar{a}sara$ $is\bar{a}$, Lahiniya-pavuyehi udäsi yaṭāsi de v $\bar{a}sara$ $is\bar{a}$ ². The word $v\bar{a}sara$, in this place, has been translated by Dr. Wickremasinghe as 'tank'. It is clear that Dr. Wickremasinghe's renderings, varying as they do in different places, are pure guesses and do not bring out the exact meaning of the word. The contexts in which the word occurs do not suggest its exact meaning beyond making it likely that it meant some sort of agricultural land.

In the second of the two Sanskrit ślokas at the beginning of the Päpiliyāna inscription of Parākramabāhu VI ³ occurs the compound vāpyāśraya. No such compound is met with in Sanskrit literature and it is obvious that it is a term coined as a Sanskrit equivalent to Sinhalese vāsara. If we knew that the author of the Päpiliyāna inscription was certain of the etymology of vāsara when he coined this term, we could then take -sara in veva-sara and vāsara as equivalent to Skt. āśraya. Whether his etymology was right or wrong, we can at least assume that the Sanskrit word coined must have expressed, in a general way, what vāsara signified in his time. Therefore, even if vāpyāśraya is merely a pedantic restoration, into Sanskrit, of vāsara, we can rest assured that this word meant the lands which were dependent upon a tank for irrigation.

But, unlike $v\bar{a}sara$ in the language of the tenth century and later, veva and sara in our record seem to denote two different things. And as there is no doubt regarding the connotation of veva, sara should be taken as applying to the irrigated lands below a tank. It is not impossible that it is derived from Skt.

¹ E.Z., Vol. I, p. 49.

³ Müller, A. I. C., p. 106, and Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Katikāvat Sangarā, Colombo, 1922, p. 43.

āśraya 'dependent upon' and meant 'the lands which were dependent upon a tank for irrigation'. It is, however, more likely that sara is from Skt. saras and was applied to marshy lands capable of being sown with paddy. In support of this suggestion it may be stated that the Sinhalese word vil which, in literature, means 'lake' and is a synonym of sara, is used in common parlance for a marshy land which, in the rainy season, is converted into a sheet of water and is capable of being formed into paddy fields. In the Päpiliyāna inscription (op. cit.) the word vila is used for a stretch of paddy fields. Compare, for instance, the phrases Kehelsēnā-vilin yāļaka vapa hā, Bollatā-vilin yāļaka vapa hā, Bombuvala-vilin mul-bijuvaṭa de-yāļak hā occurring in that record. If the word vila which means 'lake' was used for a paddy field in the fifteenth century, it is conceivable that sara, the root meaning of which is also lake or marsh, was so used in the fifth century. I have therefore translated the word sara as 'wet lands', taking it as equivalent in meaning to maḍabim of modern usage.

The word sara occurs also in the following extract from the Habarana inscription: eta eta gama-sara atadi kotu me Agivadamana-vaviya mula-sara ca pacavadita sara ca do-karihi-sahasa ca eka-catalisa karihi ca 1. The suggested interpretation of sara seems to fit in well with this passage, for it appears to be mentioned therein that the Agivadamana tank had two saras, the original one (mula-sara) and another which had been added later (pacavadita-sara), of which the areas are given as 2,000 karīsas and 41 karīsas respectively. The fact that the areas of saras were given in karīsas seems to imply that they were fields.

[Line 3]. Daka-peta = P. daka-patti. See E.Z., Vol. I, pp. 71-73. In dealing with the Thūpārāma slab-inscription of Gajubāhu I ², I have suggested that pati, occurring in this compound as well as in bojaka-pati, should mean 'share' and not 'revenue' as suggested by Dr. Wickremasinghe. This supposition is confirmed by the occurrence of the form daka-baka (P. * $daka-bh\bar{a}ga$) instead of dakapati in an inscription, of about the fourth century, found at Pīligama ³.

[Line 3]. Kadaya is taken as equivalent to P. khandayitvā, 'having broken', used in a secondary sense meaning 'having remitted'.

[Line 3]. Beji-peta, occurs in earlier records as bojika-pati, for the interpretation of which see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 117.

¹ A. I. C., No. 61. Müller's reading is somewhat different from that given above.

² E. Z., Vol. III, p. 118.

³ Müller, A. I. C., No. 77. In the text of this inscription published by Müller, the word in question has been left undeciphered, though the letters are quite clear on the stone.

[Line 4]. Saga-begi kereyani ma: The meaning of this phrase is not quite clear and the rendering given above is only tentative. Sara-begi is doubtless equivalent to P. sangha-bhogika 'belonging to the sangha'; and the difficulty of interpretation lies in kereyani ma. It is not quite certain whether the division into words of the five syllables read as kereyani ma is the correct one, there being the possibility of dividing these as kereya nima also. Kereyani is taken, in the interpretation adopted by me, as equivalent to P. kāritāni, from which it can be derived by well-known rules of Sinhalese phonology. The only difficulty which presents itself is the neutral plural termination -ni which, though occurring in old Sinhalese inscriptions of about the second century B.C., has not been found in the language of the intervening period. Ma is taken as equivalent to me (P. imam) and occurs in two other places in this epigraph, to wit, ma catara (l. 3) and ma vataka (ll. 4-5). If we read the phrase as saga-begi kereya nima, we may translate it as 'lands, held on nima tenure, belonging to the sangha'. Nima can be the same as nimi which occurs, as a word denoting a system of land-tenure, in the 'Jetavanārāma' slab-inscription, No. 2, of Mahinda IV 1. Dr. Wickremasinghe conjectures that the word indicates 'a form of land tenure under which the grantee has the exclusive possession of the land 2.

[Line 4]. Atano sime: This is another of the phrases, occurring in the inscription, of which the exact meaning is doubtful and the translation given is tentative. Atano is taken as equivalent to P. attano. Genitive forms ending in -no are found in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon, e.g. batuno (P. bhātuno) in an unpublished cave-inscription at Pilikuṭṭuva in the Colombo District 3, but have not been met with in any other record later than the first century. Sime is equated with Skt. svāmya and considered to be the earlier form of himi occurring in classical and modern Sinhalese. Atano sime would thus be the same as taman himi 'belonging to one's self' in the modern Sinhalese idiom. Similar phrases are found in Brāhmī inscriptions of the second to fifth centuries. An unpublished inscription of a king named Mahānāga, from Vessagiriya in Anurādhapura, has atini samiya Ayibaravika vaviya bojaka pati. The Situlpavuva inscription of Kaniṭṭha Tissa 4 contains Citalapavata atini simaya Dakini-tisa Aviya vavi. Dr. Müller, whose reading of this passage is somewhat different, leaves these two words untranslated. An inscription of about the third century

¹ E. Z., Vol. I, p. 236.

² *Ibid.*, p. 240, n. 2.

³ Referred to in A. S. C., A. R. for 1931-2, p. 9.

⁴ Müller, A. I. C., No. 16.

A.D. from Mōlahitiyavelēgala near Dimbulāgala has ati simiya gaṇavaya, which Mr. Bell has translated as 'after having taken count of the boundaries belonging to'. The Pīligama inscription, already referred to, has atani simaṭa; and an unpublished record of about the fourth century, found at Kaṭugampolagama ², has ata-samini. If all these variant forms are of the same meaning as atano sime of this record, it is remarkable that the form atano is found only in this, the latest document, the others having atani, which should be taken as the locative singular (P. attani, in one's self), and ata or ati which might be regarded as the stem (P. atta), forming a compound with the word which follows.

[Lines 4-5]. Me vataka. For this word, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 186.

[Line 5]. De-peta-kara. The two shares are evidently the water-share (daka-peta) and the proprietor's share (beja-peta) mentioned earlier in the record. Kara is taken as the Sanskrit kara meaning 'tax', 'impost', &c.

No. 15. FOUR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS FROM VESSAGIRIYA AT ANURĀDHAPURA.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THE subjoined inscriptions are engraved on the eastern face of Rock B on the site of an ancient monastery now called Vessagiriya 3 in Anurādhapura, to the south of the rock-cut flight of steps between caves numbered 9 and 10 at that place 4 . Inscription No. 1 of this paper is at a distance of 80 ft. from the centre of the above mentioned flight of steps. Nos. 2 and 3 are engraved, one below the other, at a distance of $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. to the north of No. 1. No. 4 is 9 ft. to the north of Nos. 2 and 3.

Dr. Wickremasinghe, in his paper dealing with some of the inscriptions at Vessagiriya 5, seems to refer to Nos. 1 to 3 of these records in the following passages: 'The second rock inscription is on the vertical wall, facing south-

¹ Published by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, vol. iii, p. 77.

² A. S. I., No. 440, see C. J. Sc., G, vol. ii, p. 110.

³ For a brief description of this site, see E. Z., Vol. I, pp. 10-12; and for its identification with the ancient Issarasamana monastery, see C. J. Sc., G, vol. ii, p. 182.

⁴ See Plan reproduced at Plate 2 of E. Z., Vol. I, and photograph reproduced at Plate 3.

⁵ E. Z., Vol. I, p. 22.

east, to the right of cave No. 12. It contains nine lines of writing, imperfect and too shallowly incised to admit of an estampage being taken.

'The letters are smaller than those of No. 1, and probably belong to the period (fourth to ninth centuries) of which records on stone are comparatively few and the script strangely irregular. It is possible that the nine broken lines cover two inscriptions.'

Inscription No. 1 (A. S. I. No. 606) covers an area of 3 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 3 in. and contains four lines of writing. The letters, on an average, are 2 in. in size. Nos. 2 and 3 (A. S. I. Nos. 607-608) together cover an area of 4 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 7 in. Each of these two records consists of three lines, the third line of No. 3 containing only four letters. The size of the letters in these two records is about the same as that of No. 1. No. 4 (A.S.I. No. 609) measures 4 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 11 in. and contains four lines of writing. The letters of this record are somewhat larger than those of the other three epigraphs, being on an average 3 in. in size.

The script, generally speaking, is of the same type as that of the Nāgirikanda inscription 1, the points of difference in some of the individual letters of the two records being such as would result through the individuality of the different scribes who drafted them. The letters in which this difference is more marked are a, ca, da, ta, da, na, ma, ya, and ha, as can be noticed in comparing the aksaras of these inscriptions given in the table on Plate 15. In inscription No. I occurs the symbol for o which is rarely found in the records of this period and is interesting in that it shows us the intermediate stage of development between the forms of this aksara in the second and ninth centuries. the u found in No. 2 (l. 1) are not present in the Nāgirikanda record. script of No. 4 differs slightly from that of the others and favours more angular forms. The α occurring in that record is distinctly of a more archaic type than the symbol for that letter found in the other three epigraphs and if we can rely on palaeography we may assign No. 4 to a date slightly earlier than Nos. 1 The symbols for a, ca, ma, na, and ha of these records show an earlier stage of evolution than the corresponding forms in the Nagirikanda inscription; but the aksaras da, da, and ya appearing in the latter seem to be more archaic. Types belonging to two near stages of evolution are often found together in the same document and some epigraphs contain archaic forms of writing not generally found in other documents of the period to which they belong; but on the whole

¹ See above, pp. 115-122.

these inscriptions may, from considerations of palaeography, be slightly earlier in date than the Nāgirikanda epigraph.

As regards orthography and grammar, these records contain some interesting forms. In No. 1, l. 1, we have opula for P. uppala, showing an early stage in the development of the modern Sinhalese $\bar{o}lu$. The change of u to ois further instanced by the occurrence of oluvadu in No. 1, in place of uluvadu in No. 2. In ma (No. 1, 1. 4) and maha (No. 4, 1. 4), which stand for me (P. imam) and mehi (P. imasmim) of the earlier, as well as the later, language, we see that the vowels e and i have been changed to a. The same feature has also been noticed in the Nāgirikanda inscription. Vowel assimilation is noticed in rici (No. 2, l. 3) for P. ruci. On the whole, when studying these and other records of the period, it appears as if the vocal system of the language was then in a state of flux, there being no fixed usage as to what vowel was the correct form in a particular syllable of a word. For instance, compare the forms vaharala, veherala, veharala and vaharila, which are apparently variant forms of the same word occurring in the four inscriptions respectively. In Opulavana (P. Uppalavanna), we have the dental n in place of Skt. rnn. In the earlier stage of the language, the cerebral n invariably occurs in such places; compare mekavaņa in the Tonigala inscription¹. This change to the dental n, which seems to have developed about the fifth or sixth century, has remained the rule ever since 2. In sayaka (P. sataka) and Daļameya (P. Dāṭhāmegha), intervocalic surds and sonants have both been changed to y. The general tendency in the early Sinhalese language was to change the intervocalic sonant to a surd, for instance, the change of Skt. Naga, Abhaya, and pada to Naka, Apaya and pata, respectively. In inscription No. 4, we have an instance of the opposite tendency in the word Kasaba (P. Kassapa) which occurs as Kasub and Kasba in the ninth century and later. No. 1, however, has Kasapi.

As regards nominal forms, inflexions are rather rare in these inscriptions, the crude form being used instead in many places. Vahere in No. 1, l. 3, has the locative singular in -e, satanata in No. 1, l. 4, the dative in -ata and daruyana in No. 2, l. 2, the accusative plural or genitive plural in -ana. The suffix for the first person singular is attached to nouns, as in Puyagonulami (No 1, l. 1)—a practice which is frequently met with in the Sinhalese language of the ninth

¹ See *E. Z.* Vol. III, p. 177.

² See the pamphlet 'The use of n and n and l and l in the Sinhalese Language' by Julius de Lanerolle, Colombo 1934, p. 6.

and tenth centuries and is also common in Tamil 1. Coming to verbal forms, cidavi (No. 1, l. 4; No. 2, l. 2; and No. 3, l. 2), if the interpretation of it adopted by me is correct, furnishes us with an example of a finite verb which is rarely, if at all, met with in the early inscriptions of Ceylon, the past participle passive being used with the force of a finite verb in most inscriptions. Cidavi is taken as the causative third person singular form in the past tense and indicative mood of the root derived from Skt. chid. It is equivalent to P. chindapayī and modern Sinhalese sindavi. The plural form of the same verb is found in No. 4, ll. 3 and 4, as cidavayaha. Another point which might be worthy of note is that, though the first personal termination mi is found in the subject in records 1-3, the predicate is in the third person. This is in contrast with the usage of the ninth and tenth centuries when the verb used as the predicate always ended in mi, if this suffix was attached to the subject. Compare, for instance, the passage 'Sīmi mamad me-karanayehi givisä batak dinmi' in the Kaludiyapokuna inscription 2. The gerund di occurring in No. 4, l. 3, is almost the same as the corresponding modern form. The optative form vayavaya or veyavaya occurs in Nos. 2 (l. 3) and 3 (l. 3). This is the prototype of the modern $v\bar{e}v\bar{a}$ and its plural occurs in the language of about the eighth century as velvay3. As Professor Geiger has already pointed out, this mode is formed by the addition of the optative form of the root $v\bar{u}$ (Skt. $bh\bar{u}$) to the present indicative verbal The form veya or vaya has then to be taken as the present indicative singular form, in the sixth century, of the Sinhalese verb derived from the Skt. root $bh\bar{u}$. This occurs in the classical and the modern dialects as $v\bar{e}$ and veyi. The optative form vaya itself has preserved the y of the old Indian termination $-y\bar{a}t$, unlike the Prakrits in which this y has been changed to j.

These records are **not dated**; but two of them contain data which would help us in determining the upper limit of their date. Nos. 1 and 4 give the name of the monastery, at which the inscriptions are found, as **Boya-Opulavana-Kasapi-gari** (P. Bodhi-Uppalavaṇṇa-Kassapagiri) and **Kasaba-giriye** (P. Kassapagiri), respectively, which are alternative names of the Issarasamaṇa-vihāra. I have elsewhere 5 pointed out that, on the evidence of inscriptions found at the site, the modern Vessagiriya is really the ancient Issarasamaṇa-vihāra. This monastery was enlarged and richly endowed by the parricide king **Kassapa I** who renamed it after himself and his two daughters, **Bodhi** and **Uppalavaṇṇā** 6.

¹ E. Z. Vol., Vol. III, p. 255.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁵ C. J. Sc., G, Vol. II, p. 182.

² E.Z., Vol. III, p. 258.

⁴ See Geiger, L. S. S., p. 79.

⁶ Mahāvamsa, chap. xxxix, vv. 10-11.

As the monastery could not have been referred to by the name of Bodhi-Uppalavaṇṇa-Kassapagiri before the reign of Kassapa I (circa 526-552), these records must be later than the accession of that monarch. We have no means of deciding definitely the lower limit of their date. However, as I have pointed out in discussing the script of the records, they appear palaeographically to be earlier than the Nāgirikanda inscription and therefore we may assign them to the period between Kassapa and Kumāradāsa.

In their contents, the four epigraphs are all similar. They record the obtaining of freedom from slavery, of themselves or of their relatives, by various individuals who are named. The two individuals mentioned in Inscription No. 4 obtained their manumission by paying 100 kahāpaṇas to the Issarasamaṇa monastery which is also mentioned in this connexion in Inscription No. 1. This and the fact that the records of the manumission are engraved within the precincts of the monastery show that the slaves set free belonged to that religious establishment. We have epigraphical evidence to prove that slaves were owned by Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon in the second century A.D. and also in later times 1, though the practice does not seem to be in keeping with the spirit of Buddhism. From other Buddhist countries like Burma and Cambodia, too, we have evidence to show that Buddhist monastic institutions owned numerous slaves 2. It must, however, be mentioned that the remarks about the contents of the inscriptions depend on the interpretation of the words vaharala cidavi and their variants which will be discussed in the sequel.

TEXT.

I.

- 1 Latakatala(hi) oluvadu Puyagonu-
- 2 -lami B(o)ya-Opulavana-Kasapi-ga-
- 3 -ri-raja-maha-vahere siya-agana vahara-
- 4 -la cidavi ma-pala sava-satanața

II.

- 1 Si Durusava vasana uluvadu Boya-gonulami
- 2 daruyana cidavi veherala pala
- 3 sava-satanata vayavaya rici Budu-bava vayavaya

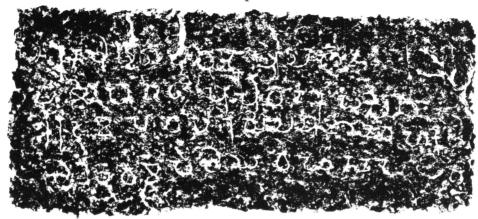
¹ See below, the remarks on the word vaharala and the Galapāta Vihāra inscription in J. R. A. S., C. B., Notes and Queries, July, 1914, pp. lxxii-lxxiv.

² G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 268, and Sir Chas. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. iii, p. 120 and footnote 6.

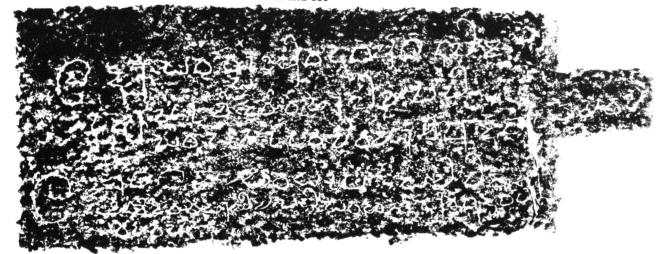
II

III





II and III



Scale about 11 inches to 1 foot

III.

- 1 Si Abagamayahi vasana Patisalalami daru-
- 2 -ya cidavi veharala pala sava-satanața rici Budu-bava
- 3 veyavaya

IV.

- 1 Sahasavarala Dalameya Sakanakana
- 2 Vesiminiya Aba Kasaba-giriye va-
- 3 -hara sayaka kahavana di vaharila cidava-
- 4 -yaha maha pala sava-satanaṭa.

TRANSLATION.

I.

I, Puyagonula, the brick-layer of Latakatala, caused my wife to be freed from slavery in the royal monastery of **Boya-Opulavana-Kasapi-gari.** [May] the fruit of this [action be] for the benefit of all beings.

II.

Hail! I, Boyagonula, the brick-layer residing in Durusava, caused [my] children to be freed from slavery. May the fruit [of this action] be for the benefit of all beings. May there be Buddhahood as desired.

III.

Hail! I, Patisalala, residing at Abagamaya, caused [my] child to be freed from slavery. [May] the fruit [of this action be] for the benefit of all beings. May there be Buddhahood as desired.

IV.

Sahasavarala Daļameya and Sakaņakana Vesimiņiya Aba gave a hundred kahāpaṇas to the **Kasabagiriye** monastery and freed [themselves] from slavery. May the fruit of this [action] be for the benefit of all beings.

REMARKS.

[I, l. 1]. Oluvadu is taken to be a variant form of uluvadu which occurs in inscription No. 2. The word uluvadu, in literary Sinhalese, means 'a mason'. Vadu is from Skt. vardhakin. Ulu is usually taken by Sinhalese scholars as derived from Skt. iṣṭaka (P. iṭṭhaka), but the occurrence of the dental, instead of the cerebral, l in the word militates against this view.

[I, l. 3]. Siya-agana: Siya is equivalent to Skt. svaka and occurs in literary Sinhalese in the same form. It is also found in the Tōnigala inscription where, however, it has the same meaning as Skt. svayam, P. sayam, and has to be treated as an indeclinable. Siya, meaning 'one's own', has, in fact, no distinction of number and person; but I have translated it as 'my', as the subject of the sentence, to which the word refers, is in the first person. Agana is taken as derived from Skt. angana, and to be the same as the classical Sinhalese angana. It, therefore, means 'woman'; but may have been used in ordinary speech to mean 'wife'. In modern colloquial Sinhalese, a wife is often referred to as gāni 'woman'.

[I, 1l. 3-4]. Vaharala cidavi: The word vaharala and its variant forms veherala, veharala, and vaharila occur in all these four inscriptions either followed, or preceded, by the verb cidavi or cidavayaha. These words are found in the great majority of inscriptions of this period, very often with the verb cidavi and its variant forms. Some of these records are very brief ones and contain merely the name of an individual followed by vaharala. Sometimes the name of a monastery also occurs after the name of the individual. There have also been found a few records of this type which date from about the eighth century, when the script and the language had both changed from what they were in the sixth. For instance, a short record at Mädagama in the Kurunāgala District reads Mihidala Simi dariyana sidăva veheraleya2. The phrase sidăva veheraleya in this is obviously the same as cidavi veherala of Inscription No. 2. Another short record found at the same place reads Kada madabiyana veherala 3. The word vaharala also occurs in different contexts in other records. For instance, some records of about the sixth century from Rājanganē in the Kurunāgala District contain the phrases sayamala va(harala) and alamala vaharala, where the meaning of the words sayamala and alamala is not clear. In the inscriptions on the steps of a shrine near the so-called 'Burrows' Pavilion' at Anurādhapura, occurs the phrase vaharala vata kata (see below, p. 139). In other inscriptions at the same place we find vahala and varala as variant forms of vaharala. The expression vata kotu occurs in phrases like ariyavasa vata kotu and means 'for the maintenance of', vata being equivalent to Skt. vṛtti and P. vatta. It, therefore, appears that vaharala and its variants must have meant

¹ E. Z., Vol. II, pp. 177 and 181.

² A. S. I., No. 722. See J. R. A. S., G, vol. ii, p. 222. See below, p. 144.

³ A. S. I., No. 723. See C. J. Sc., G, vol. ii, p. 222. The remarks made there regarding this and the preceding epigraph require modification. See below, p. 144.

⁴ Müller, A. I. C., No. 65.

something which was necessary for a monastic establishment and for the maintenance of which provision was made and the fact recorded in those inscriptions. In the epigraphs now under discussion, the verb cidavi occurs in connexion with vaharala. Cidavi means literally 'caused to be broken', but it may also be used with the secondary meaning 'discontinued' 'ceased to be', &c. In the records before us. certain individuals are stated to have caused the cessation of certain things at a monastery; but at the same time these individuals seem to have considered that they had done a meritorious thing, for they give the merit of the action to all beings. In other records, other individuals are represented as earning and distributing merit by providing for the same. Vaharala, therefore, must mean something paradoxical, of which it can be said that one can gain merit by providing it for a monastery as well as by removing it. The fact that the word follows the name of an individual shows that it must have been applied to a person. We may now consider whether the word vaharala can be interpreted in such a way as to suit all these contexts. One of the variant forms of the word noted above is vahala which is almost identical with vahal used in modern Sinhalese to mean 'slave'. This meaning, it would seem, suits all the contexts in which the word has so far been found. One, of course, gains merit by providing money for the maintenance of slaves at a monastery and, at the same time, one would equally gain merit by obtaining the freedom of these slaves which also would have to be done by paying money. Even if one obtains one's own freedom from slavery, as, it seems, is recorded in Inscription No. 4, there would yet be merit for the money paid to the monastery. Such records in which the word merely occurs after the name of an individual ought to be taken as registering the fact that the individual in question was a slave of the monastery in which the record is found.

The word has not so far been met with in any document earlier than the sixth century, the word dasa (Skt. dāsa) being used for slaves in records of the second century. Professor Geiger derives vahal from Skt. vṛṣala (P. vasala); and it is not impossible that vṛṣala took the form vaharala in the sixth century through the intermediate forms *varasala and *varahala. The context shows that, in some places where it occurs, vaharala ought to mean 'slavery', in which case, it may be taken as going back to a taddhita form of vṛṣala.

[I, 1. 4]. Pala sava-satanața: For this phrase, see E.Z., Vol. III, pp. 125-126.

¹ For instance, an unpublished second-century inscription (No. 101 of A. S. C., A. R. for 1892) from Ilukväva in the Anurādhapura District contains the phrases, dasi Anula dini, dasa Kala ca.

- [II, l. 2]. Daruyana is taken as the accusative singular of daruya (see Inscription No. 3, ll. 1-2) which is equivalent to P. dāraka. In modern Sinhalese these two forms are found as daruvan and daruvā respectively.
- [II, 1. 3]. Rici Budu-bava vayavaya: In modern Sinhalese this phrase would read risi Budubava vēvā. The words rici and vayavaya have been dealt with above; Budu-bava is equivalent to Skt. Buddha-bhāva. What is meant by Buddhahood here is evidently the attainment of Nirvāṇa or Bodhi which can be accomplished in any one of three ways, namely, by being the disciple of a Buddha (śrāvaka-bodhi), a private Buddha (pratyeka-bodhi), or a supremely enlightened Budcha (samyak-sambodhi). These are the three vehicles (yānas) of the Mahāyānists and are also recognized by the Theravādins of Ceylon. The usual benediction of the Buddhist monk in Ceylon ends with the wish that the devotee may attain Nirvāṇa through the medium of any that is desired among the three bodhis (tuntarā bōdhiyen patannāvū ektarā bōdhiyakin).
- [IV, 1l. 1-2]. Sahasavarala Daļameya Sakaṇakana Vesimiṇiya Aba. In these two personal names, Sahasavarala and Sakaṇakana are evidently names of villages in which the individuals mentioned resided. We seem to have here the beginnings of the practice of using a place name as part of the personal name, which is frequently met with in the records of the ninth and tenth centuries and is also very common among the Sinhalese to-day 1.
- [IV, l. 3]. Sayaka kahavaṇa di: The sum paid for the manumission of two slaves was 100 kahāpaṇas. It appears, therefore, that the average price of a slave was 50 kahāpaṇas.

No. 16. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE STEPS NEAR 'BURROWS' PAVILION' AT ANURÂDHAPURA.

By S. Paranavitana.

THE eight short records included in this paper are incised on steps leading to a ruined shrine near the reconstructed porch now known as 'the Stone Canopy' or 'Burrows' Pavilion' in the area of the Abhayagiri (popularly known as the Jetavana) Vihāra at Anurādhapura. The three slab-inscriptions edited in

¹ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 105, n. 1.

² For this porch and its reconstruction by Mr. (later Sir) S. M. Burrows, see A. S. C. Annual Report for 1911-12, p. 33

the articles numbered 4, 19, and 20 of Vol. I of this Journal have also been found in the same vicinity. The flight of steps is 15 ft. in breadth and consisted of six treads, each of two pieces of stone. Inscriptions numbered 1 to 3 are incised on the second (right) piece of the first tread from the bottom. No. 1, consisting of six lines of unequal length, occupies the left-hand side of this stone and extends to a length of 1 ft. 6 in. No. 2 is inscribed to the right of No. 1 and No. 3 is below No. 2. No space has been left between the ends of the lines of No. 1 and the beginnings of those of Nos. 2 and 3; and at first sight it appears as if the writing on this stone comprised one inscription. No. 4 is on the first stone of the second tread and occupies a space of 2 ft. 8 in. by 7 in. Nos. 5 and 6, written one below the other, occupy a space of 3 ft. 4 in. by $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. on the first stone of the fourth tread, and No. 7, to the right of these two, covers an area of 1 ft. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 6 in. On the extreme right end of this stone is another short record which is badly preserved and is not decipherable in full; it has not, therefore, been included in this paper. No. 8 is on the second stone of the fourth tread and measures 2 ft. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. On this stone, as well as on some other treads, there are traces of inscriptions of which no intelligible text can be made out.

Like most of the records dating from the period between the sixth and the ninth centuries, these epigraphs have been carelessly executed. The letters are not incised to any considerable depth; and owing to this reason as well as to the fact that the writing is on steps which must have been continuously trodden upon for several centuries, the epigraphs are not in a good state of preservation. The letters vary in size from $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.

The records are all written in a form of the ancient Sinhalese **script** which is definitely of a later stage of evolution than that of the Nāgirikanda inscription dealt with above. The letters are of a highly cursive type and it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between some letters like na and ta which are almost identical in form. The looped form of ta found in the Nāgirikanda inscription does not occur in these epigraphs which contain a form of that letter close to the one appearing in the Vessagiriya inscriptions 1 . Variant forms of the same letter are found in these epigraphs, sometimes in the same document. The signs for the medial vowels i, o, and e are rarely marked. As regards the individual letters, the table given in Plate 15 will enable the reader to compare them with the corresponding letters occurring in other records of somewhat

¹ See above, p. 129.

earlier and later dates. The degree of development shown in the script would justify us in concluding that these epigraphs date from the second half of the sixth, or the first half of the seventh, century.

As regards orthography, we notice, in the records, a tendency to substitute a for the medial vowels i, u, e, and o. Compare, for example, -gara in Apahayagara (I, Il. 3-4), ulavadha (I, 1. 2), kata (I, 1. 4), and vaharata (II, 1. 2), which occur in earlier inscriptions as giri¹, uluvadu², koţu³, and vaheraţaya⁴. In the later language, however, these words are found as giri, uluvadu, kota, and veherața. It is, therefore, not certain whether the change of nearly all the other medial vowels to a was a peculiarity of the language of this period or whether the forms appearing in these inscriptions are due to the careless system of writing which was prevalent at the time. Words which show noteworthy phonetic changes in consonants are Apahaya, jahasa (III, l. 2), and huna-kavana (IV, l. 2). In Apahaya (Skt. Abhaya) a vowel has been introduced between the aspirate and the b, the latter changing to p. In the tenth century, this word occurs in the form Abahay 5, thereby indicating that the change of the sonant to the corresponding surd, effected before the seventh century, did not persist in the next stage of the language. As regards the treatment of the aspirate in this word, comparison may be made with words like daham, rajadahan, and dähän, which stand for Skt. dharma, rājadhāni, and dhyāna6. Jahasa (mod. Sinh. dahasa), if it is taken as derived from Skt. sahassa shows the change of s to j^{τ} . No such phonetic change has been met with previously in the Sinhalese language. Huna is equivalent to Skt. suvarnna and the dental n in place of rnn is noteworthy 8. In kavana for the earlier kahavana (Skt. karṣāpaṇa, P. kahāpaṇa), the syllable ha has been completely dropped out. It is, however, possible that this may be due to a clerical error. The verbal forms daya (II, 1. 3) and da (III, 1. 2) occurring in these records have not been met with elsewhere. The contexts in which they occur show that they are equivalent in meaning to dine (P. dinna) and its variant forms occurring in inscriptions from the third century B.C. to about the fifth century A.D. We may, therefore, conjecture that while dine is derived from P. or Pkt. dinna, daya and da go back to Skt. datta through the intermediate form data, which occurs in the name Bamadata (Skt. Brahmadatta) in a pre-

¹ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 116.

³ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 116.

⁶ See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, pp. 46 and 85.

² See above, p. 132.

⁴ See above, p. 123.

⁶ Compare Geiger, L. S. S., ii, 18. 2.

⁷ Geiger derives dahasa from Skt. sahasra, see E. S., s. v.

⁸ See above, p. 130.

Christian inscription from Riţigala 1. As regards **syntax**, we find that, in these records, the predicate does not agree with the subject, not only in person as in the Vessagiriya epigraphs 2, but in number as well. For instance, in No. 5, the subject is *Deva Kaļa Sivayama*, the names of three individuals, to the last of which has been added the first personal suffix -ma, probably in the plural number; but we cannot recognize any termination indicating the first person or the plural number in the verbal form de used as the predicate.

The **contents** of the records are of no historical interest. They merely register grants of money by various obscure individuals to the **Abhayagiri-vihāra**, for the maintenance of slaves ³. They are interesting only as examples of the script and language of about the seventh century, of which period no documents have yet been published in this journal.

TEXT.

I.

- 1 Marayu4vahahapa-gamayaha va-
- 2 -sana ulavadha Sadeva Ganayama ca
- 3 Apa .. va Apama ca Apahaya-
- 4 gara-vaha[ra] vaharala va[ṭa] kaṭa eka-
- 5 sayaka kahava[na] da pa-
- 6 -la sava-satanața

II.

- 1 Guta-kadaraha vasana Pa(lama) dama Apama A-
- 2 -pahaya-gara-vaharata vaharala vata kata e-
- 3 -ka-sayaka kahavana daya pala sava-(satanaṭa)

III.

- 1 Maha-daragalaha vasana Pajana Adasana Vasa-davayama Apa-
- 2 -haya-gara-vaharata vahala vata kata dajahasa kahavana da pala
- 3 sava-sa(tanața)

¹ E. Z., Vol. I, p. 150. ² See above, p. 131.

³ This statement depends on the accuracy of the interpretation of the word *vaharala*, see above, pp. 134-135.

⁴ The letter which has been read as yu can also be read as pu or as a.

IV.

- 1 Madararayana Gana 1 Apama Apayagara-vahara-
- 2 ṭa vaharala vaṭa kaṭa eka saya huna-kavaṇa
- 3 da pala sava-satanața

V.

- 1 Erayaha vasana (Da)va Kala Savayama Apahayagara-va-
- 2 -haraţa eka-sa[ya*] kahavaṇa da pala sava-sata[naţa]

VI.

- 1 ... marayu 2 mahapa gamayaha vasana Panapalata
- 2 ... daya-gamaya **A[pa*]ya-gara-**vaharaṭa ekajahasaka ka-
- 3 -havana da maha pala sava-satanata

VII.

- 1 Lava-arana Gana Apama Apaha-
- 2 -ya-gara-vaharata vaharala va-
- 3 -ta kata eka-sayaka kavahana da
- 4 pala sava-satanața

VIII.

- 1 Nadanagumu Paya-vāpara Vahana Adasana Va-
- 2 -rayana Ganayama Apahagara-vaharaṭa varala va-
- 3 - ṭa kaṭa eka-sayaka kahavaṇa da maha pa[la*]sava-satanaṭa

TRANSLATION.

I.

I, Sadeva Ganaya³, the brick-layer, residing in the village of Marayuvahahapa and I, Apa⁴.. va... Apa, gave one hundred *kahavaṇas*⁵ for maintaining slaves⁶ at the **Apahayagara**⁷ monastery. The merit [is given] to all beings⁸.

¹ The letter *na* is written below the line.

² This syllable can also be read as pu or as a.

³ This and some of the other names of persons and places occurring in these records appear rather outlandish. The fact that hardly any other vowels than a occur in these names makes it somewhat difficult to ascertain what their Sanskrit or Pāli equivalents were, if they had any.

 $^{^{4}}$ Apa = Skt. and P. Abhaya.

⁵ Skt. karṣāpaṇa, P. kahāpaṇa. For the coin, see Codrington, Ceylon Coins and Currency, p. 2.

⁶ Vaharala vata kata: for this phrase, see above, pp. 134-135.

⁷ Skt. and Pāli Abhayagiri.

⁸ See E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 125-126.

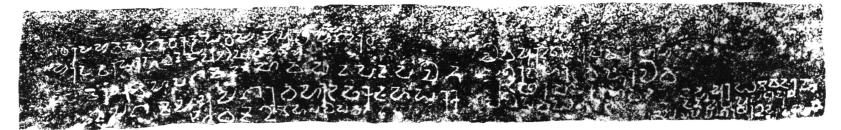
I, II, and III



IV



V, VI, and VII



VIII



II.

I, Pa(lama)dama Apa, residing at Gutakadara¹, gave one hundred kahavaṇas to the **Apahayagara** monastery for the maintenance of slaves. The merit [is given] to all beings.

III.

We, Pajana, Adasana, and Vasadevaya², residing in Mahadaragala³, gave two thousand *kahavaṇas* to the **Apahayagara** monastery for the maintenance of slaves. The merit [is given] to all [beings].

IV.

I, Gana Apa of Madararayana, gave one hundred huna-kahavanas to the **Apayagara** monastery for the maintenance of slaves. The merit [is given] to all beings.

V.

We, Deva, Kala, and Savaya⁶, residing at Eraya, gave one hundred kahavaṇas to the **Apahayagara** monastery. The merit [is given] to all beings.

VI.

Panapalata ... daya-gamaya, residing in the village of ... marayu-mahapa, gave one thousand *kahavaṇas* to the **Apayagara** monastery, The merit of this [action is given] to all beings.

VII.

I, Gana Apa of Lava-arana 7, gave one hundred kahavanas to the **Apahaya-gara** monastery for the maintenance of slaves. The merit [is given] to all beings.

VIII.

We, Paya-vāpara ⁸, Vahana, Adasana, Varayana, and Ganaya of Nadana-gumu ⁹ gave one hundred *kahavaṇas* to the **Apahagara** monastery for the maintenance of slaves. The merit of this [action is given] to all beings.

¹ P. Gutta-kandara.

² Skt. and P. $V\bar{a}$ sudeva. The first personal suffix ma is attached only to the last of the three names. It has evidently to be understood as referring to the two preceding names as well.

³ P. Mahādāragiri. A village of this name occurs in the Mv, chap. xliv, v. 96.

⁴ For huna, see above, pp. 47-48.

⁵ A variant form of Apahayagara (P. Abhayagiri).

⁶ P. Deva, Kāla, and Sīvaka. The personal suffix ma is attached to the last name here also.

⁷ Arana in this name is probably the same as Skt. aranya, P. arañña.

No. 17. SEVEN SINHALESE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

In this paper I have made a study of seven short records, from various places far removed from one another, which can be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the seventh and eighth centuries. They are of little or no historical interest and have been published solely for the purpose of giving the reader some idea—very imperfect, though it is—of the development of the Sinhalese language and script during these centuries. The table on Plate 15 will enable the reader to compare the scripts of these records with one another as well as with those of the records of a somewhat earlier period dealt with in the four preceding papers, scripts, namely, which belong to the fourth and ninth centuries.

T.

The oldest of these epigraphs is engraved on a rock near the ruined stūpa at a place called Veherakema, in the heart of a dense forest, about six miles to the south-east of Lahugala in the Pānama Pattu of the Batticaloa District 1. It covers an area of 6 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. and contains three lines of writing, of which the last comprises only six or seven letters, too weathered to be deci-The letters, which are boldly engraved, are, on an average, 5 in. in The first two lines of the record are in a good state of preservation. The size. script shows a later stage of development than that of any of the inscriptions dealt with in the four previous articles. The letters, on the whole, have a tendency to curvilinear forms. The virāma and the sign for the medial yowel ä are absent. This fact would justify us in giving an earlier date to this record than to the Gärandigala rock-inscription, in which both the virāma and the ä-sign occur and which I have ascribed to the reign of Kassapa III (circa 710-717) 2. unpublished record of Dala Mugalana (Moggallāna II, circa 542-561), already referred to, is in a script less developed than that of the present epigraph; and we may, therefore, conclude that this document belongs to a date between these two reigns. It is possible, however, that it is closer in date to the earlier reign than to the later one. The language shows no development from that which prevailed in the fifth and sixth centuries; but, as the record is a very

¹ A. S. I., No. 594. See C. J. Sc., G, vol. ii, pp. 182 and 198.

² See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, pp. 195–199.

brief one of only a few words, we cannot speak with confidence in this matter. We can, however, be certain on one point; i.e., that the Sinhalese language, when this inscription was written, had not yet developed the characteristic of changing the original c to s, which is almost universal from about the eighth century onwards. The form vaharaya, presumably in the locative singular, is noteworthy and may be compared with the locative form $s\bar{c}$ -sateyi occurring in v. 47 of the Hainsa Sandesa. Kriya, obviously intended for kiriya (P. karīsa) occurring in earlier records, is an interesting orthographical peculiarity. In cata for P. cetiya (ceta in earlier inscriptions), the vowel e has been changed to a.

The record tells us that a ruler named Vahaka Maharaja caused a caitya to be built at the Macala-vehera, presumably the ancient monastery of which the ruins are to be seen on the site, and that he made certain donations to it. The title maharaja adopted by Vahaka shows that he was an independent ruler; but there is no name having even a remote resemblance to Vahaka in the lists of kings given in the chronicles. Vahaka was perhaps a prince who, in the unsettled political conditions which prevailed at Anurādhapura during the greater part of the seventh century, set himself up as an independent sovereign of Rohaṇa, within which principality the site of the record lies 1. No monastery which can be reasonably identified with the Macala-vehera of this record has been mentioned in the chronicles.

TEXT.

- 1 Vahaka-maharaja Macala-vaharaya
- 2 cata karavaya 2 catara kriya kubura laba ..
- 3 (dina)

TRANSLATION.

The great king Vahaka³, having caused the *caitya* at Macala-vahara³ to be constructed, (gave) received [from] four *karīsas* of fields.

II and III.

Inscriptions numbered II and III in this paper (A. S. I., Nos. 722 and 723) have already been quoted in discussing the word vaharala occurring in the

¹ Verses 38 ff. of chap. 45 of the Mv. show that there were independent princes in Rohana during the seventh century.

² There is a stroke attached to this letter, which, if it is not due to the weathering of the stone, can be taken as a *virāma* sign; but as this sign does not occur elsewhere in this record, I have hesitated to treat it as such.

⁸ It is not certain what the Skt. or P. equivalent of this name is.

Vessagiriya inscriptions 1. They are incised on a rock situated to the west of the ruined $st\bar{u}pa$ at Mädagama Vihāra in the Tisāva Kōraļē of the Kurunāgala District and consist of one line each. No. II is 3 ft. 1 in., and No. III 2 ft. 4 in., in length; the letters are from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 in. in size. The **script** of both is almost identical and is much more rounded in form than that of the preceding epigraph. The *virāma* sign does not occur in either, and this feature may indicate that these records are earlier in **date** than the Gärandigala inscription of Kassapa III 2. Above the syllable da, occurring as the twelfth aksara of No. II, is a curved stroke which also occurs in No. V below and which will be discussed in dealing with that inscription. As regards the **language**, the only important point worth noting is that in No. II we meet with an instance of the change of c to s. We may, therefore, infer that this phonetic change developed in the Sinhalese language for the first time in or about the eighth century. In **contents** the two records resemble the Vessagiriya inscriptions dealt with above.

TEXT.

- II. Mihidala Simi dariyana sidăva 3 veheraleya
- III. Kaḍa Maḍabiyana veherala 4.

TRANSLATION.

- II. I, Mihidala Si⁵, caused my daughters⁶ to be freed from slavery⁷.
- III. The slave of Kada Madabi 8

IV.

The next inscription is engraved on a stone which seems to have been used as a tread in a flight of steps and is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Anurādhapura. Its original provenance is not known, it being only recorded that the stone was removed to the Museum from the Government Agent's premises at Anurādhapura. The record consists of two lines of writing,

¹ See above, p. 134.

² See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, pp. 196–197.

³ For the diacritical mark in the second syllable of this word, see below, p. 146.

⁴ This record seems to be incomplete.

⁶ P. Mahinda Sīha. In Mihidala we meet with the suffix la which in the form of l was, in the ninth and tenth centuries, often attached to personal names, probably as an honorific. See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 276, n.

⁶ Dariyana is taken as the accusative plural of dariya from P. dārikā. Compare daruyana in the Vessagiriya inscription, above p. 136.

⁷ Sidăva veheraleya is obviously the same as cidavi veherala for which, see above, pp. 134-135.

⁸ Māḍabi is a title, for which see E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 256-257.



Scale about 1 inch to 1 foot

each 2 ft. 21 in. long; and is in a fairly good state of preservation. The letters are I to $I_{\frac{1}{2}}$ inches in size and the **script** is of a somewhat florid character. The *virāma* sign does not occur; but the sign for the medial vowel \ddot{a} is found. The latter, however, is not written in a line with the consonant, as is the rule in the Sinhalese script from the ninth century till modern times, but diagonally above the letter to its right. See, for example, $g\ddot{a}$ in 1. 2. This mode of writing the \ddot{a} sign is met with in a number of graffiti, datable in the eighth century, found on the gallery wall at Sigiriya. In ra occurring in line 1, however, the mode of attaching the ä-sign is the same as in the script of the ninth century. Palaeographically, this record also seems to be earlier in date than the Gärandigala inscription; and it may therefore be assigned to about the end of the seventh century. The language differs from that of the ninth century in that it has not yet developed the characteristic of dropping the short vowel α at the end, or in an unaccented syllable in the middle, of a word: for instance, the phrase sava-satanata, occurring in this record, would have been sav-satnat in the ninth century. The verbal form demi (l. 2), with the first person singular termination, is still current in literary Sinhalese. The forms hāmi and karu, for himi and karu (P. sāmi and kārita) of the ninth century, are noteworthy if the readings are free from doubt. The former occurs in the same form in the modern colloquial language and the latter may be compared with kāru of the Kivulēkada inscription of Sena I (E. Z., Vol. III, p. 290). The purport of the record was to state that the step on which it was written was the gift of an individual, presumably a monk, named Dalanā (P. Dāthānāga).

TEXT.

- 1 Gala-veherä Pirivesikuţa Dalanā-hāmiyana 1
- 2 karu ² piya-gäṭa mehi pala sava-satanaṭa demi

TRANSLATION.

The step ³ caused to be made by **Pirivesikuṭa Daļanā**-hāmi [residing] in Gala-vehera ⁴. I give the merit of this to all beings.

- ¹ The vowel sign attached to $h\bar{a}$ differs from the *i*-sign occurring in this record. It also differs from the \bar{a} -sign in the $n\bar{a}$ of $Dalan\bar{a}$ in being more florid. The reading given above is, therefore, not free from doubt.
- ² The first letter of this word is not very well preserved and the reading, therefore, is open to correction.
 - ³ Piya-gata = P. pada-ganthi. See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 216.
- ⁴ Pirivesikuļa is presumably a place-name. Daļanā-hāmi is equivalent to P. Dāṭhānāga-sāmi. The honorific hāmi attached to his name and the fact that he is said to have resided in a vihāra make it fairly certain that Daļanā was a monk.

V.

This inscription (A. S. I., No. 976) is inscribed on a flagstone on the pavement of the Ambasthala Cetiya at Mihintalē. It comprises two lines, the first 3 ft. 6 in., and the second 2 ft. 1 in., in length. The letters range in size from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The record is either unfinished or some letters have been effaced at the end of the second line. The first half of the first line appears to be in a hand different from that of the rest of the document. The letters are well formed; and this and other documents of about the same period show that the art of the calligraphist which, judging from specimens of writing on stone, was neglected in the fifth to seventh centuries, received considerable attention in the eighth. The script is approaching the standard of the ninth century; but certain letters like ta, ya, and va are archaic in form.

The curved stroke which we noticed in No. II occurs seven times in this record; to wit, above the third, fourth, sixth, seventh, and nineteenth aksaras of the first line and the seventh and fourteenth of the second. It also occurs in a number of graffiti, assignable on palaeographical grounds to the same age as this epigraph, on the gallery wall at Sigiriya. We are not certain about the phonetic value which was intended to be conveyed by this symbol; but there are two possible conjectures. (1) It may be treated as an early method of writing the ä-sign. There is room for the supposition that the method of writing the \ddot{a} -sign, noticed in No. IV, was a development from the way in which this symbol has been written in the present document; and in some of the graffiti at Sīgiriya the syllables above which this stroke has been added are those which contain an \ddot{a} in the later stage of the language. For example, the symbol occurs above the initial a in the word aya meaning 'her' and this word assumes the form äya in the later language. But the symbol in question is also used in connexion with syllables where etymologically no \ddot{a} is required. Moreover, it occurs in the same document with the type of ä-sign noticed in No. IV and is also used in syllables containing the vowel u. It is therefore doubtful whether it was the prototype of the \ddot{a} -sign of the ninth century. (2) The symbol would read as the anunāsika if a dot were added. We may therefore conjecture that it indicates the half-nasal which is a peculiar feature of the Sinhalese language. In the record under review, the symbol is placed over the ligature mba; and bis one of the letters before which the half-nasal is pronounced in the modern language, the other letters having this peculiarity being g, d, and d. But the symbol is also used in connexion with syllables containing the consonants t, k,

 ℓ , h, and y and in the Sīgiriya graffiti it is placed over the vowel α . It is therefore not possible to take this symbol as the half-nasal unless we assume that letters other than g, d, d, and b, were also nasalized in the eighth century. We have, therefore, to leave the value of this symbol undecided for the present; but in the romanized text of the inscription I have placed a curved stroke, similar to the one appearing on the stone, above the vowel of the syllables in connexion with which the symbol occurs. Whatever the phonetic value of this symbol was, it was used in the Sinhalese script for but a short period in the eighth century, for it is not found in documents of the ninth century.

In the ligature nd occurring in this record, the forms of both the consonants are discernible, the d not being reduced, as it is in the ninth-century script, to an unrecognizable form. The $vir\bar{a}ma$ is marked throughout where it is necessary. This reflects a development in the language of the period, namely, the almost universal dropping out of the vowel a at the end of a word, and sometimes also when it occurs as a medial.

The other points in **grammar** and **orthography** to which attention may be drawn are the honorific suffix l in the name Mihindal and the forms payha and daruyun. Noteworthy also is the occurrence of the Skt. svasti as an auspicious word at the beginning of the record. From the earliest times up to about the sixth century, the auspicious word used when one was thought to be necessary at the beginning of a document was the Skt. $siddham^1$ or words derived from it, such as $siaha^2$ or $sidham^3$. Sometimes it was abbreviated to si^4 . In early Prakrit records of India, too, the auspicious word used was $sidha^5$ or $sidham^6$. This went out of use sometime about the seventh century and svasti took its place and has remained in favour ever since. After the ninth century, siddhi was sometimes used at the end of a document 7 and has been found, but only in one epigraph, in association with arogya, as an auspicious word at the beginning 8 .

As stated above, the record is incomplete, and we do not know what its **object** was. In the preserved portion an individual named Mihindal (Mahinda) states that he salutes the officers in the palace of his king—with what object in view it is now impossible to discover.

⁷ E. Z., Vol. II, p. 4.

¹ E. Z., Vol. I, p. 69.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁵ Ep. Ind., vol. viii, p. 73.

² *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁴ E. Z., Vol. III, p. 162.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 78 ff., and vol. xx, pp. 16 ff.

⁸ In an unpublished inscription from Ranava in the Anurādhapura District.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Tămbățikăļă Mihindalmi apa raj-payhă gehi ra-
- 2 -jol-sam-daruyun vandmi (ma ṭabă no go)

TRANSLATION.

• Hail! I, **Mihindal**¹ of Tămbățikăļă, salute their lordships ² the officials ³ in the palace of our noble king ⁴....

VI.

This inscription is engraved round the edge of a moonstone placed at the bottom of a flight of steps leading to the $d\bar{a}g\ddot{a}ba$ at an old $vih\bar{a}ra$ called Tammannägala in the Nägampaha Kōraļē of the Anurādhapura District 5. It consists of only one line, 6 ft. 4 in. long, and the letters are from 3 to 6 in. in size. The language hardly differs from that of the ninth century and Mr. Bell has assigned the record to about that period. But it can be inferred from the script in which the record is written that it must belong to an earlier date than the ninth century; the forms of ta and va and the method of writing the signs for the medial vowels a, i, and e, attached to the consonants 6, are decisive on this point. The record may therefore belong to the period between Kassapa III and Sena I.

As regards **grammar**, the form *jetunge*, in which we find the honorific plural and the genitive suffix *ge*, is noteworthy. The **object** of the record is to state that the moonstone on which it is engraved was a gift of a person named **Valjetu** of Piliyāna. The record is interesting archaeologically as it informs us that the word *piya-gāt*, used for a 'moonstone' in mediaeval times, is the same as that applied to an ordinary tread in a flight of steps. In this connexion, it is interesting to note that the expression *sōpanante pāṭikam* (the step at the end of the stair-case), occurring in chap. xxxi, v. 61 of the *Mahāvamsa*, is explained by the commentator as *aḍḍhacandaka-padaganṭhikam* 'a step of the shape of a half-moon' 7.

¹ See above, p. 147.

² Sam-daruyun is an earlier form of sam-daruvan, occurring in the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. For the meaning of the word, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 88.

⁸ Rajol is equivalent to rad-kol and radol of later inscriptions. See E. Z., Vol. I, p. 189, n. 9.

⁴ Raj-payha, Skt. rāja-pādasya. Pāda is added to names in Sanskrit and Pāli as an honorific and forms derived from it are so used in Sinhalese.

⁵ A. S. C. Annual Report for 1895, p. 7, No. 14.

⁶ See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 291.

⁷ See Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā, Colombo edition of 1894, p. 415.

TEXT.

Piliyāna vasi Val-jeţunge 1 piya-gaţ

TRANSLATION.

The step of Val-jeţu, residing at Piliyana.

VII.

The last of the seven inscriptions included in this paper is engraved on the smaller of the two stone canoes found in the vicinity of the 'Stone Canopy', in the area of the Abhayagiri Vihāra at Anurādhapura. The record consists of three lines, the first and third being each 2 ft. 7 in. long and the second 2 ft. 9 in. The size of the letters varies from 1 to $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The script shows considerable development from that of the Gärandigala inscription; but contains forms of certain letters less evolved than those found in the inscriptions of Sena I2. We may therefore assign this record to the latter half of the eighth, or the beginning of the ninth, century. The influence of the Sanskrit (or the Pāli) on the Sinhalese language of the time is seen in the tatsama word phala for the tad-bhava form pala which we have come across already in a number of records of earlier date. Vetvay is the prototype of the classical form vetvā, the optative plural of the root $v\bar{u}$ (Skt. $bh\bar{u}$). This may be compared with vayavaya and veyavaya occurring in the Vessagiriya inscriptions. May, occurring in 1. 2, should be from the context, the instrumental singular of the pronoun of the first person. On the analogy of vetvay becoming vetva, may can be taken as the earlier form of $m\bar{a}$, the instrumental singular of this pronoun in the classical language. As the long vowels were shortened in the early stage of the Sinhalese language and the final vowel was dropped in the mediaeval stage, we can be confident that may is derived from Skt. mayā. The object of the record is to state that the stone canoe was the gift of a novice (sāmanera) named Gonnā.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Heran Gonnāyemi
- 2 me may lu gal-nävhi phala sav-satnat dinmi
- 3 e phala [gen]ä sav-sat-hu bud vetvay

¹ This can also be read as *Piliyānavā Sivaljeṭunge*, in which case the translation should be Sivaljeṭu of Piliyānava. *Sival* may be a name equivalent to P. *Sīva*.

² See E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 289-294 and Plate 34.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! I, Gonnā the novice, give to all beings the merit of this stone boat granted by me. May all beings, having taken that merit, become enlightened 1.

* * *

From a study of the above inscriptions we find that there were, during the seventh and eighth centuries, some important developments in the evolution both of the Sinhalese script and of the language. A new vowel sound, \ddot{a} , was evolved in the speech and a method of representing this graphically in the script was also invented. The final, and sometimes the medial, vowel a was dropped and this phonetic change was expressed by the $vir\bar{a}ma$ sign. It appears that the use of the $vir\bar{a}ma$ was adopted later than was that of the \ddot{a} -sign, for, in No. IV, the latter occurs while the former is absent. Another important phonetic feature which was introduced during this period was the change of c to s. This seems to have been evolved before either of the two innovations mentioned above, for it is found in No. II, in which neither the $vir\bar{a}ma$ nor the \ddot{a} -sign is met with. We cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, say precisely at what date these changes occurred; we can only be certain that one particular innovation was relatively earlier than another.

In order that the reader may gain some idea of the evolution of the Sinhalese script from the fifth to the ninth centuries, I have given, on Plate 15, a table showing the akṣaras found in the inscriptions discussed in the above five articles. In this table I have also included the akṣaras found in another dated inscription, yet unpublished, of the same period, namely, the Nilagama rock-inscription of Daļa Mugalana (Moggallāna II). The forms occurring in the Tōnigala inscription of Śrī Meghavarṇṇa and the Mannar Kacceri Pillar Inscription of Sena II or Kassapa IV, have also been included, so that the symbols of this period may be compared with those of the periods which preceded and followed it.

¹ Or, 'become Buddhas'.

Evolution of the Sinhalese Script between the fourth and ninth centuries

		27 July 1971 The Similarese Script between the fourth and ninth centuries												
	Tonigala inscritión of ŚriVeghavanpo (circa 362-389)	Anurādhapura inscription of KhuddaPõrinda (circa 498-513)	Vessoginyo mscriptions, (circo 614 century)	Nāgirkanda inscription of Kumaradāsa (circa 570-579)	Inscriptions near Burrows' Pavillon, (circa 7 th century)	Nilogario inscription of MoggallänaII, (circa 603-622)	Veheräkema inscription of Vahoka, circa 7th century	Nādagoma inscriptions, 11th ar 8th century,	Inscription on a step in the AnuradhopuraMuseum, circa 8 th centwry.	Garcindigala inscription of Kassapa III (circa 710-7117)	Imscription at Ambasthala, Minintale, :8th century.	Таттоппавчо inscription, Вth centuxy	Anurodhapuro Inscriptioin on stone canoe, 8 th century.	Monnar kacceri pillar inscription, 9th century.
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No. 18. TIRIYAY ROCK-INSCRIPTION.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

TIRIYĀY is a Tamil village situated near the sea-coast about twenty-nine miles to the north of Trincomalee in the Eastern Province. About a mile to the west of this village, there is a hill, rising 210 ft. above sea-level and known by the Tamil name of Kandasāmimalai (the Hill of the Lord Skanda), on the summit and the slopes of which are the ruins of an ancient Buddhist monastery now called Nītupatpāna 1. The summit is occupied by an interesting vaṭadāgē 2 containing a small $st\bar{u}pa$ in the centre, round which are concentric circles of graceful stone pillars, of the type seen at the Thūpārāma and the Lankārāma dāgābas at Anurādhapura. The circular platform of the vatadāgē has a moulded stone revetment; and four flights of steps with guardstones and balustrades of the usual Sinhalese type lead to it from the four cardinal points. On terraces lower down the hill are vestiges of monastic structures, and the remains of a flight of steps, which ascended the hillside up to the vatadāgē, are also to be seen. At the foot of the hill there are two ponds (pokunas) with their sides faced with rubble, between which the path to the monastic buildings ran; and not far from these pokunas are the remains of an ancient stone bridge, indicating that a highway passed this place in ancient times. On the slopes of the hill are some rock caves, two of which bear Brāhmī inscriptions 3, one in the pre-Christian form of that script and the other dating from about the first century. The epigraph which is the subject of the present paper is engraved on a rock at a distance of about 200 ft. to the south of the vaṭadāgē.

The inscription covers an area of the rock-surface measuring 20 ft. by 5 ft. and contains eleven lines of writing. Owing to the weathering of the stone, the record is in a bad state of preservation. Lines 1 to 4 are totally illegible at the beginning for a distance of nearly three feet and the ends of lines 4 to 10 are much damaged. There are many other places where the letters are not preserved

¹ Nītupatpāṇa is mentioned in the list of Buddhist shrines, called the *Nampota*, which dates from about the eighteenth century. A tank called Nītupatpāṇa is mentioned in the *Pūjāvalī* as a work of Vasabha (*circa* 126–170). It is, however, doubtful whether the site was known by this name at any time in the past; for, in the inscription, it is called Girikaṇḍi-caitya.

² Vaṭadāgē (Circular Relic-House) is the name given in Sinhalese to a circular shrine enclosing a stūpa. Examples of vaṭadāgēs, besides those of Thūpārāma and Lankārāma, are found at Mihintale, Polonnaruva, Mädirigiriya, and Attanagalla.

³ A. S. I., Nos. 479-480. For their texts, see C. J. Sc., G, vol. ii, p. 117. VOL. IV

well enough for decipherment; and therefore the text of the inscription given below contains many lacunae and doubtful readings. The size of the individual letters, without taking into consideration the long tails of such letters as a, k, &c., and the sign for the medial vowel u, varies from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches.

The script of this record is one of its main features of interest. It resembles the Pallava Grantha of about the seventh century and in it have been written the few Sanskrit inscriptions of this period found in Ceylon. Dated Sinhalese epigraphs of this period are extremely rare; but a few Sinhalese stone inscriptions in a script resembling this have also been found. Among the graffiti on the gallery wall at Sīgiriya are a short record of a single Sanskrit verse and several verses in Sinhalese written in a similar script. The Sinhalese records naturally do not contain conjoint letters and the general appearance of the script, at first sight, is therefore somewhat different from that of records in Sanskrit. But when the individual letters are taken into consideration, the resemblance between the script of the Sinhalese and Sanskrit records mentioned above becomes quite evident. The inscription which is written in a script most closely resembling the one under discussion is a long but very fragmentary record on a rock near the Ambasthala Cetiya at Mihintaļē, towards the end of which occurs the Trikāyastotra, a Sanskrit hymn praising the three bodies of the Buddha 1. The Sanskrit inscription at Kuccavēli 2, only six miles to the south of Tiriyay, is written in a script somewhat earlier than that of this epigraph, as may be seen by comparing the letters ka, ra, na, ya, and la of one document with the corresponding symbols of the other.

In South Indian epigraphy, so far as is known to me, the script which has the closest resemblance to the one under discussion is that of the Kuram plates of the Pallava king Parameśvaravarmman I (circa 660-680). The symbols for the akṣaras, ka, ga, gha, ta, pa, ya, ra, and va, occurring in the two records, are almost identical in form; but, on the other hand, the letters kha, ja, na, ba, ha, and sa of our epigraph differ slightly from the corresponding symbols of the Kuram plates. These differences, however, are of a type which may easily be due

¹ Müller, A. I. C., p. 52, A. S. C. Annual Report for 1911-12, p. 93 and C. J. Sc., G, vol. ii, pp. 42-43. I am indebted to Professor Sylvain Lévi for the information that the verses referred to in pp. 42-43 of the C. J. Sc., G, vol. ii, form the Trikāyastotra, for which see Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, tome xxxiv, Paris 1896, pp. 17-21, and Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St Petersbourg, 1911, pp. 837-845.

² E. Z., Vol. II, pp. 158-161.

³ Compare plate xvi and column 24 in Tafel vii of Bühler's Indische Paläographie.

merely to the individuality of the different scribes and the difference in the material on which the records are engraved. It must, nevertheless, be emphasized that the script of this record is not quite identical with any found in South India.

The script which was prevalent in Ceylon during the fifth and sixth centuries favoured, on the whole, straight lines and angular forms; and if the tendencies which were noticeable in the development of the Ceylon script during the first five centuries of the Christian era had full play, it would be difficult to imagine the formation in the seventh century of such a rounded script as is noticed in this document. On the other hand, there are documents such as the Ruvanyälisäya pillar-inscription of Buddhadāsa¹, in which a script favouring rounded forms is met with; and it is quite possible for the script in this record to have been evolved Nevertheless, the resemblance to the Pallava Grantha in the from such forms. script of this and other records from Ceylon noted above is striking; and a certain foreign influence—probably Pallava—in the development of the alphabet in Ceylon during the sixth and seventh centuries seems very likely. The political history of the island in the seventh century was profoundly influenced by the Pallavas, as is seen from the account of Mānavamma (circa 668-703) given in the Mahāvamsa (chap. xlvii); and undoubtedly there was cultural intercourse between the two countries, though of this we have no recorded details. It is also noteworthy that most of the Ceylon inscriptions which are written in a script resembling the Pallava Grantha are in the Sanskrit language and of Mahāyān-The appearance of the Mahāyāna in Ceylon was always due to istic character. Indian influences, and the native tradition, originating from the cultural contact of Ceylon with India in the time of Aśoka, and embodied in the orthodox community of the Mahāvihāra, strenuously opposed these influences whenever they gained strength; but they were, it seems, strong enough to have left enduring traces in popular religion as well as in the domain of letters.

Considering the resemblance of the script to that of South India in the period of Parameśvaravarmman I, who flourished in the latter half of the seventh century, and comparing it with the degree of development of the alphabet noticed in Ceylon records dating from the eighth and ninth centuries, we may be justified in assigning this epigraph to the closing decades of the seventh century or the first half of the eighth. The record furnishes us with no other data which would enable us to fix its probable date.

The language of the inscription, as has already been stated, is Sanskrit

¹ E.Z., Vol. III, pp. 120-126.

and is in prose. As is usual in Sanskrit prose writings with any pretence to elegance, the style affects long compounds. There are no grammatical errors of any note and the author of the document seems to have had considerable proficiency in the Sanskrit language. As regards **orthography**, however, it should be noted that the cerebral ! occurs in such words as sula!ita and sinigha-lendra. The gha in place of ha in the latter word is also noteworthy. Both these orthographical peculiarities, particularly the latter, may be due to the influence of the vernacular language of the author.

The record begins with an account of a company of sea-faring merchants. The major part of the document is occupied by a long eulogy of a shrine named Girikaṇḍi- (or okaṇḍika-) caitya, in which the author of the document speaks in the first person, but his name is not found in the preserved portion of the record. The eulogy is followed by the pious wish of the author that, by the merit he has gained by praising the shrine, the world may be freed from the miseries of existence. After this occurs the statement that Girikaṇḍi-caitya was founded by the guilds of merchants named Trapussaka and Vallika. The record ends with the Buddhist formula about the transitoriness of things mundane.

The merchants mentioned in the beginning of the document are described as 'skilful in navigating the sea, engaged in buying and selling and who possessed a display of goods laden in sailing vessels of divers sorts', but the fragmentary nature of the text does not enable us to know in what connexion they have been introduced. It is, however, justifiable to conjecture, from the history of the Girikaṇḍi-caitya which will be discussed in the sequel, that they are identical with the merchants Trapussaka and Vallika mentioned towards the close of the record as the founders of the caitya. Trapussaka and Vallika seem to be corruptions of Trapuṣa (Tapussa and Tapassu in Pāli) and Bhallika (Bhalluka in the Nidānakathā), the names of the two merchants who offered food to the Buddha immediately after his enlightenment¹. They are counted as the first among the Buddha's lay disciples and were the recipients of some hair-relics of the Master.

The view that the merchants are introduced, towards the beginning of the document, in order to make it clear that they were the founders of the *caitya*, seems to gain support from the reference to a friendly deity of theirs. In the

¹ See Mahāvagga (Vinaya Piṭaka, edited by H. Oldenberg, vol. i), pp. 3-4, Nidānakathā (Jātaka, edited by Fausböll, vol. i), pp. 80-81, and Lalitavistara, Lefman's edition, vol. i, pp. 381 ff.

Mahāvagga as well as in the Nidānakathā, it is stated that the merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka were led to the Buddha by a deva who had been a blood relation of theirs in a previous existence. It thus becomes fairly certain that, according to this inscription, the caitya at Tiriyāy was founded by these merchants to enshrine the hair-relics given to them by the Buddha.

The Mahāvagga, the Nidānakathā and the Lalitavistara state that the two merchants came from a country called Ukkala (Skt. Utkala) in North India, and that the stūpa built by them to enshrine the hair-relics was in their native country. The Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang, on his journey from Balkh to Bamian in Gandhāra, noticed the remains of two stūpas built over these relics 1. But it seems that other Buddhist countries were not prepared to concede to Gandhāra the honour of possessing this particularly holy shrine, built in the life-time of the Buddha himself. The Burmese Buddhists firmly believe that the two merchants enshrined these precious relics in their own Shwe Dagon at Rangoon 2.

In the Sinhalese religious work named Pūjāvalī, written in the thirteenth century, it is definitely stated that the merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka built a stūpa, enshrining the hair-relics, in Ceylon; and, moreover, the name of the place where, according to that work, this shrine was built, is almost the same as the appellation of the $st\bar{u}pa$ at Tiriyay, which occurs in this inscrip-The Pūjāvalī, in its account of the legend of Tapassu and Bhalluka, agrees, in the main, with the Nidanakatha; but at the end the following additional information is given: 'They received those hair-relics in a jewelled casket and took them to their own town where they worshipped them. In course of time they went on a sea-voyage and came to the island of Śrī Lankā; and, going in search of firewood and water, they came to the place named They placed the casket of relics on the summit of the rock; and Girihandu. when they returned after having cooked and eaten their meals they were unable to move the relic-casket from the place where it was. They then knew that this was a holy place and, having honoured it, covered (the casket) with a heap of stones, offered flowers and went their way. In later times, there was a vihāra named Girihandu at that place 3.' The Sinhalese name Girihandu in the Pūjāvalī and the Sanskrit form Girikandika occurring in the inscription are doubtless identical, the change of k to h occurring not infrequently in Sinha-

¹ Watter's Yuan Chwang, vol. i, pp. 111-113.

² Bigandet, The Legend of Gaudama, vol. i, p. 110, footnote.

³ See Pūjāvalī, Colombo edition of 1922, p. 184.

lese. The form *Girikandika*, on the other hand, might well be taken as a Sanskritized form of the vernacular name which, in the seventh or eighth century, must have approximated more to the Sanskrit than in the thirteenth century.

The identity of Girikandi with Girihandu is proved beyond doubt by the fact that, in the Sinhalese paraphrase (sanne), by Parākramabāhu II, of the Visuddhimagga, the word Girikanda-mahāvihāra occurring in the Pāli text (see below) is paraphrased as Girihandu-vehera. Therefore we may be quite certain that, at the time when this inscription was written, there was a local legend connecting Tapassu and Bhalluka with the ancient stūpa at Tiriyāy and that it was believed that this stūpa contained the hair-relics said to have been presented by the Buddha to these merchants. This tradition seems to have persisted down to the thirteenth century and was known to the author of the $P\bar{u}j\bar{a}val\bar{\imath}$, who added this additional information to the legend of Tapassu and Bhalluka given in the $Nid\bar{a}nakath\bar{a}$.

Just as there were several Buddhist countries competing for the honour of possessing this first relic of the Buddha, so it appears that there were, in ancient Ceylon, more shrines than one which claimed to have been founded by the merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka. For there is at present a stūpa called Girihandu (Girikanda) at Ambalantota on the southern coast of Ceylon, near the mouth of the Valave Ganga. Local tradition asserts that the hair-relics of the Buddha given to these two merchants are now in the stupa at this place. But the $P\bar{u}j\bar{a}val\bar{i}$ account agrees with the topography of Tiriyay rather than with that of the shrine at Ambalantota. For it is said that the merchants placed the relic-casket on the top of a rock whence, being restrained by superhuman power, it could not be removed; and the $st\bar{u}pa$ was erected over it. The $st\bar{u}pa$ at Tiriyāy is on the top of a rock while that at Ambalantota is not so. now called Girihandu Vehera at Ambalantoța, however, is of great antiquity, for a marble slab containing a sculpture, in the Amarāvatī style, depicting the Buddha's renunciation, has recently been discovered there 2. But there is no definite proof to show that its old name was really Girihandu Vehera.

Archaeologically, the record is important in that it enables us to learn that the ancient name of the *stūpa* at Tiriyāy was Girikaṇḍika-caitya. The purpose of the epigraph was to sing the praises of this shrine and the name occurs

¹ See Visuddhimārga-sannaya, edited by M. Dharmaratna, p. 510.

² See C. J. Sc., G, vol. ii, plate L.

several times in it. It is unreasonable to assume that such an epigraph would have been indited at a site other than the one referred to therein. Girikandika is obviously identical with Girikandaka, a monastery of which name occurs in the Mahāvamsa (chap. lx, v. 60) in a list of vihāras repaired by Vijayabāhu I. But there is nothing to decide the question whether it was the ancient monastery at Tiriyay or a monastery of a similar name situated elsewhere. A district and a mountain named Girikanda are mentioned in the tenth chapter of the chronicle, in connexion with the legends of Pandukābhaya. This prince, when he first raised the standard of revolt against his uncles, set up his first encampment at Girikanda pabbata, after gaining 700 followers at the town called Pana near Kāsapabbata. One of his uncles was called Girikanda Sīva, as he was the ruler of that district; and the romantic episode, in which Pandukābhaya won his uncle's daughter as his future queen, also has this district as its scene. But the Mahāvamsa does not give any topographical details that would enable us to decide whether Girikanda pabbata was on the north-eastern coast of Ceylon. A Girikandaka-vihāra and the caitya at that place are mentioned by Buddhaghosa in the Visuddhimagga 1 in a story narrated in order to illustrate how the state of exhilaration of mind caused by rapturous delight (ubbega-pīti) is powerful enough to transport a person through the air.

Of particular interest is the statement, in line 5 of the inscription, that Girikandaka-caitya was an abode of **Avalokiteśvara**. As I have pointed out elsewhere 2, the worship of this Mahāyāna Bodhisattva was widespread in ancient Ceylon and is still prevalent. But, both in the literature as well as in the epigraphs of the island hitherto discovered, he is referred to as Lokeśvara, Lokeśvara Nātha, or Nātha, the last of which is the name by which he is now This is the first time that the best known appellation of the Bodhisattva has been met with in a Ceylon document. The statement also proves what can also be inferred from the fact that the document is written in Sanskrit that the ancient monastery at Tiriyay was, in the seventh or eighth century, inclined towards Mahāyānism, if not avowedly Mahāyānistic. The author of the document was undoubtedly a Mahāyānist, as is shown by the wish expressed that the merit gained by him should be for the salvation of the whole world. Mahāyānists seem to have been influential on the eastern coast of Ceylon at this period, for the inscription at Kuccavēli, referred to above, is also Mahāyānistic. This also explains why the Girikandika-caitya which, from this inscription,

¹ P. T. S. edition, pp. 143-144.

² C. J. Sc., G, vol. ii, pp. 52-64.

appears to have enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity, hardly finds mention in the chronicles written by the Theravādins. Nor does the claim of the votaries of this monastery that their stūpa contained the hair-relics of the Buddha seem to have found recognition by the Mahāvihāra fraternity, for the Nidāna-kathā knows nothing of the episode which brings the two merchants to Ceylon.

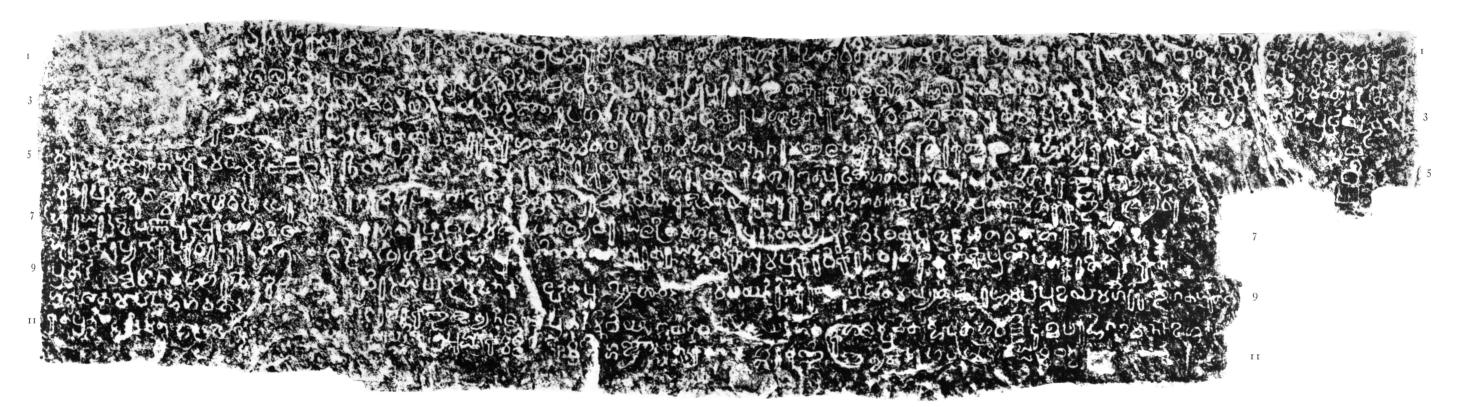
	TEXT.
1	
2	
3	(sali)lanidhi (sta ha) samavatīryya sameta- guņair supagata-nagara-ja[na*]- sahitair supasāntataraiḥ (sarvvair) vaṇig-gaṇaiḥ kṛtavad sapravihata-mudā vara-Girika (nḍika-cait-yam) i) ti yat sprathitam bhuvane
4	
5	ma (kata)-sphuṭa-mahā-munirb>Buddhāmkuro nivasati yatra sadā sura-kinnara-pūjyatam[o] gurur> Avalokiteśvara iti prathito Bhagavān tam Girikaṇḍika-caityam >aham>a(pi)
6	munir/api mañju-vāg/mano-doṣa-viṣa-dahara kanaka-vibhūṣaṇ-ojvala-vicitrita-gātra-rucin/niyatam-upaiti yatra sukumāra-tanur/ Bhagavān tad/aham/api praṇaumi Girikaṇḍika-caitya -varaṁ
7	Sura-sarid-abja-parṇṇa-puṭa-pūrita-gandha-jala kara-bhṛta-puṣpa-dhūpa-maṇi-dīpa-(ni)vedya-dharāḥ s(u)laḷitam ²-saṁgaṇā(s)-sura-purād-savatīryya mudā vidadhati pūjāni Bhagavato Girikaṇḍi
8	

¹ The danda is clear on the stone; but a punctuation mark is not necessary here.

² Read sulalitam.

³ Read sulalita.

Tiriyāy Rock-Inscription



Scale about 3 inch to I foot

(praṇi) sura-taru-sambhav-ārdra-kusuma-prakaram vikira vara- Girikaṇḍike praṇipātam kurute kata 9 pratidinam-arccamāna[m] mahā-girau (a)viraļa-1 Simgha lendra-2 jana-kalpita-pūjya-śata viṣaya[m] nirīti-karaṇa[m upāsitam-āryya-(gaṇai)r-aham-api pūjayāmi Girikaṇḍi -gata-sugat
upusiami atyya (gaṇayi anamapi pajayami Girikaṇḍ ana-sugat
11 kṛta-prati yane Trapussakairv Vallikairv «vaṇig-gaṇaiḥ kṛta g «Girikaṇḍi-caityam[n abhāva-svabhāvās «sarvva-dharmmāḥ [n*]

TRANSLATION.3

virtue, who desired the merit of being the very first to give 4, in the Blessed One, the incomparable teacher, the ornament of Sakya kings, the Sugata who had excellently obtained relics 5 in the presence of by the companies of merchants who were skilful in navigating the sea, engaged in buying and selling and who [possessed] a display of goods laden in sailing vessels of divers sorts, owing to the influence of merit, by a friendly devatā who was of their own [kin] 6 to come having crossed the ocean, as performed by all the companies of merchants who were very tranquil, who possessed [various] virtues united together [in them], including the inhabitants of the city who had come [there] 7, with unabated pleasure that which is known in the world as the excellent Girikandika-caitya where offer-

¹ Read avirala.

² Read Simhalendra.

³ Owing to the fragmentary nature of the text, the connexion to each other of the various phrases occurring in ll. 1-3 is not quite clear. In the translation, therefore, I have given the English rendering of what is preserved, in the same order as the phrases occur in the original, without attempting to arrange them according to the syntax.

⁴ Assuming that these phrases are eulogies of the merchants led by Tapassu and Bhalluka, we may take this as a reference to the fact that they were the first to make any gifts to the Buddha.

⁵ Perhaps we have here a reference to the obtaining of hair relics of the Buddha by the merchants.

⁶ See above, p. 155.

⁷ It is not clear to what city and to what incident the allusion is here. VOL. IV

ings have been made, which contains charming grounds of courtyards, which is frequently worshipped with devotion by multitudes of pious men, having worshipped that excellent Girikandika-caitya the Great Sage, who is manifested where dwells always the Bodhisattva 1, the teacher, known as Avalokiteśvara, who is worthy to be honoured by gods and kinnaras, the Blessed One that Girikandika-caitya, I, too, the Sage, too, of sweet speech, the burning poison of mental transgression 2 where the Blessed One, of very delicate body, attains indeed a corporeal splendour beautified by the brightness of golden ornaments 3, that excellent Girikanda-caitya, I, too, do worship Girikandi [ka-caitya], to which divine nymphs, [bearing] scented water in receptacles made of lotus leaves from the celestial river, and carrying, held in their hands, flowers, incense, jewel-lamps, and oblations, descend gracefully from the heavenly city, and perform, with delight, the worship, of the Blessed One. the king of gods, too, followed by numerous attendant gods, does obeisance at the excellent Girikandika, [sounding] very lovely celestial chanks, drums and scattering heaps of fresh flowers produced in the celestial trees worshipped daily, on the great rock [at which are] hundreds of, worthy to be honoured, prepared by the lord of the Simhalas and [his] people which causes freedom from affliction . . . I, too, worship the [relic] of the Buddha deposited in Girikandi which is adored by multitudes of noble ones of the Blessed One, which dispels all darkness, with mind bent on the shrine of the Girikandicaitya whatever merit has been caused, by that let the miseries of existence of the world be reduced the Girikandi-caitya founded by the companies of merchants [named] Trapussaka and Vallika 4. All phenomena are transitory.

¹ Buddhāmkura, a Buddha in embryo.

² Mano-doṣa-viṣa-dahara: None of the meanings usually attached to dahara (see M. W. Dict.) seems to be applicable here. It is translated above as being an error for dahra.

³ This is perhaps an allusion to a Buddha image decked with ornaments. Such images were in use among the Mahāyānists.

⁴ According to the *Nidānakathā* (op. cit., p. 80), Tapassu and Bhalluka were the leaders of a caravan of 500 waggons. Hence the word vanigganaih would be applicable to them and to the merchants who accompanied them.

ERRATA

(for Parts 2 and 3)

PAGE 68, line 24, for 1164 read 1114.

- ,, 78, line 29, for වියල read වියල.
 - , 80, line 10, for viyala read viyala.
- " 158, line 26, for vișa-dahara read viș[ā]da-hara. •
- " 168, line 7, for the burning poison of mental transgression read who removes sinfulness and affliction of mind.
- ,, 168, delete footnote 2.

No. 19. TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIHĀRA-MAHĀ-DEVĪ FROM MAGUL-MAHA-VIHĀRA.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THE two inscriptions dealt with in this paper have been found among the ruins of an ancient monastery, now known as Magul-maha-vihāra, situated in the Panama Pattu of the Batticaloa District, about a mile to the south of the eighth mile-stone on the road from Potuvil to Vällavava. The site is still occupied, at least periodically, by a Buddhist monk and is occasionally visited by pilgrims; but the ancient $st\bar{u}pa$ and the monastic structures are all in ruins and buried in the forest which extends for miles on all sides of the place. References to the interesting architectural and archaeological features of the site will be found in the Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G, vol. ii, pp. 76-77, under its ancient name of Rūņu-maha-vehera or -vihāra; photographs of some remains at the place are reproduced on Plates XXXIX-XLII and XLV-XLVI, and a plan of the site on Plate XLIII, of the same journal. Some short donative records of the ninth century are found on the coping-stones of the retaining wall of the platform on which the $st\bar{u}pa$ is built and on a stone used in the pavement. A fragment of a much weathered tenth-century pillar-inscription is built into the retaining wall of the platform, and a ninth-century inscription is found on a stone slab belonging to the outer prākāra which encloses the whole group of buildings at the site 1. Of the two epigraphs now edited, the slab-inscription (A. S. I., No. 453) is found to the left of the flight of steps at the entrance to the ruined structure marked on the plan referred to above as 'Building A'; and the fragmentary pillar-inscription (A. S. I., No. 454) is also found near the same building.

The first of these two records (referred to below as I) is written as a palimpsest over a long tenth-century inscription which has thus been obliterated, but for thirteen lines at the end. The slab measures 6 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height by 2 ft. 4 in. in breadth; but the area occupied by the epigraph under discussion is 4 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. The document comprises twenty lines of writing and is engraved shallowly and rather carelessly in a somewhat sprawling hand. The letters, which are not uniform in size, vary from 1 to 2 inches in height. The epigraph has suffered much from the weather and some letters in II. 1, 2, 7, 12-13,

¹ For some of these inscriptions, see C. J. Sc., G, vol. ii, p. 113.

and 15-18 are either totally illegible or can be read only conjecturally. The second inscription (II) is engraved on three sides of a pillar, of which the upper half is broken away and missing. The preserved fragment measures 10 in. square by 2 ft. 9 in. in height. Side A has four lines of writing preserved on it, in addition to some engraving, the exact nature of which cannot be made out; side B has twelve lines and side C thirteen. The execution of this record is much better than that of the slab-inscription. The letters are, on an average, 2 in. in size on side B and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. on sides A and C. The remaining portions of sides A and B are in a good state of preservation; but side C is somewhat weatherworn.

The **script** of the records is definitely later than the Polonnaruva period and agrees, in many particulars, with that of the inscriptions of the Gampola period. A comparison of na, ma, ra, sa, and la of these records with the same letters of the Gaḍalādeṇiya inscription of Dharmmakīrtti ¹, dated in the third year of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV (1341-2 A.D.), will make this fact clear. Some letters, e.g., va, are, however, less developed than the corresponding ones in the Gaḍalādeṇiya inscription, and the present epigraphs also contain a form of ra identical with the symbol for that letter in the Polonnaruva period side by side with the more developed form which was common in the Gampola period. Palaeographically, these records seem, therefore, to be slightly earlier than the Gaḍalādeṇiya inscription and may be assigned to the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

The language resembles that of the classical Sinhalese prose works which date from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. The last syllable of $tub\bar{u}va$ (I, l. 5) and the first syllable of vera (I, l. 19) have short vowels, against standard usage according to which they should have been long. Active and passive constructions are mixed up together in the same sentence in inscription No. 1. A construction like $m\bar{a}$ visin . . . $karav\bar{a}$ (I, ll. 10–11) would not be accepted as correct by grammarians.

The records tell us that **Rūṇu-maha-vehera**, the ancient monastery at the site, which was then an abandoned ruin in the wilderness, was completely renovated by **Vihāra-mahā-devī**, the consort of the two brother kings named **Pära-kumbā** or **Parākramabāhu**, and that she endowed it with lands, &c., for its maintenance. From Inscription I we learn that these two brother kings had van-quished the Cola army and were ruling the Rohaṇa principality. It also appears

¹ See above, pp. 92-93 and Plate 10.

that both brothers had the name of Parākramabāhu and that Vihāra-mahā-devī was their common spouse. The pillar-inscription appears to have contained a more detailed account of the Cola invasion which was repelled by these rulers; but, unfortunately, the record is mutilated just at the point where the reference to this historical event begins. This record also appears to have been set up after the demise of the brother kings, for Vihāra-mahā-devī is referred to therein as 'who was the chief consort of the two brother kings'.

In the tentative account of these records, which was based on defective estampages supplied to me in 1929, given by me in the 'Epigraphical Summary' included in the C.J.Sc.G, vol. ii, part II (p. 106), I have suggested the identification of the Parākramabāhu of this inscription with Parākramabāhu V and of his brother with Bhuvanaikabāhu IV. From the inscriptions it becomes evident that the reigns of Parākramabāhu V and Bhuvanaikabāhu IV ran concurrently, and Mr. Codrington has also surmised that these two monarchs were brothers 1. Palaeographically, these inscriptions can belong to the time of Parākramabāhu V; but, after further study of the inscriptions with the help of better estampages prepared under my direction, I am now of opinion that my first identification is untenable.

In inscription I, wherein the portion containing the royal names is fairly well preserved, the name of Bhuvanaikabāhu does not occur at all, and the context does not leave us in any doubt as to the fact that both the brothers were known as Parākramabāhu. Moreover, the two brothers are described in the epigraph as ruling over Rohana, whereas Bhuvanaikabāhu IV and Parākramabāhu V had their respective capitals in the Māyā kingdom and claimed suzerainty over the whole of Ceylon, though their actual authority did not probably extend to some parts of the island. If her husbands had claimed the dominion of the whole island, Vihāra-mahā-devī would not have been content with referring to them merely as rulers of Rohana. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the princes mentioned in these epigraphs are not identical with any of the monarchs figuring in the lists of paramount rulers of the island; but that they were petty kings who wielded independent authority in Rohana while the northern part of the island was in a state of confusion owing to an invasion from So far as my knowledge goes, these princes have not been mentioned in any of the available sources for the history of the period; but the

¹ A Short History of Ceylon, London, 1926, pp. 83 and 88-89.

events which occurred between the reign of Parākramabāhu IV of Kuruṇāgala and Bhuvanaikabāhu IV of Gampoļa have been very imperfectly recorded in the chronicles and our knowledge of the history of this period contains many wide gaps.

No information is available from other sources about the **Cola invasion** which these two rulers are said to have repelled. It is noteworthy that, in the period to which these records have to be assigned on palaeographical grounds, the Colas who had, from the ninth to the beginning of the thirteenth century, played such a decisive part in the history of South India and Ceylon, had ceased to be of any importance; and it is doubtful whether they were at that time powerful enough to have dispatched an expedition to Ceylon. Perhaps the Colas who invaded Ceylon on this occasion did so on behalf of the Pāṇḍyas or the Vijayanagara kings of whom they were then the feudatories 1. It is also possible that as the South Indians who had been invading Ceylon for several centuries past were the Colas, any invaders from the Tamil country were referred to by that name. But against such a supposition is the fact that in the *Mahāvamsa* 2 the invaders from South India, who sacked Yāpahuva in the reign of Bhuvanai-kabāhu I, are called Pāṇḍyans, as, in fact, they were.

The records also inform us that the ancient name of Magul-maha-vihāra was Rūṇu-maha-vehera (P. Rohaṇa-mahā-vihāra) and that it was originally founded by King Dāsen-kāli (Dhātusena, circa 516-526)³. The chronicles do not credit Dhātusena with the establishment of this vihāra and, on the other hand, according to the Mahāvamsa and the Pūjāvalī and, a monastery named Ruhuṇu-vehera (P. Rohaṇa-vihāra) was founded by Dappula I, a ruler of Rohaṇa, who held the sceptre at Anurādhapura for a short period in or about 661 A.D. Rūṇu-maha-vehera of this record and Rūṇu-vehera (P. Rohaṇa-vihāra) of the chronicles are doubtless identical, and there is therefore a discrepancy between the epigraph and the chronicles. The inscription is about a century or so later in date than both the Pūjāvalī and that part of the Mahāvamsa in which the reference to the monastery occurs. More weight may

¹ The *Rājāvaliya* (Gunasekara's translation, p. 66) states that the Tamils who invaded the Sinhalese territories towards the close of the fourteenth century were from the Solī (Cola) country.

² Chap. xc, vv. 43-47.

³ Dhātusena is referred to in Sinhalese historical writings like the *Pūjāvalī* (op. cit., p. 27) and *Nikāya Sangraha* (op. cit., p. 16) as Dāsen-käli or -käliya.

⁴ Chap. xlv, v. 54.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 27.

therefore be attached, in this particular, to the chronicles than to the present epigraph; but, as both refer to an event which took place about 600 years or more anterior to their times, there is not much choice between the two. Dappula I is called 'Dāpulusen' in Sinhalese writings; and the similarity of this name to 'Dāsen-käli' may have resulted in the confusion of one with the other. In what is preserved of the tenth-century record, over which the first inscription of Vihāra-mahā-devī has been indited, the name Ruhun-maha-vehera occurs, thus showing that this monastery had that appellation in the tenth century.

TEXT.

Ι

```
(සවසනි) [ශු සි]රලක්හි රජ
   ක[ළ] දු සෙන්කැලි රජද
3
   රුවන්දු කැරැවූ මේ රු
   ණුමහවෙර මහවල්
4
   ව තුබුව දකැ සොළිසෙ
5
   නාව මැඩැ රුණුරවැ රජ ක
   (රන) පැරකුමබා දෙබෑරජදරු
   වන් දෙදෙනාට අගමෙහෙ
9
   සුන් වූ විහාරමහලදවී න
10
   ම මා විසින් මුල් පිසැ ක
11
   රවා දරුගම් වටනාපස පරිවා
   ර සහිත වැ .. .. .. .. (බද
12
13
    වස්) කොටැ මා [විසින්] කරවනල
    ද මෙ සියලු පින්කම් මතු ව
14
15
    න රජ පූවරජ .. .. .. .. .. ..
16
   ආදිනුත් අනු .. .. ..
   පැවැත්විය පූතු බැව්
17
18
   න් මා නමින් කළ (විහාර)෧ද
   විපිරිවෙන මෙ වෙර බ
19
20
   ද බව දන පුතු
```

II.

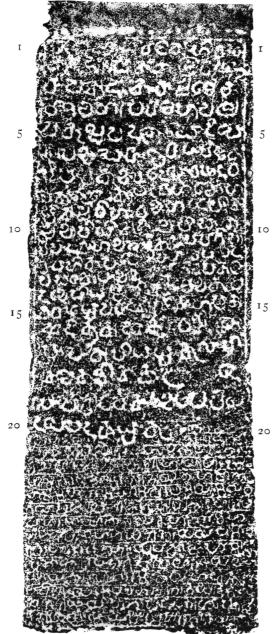
A .		в.		C.
+ 1 න් ලංකාව	+ 1	[ප]රාකුම	+ 1	
+ 2 ට සොළින්	+ 2	බාහු නම්	+ 2	(২ ২)
\div 3 බැසැ ලො	+ 3	දෙබෑ රජ	+ 3	$($ වුන් කප්ර \imath
+ 4 සසුන්	+ 4	දෙදෙනාට	+ 4	ක් නම් වූ)
* * * * *	+ 5	අගමෙහෙ	+ 5	මෙ බ්ජුවට
	+ 6	සුන් ව සි	+ 6	
	+ 7	වි විහාර	+ 7	ඛම්මරත්න
	+ 8	මහාදෙවි	+ 8	යට පිදූ(ව
	+ 9	න් බිම් පි	+ 9	ට) මතු පන්
	+ 10	සා කාර්චූ	+ 10	වන පිනැනි
	+ 11	රු ණුමහ	+ 11	යනුත් මෙ පි
	+ 12	ඉවහෙර යි	+ 12	න් පූරා පැවැ
			+ 13	න්විය සුනු

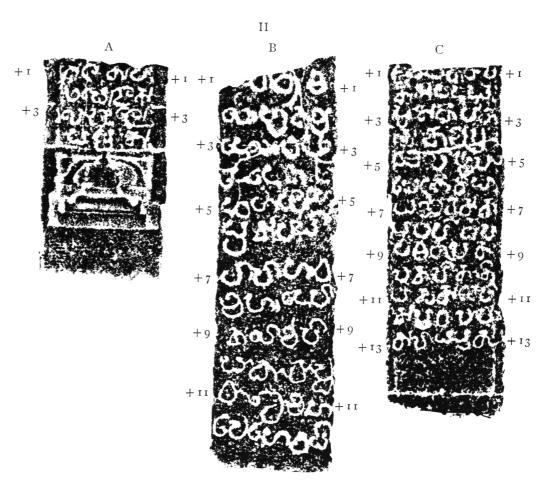
TRANSCRIPT.

Í.

(Svasti) [śrī Si]ri-Lak-hi raja 1 2 ka[la] Dāsen-käli raja-da-3 -ruvan-dä kärävū me Rū-4 -nu-maha-vera maha-val 5 va tubūva däkä Solī-se--nāva mädä Rūnu-raţä raja ka--(rana) Pärakumbā de-bā-raja-daru--van de-denāţa aga-mehe-9 -sun vū Vihāra-maha-devī na--m mā visin mul pisä ka-10 -ravā daru-gam vaṭanā-pasa parivā-11 -ra sahita vä (bada-12vas) koță mā [visin] karavanala-13 -da me siyalu pin-kam matu va-14 -na raja yuva-raja 1 15

¹ The traces of the damaged letters to be seen on the stone do not warrant us in filling the lacuna by supplying such words as are usually found after raja yuvaraja in other documents.





Scale about 11 inches to 1 foot

```
ādinut anu ¹ .. .. ..
pävätviya yutu bävi-
n mā namin kaļa (Vihāra) ²-de-
-vi-pirivena me vera ba-
-da bava data yutu
```

II.

		A.			в.			C.
+	1	-n Laṁkāva-	+	1	[P]arākrama-	+	1	
+	2	-ṭa Soḷīn	+	2	bāhu nam	+	2	(da da)
+	3	bäsä lo-	+	3	de-bā raja	+	3	(vun kap-ru-
+	4	sasun	+	4	de-den ā- ṭa	+	4	-k nam vū)
	* *	* * * *	+	5	aga-mehe-	+	5	me bijuvața
			+	6	-sun va si-	+	6	
			+	7	-ți Vihāra-	+	7	dharmma-ratna-
			+	8	mahā-devi-	+	8	-yaṭa pidū(va-
			+	9	- n bim pi-	+	9	-ṭa) matu pat
			+	10	-sä kärävū	+	10	vana pinäti-
			+	11	Rūņu-maha	+	11	-yanut me pi-
			+	12	vehera yi	+	12	-n purā pävä-
						+	13	-tviva vutu

TRANSLATION.

I.

Hail! Prosperity! Having seen that this **Rūṇu-maha-vera**³, founded by His Majesty King **Dāsen-käli**⁴ who reigned in prosperous Lankā, had become a great wilderness, by me, named **Vihāra-maha-devī**, the chief consort of the

¹ The context would justify the restoration of this part of the line as $anum\bar{o}dan\ v\ddot{a}$; and there is just sufficient space on the stone for the four syllables required for the suggested reading. But such traces of the effaced letters as can still be seen are against this restoration.

² About three letters are completely obliterated here. As it is said that the *pirivena* was named after Vihāra-mahā-devī, the missing letters might have read *vihāra*, as conjectured, or possibly *mahā*.

³ P. Rohana-mahā-vihāra.

⁴ $D\bar{a}$ sen- $k\bar{a}$ li raja-daruvan- $d\bar{a}$: $D\bar{a}$ sen is equivalent phonetically to P. $Dh\bar{a}$ tusena. What $k\bar{a}$ is stands for is not clear. $D\bar{a}$ or $d\bar{a}$ is found in the classical Sinhalese language suffixed to nouns to denote respect or affection. In the modern language, too, it is so used; but not so much to denote respect as affection and familiarity.

two brother kings named **Pärakumbā** 1 who vanquished the Solī 2 host and are reigning in the Rūṇu 3 country, it was restored from its very foundations 4. including darugam 5 [the lands supplying] the requisites for the maintenance [of the saṅgha 6], and the attendants having made it to be resided in continuously 7. As all these acts of merit performed by me should be maintained by kings, sub-kings and others who will flourish in the future, it should be known that the (**Vihāra**)-devī-pirivena founded in my name is attached to this monastery.

II.

.... the Soli, having descended upon Lamkā ... the state and the church *, ... the Rūņu-maha-vehera, caused to be entirely rebuilt by

- ' Mul pisä karavā: This expression literally means 'having swept away the roots and caused to be made'. It seems to have been an idiomatic way of expressing the idea of completely renovating a building after having removed the decayed structures. It occurs in Sinhalese literature; for example, in the 37th chapter of the Pūjāvalī (edited by Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara, Colombo, 1893, p. 33), where we read: Kälaṇi-vehera Demaļun visin naļa maha-sāya baňdavā kot palaňdavā ehi pūrvva vāsala mul pisä karavā. The expression bim pisä karavā, which also appears to be of the same meaning, occurring in Inscription II, may also be compared.
- barugam occurs in the Nikāya Sangraha (Colombo edition of 1922, p. 26), as it does in this record, in association with vaṭanā-pasa. The translator of that text has rendered the word into English by 'wooded villages'. This interpretation, which is due to the uncritical assumption that daru is equivalent to Skt. dāru, does not suit the context in which the word occurs. The word appears to signify some kind of village dedicated to the sangha. As such, it would be equivalent to daru-kusalān occurring in the Galpota inscription of Niśśamka Malla (E. Z., Vol. II, p. 111). It is very unlikely that daru in either of these words is equivalent to P. dāraka and means 'child'. In the Galpota inscription, the word daru-kusalān is followed by maha-kusalān (wrongly read by Dr. Wickremasinghe as manga-kusalān) and Mr. Bell (Ca, vol. x, p 6) conjectures that daru means the opposite of maha, i.e., small, and quotes the expression daru gedi maha gedi 'small fruits and big fruits' used in the colloquial language, to support his interpretation. If this view is adopted, darugam would mean 'small village' which does not quite suit the context.
 - ⁶ Vatanā-pasa, see above, p. 109, n. 9.
- ⁷ This interpretation is based on the reading *bada-vas* (Skt. *baddha-vāsa*) which is not free from doubt.
 - ⁸ Lo-sasun:—See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 324, n. 7.
- ⁹ Bim pisä karavū:—See above, n. 4. This expression also occurs in the Pūjāvalī (op. cit.) p. 30, where we read Anurādhapurayehi bohō vihāra bim pisä karavā; and on p. 41, the phrase è geya bim pisä karavā occurs. Bim pisä means literally 'having swept the ground' and the expression seems to be used with the same meaning as mul pisä karavā.

¹ Skt. Parākramabāhu, P. Parakkamabāhu.

² Skt. Cola or Coda, T. Cola.

³ P. Rohana.

Vihāra-mahā-devī, who was the chief consort of the two brother kings named Parākramabāhu. (called a wish-conferring tree 1), this field of the sowing extent of seed was dedicated to the *dharmma-ratna* 2. Meritorious people coming in the future should enjoy the merit in full and maintain it.

No. 20. THREE ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS AT RASSAHELA 3.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THE three short records dealt with in this paper are engraved on the side I of a boulder, under which is a cave (numbered 20), at a rocky hill called Rājagala or Rāssahela in the Vävugam Pattu of the Batticaloa District. There are, at this site, the remains of an extensive ancient monastery; and no less than twenty-two Brāhmī inscriptions have been found incised under the drip-ledges of the numerous caves to be seen at the place. Among these are five records containing the names of an early king of the island, two of his sons, and their wives. These important records will be dealt with elsewhere. Particular interest is attached to the inscriptions now published, for one of them is the only record, so far discovered, which can be definitely dated in the period of over a century between the reigns of Kassapa III and Sena I; and, on palaeographical grounds, the other two records must also be assigned to about the same period. On the same boulder has also been found a fragment of an inscription of a slightly later date. As it contains nothing more than the stereotyped phrases found in mediaeval Sinhalese grants of immunities, it has not been included in the present paper. I edit the inscriptions from estampages prepared by Mr. W. E. Fernando, the Draughtsman of the Archaeological Department, who was sent by me to the site, for that purpose, in 1935.

The inscription referred to as No. I in this article (A.S.I., No. 1564) consists of nine lines and occupies an area of 3 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 7 in. No. II (A.S.I., No. 1565), immediately to the left of No. I but somewhat lower down

¹ Kap-ruk nam $v\bar{u}$: This reading is doubtful. If it is correct, it is perhaps an allusion to the fact that a gift to the religion is like a celestial tree in that it bestows the desired objects.

² The second of the three jewels (*tri-ratna*) of Buddhism. By a gift of the *dhamma* is generally meant a donation to meet the expenses of copying of the scriptures or the delivering of religious discourses by monks.

For a brief account of the inscriptions at Rāssahela, see A. S. C. A. R. for 1935, p. 9. VOL. IV

the rock, also comprises nine lines and the rock surface covered by it measures 3 ft. square. No. III (A.S.I., No. 1566), engraved about 10 ft. to the north of the other two, measures 3 ft. 11 in. laterally and is $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in depth. The size of the individual letters varies from 2 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. A few letters in l. 2 of No. I are somewhat obscured by chisel marks which seem to have been on the rock before the inscription was engraved. Likewise, some letters of line 6 of the same record have become indistinct owing to a linear engraving. But for these, inscriptions numbered I and II are in a good state of preservation. No. III, however, has weathered considerably; but the whole record can be deciphered with certainty.

The script of all the three records is definitely earlier than that of the inscriptions of Sena I and II1. The letters ja, ta and la of these records, for example, show a distinctly earlier stage of evolution when compared with the corresponding aksaras of the inscriptions of Sena I. At the time when the epigraphs under discussion were indited, the virāma and the ä-sign had already been introduced to the Sinhalese script 2. In comparing the three records with one another, we find that the scripts of Nos. I and III are almost identical, while No. II shows a more cursive type of writing. This difference in the form of writing cannot be taken as an indication of a considerable difference in date, for, as will be seen below, inscriptions I and II cannot be separated from each other by more than a decade or two. The la occurring as the tenth aksara in the fifth line of No. I is of peculiar form, which seems due to the regular form of this letter being reversed and written upside down. It is perhaps the result of the blunder of an illiterate stone-mason. Above the ga forming the sixth akṣara of II, 1. 7, is to be seen the stroke, resembling an anunāsika, which we have noticed in an inscription on the pavement of the Ambasthala Cetiya at Mihintalē 3.

The language differs very little from the standard of the ninth century. The use of j in words like vajanin, janavu, vajaj, and vajajamha (normally found in the documents of the ninth and tenth centuries as vadanin, danavu, vajand, and vadajamha) shows an earlier stage in the evolution of the Sinhalese language than that met with in records of the ninth century, for the j in these words is either the same as in their Sanskrit or Pāli prototypes, or stands for an

¹ For inscriptions of Sena I, see E. Z., Vol. III, plate 34, II and III. Plate 18 of this volume illustrates an inscription of Sena II.

² See above, p. 150.

⁸ See above, p. 146.

original c. Similar forms are, however, sometimes found as late as the tenth century 1. $Yis\bar{a}$ (I, l. 7) for $is\bar{a}$ is also noteworthy. The introduction of the semi-vowel y before an initial i, which we notice in this word, has not been met with elsewhere in the Sinhalese language, and reminds us of certain Tamil forms, such as yiṭṭu for iṭṭu, occurring in epigraphy 2. The expression himi-ge ek-tān koṭ, occurring in No. II, has not been met with elsewhere and seems to throw some light on the term ek-tān-samiya so often found in Sinhalese inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. It will be discussed in connexion with the somewhat similar expression hāt-pasā sam-jarvan ek-tān koṭ occurring in the Viyaulpata pillar-inscription dealt with below 3. Vāyutu does not occur in other records. The forms a, siṭ, and āpāy correspond to ā, siṭā, and āpā of the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries 4.

The three documents are all concerned with grants of lands, by local rulers of Rohaṇa, to a monastery called **Arittārā-vehera**, of which religious establishment the ruins now seen at Rāssahela are doubtless the remains. Of the personages who figure in these records as the donors, only one, **Äpāy Daļsiva**, can be recognized in the *Mahāvainsa*. 'Äpāy Daļsiva' would be 'Ādipāda Dāṭhāsiva' in Pāli; and a Rohaṇa prince of this name figures in the reign of Udaya I ⁵. The chronicle says of this prince: 'At that time there lived in the province of Rohaṇa a nobleman Mahinda by name, a son of the Ādipāda Dāṭhāsiva who administered the revenues of the country. He fell out with his father and betook himself to the King. When the King beheld him, he was much pleased and showed him grace according to his deserts. To strengthen the friendship with him, he gave him his daughter, by name Devā, and sent troops to Rohaṇa. Mahinda set out, laid Rohaṇa waste with the help of the royal army, drove out his father to Jambudīpā and took possession of Rohaṇa ⁶'.

There can be no reasonable doubt as regards the identification of Äpāy Daļsiva of this record with Ādipāda Dāṭhāsiva of the chronicle. The inscription, it is true, does not expressly state that Daļsiva was a ruler of Rohaṇa, but the title $\ddot{a}p\bar{a}y$ ($\bar{a}dip\bar{a}da$), the term vat-himi used in the record in referring to him, and the fact that he issued the order embodied in the document without any reference

¹ See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 77.

² See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 311.

³ See below, pp. 178-9.

⁴ See E.Z., Vol. III, Index, s.v.

⁵ This monarch is referred to as Dappula II, in the lists of Wijesinha, Codrington, and Wickremasinghe. For the mistake regarding his name, see Geiger's note in the *Cūlavamsa*, translation, part II, p. 126.

⁶ Cūlavamsa, Geiger's translation, part II, p. 128.

to a higher authority, make it reasonably certain that he was the ruler of the ancient principality in which the inscription is found, i.e., Rohana.

From the extract from the *Mahāvamsa*, quoted above, it will be seen that Dāṭhāsiva was driven away from his principality during the reign of Udaya I, which lasted for only five years from about 787 A.D. It is therefore quite possible that the inscription in which he is the donor dates from the reign of Udaya I's predecessor, Mahinda II (circa 767-787). At any rate, we can be certain that this record belongs to the second half of the eighth century.

The order of Dāthāsiva, granting lands to the monastery, has been engraved by an officer named Day, who seems to have been the administrative head of the district called Lam-janavu, presumably the territorial division in which the monastery and the lands dedicated to it were situated. Similarly, in No. I, the order was delivered by Sen; and its publication, by having it engraved on stone, was effected by Vīrāmkurā of Lam-janavu. We may therefore conclude that Sen, too, was a dignitary of a status equal to that of Dāṭhāsiva, i.e., that he was a ruler of Rohana, though the title äpāy (āpā. P. āpipāda) which was borne by princes who ruled over this principality, is not applied to him in the record. Inscription No. II is a grant of Vīrāmkurā, the executor in No. I. Neither Sen nor Vīrāmkurā can be identified with any personage mentioned in the chronicles. A monastic building named Vīrāmkurā is referred to in the Nikāya-sangraha¹ and in a tenth-century inscription from Vessagiriya in Anurādhapura². But there is no ground for assuming that it was named after the Vīrāmkurā of these inscriptions. We are also unable to decide whether inscriptions I and II, which must be contemporaneous with each other, as Vīrāmkurā figures in both of them, are earlier or later than III which can be approximately dated. But from palaeographical considerations, we can conclude that these two cannot be far removed in date from the record of Dāthāsiva.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in these records, Arittārā-vehera and Lam-janavu have already been referred to. Neither of these two names is forthcoming elsewhere. The river named **Gal-hoy**, on the right bank of which some of the lands granted to the monastery were situated, is still known by the same name 3, and is, as the crow flies, sixteen miles to the south of Rāssahela. The other places cannot now be identified.

¹ C. M. Fernando's translation, Colombo, 1908, p. 18.
² See E. Z., Vol. I, p. 28.

³ The aspirate, however, is dropped in the modern form of this name and the vowel a has been added to the last consonant.

TEXT.

I.

- 1 සවසති සෙන්නු වජනින් අ[දින්නා]රා
- 2 වෙහෙර වැසි වත්තිම්යනට් සතර්
- 3 පස වැසූතු කරන කොට් ශල්ගො
- 4 ශ් දකුණ් තෙර්හි පිහිටි දිගැ(පිඩු)
- 5 ල්ලෙ අ සොරුසූර් පයල සි
- 6 සා ලම්ජනවූ \dots යට්වැග
- 7 කලල්වැලි සනර්පයල් යිසා
- 8 වජාළෙයින් ලම්ජනවූ වීරාංකුරාමි
- 9 සිට් ලියැවීම් සවසනි සිධි

II.

- 1 සවසනි වීරා[ං]කුරා වජ
- 2 නින් අරිත්තාරා
- 3 වෙනෙරැ වසන
- 4 වත්හිමිසරන
- 5 ව් සතර්පස වැලූ
- 6 තු කරනු කොට සරට්වැ
- 7 ගහි මහාවැගිණා
- 8 සතර්පයල් හිමිගෙ
- 9 එක්තැන් කොට් දින්මි

III.

- 1 ඇපාස් දල්සිවස්හු වජනින් අප
- 2 අරික්තාරාවෙහෙර වැසි වන්
- 3 නිමියනට් මාළත්තෙ
- 4 ගුළවැල්ලැ ම්වන්ගමු
- 5 සනර්පයල් දිනි නෙල් කි
- 6 ර් මිසැ අන් වළජ් නොකර
- 7 න කොට් වජාළම්හ ව
- 8 ත් හිමියන් වජාලෙයි
- 9 න් ලම්ජනවු දස්මි සි
- 10 ට් ලියැවීම්

TRANSCRIPT.

I.

- 1 Svasti Senhu vajanin A[rittā]rā-
- 2 veherä väsi vat-himiyanat satar-
- 3 pasa väyutu karana kot Gal-ho-
- 4 -y dakun-terhi pihiţi Digä(pidu)-1
- 5 -lle a Soruyur payala yi-2
- 6 -sā Lam-janavu yaṭväga
- 7 Kalalväli satar-payal yisā
- 8 vajāļeyin Lam-janavu Vīrāmkurāmi
- 9 siţ liyävīmi svasti siddhi

II.

- 1 Svasti **Vīrā[ṁ]kurā** vaja-
- 2 -nin Arittārā-
- 3 -veherä vasana
- 4 vat-himisarana-
- 5 į satar-pasa väyu-
- 6 -tu karanu koţ Saraţ-vä-
- 7 -gahi Mahāväğaņā
- 8 satar-payal himi-ge
- '9 ek-tän kot dinmi 3

III.

- 1 Äpāy Daļsivayhu vajanin apa
- 2 Arittārā-veherā väsi vat-
- 3 himiyanat Mālatte
- 4 Guļavällä Mivangamu
- 5 satar-payal dihi tel ki-
- 6 -r misä an valaj no-kara-
- 7 -na kot vajāļamha va-

¹ It is tempting to read this name as *Digämadulle*. But the penultimate *akṣara* of line 4 is more like *pi*, than *ma*, occurring elsewhere in the record.

² The two short vertical strokes to be seen at the end of this line do not evidently form part of the inscription.

⁸ It is also possible to read this word as jinmi.

TRANSCRIPT.

I.

- 1 Svasti Senhu vajanin A[rittā]rā-
- 2 veherä väsi vat-himiyanat satar-
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- 7 Kalalväli satar-payal yisā
- 8 vajāļeyin Lam-janavu Vīrāmkurāmi
- 9 siţ liyävīmi svasti siddhi

II.

- 1 Svasti Vīrā[m]kurā vaja-
- 2 -nin Arittārā-
- 3 -veherä vasana
- 4 vat-himisarana-
- 5 t satar-pasa väyu-
- 6 -tu karanu koţ Saraţ-vä-
- 7 -gahi Mahāväğaņā
- 8 satar-payal himi-ge
- 9 ek-tän kot dinmi 3

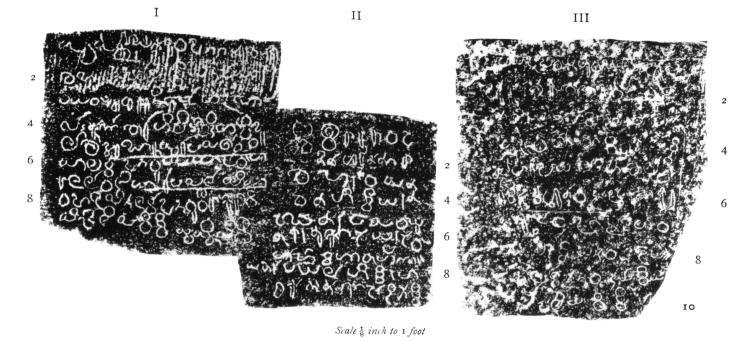
III.

- 1 Äpāy Daļsivayhu vajanin apa
- 2 Arittārā-veherā väsi vat-
- 3 himiyanat Mālatte
- 4 Guļavällä Mivangamu
- 5 satar-payal dihi tel ki-
- 6 -r misä an valaj no-kara-
- 7 -na kot vajāļamha va-

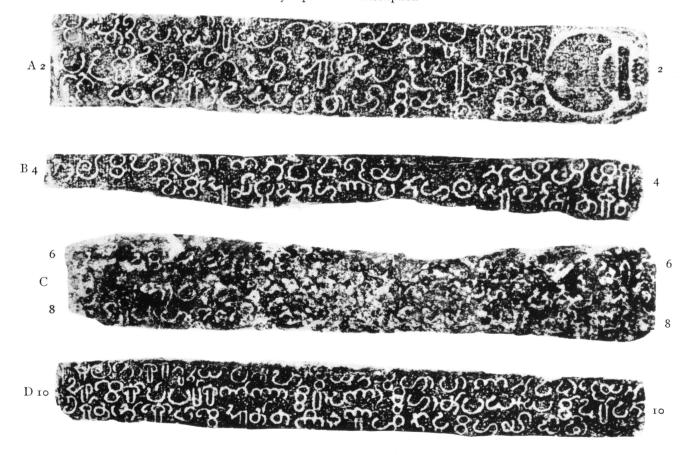
¹ It is tempting to read this name as $Dig\ddot{a}madulle$. But the penultimate aksara of line 4 is more like pi, than ma, occurring elsewhere in the record.

² The two short vertical strokes to be seen at the end of this line do not evidently form part of the inscription.

³ It is also possible to read this word as *jinmi*.



Viyaulpata Pillar-Inscription



Scale about 11 inches to I foot

- 8 -t- himiyan vajāļeyi-
- 9 -n Lam-janavu Daymi si-
- 10 -t liyävīmi

TRANSLATION.

I.

Hail! By the order ¹ of **Sen** ². In order to provide ³ the four requisites ⁴ for their lordships ⁵ residing in the **Arittārā Monastery**, [we grant] the *payala* ⁶ of Soruyur in Digä(piḍu)lla, which is situated on the right bank of the **Gal-hoy**, and the four *payal* of Kalalväli in yaṭaväga in the [district of] Lam-janavu. In accordance with the order, I, **Vīrāṁkurā** of Lam-janavu, stayed [here] and caused [this] to be written. Hail! Success.

II.

Hail! By the order of **Vīrāmkurā**. In order to provide the four requisites for their lordships residing in the **Arittārā Monastery**, I have given, after assembling together [the chief men of the district] at the house of the lord ⁷, the four *payal* of Mahāväǧaṇā in Saraṭväga.

III.

By the order of Äpāy Daļsiva. We have ordered that the four payal of Māļatta, Guļavälla, and Mivangamu should be granted to their lordships residing

¹ Vajanin means literally 'by the word'. This formula is used when the actual order delivered by the king or some other dignitary is embodied in the inscription, as it is in these documents. Accordingly we find the termination of the first person with the honorific plural in the finite verb.

² Sen = P. and Skt. Sena.

³ Väyutu-karana koi: Though the meaning of väyutu is fairly certain from the context, the etymology of the word is not clear.

⁴ Satar-pasa = P. catu-paccaya, for which see P. T. S. Dictionary, s.v.

⁵ Vat-himi, applied here to the monks, see E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 85-86.

⁶ Payala is obviously a term of land measurement. It is probably the same as paya, for which see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 189. It is doubtful whether payala is, as Dr. Wickremasinghe assumes (E.Z., I, p. 55, n. 3), the same as $p\bar{a}la$, a measure of capacity, also used as a term for land measurement from the twelfth century onwards. There is no evidence to show that terms denoting measures of capacity were used in Ceylon, before the twelfth century, to indicate the areas of fields. Moreover, $p\bar{a}la$ is invariably spelt with a cerebral l, whereas the l of payala is dental.

⁷ Himi-ge: By himi is presumably meant the overlord of the territorial magnate Vīrāmkurā who is the donor of this grant. The reference is probably to the prince of Rohana.

in the **Arittārā Monastery**, on condition that nothing should be enjoyed [out of the income derived therefrom] but curd, oil, and milk ¹. As His Highness ² has ordered [thus], I, **Day** ³ of Lam-janavu, stayed [here] and caused [this] to be written.

No. 21. VIYAULPATA PILLAR-INSCRIPTION.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THIS inscription 4 is engraved on the four faces of a rough stone pillar which is now lying near the village called Viyaulpata in the Ināmaļuva Kōraļē of the Mātalē District. No other antiquarian remains are to be seen at The pillar has not been dressed and its edges are therefore not straight. The lines of writing, which run vertically along the height of the pillar, are, consequently, irregular and not of equal length. On side B, there is a gap in line 1, due to a rough area of the pillar being left uninscribed. The second line of this side starts somewhat higher up than the first line, for the reason that the width of the lower portion on this side of the pillar does not provide room for two lines of writing. On the top of side A is a delineation of a pot filled with flowers (pūrnna-ghaṭa). The inscribed area of the pillar measures 5 ft. 2 in. in length; the width of sides A and C is 10 inches each, while side B, at its broadest point, measures 6 inches, and D, 7 inches. Each of sides A, C, and D contains three lines of writing and B only two. The letters, which on side A range in size from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches and on the other sides from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, have been boldly incised. The preservation of the record is excellent so far as sides A, B, and D are concerned; but on side C, the writing has been almost totally effaced.

The script is Sinhalese of the ninth century and is uniform with that of other contemporary records. Attention may, however, be drawn to the form of ka occurring in this inscription. The na, m, of this record shows a later

¹ This unusual stipulation is evidently meant to prevent the misuse of the income derived from the lands which were granted to provide some particular needs of the monks.

² Vat-himiyan here refers to an $\bar{a}pa$ (prince). I have therefore adopted the above rendering in this place.

The name Day may represent P. dhātu which, however, has not been found elsewhere as a proper name excepting in compounds like Dhātusena.

⁴ A. S. I., No. 476, noticed in C. J. Sc. G, vol. ii, p. 117.

stage of development when compared with a variant form of this letter, ∞ , occurring in other records of this period. As regards the language, the use of the conjunction $is\bar{a}$ (Skt. ca) after the auspicious word svasti, the forms $vaj\bar{a}leyin$ and sam-jarvan, containing j in place of d in the later forms of these words, and $ayv\bar{u}$ and tak, corresponding to $\bar{a}v\bar{u}$ and $t\bar{a}k$ of later documents, are points worthy of note. The auspicious word siddhi coming at the end of this document occurs in only a few records of the ninth and tenth centuries. In $mah\bar{a}p\bar{a}nan$, the vowel of the second syllable is long; in most other documents where this word occurs, it has a short vowel in the corresponding place. On the other hand, we have in this inscription the form attani in place of $att\bar{a}ni$ occurring very often in mediaeval records.

The epigraph is **dated** in the first year of a king styled **Sirisamboy** (P. Sirisamghabodhi) and contains an edict issued by the heir-apparent $(mah\bar{a}p\bar{a})$ of the time, named **Mihindal** (**Mahinda**), granting certain immunities to a monastic dwelling called **Sāṅguṇā-panhala**. 'Sirisambo' or 'Sirisamboy' is a *viruda* title and was borne by several kings of the ninth century, to which period this epigraph has to be assigned on palaeographical grounds. The only Sirisambo of this century whose $mah\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ had the name of Mahinda was **Sena II** (circa 846–880) and we can confidently assign this inscription to the reign of that monarch.

The inscribed pillar was set up, and the edict engraved thereon thus proclaimed, by two officers named Kaṇṇā (Kṛṣṇa) and Rāvaṇā, members of the body-guard, presumably of the mahāpā. It is interesting to note that two minor officials of Ceylon in the ninth century were named after two of the most well-known figures in Hindu mythology, one a deified hero of the Mahābhārata, later identified with the Supreme Being, and the other the demon king of Laṃkā which, in popular belief, is the same as Ceylon. The two officials, before setting the pillar up, are said to have assembled together the notables in the vicinity, presumably of the monastic establishment in question. This was doubtless done to give publicity to the royal order, so that the privileges granted by it might be respected by those concerned. The expression used in this connexion, hāt-pasā sam-jarvan ek-tān koṭ, considered together with the phrase himi-ge ek-tān koṭ, occurring in an inscription at Rāssahela ², seems to throw some light on the technical term ek-tān samiyen occurring so often in the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries, and of which the real significance has so far remained

¹ See $Mah\bar{a}va\dot{m}sa$, chap. li, v. 7. Mahinda predeceased Sena II and Udaya, his younger brother, succeeded to the rank of $mah\bar{a}p\bar{a}$.

² See above, p. 174.

obscure ¹. From these two records we learn that, in one case when the edict was published and in the other when it was delivered, notables concerned were assembled together at the place affected by the royal order, or at the residence of the prince who issued the edict. An analogous procedure prevailed in South India, as we learn from the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates. The royal order granting privileges was entered in various registers by the secretaries, and officers were nominated to proceed to the village concerned and publish it with due ceremony. On the arrival of the royal officers, the chief men of the district came out, received the royal order, placed it on their heads and, accompanied by a female elephant, circumambulated the village ².

With these instances to guide us, we may conjecture that when decrees granting immunities were delivered by the king, it was done in an assembly consisting of the various officials and chiefs. We learn from the expression kāriyaṭa niyukta äma-denā mända vadāṭa mehevarin 'by the command delivered in the midst of all engaged in state affairs', occurring in the Udugampola copper-plate inscription³, that it was so in the fifteenth century. Ek-tän-samiya may therefore be taken as equivalent to Skt. eka-sthāna-samūha or -samiti, meaning 'assembled in one place'. It also seems that decrees delivered in such assemblies were themselves referred to as ek-tän-samiya.

Sāṅguṇā-panhala, the monastic residence which was the object of the immunities granted by the edict, is not mentioned elsewhere. It may, however, be presumed that this institution was situated not far from the place where the inscription was found, i.e., the modern village of Viyaulpata. It was included in the district of Sihigiri (P. Sīhagiri and modern Sinhalese Sīgiri). This famous rock fortress is, in a straight line, about six miles from Viyaulpata and the present inscription shows that it was an important place in the ninth century, as it had given its name to, and was therefore the headquarters of, a district of considerable size.

TEXT.

- 1 සවසති ඉසා සිරිසංබොස් මපුර්මුකා
- 2 පළමුවන්නෙහි ඇසෙළැ අව දෙ
- 3 ළොස්වක් දවස් වත්ගිමියන් මිණි
- 4 පල් මහාපාණන් වජාලෙසින් සිතිශිරි
- 5 බිමැ අග්වූ සාගුණපන්හලැ අබද්වූ තක් තැ

¹ For the suggested interpretation of this term, see E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 107-108.

² S. I. I, vol. iii, pp. 429-430.

⁸ Müller, A. I. C., p. 108.

6	(නව් දු)නුම(ඩු)ල්ලන් රව්ලදු						
7	(යන් නොවද්නා ඉසා)						
8	(නොවද්නා ඉසා) අ						
	වුල් නොකරනු ඉසා වත්හිමියන් මහාපාණන් වජාලෙයින්						
10	ආ මෙකාප්පර් කුණිණම් රාවණාම් හාත්පසැ සම්ජර්වන්						
11	එක්නැන් කොට් මේ අත්තණ්කණු හින්වූම්හයි සිබි						
TRANSCRIPT.							

Svasti isā Sirisamboy mapurmukā palamuvannehi Äselä ava do--losvak davas vat-himiyan Mihi--ndal Mahāpāņan vajāļeyin Sihigiribimä ayvū Sānguṇā-panhalä abad-vū tak tä--(nat du)nu-ma(ndu)llan rat-ladu (no-vadnā isā) a--vul no-karanu isā vat-himiyan mahāpāṇan vajāļeyin ā mekāppar Kannāmi Rāvanāmi hāt-pasa sam-jarvan 11 ek-tän kot me attani-kanu hindvūmhay siddhi

TRANSLATION.

Hail! On the twelfth day of the waning moon in the month of Äsela 2 in the first year of His Majesty Sirisamboy 3. Whereas it was so decreed by His Highness Mihindal Mahāpā 4, [it is ordered] that dunumandullan 5 and governors of districts 6..... shall not enter..... shall not enter..... shall not create disturbance to the lands belonging to Sāṅguṇā-panhala 7 which is in the Sihigiri District. I, Kannā and I, Rāvanā, (both members of) the body-guard,

¹ The conjunction isā, which follows svasti, has been ignored in the translation. It has possibly an auspicious significance.

² Skt. Aṣādha, June-July.

³ P. Sirisamghabodhi.

⁴ Mihindal is equivalent to P. Mahinda. For the title mahāpā (mahādipāda), see E.Z., Vol. III, p. 82.

⁵ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 110.

⁶ Rat-ladu, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 111.

⁷ Pan-hala (P. panna-sāla) means 'leaf-hut'. In early days, the abodes of Buddhist monks, who were vowed to poverty, were huts made of sticks and leaves. The word (pansala) is used to-day in Ceylon for monasteries which are no longer formed of leaf-huts, but are very often palatial buildings, just as the term bhikkhu which originally meant 'beggar' or 'mendicant' is applied to Buddhist monks, some of whom are rich landlords.

who have come in accordance with the decree of His Highness, the $mah\bar{a}p\bar{a}$, set up this attani-pillar having had the gentlemen of the neighbourhood assembled together. [Let there be] Success.

No. 22. MALAGAŅĒ PILLAR-INSCRIPTION.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THE pillar, on the four faces of which the subjoined inscription 3 is engraved, is now lying within the premises of the Buddhist temple at Malagaṇē in the Girātalān Kōralē of the Kuruṇāgala District. It is said to have been removed to its present position, some fifty years ago, from Nuvarakālē, an extensive ancient site about three miles to the north-east of Malagaṇē, and utilized in the construction of a shrine which is no longer standing. The sides of the pillar are 10 in. and $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. in breadth and the inscribed portion, which was above ground, is 6 ft. in height. The writing is engraved between parallel lines, $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. apart from each other on sides A and B, and 3 in. on sides C and D. There are eighteen lines of writing on each of sides A and B, twenty on C, and nine on D. The last side also contains drawings of a fan, a scythe, a crow, and a dog.

As will be seen from the facsimile reproduced on Plate 19, the inscription is in a rather bad state of preservation, the writing on sides C and D being considerably weathered. A portion of the pillar surface has been peeled away on all the four sides, probably when the pillar was transported from its original position, and thus two lines on sides A and B are partly, and three on side C altogether, lost. The **letters** on side A, averaging 2 in. in height, are larger than those of the other sides which are, on an average, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height.

The **script**, which is Sinhalese and can be attributed, on grounds of palaeography, to the second half of the ninth century, calls for no remarks in particular. As regards **orthography**, attention may be drawn to the form Lag-div (A 7-8) which may be compared with Lag-divu occurring in the Devanagala inscription

¹ See above, p. 66, n. 3.

² Sam-jarvan is an earlier form of sam-daruvan, for which see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 88.

⁸ A. S. I., No. 763. No. 105 of Appendix F of A. S. C. A. R. for 1910-11, p. 119.

of Parākramabāhu I¹. Dana-madulu (A 16-17) is obviously a clerical error for mala-madulu or -mandulu which occurs in other records of the period².

The epigraph is dated in the tenth year of a king styled Abhā Maharad and records immunities granted to a religious foundation called Sangradun Pirivena in the monastery of Mirisipiti at Muhunnaru. King Abhā is described, in almost the same words as are found in the Timbirivava inscription 3 in connexion with Udaya II (I) 4, as one who had brought Rohana and Malaya under his dominion. And, in the Mahāvamsa 5, Udaya II (I) is said to have quelled risings in Rohana and Malaya and made his writ run in those parts of the island. The relationship of King Abhā to another, and presumably earlier monarch, named Abhā Sirisangbo, had also been given in the epigraph; but the word which expresses the relationship is, unfortunately, not preserved now on the stone. In an eye-copy of the inscription, made under Mr. Bell's direction and preserved in the office of the Archaeological Survey, the missing word occurs as daru 'son'. From the Älleväva pillar-inscription we learn that 'Abhā Sirisangbo' was a title of Sena II and, if we can rely on the eyecopy mentioned above, Abhā Maharad of this record may be identified with Kassapa V (circa 908-918) or Dappula IV (V) (circa 918-930), both of whom were sons of Sena II and had the viruda title of Abhā Salamevan 7. The script in which the record is written does not militate against its being assigned to either of these two monarchs; but no particular mention has been made in the chronicles of their connexion with Rohana and Malaya. If we take the missing word as malu 'younger brother', we may then identify Abhā with Udaya II (I) (circa, 880-891), who is referred to in inscriptions as Udā Abhā Salamevan or Udaya Abhaya⁸, and whose subjugation of Rohana and Malaya is referred to, as we have noted above, in the chronicles as well as in contemporary records. The script of our record, however, contains forms of certain letters which are younger than those corresponding to them found in inscriptions definitely dating from the reign of Udaya II (I).

The pirivena to which immunities were granted by this edict was obviously

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 9 ff.

⁴ For the number given in parenthesis in the names of this and other kings, see *Cūlavamsa*, Geiger's translation, part I, p. 126, n. 1.

⁵ Chap. 51, vv. 94 et seq.

⁶ A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report, p. 45.

⁷ See *E.Z.*, Vol. III, p. 19.

⁸ See the Timbirivava pillar-inscription, E. Z., Vol. II, p. 13 and the Colombo Museum Pillar-inscription of Kassapa IV, E. Z., Vol. III, p. 275.

named after Saṅghā, the queen of Sena II. In the Pūjāvalā¹, she is referred to as Saṅgā-radū. Muhunnaru occurs in the Mahāvamsa as the name of a stronghold in the Dakkhiṇapassa captured by the general of Vijayabāhu I in his campaign against the Colas². It is reasonable to suppose that this was the ancient name of the site where the pillar originally stood; and if we can be certain that it was removed to its present location from Nuvarakälē, we may then identify this site as the stronghold of Muhunnaru³. At Nuvarakälē can still be seen the remains of two fortresses with ramparts of earthwork and brick, which make the identification of the site with a military post of the eleventh century quite plausible. Remains of monastic buildings and shrines, some of which are much earlier in date than the eleventh century, are also to be seen at the place.

Another point to which attention may be drawn is the fact that, in this edict granting immunities to a place in Dakkhinapassa (Sin. Dakun-pasa, 'the Southern Country'), there is no mention of the mahapā to whose government this territory was usually subject in mediaeval times. In all other edicts of the ninth and tenth centuries, discovered at sites which were in the Dakkhina-passa, the order is delivered by the mahapā.

TEXT.

A.

1	සවසනි	10	රපුරෙන්
2	සිරිබර්	11	නිම් වූ අ
3	කැ නකුල	12	හා සිරිස
4	කොත් ඔකා	13	[ශ්ඛො මහ]
5	වස්රද්	14	රද්නු
6	පරපුරෙ	15	රුනු[ණු]දන
7	න් බව් ල	16	[චූ] දනමඩු
8	ග්දිච්මපා	17	ලු ⁵ නමහට්
9	ලොයොන් ප	18	එකආත්නැ

¹ A Contribution to the History of Ceylon, translated from Pūjāvaliya, by B. Gunasekara, Colombo, 1895, p. 32.

² Mahāvamsa, chap. lviii, v. 42.

³ For the identification of Muhunnaru, compare also Mr. Codrington in J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. xxix, p. 64.

⁴ For the 'Southern Country', see Mr. Codrington, op. cit., p. 65.

[්] මෙය 'මලමඩුලු' යන්නට වැරදි ලියවිණැයි සිතිය හැක.

В.

1	සිරිභොග 1 ක		10	වූ මුහුන්නරු
${f 2}$	ල අභාමහර		11	ම්රිසිපිවිශව
3	ද්හු තුමා සත්		12	ඉහර සහ්රදූ
4	ලැනු දසවන	-	13	න් පිරි වෙනට්
5	හවුරු දුයෙ		14	වද,ළ එක්තැ
6	හි පොසොන්ම		15	න්සම්යෙන්
7	ස්හි පුර දස		16	
8	වක් දවස් ද		17	ඳුරැම් ක
9	කුණ්ටස්ගි අ		18	මහලරද් ෧ස
		c.		
1	නු වරැ වන ව	0.	12	සමියෙන් මෙ අ
f 2	රා ගුණෙසී		13	ත්තාණිකණු පැ
3	ම ඉසා මණ්න		14	රැහැර් දෙනු ල
4	[ලා කි]ලිසිම් ඉ		15	දි වැරි පෙරෙනාට්
5	[සා මහලෙ]		16	[ටියම්]
6	ැයා පෙය⊙ ු රක්සම		17	
7	ණන් ව ැ වන		18	
8	කුඩසලා		19	නා කොට් ඉසා ම
9	ඉසා මෙතු		20	ගිව පෙගිව නො
10	ඉයා ෙ වාක් දෙනමො ව		21	වද්නා කොට් ඉ
11	දැල එක්තැන් -		22	සා රද්කොල්කැ
11	၄၆ ပသိသည်			
		D.		
1	මියන් නොවද්		6	රන්නන් නොවද්නා
2	නා කොට් ඉසා දෙ		7	කොට් ඉසා ගම්ගො
3	රුවනැ දෙකම්තැ		8	න් කිර්ගෙරි නොගන්
4	න් නොවද්නා කො		9	නා කොට් ඉසා
5	ට් ඉසා පිමෙහාවද			
	•			
		A.	_	•
1	Svasti		5	-vas-rad-
2	Siri-bar		6	parapure-
3	käta-kula		7	-n baṭ La-
4	kot Okā-		8	-g-div-po-
				-

[ෘ] මෙය 'පිරිතොග 'නොහොත් ' පරිතොග ' වෙනුවට වෑරදි ලියවුණක් වියහැක.

9	-lo-yon pa-		14	rad-hu
10	-rapuren		15	Ruhuṇ[u]-dana-
11	himi vū A-		16	-v[u] Dana-madu-
12	-bhā Sirisa-		17	-lu¹ tamahaṭ
13	-ṅgbo maha-		18	ek-ānnä
		в.		
1	siri-bhoga ² ka-		10	-vū Muhunnaru
2	-ļa Abhā-maha-ra-		11	Mirisipiți-ve-
3	-d-hu tumā sat		12	-herä Sang-radu-
4	längu dasa-vana		13	-n pirivenaț
5	havuruduye-		14	vadāļa ek-tä-
6	-hi Poson-ma-		15	-n-samiyen
7	-s-hi pura dasa-	•	16	Mekāppar-vä-
8	vak davas Da-		I7	-dārum ka
9	-kuṇ-pas-hi a-		18	Maṅgalarad Se-
		C.		
1	-nu varä vana Va-		12	samiyen me a-
2	rā Gaņayi-		13	-ttāṇi-kaṇu pä-
`3	-m isā Manita-		14	-rähär denu la-
4	[-lā Ki]liyim i-		15	-di väri perenāţ-
5	[-sā mahale]		16	-ṭiyam
6	Rak-sama-		17	
7	-ņan varā vana		18	
8	Kuḍasalā		19	nā koṭ isā ma-
9	isā metu-		2 0	-giva pegiva no-
10	-vāk denamo va-		21	vadnā kot i-
11	-dāļa ek-tän-		22	-sā rad-kol-kä-
		D.		
1	-miyan no-vad-		6	-rannan no-vadnā
2	-nā koṭ isā de-		7	koț isā gam-go-
3	ruvanä dekam-tä-		8	-n kir-geri no-gan-
4	-n no-vadnā ko-		9	-nā koṭ isā.
5	-ț isā piyo-vadā-			•
				_

¹ Probably a clerical error for mala-madulu, see above, p. 181.

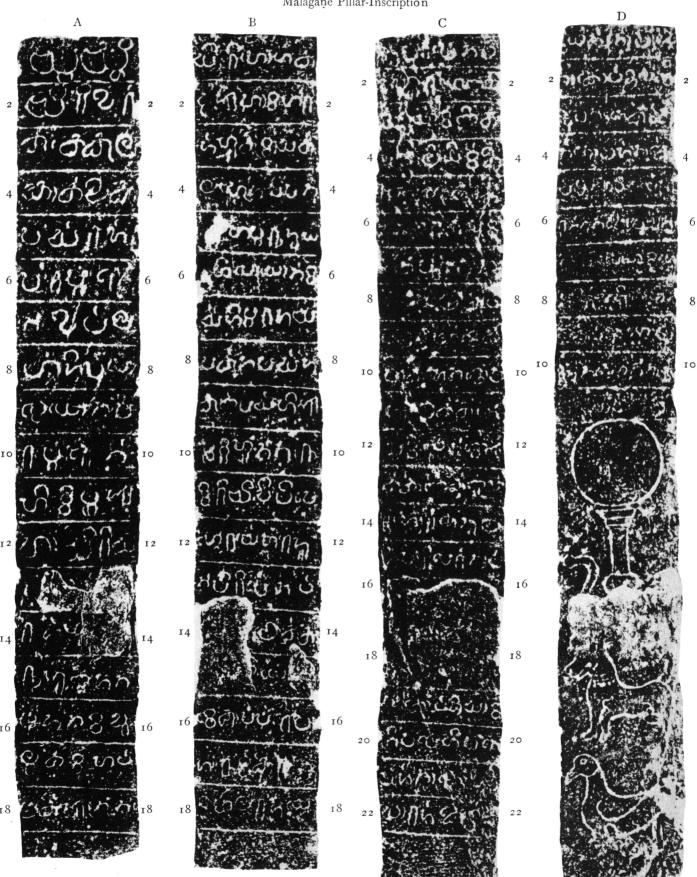
² Siri-bhoga is evidently written in error for piribhoga or paribhoga. In the corresponding passage of the Timbirivava pillar-inscription, occurs the word piribo (see E. Z., Vol. II, p. 12) and the Colombo Museum Pillar-inscription of Kassapa IV has piriohoga (E. Z., Vol. III, p. 273).

9	-lo-yon pa-		14	rad-hu
10	-rapuren		15	Ruhuṇ[u]-dana-
11	himi vū A-		16	-v[u] Dana-maḍu-
12	-bhā Sirisa-		17	-lu¹ tamahaṭ
13	-ṅgbo maha-		18	ek-ānnä
		В.		
1	siri-bhoga ² ka-		10	-vū Muhunnaru
2	-ļa Abhā-maha-ra-		11	Mirisipiți-ve-
3	-d-hu tumā sat		12	-herä Saṅg-radū-
4	längu dasa-vana		13	-n pirivenaț
5	havuruduye-		14	vadāļa ek-tä-
6	-hi Poson-ma-		15	-n-samiyen
7	-s-hi pura dasa-	*	16	Mekāppar-vä-
8	vak davas Da-		17	-dārum ka
9	-kuṇ-pas-hi a -		18	Mangalarad Se-
		C.		
1	-nu varä vana Va-		12	samiyen me a-
2	rā Gaṇayi-		13	-ttāṇi-kaṇu pä-
3	-m isā Manita-		14	-rähär denu la-
4	[-lā Ki]liyim i-		15	-di väri perenāṭ-
5	[-sā mahale]		16	-ṭiyam
6	Rak-sama-		17	
7	-ṇan varä vana		18	
8	Kuḍasalā		19	nā koṭ isā ma-
9	isā metu-		2 0	-giva pegiva no-
10	-vāk denamo va-		21	vadnā koṭ i-
11	-dāļa ek-tän-		22	-sā rad-kol-kä-
		D.		
1	-miyan no-vad-		6	-rannan no-vadnā
2	-nā koṭ isā de-		7	koț isā gam-go-
3	ruvanä dekam-tä-		8	-n kir-geri no-gan-
4	-n no-vadnā ko-		9	-nā koṭ isā.
5	-ṭ isā piyo-vadā-			_

¹ Probably a clerical error for mala-madulu, see above, p. 181.

² Siri-bhoga is evidently written in error for piribhoga or paribhoga. In the corresponding passage of the Timbirivava pillar-inscription, occurs the word piribo (see E. Z., Vol. II, p. 12) and the Colombo Museum Pillar-inscription of Kassapa IV has piriohoga (E. Z., Vol. III, p. 273).

Vol. IV Plate 19



TRANSLATION.

Hail! On the tenth day of the waxing moon in the month of Poson¹ in the tenth year of the raising of the umbrella [of dominion] by the great king **Abhā**² who secured for himself the sole dominion over the Ruhuṇu³ Province and Mala ⁴ District, and the enjoyment of the prosperity ⁶ [thereof], who is the ... of the great king **Abhā Sirisaṅgbo**⁶, descended from the lineage of king Okāvas ⁷, the pinnacle of the very illustrious *kṣatriya* race, and who is, by right of descent, the lord of the young damsel, the land of Lakdiv ⁸.

In accordance with the decree delivered in assembly (ek-tän-samiya) touching the Sangradun Pirivena 10 of the Mirisipiți 11 monastery at Muhunnaru, included in the Southern Quarter, I Va ... Ganaya and I, Manitalā Kili, [both] in the service of Mangalrad Sonu 12, the Commander of the Bodyguard, and I, Kuḍasalā in the service of Raksamana, the Chief Secretary—we, the aforesaid persons—have granted the immunities [recorded on] this attāni-pillar 13, in accordance with the decree delivered in assembly (ek-tän-samiya).

¹ Skt. Pusya or Pausa, May-June.

² P. and Skt. Abhaya.

 $^{^{3}}$ Ruhunu = P. and Skt. Rohana. This was the name of the principality which comprised the southern and eastern parts of Ceylon.

⁴ Malaya, the central mountain region of Ceylon, which was often under a separate ruler.

⁵ The above translation is offered on the assumption that *siribhoga*, occurring in the text, is correct. If, however, it be taken as an error for *piribhoga*, the translation may be altered to 'who secured for himself the possession, under his sole dominion, of the Ruhunu Province and the Mala District'.

⁶ P. Abhaya Sirisanghabodhi.

⁷ P. Okkāka, Skt. Iksvāku.

⁸ Skt. Lānkā-dvīpa.

⁹ For Dr. Wickremasinghe's interpretation of the term ek-tän-samiya and its tentative rendering adopted hitherto by me, see E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 107-108. But a consideration of the expressions himi-ge ek-tän kot occurring in an inscription at Rāssahela (see above, p. 171) and hāt-pasä sam-jarvan ek-tän kot in the Viyaulpata pillar-inscription (above, pp. 177-8) coupled with the analogy in the case of the procedure adopted in proclaiming royal orders granting privileges to religious institutions, afforded by South Indian records, which we have noted in discussing the second phrase quoted above, makes it necessary to modify the tentative rendering of 'decree of unanimous assent' previously adopted by me. Ek-tän-samiya doubtless signifies the assembling together of the dignitaries on the occasion of the delivering of an order by the king or heir-apparent. Ek-tän may therefore mean 'one place' and samiya be equivalent to Skt. samūha or samiti. The word is often used with a technical meaning to denote an order delivered in the midst of the assembled dignitaries. In those places where it has the force of an adverbial phrase, as in the expression ek-tän-samiyen vadāļen, it may be rendered 'as commanded in the midst of [the dignitaries] assembled together'.

¹⁰ Sang is equivalent to P. Sanghā and radū to P. rājadhītu. Pirivena is P. parivena.

¹¹ P. Maricapitthi. There was a Maricavatti stūpa and monastery at Anurādhapura.

¹² P. Mangala-rāja Sena.

¹⁸ See above, p. 66, n. 3.

[It is enacted] that [this pirivena] is not to be entered by väri¹, perenāṭṭiyam², not to be entered by magiva and pegiva³, not to be entered by the
officers of the royal household, not to be entered by the functionaries of deruvana and dekam-tän⁴, not to be entered by piyo-vadārannan⁵, and that village
oxen and milk cows shall not be impressed [for service].

No. 23. INSCRIPTION ON A PILLAR FRAGMENT AT THE GONNÄVA DĒVĀLE.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THE upper half of an inscribed pillar 6 , said to have been found in a land named Malhēna or Polgasyāya, is now lying in the mandapa of the modern dēvāle at Gonnāva in the Dēvamādi Kōraļē of the Kurunāgala District. The sides of the pillar measure 11 in. and $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width, and the height of the preserved fragment is 3 ft. 6 in. The letters, ranging in size from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., are written, as usual in the mediaeval pillar-inscriptions of Ceylon, between horizontal lines which, in this case, are $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. apart from one another. Sixteen lines of writing are preserved on each of the sides A, B, and C. Side D has only two lines, but it also contains the engravings of various symbols, to wit, two concentric circles, the inner of which is divided into quadrants by straight lines at right angles to each other, a semicircle and the symbol usually described as representing a monk's fan. The writing on the remaining fragment of the pillar is in a good state of preservation, but for a few letters on side C which are somewhat indistinct.

The **script** is Sinhalese of the early part of the tenth century. A point worthy of note is the occurrence, in l. B 7, of the cerebral s, which is rarely met with in mediaeval Sinhalese records. The form of ka found in this document is of an earlier type than that met with in other known inscriptions of either of the two kings to whom it can be assigned. The **orthography** and **grammar** call for no remarks; but it may be worth mentioning that the record contains

¹ See E. Z., Vol. I, p. 53, n. 7.

² See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 144.

⁸ For these two words, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 146.

⁴ For deruvana and dekam-tän, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 143.

⁵ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 110.

⁶ A. S. I., No. 718. See C. J. Sc., G, vol. ii, p. 221.

certain words and phrases not met with in other documents of the period. Attention may also be drawn to the form mahāpāṇan (A 5-6) which corresponds to mahapānan in other records of the period.

The epigraph is dated in the eighth year of a king referred to by his throne name of Abhā Salamevan and contains a decree of the heir-apparent Udā (Udaya) granting immunities to a pamuņu land belonging to a person named Agbo Mugayin Varadāṇa. There were two Sinhalese kings of the tenth century who, according to the order of succession, were entitled to the throne name (viruda) of Abhā Salamevan and who also had princes named Udaya as heirs-apparent. These were Dappula IV (V) (circa 918-930) and Sena III (circa 933-942) both of whom enjoyed reigns exceeding eight years in duration. There is no evidence by means of which we can decide which of these two sovereigns was the ruler in whose reign the edict was issued. As the two reigns were separated by an interval of only three years, palaeography is of no help in arriving at a decision on this point.

Varadāṇan, occurring in the name of the grantee, requires some comment. Varada, the basic form of the word, is the Sinhalese equivalent of Skt. and P. yuvarāja. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the grantee was a prince who had the title of yuvarāja. He was the recipient of privileges in a decree issued by the $mahap\bar{a}$ (P. $mah\bar{a}dip\bar{a}da$); hence, $mahap\bar{a}$ and $yuvar\bar{a}ja$ were titles or offices which were distinct one from the other, the former being the higher of the two 2 .

The land to which immunities were granted by this edict is said to have been included in a territorial division called **Maha-miṇilā-bim**. Assuming that the pillar was found at its original site, we may infer that the modern village of Gonnāva and the neighbouring tracts were in the ancient district of Mahamiṇilā. This geographical name has not been found elsewhere, and we are not in a position to determine how far the boundaries of the district extended. **Maha-vehera**, mentioned in this record, is obviously the same as the well-known **Mahā-vihāra**, which was the head-quarters of the orthodox Theravādins, at Anurādhapura.

¹ Dappula IV (V) is given this title in the Vessagiriya Slab Inscription No. 1 (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 25). As the two titles Sirisangbo and Abhā Salamevan were used alternately by the mediaeval kings of Ceylon (see E. Z., Vol. II, p. 9), and as Sena III succeeded Udaya II who was a Sirisangbo (E. Z., Vol. III, p. 141), he was entitled to the *viruda* of Abhā Salamevan.

² For the titles yuvarāja, uparāja and mahādipāda, see Prof. Geiger in the Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. ii, pp. 103 ff.

TEXT

A.

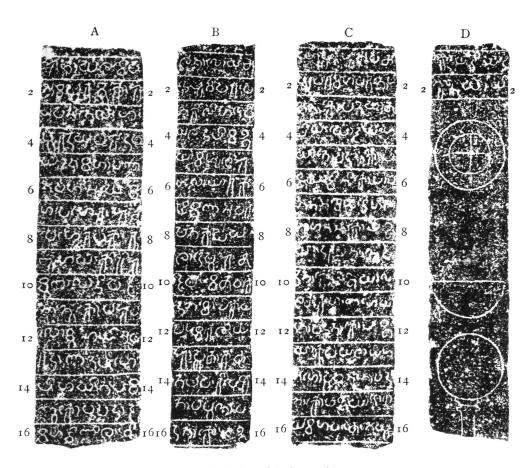
•1	ආහා සලමෙව		10	මුණෙබා ද වල
2	න් මපුර්මුකා අ		11	æැනු කොට අ[ග්]
3	ට්වන් නෙ බැගැ		12	බො මුගසින් ව
4	පූර දසවක් දව		13	රදුණන්ට ඉග
5	ස් උදු මහාපැණ		14	ටිගසින් පම
6	න් වහන්සෙ ම		15	ණු කොට වදැළ
7	හමෙහෙර ඇත්		16	මහමිණ්ලැබි
. 8 .	වෙමෙරට් කැරු		17	(ම්ශි ආවූ)
9	ණු හසැ කිරිඅ			* * * * * *
		в.		
1	ල්නා බොසන්		10	ළ් වැ මෙතුවාක්
2	දෙටු න් වරැ ව		11	දෙනමො එක්සෙ
3	න කිලින් ඉදවි		12	වැ මෙකුලියැ
4	සල්ගදටම් ඉ		13	ආවූ නාක් නැ
5	සා මහාලෙ අ		14	නව වැරි පෙරෙ
6	ග් බොසා <i>ර</i> ක්		15	නාව්ටු නොව
7	ෂමණන් වරැ		16	දනා කොට් ඉ
8	වන කුඩිස		17	(සo)
9	ලා දෙවු ඇතු			* * * * * *
		C.		
1	සා පු(ද) සුන්වන්		10	දනා කොට් ඉසා බ
2	සුවර් මහවර් නොන		11	ලන් රැහැණෑ ගසා
3	න්නා කොට් ඉසා තු		12	නොවදනා කොට් ඉ
4	ඩියැ සොළියැ ග		13	සා කුඩසලා යහ
5	සා නොවදනා කොට්		14	
6	ඉසා මිනි කොටා ච		15	නා කොට් ඉසා දෙළො
7	න්නන් මෙගැම්ති ලා		16	
8	නොගන්නා කොට් ඉ		*	
9	සා දෙරුවනැ නොව			
		D.		

1 කොට් දිය දෙ 2 නු ඉසා යි

TEXT

A.

1	ආහා සලමෙව		10	මුණාබා දි වළ
2	න් මපුර්මුකා අ		11	æැතු කොට අ[ග්]
3	ට්චන්නෙ බැගැ		12	බො මුගසින් ව
4	පූර දසවක් දව		13	රදුණන්ට ඉග
5	ස් උද, මහාපැණ		14	ටිගසින් පම
6	න් වහන්®ස ම		15	ණු කොට වදුළ
7	හමෙමහර ඇත්		16	මහමිණ්ලැබි
8	වෙහෙරට් කැරු		17	(මිති ආවූ)
9	ණු හසැ කිරිඅ			* * * * * *
		в.		
1	ල්නා ඉබාසන්		10	ළ් වැ මෙතුවාක්
2	ඉදටුන් ව <i>ර</i> . ව		11	ෙ දනමො එක්සෙ
3	න කිලිග් දෙවි		12	වැ මෙකුලියැ
4	සල් ගදවීම් ඉ		13	ආවූ තාක් තැ
5	සා මහාලෙ අ		14	නව වැරි පෙරෙ
6	ග් බොසා <i>ර</i> ක්		15	නාට්ටු නොව
7	ෂමණන් විරැ		16	දනා කොට් ඉ
8	වන කුඩස		17	(±0) * * * * * *
9	ලා දෙවු ඇතු			* * * * * *
		C.		
1	සා පු(ද) සුන්වන්		10	දනා ඉකාට් ඉසා බ
2	සුචර් මහවර් නොන		11	ලත් රැහැණෑ ගසා
3	න්නා කොට් ඉසා තු		12	නොවදනා කොට් ඉ
4	භියැ ෙසාළියැ ග		13	සා කුඩසලා යහ
5	සා නොවදනා කොට්		14	න්ගොවුවන් නොවද
6	ඉසා මිනි කොටා ච		15	නා කොට් ඉසා දෙළො
7	න්නන් මෙගැම්හි ලා		16	ස්මහවෑතැන් සු
8	නොගන්නා කොට් ඉ		*	* * * * *
9	සා දෙරුවනැ නොව			
		D.		
		D .		
1	කොට් දිය ලද		2	නු ඉසා සි



Scale about 11 inches to 1 foot



Pālamōṭṭai Slab-Inscription

Scale about 2\frac{1}{8} inches to I foot

TRANSCRIPT.

A.

1	Abhā Salameva-		10	-muṇā-bā dī vaļa-
2	-n mapurmukā a-		11	-ndanu koṭa A[g]-
3	-ṭ-vanne Bägä		12	-bo Mugayin Va-
4	pura dasavak dava-		13	-radāṇanṭa ge-
5	-s Udā Mahāpäņa-		14	-ți-hasin pama-
6	-n vahanse Ma-		15	-ņu koṭa vadāļa
7	-ha-veherä ät-		16	Maha-miņilā-bi-
8	veheraț käru-		17	(-mhi āvū)
9	-ņu hasä kiri-a-			* * * * * *
		в.		
1	-lnā Bosat-		10	-ļ vä me-tuvāk
2	dețun varä va-		11	denamo ek-se
3	-na K ili ṅg Devi-		12	vä me-kuliyä
4	-yal-dețim i-		13	āvū tāk tä-
5	-sā mahāle A- .		14	-nața väri pere-
6	-gboyā Rak-		15	-nāṭṭu no-va-
7	-ṣamaṇan varä		16	-danā koṭ i-
8	vana Kuḍsa-		17	-(sā)
9	-lā Devu ätu-			* * * * * *
		C.		
1	-sā pu(da) sutvat	· ·	10	-danā koṭ isā ba-
2	suvar mahavar no-ga-		11	-lat rähäņä gasā
3	-nnā koṭ isā tu-		12	no-vadanā koţ i-
4	-diyä soliyä ga-		13	-sā kuḍasalā yaha-
5	-sā no-vadanā koṭ		14	-n-govuvan no-vada-
6	isā mini koṭā va-		15	-nā koṭ isā doļo-
7	-nnan me-gämhi lā		16	-s-maha-vä-tan su-
8	no-gannā koṭ i-			* * * * *
9	-sā deruvanä no-va-			
		n		

D.

1 koṭ diya de-

2 -nu isā yi

TRANSLATION.

On the tenth day of the waxing moon in [the month of] Baga ¹ in the eighth year of His Majesty Abhā Salamevan in the Maha-miṇilā District, which was assigned, by means of the *geți* seal ², by His Highness Udā Mahapā, as a *pamaṇu* ³ [land] to Agbo Mugayin Varadāṇa, so that it may be possessed on condition that a share [consisting] of one *amuṇa* [of paddy] for one *kiri* [of field] ⁴ at each harvest gathered ⁵ be given to the Inner Monastery ⁶ of the Mahā-vihāra ⁷ We, the aforesaid persons including Kiling Dēviyal-deṭu, in the service of ⁸ lnā Bosat-deṭu and Kuḍsalā ⁹ Devu, in the service of Agboyā Rakṣamaṇa, the Chief Secretary, conjointly [order] that, regarding all lands included in this *kuliya* ¹⁰, they should not be entered by *väri* ¹¹ and *perenātṭu* ¹²,

¹ March-April. Skt. Caitra.

² Geți-hasin pamanu koț: The same expression occurs in the Nāgama Pillar-Inscription, ll. A 10-12 (E. Z., II, p. 17), but has, however, been somewhat differently read by Dr. Wickremasinghe. It seems to state that the seal named geți-hasa was used in sealing the document granting the pamanu lands. Hasa means 'seal' and occurs frequently in epigraphy as well as in literature. There is no possibility of even a conjecture regarding the meaning of geți.

³ For this word, see E.Z., Vol. II, p. 19, n. 3.

⁴ Kiri-amuṇā-bā: This expression which is also found in the Daļadāgē inscription, l. 10 (E. Z., Vol. I, p. 117), is etymologically the same as karih-amiṇiya-baka which occurs in an inscription of about the second century at a place called Mōlāhiṭiyavelēgala near Dimbulāgala in the Tamankaḍuva District. Mr. Bell, who has edited that record (Ca, vol. iii, pp. 77-78), reads the phrase somewhat differently and his interpretation of it, given only tentatively, does not bring out its sense accurately.

⁶ Kärunu hasä: Kärunu, lit. means 'has been done'; hasa is taken as equivalent to P. sassa.

⁶ $\ddot{A}t$ -vehera = P. anto-vihāra.

⁷ The famous monastic establishment at Anurādhapura, the seat of the orthodox Theravādins.

⁸ For this tentative rendering of varä, see E. Z., Vol. II, pp. 108-110.

⁹ Kudasalā, occurring in this as well as in many other names of dūtakas mentioned in the mediaeval Sinhalese records, is apparently the title of an office. The officers who had this title seem to have been placed under the orders of the Chief Secretary (mahalē) who had also the title of Raksamaṇa. In this inscription the kuḍasalā are included among the officers whose entry is forbidden to the land to which the immunities were granted. It is not possible to determine exactly what the duties of the kuḍasalā were, but it may be useful to note that the word occurs in the following passage of the Butsaraṇa (edited by the Rev. W. Sorata, Colombo, 1931, p. 292), which gives a list of the functionaries in a royal palace: Kuḍasalā balatun hā arakkāmiyan kilingun visin vaṇana lada . . . rāja-mandirayehi. In this passage, as well as in the inscriptions, kuḍasalā and balat are mentioned together.

¹⁰ Kuliya is presumably a variant form of kuliya, for which see E. Z., Vol. II, p. 142.

¹¹ For this word, the meaning of which is obscure, see E. Z., Vol. I. p. 53, n. 7.

¹² Perenāttu, which is often found together with väri, still remains obscure in meaning.

..... that gifts, toll dues 1, suvar and mahavar 2 should not be levied, that one shall not enter [this land] sounding tudi and soli 3 [drums], that those who have come after committing murder should not be arrested in this village, that deruvanä 4 shall not enter, that royal messengers shall not enter cracking whips 5, that kudasalā 6 and officers in charge of royal conveyances shall not enter, that in the localities of the twelve great reservoirs 7..... and that water should be given so as

No. 24. A TAMIL SLAB-INSCRIPTION FROM PĀLAMŌŢŢAI.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THE subjoined inscription, which was discovered by the present writer in 1933, is engraved on a slab, measuring 2 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 4 in., found among the ruins of a Śaiva kōvil at a place named Pālamōṭṭai near Kantaļāy 8 in the Trincomalee District of the Eastern Province 9. The site is now overgrown with jungle and the remains of the temple are buried in an accumulation of debris. The shrine seems to have been mainly of brick construction, stone

- ¹ Sut-vat, an earlier form of sum-vat, also occurs in the Badulla Pillar-Inscription. See E.Z., Vol. III, p. 76.
- ² Suvar and mahavar occur in the Īripinniyāva Pillar-Inscription. Dr. Wickremasinghe (E. Z., I, p. 171) translates the two words as 'goldsmiths' and 'chief artisans'. The context in which the two words occur in this record makes it clear that they must have been some kinds of imposts remitted in the case of the lands to which the immunities were granted. As it occurs in juxtaposition with mahavar, we may conjecture that suvar is a contraction of suluvar, maha meaning 'great' or 'principal' and sulu 'small' or 'secondary'. Var. (Skt. vāra) means 'turn' and may denote, in a secondary sense, the forced labour which was exacted from the peasants, at regular intervals or turns, in Sinhalese times. With these may also be compared the technical terms kiri-var and tel-var (E. Z., III, p. 112) which literally mean 'milk-turn' and 'oil-turn'; but in practice must have denoted the levy exacted from each of the peasants, in his turn, of milk and oil. Mahavar may therefore be rendered as the 'principal turn (of service)' and suvar' the secondary turn (of service)'.
 - ³ For the interpretation of the two words tudi and soli, see E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 146-147.
 - ⁴ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, pp. 143-144.
- ⁵ Rähän gasā: See EZ., Vol. III, p. 148.

- ⁶ See above, p. 190, note 9.
- ⁷ The expression dolos-maha-vä-tän occurs in one or two other unpublished records of the tenth century. From these, it becomes clear that twelve of the largest among the innumerable reservoirs in ancient Ceylon were considered to be of special importance and were possibly under the care of a separate department of the administration. We have no means of finding out what these 'great reservoirs' were.
 - 8 Usually spelt 'Kantalai' on maps and in official publications.
 - 9 See A. S. C. Annual Report for 1933, p. 14.

being used only for the basement and the pillars. The architectural style of this ruined temple enables us to assign it to the Polonnaruva period—a conclusion which is confirmed by what we learn from the inscription. Among the ruins is to be seen the upper half of a mutilated stone image of Pārvatī.

The record is considerably weatherworn and some of the letters of lines 1-4, being much damaged, can be read only conjecturally. A few letters at the end of line 14 are completely illegible. The slab contains twenty-five lines of writing, incised between parallel lines drawn about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in apart from one another. The **letters**, excluding those containing long vertical strokes such as a, ka, &c., are, on an average, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height.

The script is Tamil, with a fair proportion of Grantha letters, particularly in the proper names and words of Sanskritic origin in the first nine lines. The language, too, is Tamil and contains certain forms of words and phrases such as nandavāṇam (l. 12) and nilappoli-y-ūṭṭukku (ll. 12-13) which are not found in the literary, or the modern colloquial, idioms of that language but are common enough in South Indian Tamil inscriptions. In palaeography as well as in style, the record is in agreement with Tamil inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries found in South India.

Owing to the very bad state of preservation of the first three lines, considerable doubt exists as to the name of the king in whose regnal years the record is dated. In the preliminary account of the discovery of this inscription, included in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1933, p. 14, I have tentatively taken the king's name as Jayabāhu and the regnal year as the eighth. In so doing I was influenced by the occurrence in the record of the name of Vikramabāhu as Vikkirama Calāmega, the use of the throne name Calāmega (P. Silāmegha or Abhaya Silāmegha) suggesting that that prince had already assumed ruling powers after the death of his father. The dating of records issued in the reign of Vikramabāhu in the regnal years of his predecessor Jayabāhu is known from several other epigraphs 1.

Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, however, the former Superintendent for Epigraphy in the Indian Archaeological Survey, whose knowledge of Tamil epigraphy is probably unrivalled and to whom I had the good fortune to show an estampage of this inscription, is of opinion that what is now left of lines 2 and 3 warrants the reading of the royal name as 'Vijayabāhu', rather than as 'Jayabāhu', and that the regnal year, given in figures, is undoubtedly 42.

¹ See E. Z., Vol. II, pp. 200-202, Vol. III, p. 304.

The symbols for 42 are fairly clear on the estampage and if the regnal year be read as such, the epigraph should date from the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1058–1114). For this reason, and also because I am influenced by the regard which must naturally be paid to the opinion of Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer, I have adopted his reading of the king's name and the regnal year. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that in the 42nd year of Vijayabāhu, Vikramabāhu had possibly not yet become the heir-presumptive; and in that case it would seem strange to find him referred to by the throne name Calāmega. No similar instance has yet been found elsewhere. If the record was dated in a regnal year of Jayabāhu, then Vikramabāhu was the actual ruler of the northern part of the island when this inscription was indited, and it would be perfectly natural for a regiment to be named after him, as it is in this record, and for his personal name to have the throne name appended to it.

The object of the record is to register donations to the god Siva in the temple named Ten-Kailāsam (the Southern Kailāsam) at Kantaļāy, by a Brahmin lady named Nāgaiccāni, in memory of her husband. The epigraph also informs us that the shrine had the surname of Vijayarāja İśvaram and that Kantaļāy The term 'Caturvediwas also called Vijayarāja Caturvedimangalam. mangalam' is of frequent occurrence in South Indian inscriptions and is appended to the names of villages inhabited by Brahmins 1. As it was called Vijayarāja Caturvedimangalam, Kantalay at that time must have had a colony of Brahmins who lived there under the protection of Vijayabāhu I. The place kept its character as a seat of Brahmins for at least a century longer, for we read in an inscription of Niśśamka Malla found there 2 that it was then named Caturveda-Brahmapura and that an alms-hall called Pārvatī-satra was maintained there by that monarch. Probably Kantalay became a centre of Hindu influence during the period of Cola rule in the eleventh century; and the Sinhalese kings who succeeded the Colas maintained the Brahmins and patronized their shrines. The Śaiva shrine at Kantalay, since it was called Vijayaraja Iśvaram, must have been founded by Vijayabāhu I, or at least under his patronage. The chronicles, and the inscriptions of Vijayabāhu so far brought to light, represent that monarch as a great patron of Buddhism, who exerted all his power to raise that religion from the degraded position to which it had sunk during the period of Cola dominance. But his zeal for Buddhism did not, as shown by this record,

¹ See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Studies in Cola History and Administration, p. 77.

² E.Z., Vol. II, pp. 283-290.

prevent him from extending his patronage to such other faiths as were prevalent among his subjects.

In order to ensure the maintenance, without any hindrance, of the charitable endowment registered in this record, it was given the name of Śrī Vikkirama-Calāmega-t-terinda Vaļangai Veļaikkāran, i.e., the selected left-hand Veļaikkāra regiment of Śrī Vikkirama Calāmega. In other words, the charity was placed under the protection of that regiment. The practice of placing a religious institution and its endowments under the protection of a regiment like the Veļaikkāras is not unknown from epigraphic records found in South India as well as in Ceylon 1. The long Tamil inscription on the Quadrangle (Daladā Maļuva) at Polonnaruva², dating some time after the death of Vijayabāhu I, states that the Temple of the Tooth was placed under the protection of the Velaikkāras. That record also enables us to learn many interesting facts about the constitution of the Velaikkara forces. In my edition of that inscription 3 I have collected together the information that can be gathered from the Mahāvamsa, the Tamil literature, and South Indian and Ceylon epigraphy, concerning those mercenaries. The present record does not add anything more to what we already know about this military corporation.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Ko-(c-Ciri-Cangabodi)-
- 2 -varm[mar/āna] uḍaiyār Śrī (Vijayabā)-
- 3 -hu- devarkku 4 yā[ndu] 42 [āvadu] (Kantaļā)-
- 4 -y āna Vijayarāja-caturvvedi-mangalattu (Ten)-
- 5 kaiļāsam Śrī-Vijayarāja-Īśvaram-uḍaiyārk-
- 6 -ku irukkum brāhmaņan Kārāmbac-
- 7 -cețțu Yajñiyakramavittan dharmma-patni-y-ā-
- 8 -na 6 Nāgaiccāni tan bharttā-v-āna Yajñiyakramavittan [ma]-
- 9 -ritta pinbu avanai nõkki-c-ceyda dharmmam/āva[du] [||*]
- 10 Aru-kalañcu-ponnāl mudiyum mu-k-kalañcu-
- 11 ponnāl mālaiyum sandhi-viļakkoo[nrukku]
- 12 itta kācu 1 m tiru-nandavānañ ceyvānuk [ku ni]-

¹ See Travancore Archaeological Series, vol. iii, p. 35 and E. Z., Vol. II, p. 247.

² See *E. Z.*, Vol, II, pp. 242-255.

⁸ Ep. Ind., vol. xviii, pp. 330-338.

⁴ Read dēvarkku.

⁵ The two symbols which are not recognizable and therefore left unread may possibly stand for a place name.

⁶ Read ana.

- 13 -lappoli-y-ūttukku itta kācu 8 m idil po $[\underline{n}]$
- 14 alivu corvukku itta kācu 1 m
- 15 alivu corvukku iţţa kācu 2 m [tē]va[r-a]-
- 16 diyār/āga-p-peņdugaļ eluvarai-t-ta[lai-i]-
- 17 -laiccinai-y-ittu ivargaļukku nislai]-
- 18 poli-y-ūțțu nibandham/āga ițța kācu 23 ā-
- 19 -ga mudal nirka-p-poli-y-ūṭṭinal nilai-niba-
- 20 -ndhañ «celvana-v-āga iṭṭa kācu 35 po-
- 21 -n onbadin-kalancu [11*] Ippadi ceyyappatta
- 22 i-d-dharmmam alivu vārāmal nilai-niruttu-
- 23 vārzāga Śrī-Vikkirama-Calāmega-t-terinda Va[ļa-
- 24 -ngai] Velaikkāran 1/enru tiru-nāmañ/cāt
- 25 2 tiyadu [11*] Śrī [11*]

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-9] Hail! Prosperity! In the (42nd) year of King (Ciri-Cangabodi) 3-varman alias Śrī (Vijayabā)hu-devar. [The following are] the religious donations made to [the god] Śrī-Vijayarāja Īśvaram-uḍaiyār at [the shrine called] (Ten)-Kaiļāsam in Kantaļāy alias Vijayarāja-Caturvvedi-mangalam by Nāgaiccāni, the wife of the Brāhmaṇa Kārāmbacceṭṭu Yajñiyakrama-vittan 4, residing at , after the death of her husband Yajñiyakramavittan, and in his memory 5:—

[Lines 9-21] A crown of six kalañcus of gold; a necklace of three kalañcus of gold; I kācu 7 granted for one evening lamp; 8 kācu granted so that its interest may be secured permanently for the benefit of the person who maintains the sacred flower garden; I kācu granted for the purpose of making up any loss to this gold; 2 kācu granted for the purpose of making up any loss...., having placed fore-head marks on seven females (dedicating them) as dancing girls of the god, 23 kācu were deposited as an endowment, so that the interest

¹ Read °kāran.

² A $Sr\bar{i}$ occurs here at the beginning of the line, possibly written to balance with $Sr\bar{i}$ at the end of the line.

⁸ P. Siri Sanghabodhi, the throne name adopted alternatively with Silāmeghavanṇa by the mediaeval kings of Ceylon. See E. Z., Vol. II, p. 9.

⁴ Kārāmbacceṭṭu is evidently a place name and is found prefixed to the names of Brāhmaṇas occurring in South Indian inscriptions. Kramavittan is also a title often found in such names.

⁵ Avanai nōkki: Literally, 'having considered him'.

⁶ See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 336, n. 6.

⁷ Ibid., p. 311, n. 3.

may be secured permanently for their benefit. Thus $35 \ k\bar{a}cu$ and nine $ka\underline{l}a\tilde{n}cus$ of gold have been granted so that the perpetual endowments may continue from what is accrued as interest, the capital remaining unspent.

[Lines 21-25] In order that this charity, performed in this manner, may continue without any loss, the glorious name of the **Veļaikkāras** of the Lefthand, (composed of) the selected (troops) of Śrī Vikkirama-Calāmega¹, is given to it. Prosperity!

No. 25. GALAPĀTA VIHĀRA ROCK-INSCRIPTION.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THIS inscription is engraved on a rock by the side of the flight of steps leading to the shrines and monastic buildings at the Galapāta Vihāra, situated about two miles south-west of the Rest House at Bentoța in the Valallāviți Kōralē of the Southern Province. As the inscription itself testifies, Galapāta Vihāra is a foundation of the twelfth century, or the thirteenth if the record be attributed to the reign of Parākramabāhu II and not to the first king of that name. This vihāra, along with other Buddhist shrines on the western seaboard, must have suffered from Portuguese vandalism. A modern vihāra has been founded on the site during the last century and very few remains of the mediaeval monastic establishment are to be seen there now. A carved doorframe preserved on the site has been removed, some time ago, from the ruins of a Hindu shrine in a neighbouring village 2.

The inscription covers a rock surface measuring 11 ft. 9 in. by 5 ft., and consists of twenty-eight lines of writing which are separated by parallel horizontal lines engraved two inches apart from one another. The average size of the letters is $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. The record has weathered considerably, particularly towards the end. There are consequently a number of lacunae in the text given below; but they occur, for the most part, in the long list of temple slaves, and in the portion of the document containing the names of witnesses; and do not, therefore, prevent us from getting a reasonably clear idea of the contents of the epigraph as a whole.

This inscription is No. 165 in Müller's A. I. C. Dr. Müller gives neither the

¹ P. Silāmegha, Sin. Salamevan, the throne name of Vikramabāhu I.

² For an account of the Galapāta Vihāra, see Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, vol. vi, pp. 40-43.

text nor the translation of the record but states that 'it gives an account of the repairs which King Parākramabāhu of Dambadeniya executed at this temple, having heard that the dāgoba attached to it contained a relic of Mahā Kassapa the first hierarch of Buddhism'. What Dr. Müller says of the contents of the record is, as will be seen from the translation given below, not exactly correct. In fact, it does not seem as if he had personally studied the record with any care. He seems to have contented himself with reporting what he was told by the people of the place about the contents of the inscription. The Buddhist monks of the modern Galapāta Vihāra, most of whom are well versed in Pāli and Sinhalese, are able to read the opening lines of the record, wherein the name of a king Parākramabāhu occurs. From the Mahāvamsa they are aware of the fact that Parākramabāhu II of Dambadeniya was responsible for some works of religious merit at a vihāra in Bentota, and they have therefore assumed that the inscription records this event. I myself, when I went to the place to re-copy the inscription, was told the same story.

An article on this inscription giving its text and translation (excluding lines 15 to 22, which contain the names of slaves dedicated to the temple) has been published by Mr. H. C. P. Bell². That distinguished archaeologist, too, has assumed that king Parākramabāhu of this inscription is the second of that name and moreover states, without giving any reason therefor, that Demalaadhikāra Kahambalkuļu Mindal (Mahendra) who, according to the record, was the founder and benefactor of the Galapāta Vihāra, is identical with Deva Patirāja of the Dunukēvatu family, who is stated in the chronicles to have planted an orchard and carried out other works of public utility and religious merit in and around Bentota at the behest of his royal master, Parākramabāhu II. But neither Dr. Müller nor Mr. Bell has critically examined this record to ascertain the identity of the king mentioned therein. They, as well as the Sinhalese pandits, have proceeded on the mere assumption that an inscription of a Parākramabāhu found at Galapāta Vihāra must be of Parākramabāhu II, since that monarch's name is connected in the chronicles with a religious establishment at Bentota. It is therefore necessary to examine such evidence as we can find in the inscription to decide which of the many kings named Parākramabāhu is the ruler in whose thirtieth year this record is dated.

There were only three Parākramabāhus who enjoyed reigns of thirty years or more. Of these, the sixth of that name is out of the question, since the record

¹ A. I. C., p. 71.

² Ceylon Notes and Queries, R. A. S., C. B., July 1914, pp. lxix-lxxvii.

is written in a **script** which is much earlier in form than that of the inscriptions of that monarch. The Parākramabāhu of this record must, therefore, be either the first or the second, both of whom reigned for more than thirty years.

Palaeography cannot settle this question decisively. The script of our record does not materially differ from that of the Gal-vihāra rock-inscription of Parākramabāhu I, as may be seen by comparing the letters on Plate 21 with those of Plate 37 of E.Z., Vol. II. But the interval between the two reigns was only 72 years; and this is too short a period within which to decide a date by depending only on the development of the script. It is a well-known fact that records, even those dating from the same reign, are sometimes found to contain scripts of different stages of development. The difficulty is further aggravated by the fact that inscriptions which can definitely be dated in the reign of Parākramabāhu II are very few1. In fact, there are only two of them, namely, an epigraph found at Yapahuva dated in his twenty-ninth year and mentioning the regent Vijayabāhu and the prince Bhuvanaikabāhu², and another found at Anurādhapura, recording a grant by the king's younger brother Bhuvanaikabāhu Mahapā 3. Of these two, the script of the Yapahuva inscription deviates very little, if at all, from that of the records of the Polonnaruva period; but the Anuradhapura epigraph contains forms more developed than those found in the inscription under discussion. Thus on purely palaeographical grounds the Galapāta Vihāra inscription may be dated from the reign of Parākramabāhu I.

We may now examine the **contents** of the inscription to ascertain whether they furnish us with evidence to settle the date of the record. It states that a dignitary named **Mindal** (Mahendra) who held the office of **Demaļa-adhikāra** and was administering the **Pasyodun** District, founded the **Galapāta Vihāra**, with the royal assent and with the co-operation of his mother, his nephews **Kodānāvan** of Miyangunubim and **Vijayānāvan** of Degalaturubim, and his kinsman **Kaṭuvitnā Sātumba** or **Devu**. The record also gives a long list of the lands and serfs granted to the temple by its founders and ends with the signatures of the donors and of the witnesses to the document.

Now it is difficult to believe that the works of religious merit mentioned in this inscription are the same as those which, according to the chronicles, were effected at Bentota in the reign of Parākramabāhu II. As we have already

¹ There are a few records of an unidentified Parākramabāhu, for instance the inscriptions at Vaharakgoḍa (Bell, *Report on the Kegalla District*, pp. 82-83) which may possibly date from the reign of Parākramabāhu II.

² A. S. C., A. R. for 1911-12, p. 63.

³ E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 286-288.

mentioned, it was Deva Patirāja who carried out Parākramabāhu II's programme of meritorious works at Bentota. And there are no valid grounds for assuming, as Mr. Bell has done, that Demala-adhikāra Mindal of this record is the same as Deva Patirāja. 'Deva' and 'Mahinda' are two different names; and according to the Attanagalu-vamsa Deva Patiraja was a scion of the Dunukevatu family, whereas the family name of Mindal appears, from this record, to have been Kahambalkulu. In the thirtieth year of Parākramabāhu II, Deva Patirāja was, as is testified by the $P\bar{u}j\bar{a}val\bar{i}^2$, the prime minister of the king; but in this record, which is dated in the thirtieth year of a Parākramabāhu, Kahambalkulu Mindal is referred to merely as the governor of the Pasyodun District, an officer lower in status than the prime minister. The other dignitaries figuring in this record are not mentioned in the accounts of the reign of Parākramabāhu II. The official titles such as Demala-adhikāra, found in this document, are not known to have been in vogue in the Dambadeniya period, though of course we cannot definitely assert that they had then fallen into disuse.

The religious works of Parākramabāhu II and Deva Patirāja at Bentoṭa consisted of the celebration of a festival in honour of a reputed relic of Mahākassapa Thera, the laying out of fruit gardens, the construction of bridges, and gifts to the priesthood 3. The present inscription, on the other hand, records the foundation of a monastery and shrines and their endowment. The religious works of Parākramabāhu II and Deva Patirāja have been described in great detail in the contemporary Pūjāvalī and Cūlavamsa; and if this king and his minister had really been instrumental in establishing and endowing a new monastery, the authors of these works, who missed no opportunity of glorifying the good deeds of these two personages, would not have contented themselves with stating that what the king, through his minister, effected, was only the usual type of benefaction to a religious establishment which was already in existence. When we consider the above facts, it becomes extremely doubtful whether this record is to be attributed to Parākramabāhu II.

Let us now consider whether there is evidence for assigning this epigraph to the reign of **Parākramabāhu I**. The chronicles do not mention a shrine at Bentota as a work of that monarch; but it must be remembered that according

¹ Colombo edition of 1914, p. 45.

² Ibid, 1922, p. 11.

³ Pūjāvalī, 37th chapter, edited by B. Gunasekara, p. 44 and Mahāvamsa, chap. lxxxv, vv. 78-84 and chap. lxxxvi, vv. 16-17 and 44-47.

⁴ Mahāvamsa, chap. lxxxv, vv. 78-84 and chap. lxxxvi, vv. 16-17 and 44-47.

to the record Galapāta Vihāra was not established by the king himself but by a local chief, though with the royal assent. Therefore, even if Galapāta Vihāra does date from the reign of Parākramabāhu I, it would not necessarily have been mentioned in the chronicle where the latter gives a list of that king's religious foundations.

The official title Demala-adhikāra (P. Damilādhikāri) is known from the Mahāvamsa¹ to have been current in the reign of Parākramabāhu I; and names such as those of the dignitaries figuring in this epigraph were borne by personages who flourished in the reign of that monarch or in the decade or two which followed it. Three persons of the name of Mahinda are mentioned in the Mahāvamsa as having borne high office during the reign of Parākramabāhu I. Of these, one was a chieftain who fought on the side of Parākramabāhu I against Gajabāhu II in the civil war between these two princes². The second, who had the title of Nagaragiri, was another general of Parākramabāhu I, and took part in the same campaign³. The third was a high dignitary who built a splendid shrine, for the Tooth Relic, at Polonnaruva⁴. It is not impossible that one of these Mahindas, towards the close of the reign of Parākramabāhu I, held the office of Demala-adhikāra and was in charge of the Pasyodun District, and that he was identical with the Mahendra (Mahinda) of this epigraph.

Another of the donors in the present epigraph is named Vijayānāvan. In the Ruvanvälisāya inscription of Queen Kalyāṇavatī, which is twenty-one years later in date than the thirtieth year of Parākramabāhu I, a Vijayānāvan, who was the treasurer under a Parākramabāhu and other kings, is mentioned; but it is doubtful whether he was the same as the donor in the present record, for the family name of the Vijayānāvan of Kalyāṇavatī's inscription is given as Pirivatubim, whereas that of the Vijayānāvan of our record is Degalaturubim. Moreover, the Vijayānāvan of our inscription does not appear to have held the office of treasurer. In the Polonnaruva inscription of Vijayabāhu II, the successor of Parākramabāhu I, a high dignitary named Vijayā-yāntān-nāvan is mentioned ; and he may be identical with the Vijayānāvan of our record. Vāntān is the name of an office and according to the usage then prevailing it could have been added to the personal name of the dignitary if he had been appointed to that office. There is less likelihood that Kaṭuvitnā Devu of our inscription was the same as Koṭadanavu Deva of Kalyāṇavatī's record.

¹ Chap. lxxv, v. 117 and chap. lxxvi, v. 39.

⁸ Ibid, chap. lxx, vv. 89, 146, and 158.

⁵ J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. vii, p. 183.

² Mv., chap. lxix, v. 13.

⁴ Ibid., chap. lxxiii, v. 128.

⁶ E. Z., Vol. II, p. 184.

The inscription mentions a locality, near Galapāta Vihāra, named Niśśamkagala; and it is possible that this place got its name from King Niśśamka Malla, who ascended the throne a year after the death of Parākramabāhu I, and whose connexion with Bentoṭa is attested by the chronicles¹. This fact may perhaps be adduced as evidence against assigning the record to the reign of Parākramabāhu I. But one cannot be quite certain that the locality in question was not so named after some other personage called Niśśamka. It is also not unlikely that Niśśamka Malla, who hailed from Kālinga, was living in Ceylon towards the close of the reign of Parākramabāhu I; and a place may well have been named after him in the thirtieth year of that reign.

Taking all the facts into consideration, there is more reason for assigning this record to the reign of Parākramabāhu I than to that of the second; though it must be admitted that there is no evidence of a really decisive nature on this point.

The historical information supplied by this long epigraph is scanty, for the greater part of the document consists of a bare list of the lands and serfs dedicated to the monastery. In the text published by Mr. Bell that portion of the record containing the names of temple slaves has been purposely omitted as of no interest now-a-days. I have, however, included this portion, not only in order to have the complete text of the inscription, so far as it can be made out, but also because it tells us what the names of humble folk in Ceylon were like in the twelfth or thirteenth century. As Mr. Bell has observed, this is the only Sinhalese inscription giving a list of temple slaves. Some of the names of these slaves are Tamil or of Tamil origin; but no one who is familiar with the names of Sinhalese people to-day would, on that account, assume that the bearers of these Tamil names were Tamils by nationality.

As to the **geographical names** occurring in the record, Pasyodun-vaga is the modern Pasdun Kōraļē and is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* as Pañcayojana-raṭṭha². The chronicle also refers to Bentoṭa as a place which was within the limits of the Pañcayojana or Pasyodun District³ in the reign of Parākrama-

¹ Mv., chap. lxxxvi, v. 16 and Pūjāvaliya, op. cit., p. 43.

² Mv., chap. lvii, v. 71; chap. lxi, v. 35; chap. lxviii, v. 51; chap. lxxii, v. 57; chap. lxxv, v. 21; and chap. lxxxv, v. 81. The Pāli pañcayojana is a translation of S. pas-yodun and means 'five yojanas' (leagues). Possibly the district got its name from its extent. Vaga is P. vagga and names of districts ending in this word are found in the Mahāvainsa, e.g. Doni-vagga (chap. lxxv, v. 69) and Majjhima-vagga (chap. lxx, v. 21).

³ *Mv*., chap. lxxxv, v. 81.

bāhu II; but at present it is just outside the southern boundary of Pasdun Kōraļē. Miyanguņu is Mahiyangaņa of the chronicles, the modern Alutnuvara in the Ūva Province. Degalaturu is phonetically equivalent to Degaldoruva, but it cannot be ascertained whether it is the same as the place bearing that name near Kandy. Some of the names of localities in and around Bentoṭa figuring in this epigraph, are still known by the same, or similar, names. Mr. Bell has pointed out that Ṭingavaṭu, Tiratenayāvatta, Boltuḍāva, and Niśśamkagala are known to-day as Timbavaṭuva or Timboṭuva, Tiritenayāvatta, Boltuḍāva, and Niṣsamgala, respectively. The modern Kasagaltoṭa corresponds to Kasagalgoḍa of this inscription. Kakuļuvāgala is probably the modern Kākulāgala and the Kaļapuva (lagoon) is still known by the same name.

Velgammuļa, the monastic institution to which the newly founded Galapāta Vihāra belonged, is possibly the same as Vilgammuļa which, in the mediaeval period of Ceylon history, was an important college of monks 1. Dharmarājan Pirivena is not known from other sources. Galapāta Vihāra is referred to, in the opening Sanskrit śloka, as Śailāntāyatana. This was an important religious establishment in the fifteenth century and the fame of the abbot who was at its head in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI has been sung by the Bengali Brahmin Rāmachandra Bhāratī in the Sanskrit poem Vṛttamālā 2.

The record opens with a Sanskrit śloka in the Śārdulavikrīdita metre; the rest of the document is in **Sinhalese prose**. Noteworthy words occurring in the document are kaṭuvitnā (l. 3), sī-parapurā vä (l. 5), and koṭavel-aya (l. 6). Vidhi in l. 8 is possibly an error for vīdi and śāttunāvan in l. 6 is incorrectly written with a palatal ś. In certain words occurring in this record, short vowels are substituted for long ones used in the standard forms; compare, for example, vahanse (l. 3), nä (l. 3), mābo (l. 4), varundāta (l. 5), pāṭa (l. 7), kere (l. 11), and me (l. 12), which occur in literary works as vahansē, nā, mābō, varundāṭā, pāṭa, kerē, and mē, respectively. The forms dāgap (l. 4), pirivana (l. 4), and paritden (l. 13), of which the usual forms are dāgāb, pirivena, and paridden, are also noteworthy. In l. 8 occurs the form hindavū, which agrees with the standard usage, while in the same line and in l. 10 occur the variant forms, hinduvu and hindivū, of the same word. The style has a general resemblance to that of the documents dating from the Polonnaruva period.

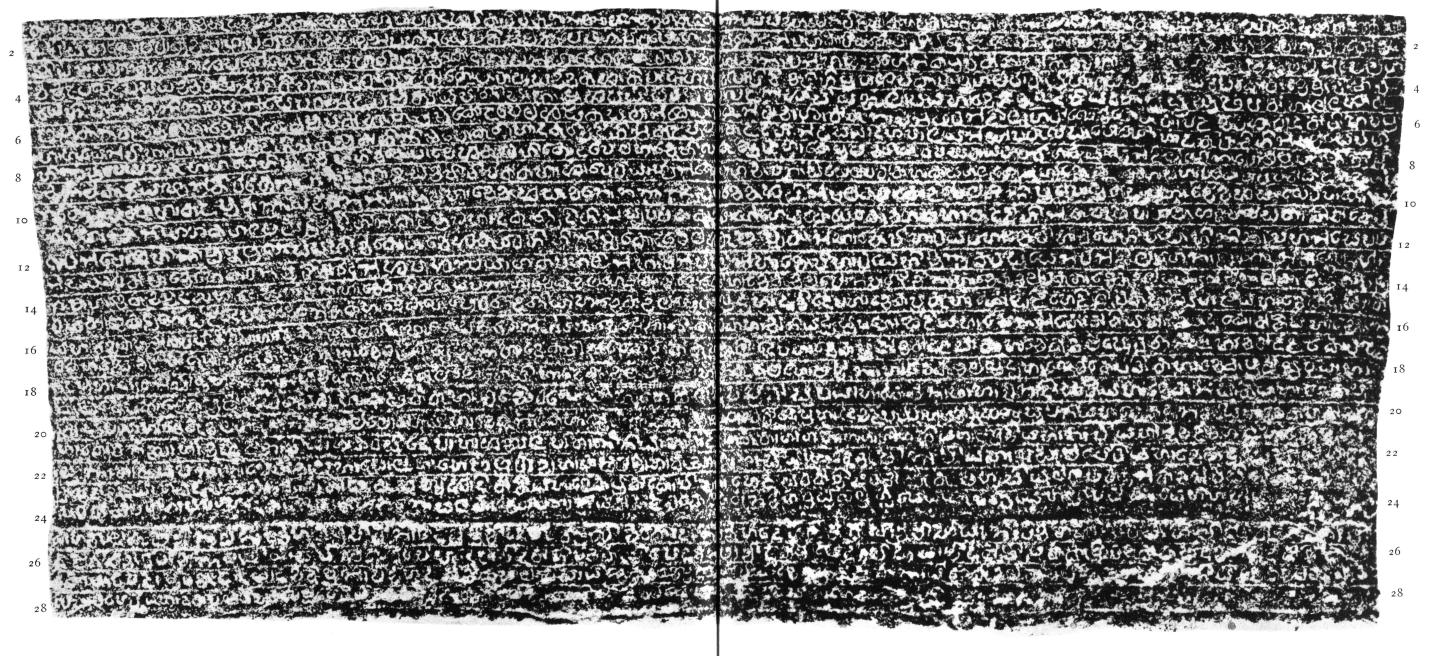
¹ For this college of monks, see above, p. 86.

² Edited by the late Pandit Batuvantudave, 5th edition, Colombo, 1928.

THENT

- 1 තුිංශෙ භූමිතුජඃ පරාකුමහුජ[සා]ෙබද තදුදෙශන ශශුඬාචාරදුඩාබිකාරිවිභුනා නාමනා මහෙයෙදුණ තු [෦*] උතතුශාභියසම්භවෙන විදුෂා කෳපතාය [සතකීනීතිනා] ශෛලාභනායන[නාය දනතුවිමිඛ]ශාමාදිසංබෝහ[චා]නෙ [෦*]
- 2 සිරිසගබො පරාකුමබාහු චකුවිනීතිසවාමින්වහන්සෙට නිස්වනු වෙසගැ පුර පොහොයැ පස්යොදුන්වග කාරිය කොටැ සිටි දෙමළ[අඛිකාර කහමබල්කුළු මිඥල්]නා වමහ අප හා අපගේ මැ
- 3 ණියන් වහන්සෙ හා අපගේ බෑන මියතුණුබිම් කොදුනාවන් හා දෙන ලතුරුබිම් විජපාෂාවන් හා අපගේ නැ කටුවින්නා සැතුමබ හා වුන් වෙල්ග
- 4 ම්මුළට බද ව සධම්වරාජන්පිරිවනට ඇතුළත් කොටැ රාජසම්මත ඇති වැ ද,ගප් මාබො පිළිම පිහිටුවා අප කැරැවූ **ශල්පානාවිතාරයට** කොටැ මෙමැ විහාර
- 5 යෙහි වැඩැ හිඤිනා වහන්සෙවරුන්දට පුනෲය පිණිසැ හා ලූ අප සිපරපු රෑ වැවළ ඤ ආ සියමබලාපය හා මෙහි මැ බද ව්යළ නැනු සුඹුළුපන් හැල්ල ඇතු
- 6 එවූ තැනැ කුඹුරු හා මෙහි පොල් පුවක් ඇතුඑවූ කොළවෙල්අය කුස ලාන් කොටැ හා කුන්රාමාශාතතුනාවන්ට රන් දීලා ගත් බෙම්තොටැ නාවළමට ඇතුළත් ටිගවටු
- 7 භාගයෙන් විහාරයට පැදුම්දිහින් කුඹුක් හිසිවූ පොකුණ හා දකුණුදිහින් කළපුව හා පැළදිගින් උඩයාදශපාලයන්ගේ වතුබඩැ පොකුණ හා උතුරුදිහින් නම්සෙට්ට්
- 8 හිසුවු පොල්වතුභාගයෙහි විබි මහහිම් කොටැ මේ අතුරෙහි කොළවෙල් හා මෙහි බද කුඹුරු හා කෙවුළු මණිකප්පම්බරාය[රු]ට විහාරයෙන් රන් දිලා ගෙනැ පොල් පුවක් හිසුවූ
- 9 මුකුල්කැමියා හුන් තිරතෙනයා[වත්ත] හා ඉසම්විට්වත්ත හා ආවෙරියා හුන් බෙරවාගමැ පනැස්පොල්වත්ත හා කසගලු(ගොඩ) හා මො ගොඩ හා වල් කපා පවත් කළ .. ළග
- 10 න්නොටවත්ත හා කළපුමැඥැ (ධණී)නඤනදුව හා මෙමැ අසැ මනො නඤනදුව හා මෙමැ අසින් වල් කපා කොළවෙල් හිඤිවූ බොලුතුඩාව හා මෙම අසැ බෙරවාගො[ඩ]
- 11 නිශශංකගලට පැදුමදිගින් කළපුව හා දකුණුදිගින් සුවවත්කැම සාගේ ගෙස කෙරෙ කෝන්ගස හා පැළදිගින් කකුළුවාගලැ අරමඛඩ හා කින්කෙව්
- 12 වෙන් පොල් හිඤිවූ ඉලුබැස්ස හිමි කොටැ මෙ අතුරෙහි හිඤිවූ කොළ වෙල් ඇතුළුවූ තැන් හා මෙ විහාරයට හා මෙ විහාරයෙහි වැඩැ හිඤිනා වහන්සෙවරු

- 13 න්දැව අත්පාමෙහෙ කරන පරිත්දෙන් අප අනියාගතවනලින් හා රන් වහලින් හා මේ විහාරයෙහි මූනුකරඩුයෙන් රන් දීලා ගෙනැ ලූ කොන්ත බොග
- 14 න්ත හා මෙකු මවු උ(බ) හා මෙ(කු නං මි) නි හා මෙකු පිත් උයවණ, හා මෙකු මල් ගෙන්(කැම්) ලො(කෙ) යි හා මෙකු මල් පොන්වාණී මිණ, හා මෙකු මල් රකු හා මෙකු මල් (සුව) හා (මිණුල්කැමියා)
- 15 රය හා මෙකු දූ නොඩැලි දෙව නත්ත හා මෙකු බෑ පොරණ මණියා හා මෙකු මල් පොරණ බුදු හා දමිදෙව හා මෙකු පුතු හා ගොඩැළි හෙළීලි රකහැ(ළි) සිනලිය හා මෙකු දූ සාති
- 16 ය හා මෙකු [පුතු] කරඩි හා මෙකු නං සෙ[ල්]ලිය හා [ගොඩලි] ය හා මෙකු දූ කැලිරක හා මානිය දූ සුව ගොඩලිය හා සෙ(නැ)න් කොත්තිය හා මෙකු දූ කොත්තිය හා මෙකු නං
- 17 රක හා මෙකු මල් හා මෙකු අඹු මිඤි හා මෙකු පිත් ණත්තු හා .. ලි දෙව හා මෙකු පූත් මත්දළ සාතා හා මෙකු මල් පොරණ (ස)ලා හා මත්දළ කොරළ
- 18 දෙවු හා සාතන් සි මෙකු මල් ලොකෙයි හා මෙකු මල් හා මෙකු මල් ගොළු මිනු හා මෙකු මල් බුදු හා බෙම්තොව කින හා මෙකු පූත් සූවයා හා
- 19 දෙව හා මෙකු පුත් හා කළු කිතු හා එඩෙර බොයි හා හෙ[ළි]ලි දෙව පුත් සුවසා හා කොර නාථා හා එනැඳි සාතිය හා මෙකු නං සාතිය හා මෙකු පු
- 20 න් සුවයා හා මෙකු මල් මෙකු මල් ලොකෙයි හා මෙකු නං රක හා මෙකු මල් (ϕ ැවේරි) දෙවු හා දෙමළ පයා හා මෙකු අඹු සුපනිය හා මෙකු දූ න (\mathbf{g}) ය හා මෙකු සූන්
- 21 හා කොර නම්බා හා මද්දළ යා හා කරඩි දෙවා හා අම්බලවා හා .. නිසා හා කිළ කිනා හා ගහා හා ගැ .. ගහිය හා ල දිය හා නැවිය හා දෙමළ
- 22 සූඥ හා ජයව(ඥ) හා හා සෙලේ හා හෙඵලු රාමා හා කඵ රාමා හා කුඩා රාමා හා සි(න්) .. දෙමැලි ගැවිය හා බඩල් පෙරිය හා මෙකු දූ [මෙ]
- 23 කු පුත් යා හා හා හා මෙකු අඹු ආදිත්නිය හා මෙකු පුත් කොව්වා හා හෙළසරක් මිසරක් ඇතුළු[වූ] සියල්ලට තමන් තමන් විසින් (සල)
- 24 කමින් සවශ්නාපවශීන නොසලකා මෙයට හානියක් කළ එකෙක් ඇත් නම් කවුඩු බලු වූයේ යැ කාවණුයෙහි ලූ බත් කැයේ යැ
- 25 කහමබල්කුළු මිඥල්නා වම්හ කටුවිත්නා දෙවුම් මියකුණුබිම් කොදුනා



TRANSCRIPT.

- Trimse bhūmi-bhujaḥ Parākrama-bhuja[sy/ā]bde¹ tad/ādesatas/ Śraddhā/cāra-draḍādhikāri²-vibhunā nāmnā Mahendreņa tu [1*] Uttung/ānvaya-sambhavena viduṣā klptāya [sat-kīrttinā]³ Śailānt/āyata[nāya datta-vividha]-grām/ādi-samkhy/o[cya]te [11*]
- 2 Sirisangabo **Parākramabāhu** cakravartti-svāmīn-vahanseṭa tis-vanu Vesagä ⁴ pura pohoyä Pasyodun-vaga ⁶ kāriya koṭä siṭi Demaļa-[adhikāra **Kahambalkuļu Mindal]-nā** vamha apa hā ⁶ apagē ⁷ mā-
- 3 -niyan vahanse hā apagē bāna Miyangunubim Kodā-nāvan hā Degalaturu-bim Vijayā-nāvan hā apagē nā Kaṭuvit-nā Sätumba hā vun 8 Velga-
- 4 -m-mulata bada va Saddharmma-rājan-pirivanata ätulat koṭä rāja-sam-mata äti vä dāgap ⁹ mā-bo pilima pihiṭuvā apa kärävū ¹⁰ Galpāta-vihārayaṭa ¹¹ koṭä memä vihāra-
- 5 -yehi väḍä hindinā vahanse-varundāṭa 12 pratyaya piṇisä hā lū apa sīparapurā vä vaḷandā ā 18 Siyambalāpaya hā mehi mä bada viyaḷa tänu¹⁴ Sumbuḷupat-hälla ätu-
- 6 -ļu-vū tänä kumburu hā mehi pol puvak ätuļu-vū koļavel-aya 16 kusalān koṭā hā Kunrāmā-śāttunāvanṭa ran dīlā gat Bemtoṭä tāvaļamaṭa 16 ätuļat Ṭiṅgavaṭu-

¹¹ Mr. Bell conjecturally restores the missing letters as $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ -vastu; but this conjecture is not supported by such traces of the letters as are still visible.

¹ Bt. -bhujaḥ śyābde.
2 Bt. dṛṣādhikāri.
3 Bt. kālāpta-puṇyātmane.
4 Bt. Vesaňgä.
5 Bt. raṭa.
6 Bt. Keselā(na-bim Mahendra) maha (ämatiyā).
7 Bt. apage.
8 Bt. Sätumba-deṭu (hā puda) nuva vun.
9 Bt. dāgab.
10 Bt. käravū.
11 Mr. Bell conjecturally restores the missing letters as hūjā-vastu; but this conjecture is

¹² Bt. vahanse-varundāļa.

¹⁸ Bt. Sīsarasutā Vävalanda ä.

¹⁴ Bt. viyahena.

¹⁵ Bt. avä.

¹⁶ Bt. tavalamața.

- 7 bhāgayen vihārayaṭa pädum-digin kumbuk hindiva pokuņa hā dakuņu-digin kalapuva hā päla¹-digin Udayā-daśapālayangē vatu-badä² pokuņa hā uturu-digin Nam-seṭṭi
- 8 hinduvu pol-vatu-bhāgayehi v(i)dhi maha-him koṭā me aturehi kolavel hā mehi bada kumburu hā kevuļu Maṇakappambarāya[ru]ṭa vihārayen ran dīlā genā pol puvak hindavū
- 9 Mundal ⁵-kämiyā hun Tiratenayā-[vatta] hā Isamviṭi-vatta hā Äveriyā hun Beravā-gamä Panäspol- ⁶ vatta hā Kasagalu-(goḍa) ⁷ hā mo goḍa ⁸ hā val kapā pavat kaļa .. ļaga-
- 10 -ntoța- vatta hā kalapu-mändä (Dharmma)-nandana-dūva 10 hā memä 11 asä Manonandana-12dūva hā memä 11 asin val kapā kolavel hindivū Bolutudāva hā mema asä Beravā-go[da]
- 11¹⁸ Niśśamka-galaṭa ¹⁴ pädum-digin kalapuva hā dakuņu-digin Suvavat-kämiyāgē geya ¹⁵ kere kōn-gasa hā päla ¹⁶-digin Kakuluvā-galä ¹⁷ arama-bada hā ¹⁸ Kitkev-
- 12 -ven ¹⁹ pol hindivū Ilubässa him koṭā me aturehi hindivū koļavel ätuļuvū tän hā me ²⁰ vihārayaṭa hā me ²⁰ vihārayehi väḍä ²¹ hindinā vahanse-varu-
- 13 -ndāṭa at-pā-mehe karana ²² paritden ²³ apa anvayāgata-vahalin hā ranvahalin hā me vihārayehi mundu-karaṇḍuyen ²⁴ ran dīlā genä lū Konta Boga-
- 14 -nta 25 hā meku mavu 26 U(ba) 27 hā me(ku naṁ Mi)ndi 28 hā meku pit Uyavandā 29 hā meku mal Get(kämi) 30 Lo(ke)yi hā meku mal Ponvāṇī Mīndā hā meku mal Raku hā meku mal (Suva) hā (Mīndalkämiyā)
- 15 -raya hā meku dū Goḍāli Deva natta hā meku bā Poraņa Maṇiyā hā meku mal Poraṇa Budu hā Dämi-deva hā meku putu hā Goḍāļi Heļili Rakahāļ(i) Sigaliya hā meku dū Sāti-

¹ Bt. päla. ² Bt. varubäsä. ³ Perhaps to be corrected to vidi. 4 Bt. -kappambarāta. ⁵ Bt. mudal. ⁶ Bt. Panas-pol. 7 Kasagalu-tota. ⁸ Bt. Mokusāgoda. 9 Bt. (rajagenarata)ța. 10 Bt. kalapu-mändäya Malandunan-dūva. 11 Bt. mema, 12 Bt. Manobandana. ¹³ The second and third letters of this line have been read by Mr. Bell as $h\bar{a}$ me. 14 Bt. galäţa. 15 Bt. Sujjita-kämiyā(ge yā)ya. ¹⁶ Bt. päļa. 17 Bt Käkuļuvā-gala. ¹⁸ Mr. Bell has added here uturu-digin which is not found on the stone. 19 Bt. Kikkevaven. ²⁰ Bt. mema. 21 Bt. väda. 22 Bt. karana.

Bt. paridden.
 Bt. karanduven.
 Bt. Konrābog Rāma.
 Bt. ambu.
 Bt. Umba.
 Bt. duva Vālindā.
 Udaranda.
 Bt. Ge(tta).

- -ya hā meku [putu] Karadi hā meku nam Se[1]liya hā [Godali] 16 ya hā meku dū Käliraka hā Māniya dū Suva Goḍaliya hā Se(nä)n Kottiya hā meku dū Kottiya hā meku nam
- Raka hā meku mal hā meku ambu Mindi hā meku **17** pit nattu hā .. li Deva hā meku put Matdaļa Sātā hā meku mal Poraņa (Sa)lā hā Matdaļa Koraļa
- Devu hā Sātan Si meku mal Lokeyi hā meku 18 mal hā meku mal Golu Mindā hā meku mal Budu hā Bemtoța Kita hā meku put Suvayā hā
- Deva hā meku put hā Kaļu Kitu hā Eņdera Boyi hā He[li]li Deva put Suvayā hā Kora Nāthā hā e-nädi Sātiya hā meku nam Sātiya hā meku pu-
- -t Suvayā hā meku mal meku mal Lokeyi hā meku nam Raka hā meku mal (Äveri) Devu hā Demaļa Payā hā meku ambu Supaniya hā meku dū Na(mbi)ya hā meku put
- hā Kora Nambā hā Maddaļa yā hā Karaḍi Devā hā Ambalavā hā 21.. niyā hā Kiļa Kitā hā Gangā hā Ga .. gangiya hā La diya hā Näviya hā Demaļa
- Sundā hā Jayavand(ā) hā hā Selē hā Heļulu Rāmā hā Kaļu 22 Rāmā hā Kuḍā Rāmā hā Sī(n) .. Demäli Gäviya hā Baḍal Periya hā meku dū [me]-
- -ku put yā 1 hā hā meku ambu Ādittiya hā 2 meku 23 put Kovivā³ hā heļa-sarak mī-sarak ätuļu-[vū] siyallata taman taman visin 4 (sala)-
- -(kamin)⁵ svargg≈āpavargga 6 no-salakā meyata 24hāniyak kaļa ekek ät nam kavudu balu vūyē yä7 kāvaņuyehi lū8 bat kāyē yä 9
- Kahambalkuļu 10 Mindal-nā vamha Kaţuvitnā 11 Devumi 12 Miyanguņu-25 bim Kodā-nā vamha Degalaturu-bim Vijayā-nā vamha 13 (Datmi) Rak-häli But

¹⁰ Bt. Kahambalkula.

12 Detusa.

² Bt. Rada-paṇḍarala-kāļa hā Yäku dambudala Dittiya hā. ¹ Bt. Dilayā. ⁴ Mr. Bell has omitted taman visin. ³ Bt. Kovicā. 5 Bt. samin.

⁶ Mr. Bell fills the gap by (iṣṭa sapa saha raja aṇa).

⁸ Bt. kāvanuye hala. ⁷ Bt. baluhu yeyä. ⁹ Bt. ba(t kävun samānayo)yä. 11 Bt. Katavitnā.

¹⁸ What Mr. Bell has made out of line 25 from this point and the first half of the next line is: Āghara-Sangili Butu Pabandami Dakiņa Moratāmāndā Vāliyā Sadime Kuranavalu Devāmi Dathi Vatakadi-pedara Nāgāmi.

27 * * * * * *

28 * * * * * *

TRANSLATION.

[Line 1] In the thirtieth year of **Parākrama-bhuja**¹, the lord of the earth. (Herein) are enumerated the villages, &c., granted to the monastery of **Śailān-tāyatana** which was established, at His Majesty's behest, by His Lordship the Dra[vi]dādhikārin ² of pious conduct, by name **Mahendra**, who was born in high lineage, is wise and is of good repute.

[Lines 2-5] On the full-moon day of Vesaga in the thirtieth year of His Majesty, the Emperor Sirisangabo Parākramabāhu. We kahambalkuļu Mindalnā, the Demaļa-adhikāra, administering the Pasyodun-vaga, the lady our mother, our nephews, Kodānā of Miyanguṇu-bim and Vijayānā of Degalaturu-bim, and our kinsman, Kaṭuvitnā Sätumba, grant, as to the Galpāta Vihāra which we have founded with royal consent, making it connected with Velgammuļa and included in the Saddharmmarājan Pirivana, and having established [therein] relic-shrines, great bodhis and images; and for the things requisite for their lordships [the monks] who reside in this vihāra, the following lands which have been in the possession of our family s.

¹ i.e. Parākramabāhu.

² Dradādhikāri: The reading drada in this compound is free from doubt; but it conveys no sense. In the corresponding Sinhalese portion of the epigraph occurs the title Demala-adhikāra and it is therefore possible to conjecture that dradādhikāri is a mistake for dravidādhikāri, the Sanskrit rendering of the Sinhalese title. The word dravidādhikāri contains one syllable too much for the metre; and it is quite possible that the omission of the syllable vi was deliberate, being an expedient to satisfy the requirements of the metre. If so, it is a licence which cannot be justified on grammatical grounds.

⁸ P. Vesākha, Skt. Vaiśākha. April-May.

⁴ The original would read literally: We are Kahambalkulu... We, and the lady our mother ...

⁵ Kahambalkulu, appears to be a place name used as a family name. Such are Miyangunu bim and Degalaturu-bim in the names of two other dignitaries occurring in this record. Mindal is the same as Pāli Mahinda.

⁶ The officer who held the title of Demala-adhikāra (the Superintendent of the Tamils) was most probably the Commander of the Tamil mercenaries who were in the service of the Sinhalese king.

⁷ Kaṭuvitnā, in this name, appears to be an official title of which the significance is altogether obscure.

⁸ Sī-parapurā vā is a phrase not found elsewhere; but it is clear that it is connected with siya-parapura (Skt. svīya-paramparā) 'own lineage'.

[Lines 5-12] Siyambalāpaya and, appertaining thereto, the fields in the area included within Sumbulupat-hälla which has been made suitable for sowing¹; the koļavel-aya² of this including coco-nut and areca (palms) given as religious donations³; the extent granted to the vihāra from the allotment of Ṭiṅgavaṭu, included in the tāvaṭama⁴ of Bemtoṭa, which was bought by giving gold to the caravan leader⁵ Kunrāmā, bounded, on the east by the pond (pokuṇa) at which kumbuk trees have been planted, on the south by the lagoon, on the west by the pond (pokuṇa) near the garden of Uḍayā Daśapālayā and on the north by the street⁶ in the allotment of the coco-nut garden planted by Nam-seṭṭi; the koṭavel of this area and the fields appertaining to this; Tiratenayā-vatta which was bought by giving gold from the vihāra to the fisherman Maṇa-kappambarāyaru, which is planted with coco-nut and areca palms and in which Mundal-kāmiyā resides; Isamviṭi-vatta; Panāspol-vatta in Beravā-gama; in which Äveriyā resides; Kasagalu-goḍa; goḍa; . . . lagantoṭa-vatta which was prepared by having the jungle cleared; the island Dharmma-nandana in the

¹ Viyaļa tänu: Compare the phrase viyaļa bahā tänu in the Batalagoda-väva slab-inscription and see the remarks thereon, above pp. 80 and 82, n. 2.

² The word kolavel has also been found in a document of Parākramabāhu VI, published by Mr. Codrington in Vidyodaya, I, p. 376. In l. 10 occurs the phrase val kapā koļavel hindi-vū which shows that koļavel is a term denoting some kind of cultivation. Koļavel-aya would therefore signify the revenue due to the landlord or the state from this particular form of cultivation. Koļa occurs in the compound gaha-koļa which is used in colloquial Sinhalese, and may mean 'leaves' or 'shrubs'. Vela ordinarily means field. Mr. Codrington is of opinion that koļavel-aya is the later vatu-badda, i.e. the tax on gardens.

³ Kusalān: For this word, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 95.

^{&#}x27; Tāvaļama occurs nowhere else in Sinhalese literature or epigraphy. It seems to be the prototype of the modern Sinhalese word tavaļama which means 'a number of oxen laden with merchandise' or 'a station on the frontier for the sale or exchange of commodities' (see Clough, Sinhalese-English Dictionary, s.v.). The first of these two meanings does not suit tāvaļama in the context in which it occurs in this record; but the second seems to be applicable. The words tāvaļama and tavaļama both seem to be derived from T. tāvaļam which means 'lodging or place of residence' or 'town or city in an agricultural tract' (see Tamil Lexicon, s.v.). In the compound tāvaļakkārar, the Tamil word seems to have preserved the meaning which is found in its Sinhalese derivative, for it means 'traders from distant parts' or 'those who keep oxen for carrying burdens'. That part of mediaeval Bentota designated by the word tāvaļama, might have been so called because it contained a station for the exchange of goods, or from the fact of its being the centre of an agricultural tract.

⁵ Śāttunā, wrongly written for sāttunā, Skt. sārtthavāha-nāyaka.

⁶ This rendering is based on the correction of vidhi, occurring in the text, to vidi (Skt. vithi).

⁷ Mundal-kāmiyā means 'treasury official'. In olden times the custom of referring to, and addressing persons by, their official titles, in preference to their personal names, seems to have been prevalent among the Sinhalese as it is to-day.

middle of the lagoon; the island Manonandana in the same vicinity; Bolutuḍāva in which kolavel has been planted after having had the jungle cleared; Niśśamkagala, in Beravāgoḍa in the same vicinity, to which the boundaries are, on the eastern side the lagoon, on the southern side the $k\bar{o}n$ tree near the house of Suva Vatkämi, on the western side Aramboḍa of Kakuļuvā-gala, and on the northern side I Ilubässa in Kitkevuva in which coco-nut palms have been planted; the kolavel planted and the lands within these boundaries.

[Lines 12-23] And in order that they may perform services 2 to this vihāra and to their lordships [the monks] residing in this vihāra, the following [were granted] from among the slaves who have belonged hereditarily to our family, the purchased slaves 3 and those acquired by paying gold from the funds 4 of this vihāra:

Konta Boganta,⁵ his mother Uba, his younger sister Mindi, his father Uyavandā, his younger brother Getkämi Lokeyi, his younger brother Ponvāṇī Mindā, his younger brother Raku, his younger brother Suva; Mindal-kämiyā... raya, his daughter Goḍäli Deva... natta, his elder brother Poraṇa Maṇiyā, his

¹ The words meaning 'on the northern side' (uturu-digin) which we should expect here, are omitted in the text.

² At-pā-mehe-karana means literally 'performing services by the hands and the feet'.

³ Ran-vahal, literally 'gold slaves', may mean either slaves bought for money or those who were forced to slavery by debt.

^{*} Mundu-karaṇḍu: This word occurs in the Mihintale tablets of Mahinda IV and has been translated by Dr. Wickremasinghe as 'a casket under lock and key'. Mudu is derived from Skt. mudrā and means 'seal' while karaṇḍu (Skt. karaṇḍa) means 'casket'. Mundu-karaṇḍu must therefore have been a sealed casket or box in which the small objects of value belonging to a monastery were kept. The term may well have been extended in use to the gold and jewels preserved in this place of safe deposit and seems to have been used in that sense in the present record.

of them first and then to give the names of others related to him, the relationship being also stated. There is a certain amount of ambiguity regarding the relationships, as it is not always clear whether the pronoun meku 'of this' (translated by 'his') refers to the name immediately preceding it or to some other occurring previously. The writer of the epigraph seems to have had a certain sense of chivalry, for in enumerating the relatives of any person the womenfolk are generally given the precedence. The names of these humble folk are interesting in that they show us that, in the twelfth or thirteenth century, as to-day, ordinary persons had sobriquets, indicating some bodily characteristic of theirs, or their profession or residence, to distinguish them from their fellows of the same name. For instance we find in this inscription such names as Koraļa Devu (Devu, the scaly), Goļu Mindā (Mindā, the Dumb), Bemtota Kita (Kita of Bemtota), Kaļu Kitu (Kitu, the Dark), Eṇḍera Boyi (Boyi, the Cowherd), Kora Nāthā (Nāthā the Lame), Heļili Deva (Deva, the Fair), Demaļa Payā (Payā, the Tamil), Heļulu Rāmā (Rāmā, the Fair), Kaļu Rāmā (Rāmā, the Dark), Kuḍā Rāmā (Rāmā, the Small), Baḍal Periya (Periya, the Goldsmith), and Getkämi Lokeyi (Lokeyi, the Tailor). Names of this type may be found in any Sinhalese village to-day.

younger brother Porana Budu; Dämi Deva and his son; Godali, Helili, Rakahäla, and Sigiliya; his daughter Sātiya; his son Karadi . . . his younger sister Selliya; Godali... his daughter,.. kali Raka; Suva Godaliya, daughter of Māniya; Senän Kottiya, her daughter Kottiya, her younger sister Raka, her younger brother his wife Mindi, his father . . . nattu; . . . li Deva, his son Matdala Sātā, his younger brothers Porana Salā and Matdala Korala Devu; Sātan Si..., his younger brother Lokeyi, his younger brother . . . , his younger brother Goļu Mindā, his younger brother Budu; Bemtoţa Kita, his son Suva; Deva, his son ; Kaļu Kitu, Eņdera Boyi, Suvayā son of Heļili Deva; Kora Nāthā, his aunt Sātiya, his younger sister Sātiya, his son Suvayā, his younger brother his younger brother Lokeyi, his younger brother Raka, his younger brother . . . Äveri Devu; Demaļa Payā, his wife Supaniya, his daughter Nambiya, his son Kora Nambā; Maddaļa ya; Karadi Devā; Ambalavā; .. niyā; Kiļa.. Kitā; Gangā; Ga.. gangiya; La... diya; Naviya; Demaļa; Sundā; Jayavandā; Selē; Heļalu Rāmā; Kaļu Rāmā; Kuḍā Rāmā; Sīn...; Demäli Gäviya; Badal Periya, his daughter....; his son ... ya, his wife Ādittiya, and his son Kovivā.

[Lines 23-24] To all mentioned above, including neat cattle and buffaloes by one's own self considering heaven and final liberation. If there be any person who, not considering, does any harm to this [religious gift], may he become a crow or a dog; he is like one who has eaten the rice put in the $k\bar{a}vanu^{-1}$.

¹ Kāvaņuyehi lū bat kāyē yā: For this phrase, see above, p. 82, n. 4.

² Here, as well as in the beginning of the record, the dignitary named Mihindal or Mindal (Mahendra) refers to himself in the honorific plural which is also used by the other dignitaries, except Kaṭuvitnā Devu, mentioned in the record.

³ Datmi, &c.: With this formula used by the witnesses to this document, compare that occurring at the end of the Dorațiyāva sannasa of Niśśamka Malla: for example, the phrase dannam Kalyāṇamahādevīmha, 'I, Kalyāṇa-mahādevī, know this' (see J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. xxix, pp. 320 and 322). A similar formula is used by witnesses in Tamil inscriptions. Compare, for instance, the signature of a witness in an epigraph from the Sokkanātha Temple at Koliñjivāḍi: ippāḍi arivēn Pallavarā-yarēn, 'I, Pallavarāyar, know this' (S. I. I., vol. v, p. 95).

No. 26. HABÄSSA ROCK-INSCRIPTION.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Habassa¹ is the modern name of the site of an ancient $vih\bar{a}ra$ on the right bank of the Kumbukkan Oya, situated in the forest about six miles south-east of the village called Okkampițiya in the Buttala Kōraļē of the Ūva Province. At the site are two long and narrow hummocks of gneiss running north-west to south-east, with steep overhanging sides on which are a number of caves with drip-ledges. On the western side of the southerly range of rock is a very large cave, walled in and containing a colossal recumbent Buddha image in brick and stucco. Further to the west is a large ruined $st\bar{a}pa$ and remains of numerous monastic buildings or shrines which are, for the most part, buried in debris. At the southern extremity of this rock there are three caves, one of which contains, engraved on the rock wall, the inscription dealt with in the present paper.

The inscription covers an area of 5 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. 1 in. The rock surface has not been dressed before the execution of the record, and in line 2 a rough patch of the rock has been avoided, leaving more space between the sixth and seventh letters of this line than there is between any other two letters in the inscription. Owing to its sheltered position, the epigraph is in a fairly good state of preservation. Some letters, however, have been damaged by the disintegration of the rock; but the whole record can be deciphered without any possibility of a doubt, except in the case of the ninth and tenth letters in line 3. The height of the individual letters ranges from 2 to 5 inches. The engraving has been rather carelessly done, the second and third letters of line 1 being wrongly transposed and one letter being omitted after the fourteenth of line 4.

The script is Brāhmī of the second century and conforms to the type found in other epigraphs of the period. The letters, however, are not so well formed and regular as in most other inscriptions of the time, and the triangular va in line I may be compared with the same letter occurring elsewhere in the record. Da is of the cursive type and the rightward curve at the middle of the vertical stroke is hardly noticeable. The letters la and sa are also noteworthy. In the former, the horizontal stroke at the base is continued appreciably to the left from the point of its meeting with the vertical stroke which forms the left limb

¹ For a brief notice of Habässa, see A.S.C. Annual Report for 1928-29, p. 6.

of the letter. The sa has developed a short horizontal bar at the top of its right limb.

The language is Sinhalese of the second century, and the present document does not exhibit any grammatical forms in phonology, or nominal and verbal forms which have not already been noticed in other Ceylon inscriptions of the same period, and commented upon¹. It is, however, worth noting that dine, derived from the p.p.p. of the root $d\bar{a}$ (P. dinna), is used in an active sense in line 2, while dini in line 5, which etymologically is the same verbal form, is obviously used in the original passive sense. Perhaps we may conjecture that, in course of time, these two slightly varying forms of the same word became differentiated in meaning, one expressing the active voice while the other retained its original sense of past participle passive. In uvaraja (P. uparāja) we notice the change of intervocalic p to v.

The inscription is of great historical interest, since it mentions a king of the second century who has not been noticed in the chronicles. The epigraph records the grant of an irrigation channel and three fields to the ancient monastery at the place by the uparāja Naka (Nāga), grandson of King Vahaba (Vasabha) and son of King Utara (Uttara). No king named Uttara is mentioned in the chronicles of Ceylon, and this is the first document discovered in which a king of this name figures. Nāga, the son of King Uttara, is said to have been a grandson of King Vasabha; therefore Uttara must have been a son, son-in-law, or nephew of Vasabha. But as the usual practice in the firstand second-century documents, when they give the genealogy of a king or a prince, was to trace the descent directly on the paternal side2, it is more reasonable to assume that Uttara was a son of Vasabha. The Mahāvamsa and all the other chronicles mention only one son of Vasabha, namely Vamkanāsika Tissa³. The only inscription so far known of Vamkanāsika Tissa calls him a son of Vasabha and the numerous lithic records of Gajabāhu I state that the last named king was a son of Tissa and a grandson of Vasabha6. The inscriptions therefore support the chronicles when the latter state that Vasabha's son and successor was Tissa, surnamed Vamkanāsika (the Crooked-Nosed).

¹ For discussions of the grammar of second-century Sinhalese, see E. Z., Vol. I, pp. 58-59, 67, and 252, and Vol. III, pp. 114-115, 164, and 215.

² Cf. E. Z., Vol. III, Nos. 6 and 12.

³ Mahāvamsa, chap. xxxv, v. 112.

⁴ See C. J. Sc., G., vol. ii, pp. 101 and 123. A. S. I., No. 510.

A. I. C., Nos. 5, 10, 11, and 12; E. Z., Vol. I, p. 211 and Vol. III, pp. 116 and 166.

'Uttara' may, therefore, have been another name of Tissa; but, on the other hand, it is also possible that the chronicles have omitted certain historical facts and that Tissa was not the only son of Vasabha who became a king.

A second-century inscription, found at Tammannava in the Nagampaha Kōraļē of the Anurādhapura District, mentions a Dutaga Maharaja, son of Vahaba Maharaja¹. If one does not take it that 'Utara' and 'Duṭaga', were both alternative names of Tissa, one has to come to the conclusion that three of Vasabha's sons occupied the throne, either one after the other or contemporaneously. We have no means of deciding this last point in question; but, if the accounts given in later Sinhalese chronicles 2 of an invasion of Ceylon 'at this time by the Colas be true, it may be permissible to conjecture that the Cola king in invading this island took advantage of a temporary weakness of the Sinhalese state due to disputed succession or divided sovereignty. Like Tissa, Dutaga and Uttara both use the title maharaja and it is therefore improbable that they were ruling as subordinates of Tissa. Thus it seems likely that, on the death of Vasabha, three of his sons disputed the throne or that the kingdom was divided among them, so that while Tissa ruled the northern part of the island with Anuradhapura as his capital, Dutaga held sovereignty over the provinces in the southern part of Rajarattha and Uttara became king of Rohana. The fact that no such kings have been mentioned in the chronicles need not militate against this view, for the chroniclers have taken very little notice of what took place outside Anurādhapura. If, however, there was such a state of disunion in the reign of Tissa, it must have been ended by his son Gajabāhu I, who was a strong ruler and whose sovereignty over the whole of Ceylon is attested by his inscriptions found in various parts of the island.

Uparāja Nāga, the donor in this inscription, being a grandson of Vasabha, was of the same generation as Gajabāhu I, and the record must have been published in the reign of this monarch. It is therefore noteworthy that Nāga, while admitting his subordinate rank and office of uparāja, has not considered it necessary to mention his paramount sovereign in a grant made by himself. The title uparāja was borne, in mediaeval times, by the heir-apparent to the throne. It rarely occurs in the Mahāvamsa for the time relating to this inscription and we do not know what its exact significance then was. The title, however, is

¹ A. S. C. Annual Report for 1934, p. 18.

² See Pūjāvali, 34th chapter, Gunasekara's translation, p. 21.

³ Geiger, Cūļavamsa, translation, part I, p. xix.

applied to Mahānāga, the younger brother of Devānampiya Tissa, who was evidently the heir-apparent, but had to flee from the court owing to the schemings of the queen, and was therefore excluded from the succession. When we find that the title has been used to mean the heir-apparent at such an early date and that it was so from the seventh century onwards, there is no reason to assume that it had not the same significance in the second century. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that Nāga was the heir-apparent of the king who was on the throne when this inscription was indited, most probably Gajabāhu I. In the natural course of things he must have succeeded Gajabāhu.

According to the chronicles, the successor of Gajabāhu was Mahallaka Nāga². 'Mahallaka' is a sobriquet meaning 'old', and such epithets, though favoured by the writers of the chronicles, are never found used in documents written in the life time of the personages to whom they referred. Mahallaka Nāga, for instance, is referred to as Naka Maharaja in the inscription of his son Kaniṭṭha Tissa found near the southern altar of the Northern Dāgāba at Anurādhapura³. It is therefore quite possible that uparāja Nāga of this inscription was the same as Mahallaka Nāga.

The Mahāvamsa calls Mahallaka Nāga a sasura of Gajabāhu. The Pāli word sasura ordinarily means 'father-in-law', but the Sinhalese historical writings, the Pūjāvalā and the Rājāvalā⁵, state that Mahallaka Nāga was a brother-in-law (suhurubaḍu) of Gajabāhu. I have elsewhere opointed out that the word sasura is actually found in Pāli literature with the meaning of 'brother-in-law' and that this was the relationship of Mahallaka Nāga to Gajabāhu. It seems, therefore, that Gajabāhu married a daughter of King Uttara, who was most probably a brother and rival of his father, and appointed his wife's brother to succeed him. Very likely, this union and the appointment of Nāga as heirapparent were dictated by political expediency and were meant for the unification of the country. If, as there is reason to believe, the island was divided among three kings in his father's time, it is likely that Gajabāhu, on his accession to his father's throne, found that the only way to win over the adherents of King Uttara to his side was by a matrimonial alliance and the assurance of the succession after him to a son of King Uttara. Presumably, Gajabāhu did not

¹ Mahāvamsa, chap. xxii, v. 5.

² Ibid., xxxv, v. 123.

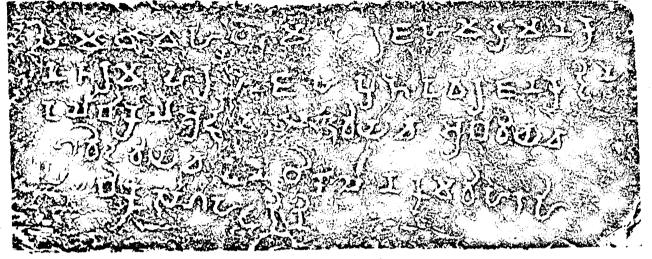
^{*} E. Z., Vol. I, p. 252 ff.

^{&#}x27; Mahāvamsa, chap. xxxv, v. 123.

⁵ Pūjāvalī, 34th chapter, translated by Mudaliyar Gunasekara, p. 22, and Rājāvalī, Gunasekara's translation, p. 49.

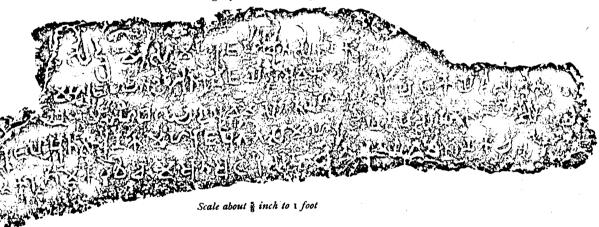
⁴ J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. xxx, p. 452.

Habässa Rock-Inscription



Scale about 11 inches to 1 foot

Vessagiriya Rock-Inscription



γ¥ .

Timbirivava Rock-Inscription



Scale about 7 inch to 1 foot

feel himself strong enough to vanquish the rival party by force and the necessity of restoring the national prestige lost in the previous reign made it imperative to settle domestic dissensions as was best possible without having recourse to a fratricidal civil war, further weakening the military strength of the country and thereby inviting the South Indian marauders who were ever ready to take advantage of such an opportunity.

Ulibikala-Naka-maha-vihara, to which this epigraph records a benefaction, is undoubtedly the name of the ancient monastery which existed on the site. No such name can be found in the chronicles, but it is certain that the monastery was already in existence when this grant was made. Ulibikala is evidently a place-name and the monastery was called Naka probably in honour of its benefactor, the *uparāja* Nāga. The irrigation channel granted to the monastery also had the name Ulibikala. Neither this nor any of the fields granted can now be identified.

TEXT.

- 1 Simadha 1 Vahaba-maharajaha marumaneke
- 2 Utara-maharajaha pute uvaraja-Nake dine
- 3 Ulibikala ali ca [Mata]viya ca Abaviya ca
- 4 Gavidaviya ca [Uli]bikala-Naka-ma[ha*]- viharahi
- 5 biku-sagaheata dini

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Uvaraja Naka², son of the great king Utara³ and grandson of the great king Vahaba⁴ gave the channel⁵ [called] Ulibikala, and [the fields] Mataviya⁶, Abaviya and Gavidaviya. [The above] were given to the community of bhikkhus in the Ulibikala-Naka monastery.

¹ Read Sidham.

² P. Uparāja Nāga.

³ P. Uttara.

⁴ P. Vasabha.

^{*} Ali: see E. Z, Vol. III, p. 154, n. 12. In the Molahitiyavele-gala rock-inscription, the word occurs as adi.

[•] Viya in this and the two names which follow probably means 'field'. See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 116.

No. 27. VESSAGIRIYA ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF SIRINĀGA II

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THIS inscription is engraved on a small solitary boulder near a ruined structure to the west of Rock B at the site now called Vessagiriya at Anurādhapura. The surface of the boulder is uneven and, as the record has been indited without having the stone smoothed, the lines of writing are sprawling and of unequal length. At its longest, the inscribed area extends to a length of 11 ft. 5 in. and measures 3 ft. 2 in. across at its broadest point. The letters, too, are of unequal size, varying as much as from $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height. The epigraph, of which five lines are preserved, is much weather-worn, and some letters seem to be missing at the end in the sixth line.

The script is decidedly of an archaic character for the date of this inscription which is about the first decade of the fourth century. vertical strokes of such letters as a, ra, and ka and the sign for the medial vowel u do not show the upward curve to the left at their lower extremities a feature which was already developed in the script of the first century², and the further evolution of which gave to these letters the forms they assumed in the eighth century. This particular stroke of the letters in question in the present document is a straight vertical line as it is in the pre-Christian Brāhmī script. The letter ta does not contain the loop which it developed at a date considerably earlier than that of this document. In fact this letter in the word Tisa in l. 4 differs very little from its pre-Christian form. On the whole, the script favours angular as against curved forms which were the prototypes of the mediaeval Sinhalese alphabet. Judging from the forms of these other letters, one can infer a date earlier than the time of Vasabha, or even Bhātika Abhaya, for the script of this record; but the definite information supplied by the names of kings occurring in the document shows us that it is much later. This inscription may therefore serve as a warning to those who try to fix the date of a document within narrow limits by its palaeography alone. Though there are, of course, broad periods during which the script retained a certain character differing from that of the preceding or following periods, there was considerable variety of forms within the same epoch. The development of the script, as well

¹ Really the ancient Issarasamana Vihāra, see C. J.Sc., G., vol. ii, p. 182.

⁸ See the Maharatmalē Rock-Inscription of Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga, E. Z., Vol. I, plate 13 a.

as that of the language, was by no means uniform and one of steady progression, as some assume, but had many periods of retrogression during which the older forms were in favour in preference to the younger and more developed forms which had already made their appearance. On the other hand, our record contains letters, such as sa and ya, which differ considerably from their second-century forms. The right arm of sa has been carried upwards as a straight line and a short horizontal stroke has been attached to it at the top. The left limb of ya which, in the earlier script, is almost equal in height to the right, has much diminished. The forms of these two letters in the present epigraph have no relation to their evolution in later periods.

The language generally agrees in **grammar** with the documents a century or so before and after. It is, however, noteworthy that the locative case singular terminates in *i* and *e*, respectively, in the words *divasi* and *ate*, side by side with the usual termination for this case *hi* in the word *pasahi*. The word *tatiya* (Skt. *tṛtīya*), which is identical with the Pāli form, also deserves mention.

The epigraph is noteworthy as the only ancient Sinhalese inscription, so far known, in which a grant made by a king is proclaimed in the reign of a successor of his. The genealogy of both rulers is given; the king in whose regnal years the inscription is dated is Sirinaka (Sirināga) son of Tisa (Tissa) while the donor was Tisa, son of Sirinaka, son of Tisa. It is clear that Tisa, the father of the king who published the grant, is the same as King Tisa mentioned later in the document as the donor of certain tanks and villages, presumably to the monastery on the site. For the sake of convenience, the genealogical information contained in this document may be presented in tabular form, thus:

Tisa Maharaja | Sirinaka Maharaja | Tisa Maharaja | Sirinaka Maharaja

In the first place, we notice that the grandson is named after the grand-father—a custom which we have already noticed in the Sinhalese royal family during the fourth century. The identification of these kings, save the first, presents no difficulty. There are only two kings named Sirināga mentioned in the chronicles, from which, as also from our inscription, we learn that the second king of this name was a grandson of the first. According to the chronicles,

¹ E. Z., Vol. III, p. 124.
² Mahāvainsa, chap. xxxiv, vv. 27 and 54. Ibid., chap. xxxvi, v. 28.

the son of Sirināga I was Vohārika Tissa. 'Vohārika' was a title bestowed on this monarch for his knowledge of the law and therefore his own personal name was 'Tissa'. Thus, there is no doubt that Tisa Maharaja of this inscription, who was the son of one Sirināga and the father of another, was no other than Vohārika Tissa.

In stating that Sirinaga I was the son of a king named Tissa, the inscription supplements the genealogical information available in the chronicles. Mahāvainsa does not say whose son Sirināga I was; but informs us that he was the brother of the consort of his predecessor Kuñcanāga¹. The statement in the 34th chapter of the Pūjāvalī, regarding the relationship of Sirināga I to his predecessor, has been interpreted to mean that he was a nephew (sister's son) of Kuñcanāga2. As neither of these sources gives the name of the father of Sirinaga I, they cannot be said to be at variance with this inscription which, as a contemporary document, ought to be taken as furnishing us with reliable evidence. The question, therefore, is the identity of Tissa who was the father of Sirinaga I. According to the Mahavamsa, this king and his two predecessors Khujjanāga and Kuñcanāga belonged to the same generation. the previous generation, two brothers, both named Tissa, occupied the throne one after the other. The elder of the two was distinguished by the epithet 'Bhātika' (elder brother) while the younger had 'Kaniṭṭha' (younger brother) prefixed to his name3. Tissa, the father of Sirinaga I, must be one of these two kings, for there was no other monarch called Tissa who was sufficiently close in time to merit consideration in this connexion.

The statement in the *Mahāvamsa* that Sirināga I was a brother of Kuñcanāga's queen precludes the possibility that he was a son of Kaniṭṭha Tissa who was the father of both Khujjanāga and Kuñcanāga. Therefore the only possible conclusion is that Sirināga I was a son of Bhātika Tissa. If we adopt the view that the *Mahāvamsa* and this inscription are not at variance, we have to conclude further that Kuñcanāga married a daughter of Bhātika Tissa, the elder brother of his own father. Such consanguinous marriages, which were partly due to the importance attached to the preservation of the purity of blood of the royal race and partly made necessary in order to reconcile the claims to the throne of rival parties of the same family, were very common in the ninth and tenth centuries⁴,

¹ Mahāvamsa, chap. xxxvi, v. 21.

² Pūjāvalī, op. cit., p. 22.

³ See the genealogical tree on p. 306 of the *Cūlavamsa* translated by Geiger, part II, and chapter xxxvi of the *Mahāvamsa*.

⁴ See the genealogical table on p. 184 of E. Z, Vol. I.

the only period during which we have detailed information regarding the matrimonial connexions of the Sinhalese kings; there is no reason to hold that it was otherwise in the earlier periods.

The interpretation given to the passage of the Pūjāvalī which states the relationship of Sirinaga I to his predecessor, is at variance with the Mahavamsa and is not in accord with the inscription, for Sirinaga I could not have been the son of a sister of Kuñcanāga if he was a son of Bhātika Abhaya. The word which expresses the relationship in the text of the Pūjāvalī, as published by Gunasekara, is bāna1 (P. bhāgineyya); but in the Pūjāvalī edited by Valāne Dhammānanda Thera (4th reprint)², the word occurs as $b\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ with a cerebral n. It is a well-known fact that copyists of Sinhalese manuscripts have been very lax in the observance of the orthographical rules relating to the correct use of the cerebral and dental n's, and it is therefore extremely difficult to decide how the word was really written by the author of the $P\bar{u}j\bar{a}val\bar{\imath}$. If, however, $b\bar{a}n\bar{a}^3$ is the correct reading, the word means 'elder brother or cousin' and would correctly describe the relationship between Kuñcanāga and Sirināga I if the latter was older and was a son of the former's paternal uncle. There would thus be no discrepancy between this record and the literary sources for the history of the period.

The inscription mentions a number of villages and tanks; but the preserved portion contains no statement to the effect that they were granted to any religious institution. The possibility is that the end of the inscription did contain such a statement recording the gift of these villages to the monastery on the site, which in ancient times was called Issarasamana. The villages and tanks cannot now be identified; but one of them, Ma[ni]karagamaka-vavi, is possibly the tank in the village Manikāragāma which is said to have been granted to the Issarasamana monastery by Ilanāga⁴.

TEXT.

- 1 Siddham Tisa-maha-rajaha puta Sirinaka-
- 2 maha-rajaha cata lagitaka vijaya [do]-avana-
- 3 -[ka-va]sahi Bagu 6-cada ava-masa tatiya-paka-divasi paṭakaya Tisa-

¹ Gunasekara, A Contribution to the History of Ceylon extracted from the Pūjāvaliya, p. 21.

² Colombo, 1922 et segg., p. 682.

³ $B\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ is formed of $b\bar{a}$ (Skt. $bhr\bar{a}tr$, P. $bh\bar{a}tu$) with the addition of the honorific suffix na and \bar{a} the nominative singular termination.

^{&#}x27; Mahāvamsa, chap. xxv, v. 48.

⁵ See Plate 22.

[•] Read Baga.

- 4 maha-rajaha puta Sirinaka-maha-raja-puta Tisa-maha-raji padi-pasahi Kenahisa-
- 5 gama Ma[ni]kara-gamaka vavi ca me-ate aṭarisaha cuḍa aḍaya vavi ga[na]ki ca

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Proclaimed 1 on the third day of the fortnight of the waning moon of the month of Baga 2 in the second victorious year 3 after the raising of the umbrella [of dominion] 4 by the great king Sirinaka5, son of the great king Tisa6. The great king Tisa, son of the great king Sirinaka, son of the great king Tisa . . . the village Keṇahisa and the tank of the village Ma[ṇi]kara situated in the western quarter 7, also eighteen 8 small [irrigation] channels and tanks 9 . . . in the same quarter 10 . . .

- ¹ Patakaya: This word is taken as going back to Skt. prakajita and formed by the metathesis of ka and ta and the change of t to y.
- ² This word, the name of the first Sinhalese month, occurs in other inscriptions of the period as Baga; hence, the reading Bagu, which is clear on the stone, has been treated as a clerical error. In mediaeval Sinhalese it occurs as Bag and in the modern language as Bak. The Sanskrit word Bhaga, from which this seems to be derived, is a name of the nakṣatra called Uttara Phalguṇa; it is therefore noteworthy that the name is applied to a lunar month which should have been called after the Caitra nakṣatra.
- ³ Vijaya do-avanaka vasahi: For avanaka, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 181. The use of the word vijaya, meaning 'victorious', before the year, is not found in any other record, but a similar expression is found in the Mahāvamsa, chap. xx, v. 32: Tassa Uttiya-rājassa jayavassamhi aṭṭhame.
 - 4 Cata lagitaka: Cf. E. Z., Vol. III, p. 177. ⁵ P. Sirināga. ⁶ P. Tissa.
- ' Padi-pasahi: Padi is taken to be the prototype of the classical Sinhalese pala meaning 'west' or 'western'. The word seems to be connected with P. pātheyya which probably means 'western'. See Vinaya Texts, pt. II (S. B. E., vol. xvii), p. 146, n. 1. It probably goes back to Skt. pratyak or pratyañc. Pasahi is equivalent to P. passamhi. The kingdom of Anurādhapura was divided into four provinces named after the four points of the compass. Thus we have frequent mention in the Mahāvamsa of the Uttarapassa, Dakkhinapassa, etc. Cf. A. M. Hocart in C.J.Sc., G., vol. i, pp. 107-108.
- * Alarisaha is probably derived from P. and Pkt. alihārasa; but it is difficult to account for the change of the vowel a in the third syllable to i. The later Sinhalese form of the word is alalos. The termination ha probably indicates the nominative plural which is very often hu in later Sinhalese. But the construction of the sentence is not clear enough for us to say definitely whether the word should be in the nominative case. If the sentence is of the passive construction, the nominative case is required here and maharaji in 1.4 should then be in the instrumental case. If so, the nominal form may be equivalent to Skt. rājāā.
- ⁹ Cuda adaya vavi ganaki ca: As the sentence is apparently incomplete, the interpretation of this phrase is difficult. Cuda is probably the same as Skt. kṣudra, P. cūla and modern Sinhalese sulu, and may mean 'small'. Adaya is probably the nominative plural of adi 'irrigation channel (E. Z., III, p. 154, n. 12). Vavi, of course, means 'tanks'; but gaṇaki remains obscure.
- ¹⁰ Ate: This is evidently the locative singular of ata which, in modern Sinhalese, means 'direction'. Cf. such expressions as basnāhira ata 'the direction of the setting sun'. It is probably connected with Pāli anta which, in such compounds as cāturanta, has the meaning of 'points of the compass'.

No. 28. A ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF GOTHĀBHAYA AT TIMBIRIVĀVA.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

At Timbirivava, in the Mahapotāna Kōralē West of the Anurādhapura District, there is an ancient site now known as Veheragala. Here, on an expanse of flat rock, are the ruins of a small stūpa and vestiges of monastic structures of no particular interest. On the rock near the ruined stūpa are engraved five inscriptions in the Brāhmī script of the early centuries of the Christian era. These records, all of which are more or less fragmentary, were first brought to notice in 1896 by the late Mr. Bell who has published tentative readings and translations of them². One of these epigraphs is re-edited here, as the identification of the two kings—father and son—mentioned in the record, is likely to furnish us with genealogical information, not found in the chronicles, regarding the Sinhalese royal family of the fourth century.

The area covered by the inscription measures 11 ft. 10 in. at its longest and 3 ft. at its broadest. Leaving out the word siddham which is written to the left of the main body of the inscription, the first letters of all the five lines of the record are in a straight vertical line; but no such regularity is to be noticed at the ends of the lines, which are therefore of unequal length. The engraver has been rather careless in his work, for not only are the letters ill-formed and not of uniform size, but two letters had also been left out and the omission made good later. A ha has been left out after the second letter, ma, in line 2; and has subsequently been compressed into whatever space there was between the ma and ka. A na has been omitted after the 20th aksara of line 4, but has later been engraved below the line. The height of the individual letters varies from 2 in. to 10 in. Nine or ten letters have been totally obliterated in line 1; some aksaras have also been weather-worn in the other lines; but, with the exception of the 9th and 10th syllables in line 2, they are not altogether illegible.

Though the interval between this inscription and the Vessagiriya epigraph dealt with in the previous paper is only nine years, the scripts of the two documents are not identical. The script of the present epigraph is very much less archaic and shows a predilection for curved forms. Two types of ta are found, one with

the loop and the other without. The cerebral na has comparatively short horizontal strokes and can hardly be distinguished from the dental na. The ca is angular in form and can easily be mistaken for va.

As regards grammar, vowel assimilation is noticed in vihira and buku (l. 2) which occur in other records of the period as vihara and biku (P. vihāra and bhikkhu). Dini (ll. 3 and 5) and dina (l. 5) are both derived from the P. or Pkt. past participle passive form dinna; but the latter, which is used adjectivally, has assumed a form different from the former which has the force of a finite verb. In puṇamasiya (P. puṇṇamāsiyam) we have ya as the locative singular termination of a feminine stem. The construction of the second sentence beginning with me vavi is rather clumsy, the last word dini being redundant.

The **object** of the record is to register the gift of a tank by a lady named **Anulabi** to the monastery called **Gagapavata** (P. Gaṅgāpabbata) which was doubtless the ancient *vihāra* at the site. This name also occurs in other inscriptions on the site; but is not found in the chronicles. Gaṅgāsenakapabbata, however, is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa*¹ as one of the *vihāras* founded by Mahāsena; and it is possible that this is identical with Gaṅgāpabbata of the present inscription, the monastery having had *sena* added to its name in honour of Mahāsena, after that king became its benefactor.

The inscription is dated in the second year of King Mekavana Aba (P. Meghavannābhaya), son of the great king Sirinaka (P. Sirināga). Mr. Bell takes Mekavana Aba to be the same as Sirimeghavanna, the son of Mahāsena, and consequently identifies Sirinaga with Mahasena². In so doing he has adopted Dr. Müller's identification of these two kings, who are also mentioned in a very fragmentary inscription on the pavement of the Ruvanvälisäya at Anurādhapura. In support of his contention that Mahāsena was also known as Sirinaga, for which there is no evidence whatever in the chronicles, Dr. Muller quotes the fragmentary rock-inscription at Kārambagala which, according to him, mentions King Mahāsena under the title Naka Mahasena Maharaja3. In the estampage of the Kārambagala inscription which I have before me, the relevant passage reads Puvaya [ma]puru[ma]ka Mahasena maharaja[ha] puta Sirimeka-.... raja Apaya; this record cannot, therefore, be taken as evidence to show that Mahāsena had the name of Nāga or Sirināga. What Dr. Müller has read as Naka are the last two letters of the royal title mapurumaka, his reading being the result of mistaking ma for na.

¹ Chap. xxxvii, v. 41. ² A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report, pp. 54-55. ⁸ A. I. C., pp. 30-31.

Even after one has thus disposed of the Kārambagala inscription, it might be argued that Sirinaka is identical with Mahāsena since he is mentioned as the father of a king styled Mekavana Aba. This argument holds good only if it can be proved that Mekavana Aba can be no other than Sirimeghavanna, the son of Mahāsena. We have two inscriptions which are undoubtedly of Sirimeghavanna. for they introduce this monarch as the son of Mahāsena, thus agreeing with the chronicles². In both these records, the king's name is given as Siri-(or Sari-) mekavaņa Aba, in agreement with the Mahāvamsa which calls him Sirimegha-On the other hand, the king who had a Sirinaga as his father is called Mekavaņa Aba both in this as well as the Ruvanvälisāya records. records are of Sirimeghavanna, it is very strange that the documents which give his name in the same form as the chronicles also agree with the latter as regards his father's name, while those which omit Siri from his name state that his father was Sirinaka against the chronicles which agree in stating that he was a son of In these circumstances, the more reasonable view to take is that Mekavana Aba and Sirimekavana Aba were two different kings.

The only king who is said in the chronicles to have borne the title of Meghavannābhaya, and who flourished in a time to which this epigraph can be assigned on palaeographical grounds, was Gothābhaya, the father of Mahāsena. His parentage is not given in the Mahāvainsa or in any other source; but he and his two predecessors on the throne, Samghatissa and Samghabodhi, who came to Anuradhapura from the Rohana country, are said to have been scions of the Lambakanna clan3. This statement, however, does not preclude the possibility that Gothabhaya was the son of a king who preceded him on the throne. The inscriptions dealt with in the two foregoing papers contain evidence which proves that the kings who reigned before Samghatissa were members of the dynasty founded by Vasabha, a Lambakanna; and, if Gothābhaya was the son of one of these kings, he could very well have been described as a scion of that At this particular juncture, the Mahāvainsa narrative is somewhat overlaid with pious legends of a popular character relating to Goțhābhaya's predecessor, Sirisamghabodhi, and the traditional account, in order to emphasize the ideal character of Sirisamghabodhi, may conceivably have failed to do justice to his rival Gothābhaya by omitting the fact that the latter was the son of a monarch

¹ The Tōnigala Rock-inscription (E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 172-188) and the Kārambagala inscription noticed above.

² Mahāvamsa, chap. xxxvii, vv. 51-53; Pūjāvalī, 34th chapter, translated by B. Gunasekara, p. 25.

For Gothābhaya's history, see Mahāvamsa, chap. xxxvi, vv. 58-117.

who occupied the throne a few years before and thus had a right to the kingdom. However this may be, the legendary character of a good deal of what is said in the chronicles¹ regarding the events which preceded the accession of Goṭhābhaya, minimizes the doubts that one may entertain, on account of their silence relating to this monarch's origin, about the inference drawn from this epigraph that he was a son of a ruler named Sirināga.

Assuming that Goṭhābhaya or Meghavaṇṇābhaya was the son of a king named Sirināga, the next point is to establish the identity of the latter monarch. In the five or six decades which preceded the accession of Goṭhābhaya, there were two rulers called Sirināga. The first of this name reigned for nineteen years and was succeeded on the throne by two of his sons, Vohārika Tissa and Abhayanāga, whose reigns together lasted for thirty years. Then a son of Vohārika Tissa, Sirināga II, occupied the throne for two years, and Goṭhābhaya began his reign seven years after the demise of the second Sirināga². It is improbable that a third son of Sirināga I was alive to ascend the throne thirty-nine years after this monarch's death; and it is possible that Goṭhābhaya was a son of Sirināga II. If so, he was a brother of the ruler named Vijaya under whom, it is said, Goṭhābhaya and his two friends served when they came to Anurādhapura from Rohana³.

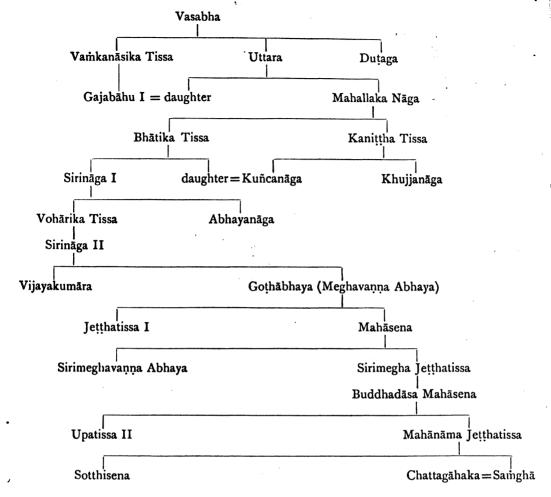
If the arguments I have put forward in this and the two foregoing papers to establish the relationships of Mahallaka Nāga, Sirināga I and Goṭhābhaya to their respective predecessors be accepted as valid, it then follows that the kings who ruled the island for 313 years from about 120 A.D. all belonged to the same dynasty, with the possible exception of two, Saṃghatissa and Saṃghabodhi, who ruled for six years only. This dynasty was founded by Vasabha, a Lambakaṇṇa¹, and may be referred to by that name. Saṃghatissa and Saṃghabodhi were also Lambakaṇṇas; therefore, though we have no evidence which enables us to give them their places in the genealogical tree, they, too, may have been members of the same dynasty. Otherwise the ease with which they secured the throne on their arrival at Anurādhapura from Rohaṇa cannot be accounted for. A genealogical table of the kings from Vasabha to Chattagāhaka, revised in the light of the discussion in these three papers, is appended hereto.

¹ In addition to the *Mahāvamsa*, there is a Pāli work called the *Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vamsa* which deals with the legendary history of Sirisamghabodhi and Goṭhābhaya.

³ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, pp. 10-11.

³ Mahāvamsa, chap. xxxvi, vv. 57-62.

⁴ Ibid., chap. xxxv, v. 59.



TEXT1

- 1 Siddham Gagavi (puta) Mitayaha jita Anulabi
- 2 tumaha kula-sataka vaya-vavi mata[ra]maji-bika-pati Gaga-pavata-
- 3 vihirahi buku-sagahata dini me vavi dina puvaya S[iri]naka3-maharajaha
- 4 puta raja M[e]kavana Abayaha cata lagita do avanaka4-vasahi
- 5 Vapa-cada punamasiya tedasa⁵-paka divas[e] dini

¹ See Plate 22. For Mr. Bell's text, which differs considerably from that given above, see A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report, p. 56.

² Here are four letters smaller in size than the other letters of the record. They are written somewhat higher up than the rest of the line and may, therefore, be considered as not belonging to this inscription.

Though the letter ri is illegible, the reading is beyond doubt. Mr. Bell's text gives the reading Sirinaka as quite clear on the stone. Perhaps when he examined the stone forty years ago, the letter ri was still legible. • The letter na has been added later below the line.

May also be read as te[!]asa.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Anulabi¹, daughter of Mitaya², son of (in) Gagavi³, gave the income from the *mataramaji-bika*⁴ share of the tank vaya which was the property of her family⁵, to the confraternity of monks at the Gagapavata⁶ monastery. The date¹ on which this tank was granted was the thirteenth day of the fortnight in the waxing moon⁶ of the month of Vapa⁶ in the second year after the raising of the umbrella [of dominion] by king Mekavaṇa¹⁶ Aba son of the great king Sirinaka¹¹. On this day was the gift made.

- 'Anulabi: Mr. Bell restores the name as Anula Bi[sovaya] and translates 'Her Majesty the Queen Anula'. There is no justification for the assumption that the lady who was the donor in this record was a queen. In my opinion, the termination -bi is the same as abi which occurs in pre-Christian records as the title of princesses and which by the time of this record had, presumably, come down in estimation so that it could be used by ladies of high rank, but not of royal blood. Perhaps abi is the same as Skt. ambikā.
 - ² Mitaya = P. Mittaka, Skt. Mitraka.
 - ³ Gagavi: This occurs as a place-name in two other records at Timbirivava.
- 'Mataramaji-bika-pati: The word mataramaji-baka or -buka occurs in the Perimiyankulam rock-inscription of Vasabha (A. I. C., No. 7 and E. Z., Vol. I, pp. 66 ff.) and both Dr. Müller and Dr. Wickremasinghe interpret it as the name of a thera. The word, in the form mataramaji-baka, also occurs in the Periyakādu Vihāre rock-inscription (A. I. C., No. 8) and in an unpublished inscription at Rasnakāva in the Anurādhapura District. If the recipient of a grant was meant, the word must have been in the dative case or its equivalent in the language of the period; but it is in the accusative case, and must therefore have been something granted and not a person who received a grant. Inscriptions of the early period, as a rule, record the grant of land to the Order and not to individual members of the samgha. It is, therefore, most unlikely that an exception should have been made solely in the case of a thera of the name of Majibaka and that, too, in inscriptions far removed from each other in point of time and place. In all these four inscriptions, the word mataramaji-baka or -bika follows vavi or vaviya; and from the contexts in which it is found, it seems as if it meant some kind of share or income from a tank. Pati, which follows mataramaji-bika in our record, can be interpreted to mean 'share' or 'revenue' (E. Z., Vol. III, p. 118); but our ignorance of the land tenure system in early Ceylon does not permit us to make a guess as to its precise significance.
 - ^b Kula-sataka = P. kula-santaka.

- ⁶ P. Gangā-pabbata.
- ⁷ Puvaya: For this word see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 179.
- * Puṇamasiya is the locative singular of the old Sinhalese word corresponding to Skt. purṇamāsa, P. puṇṇamāsa or -māsi. This word should etymologically mean 'the full-moon'; but, in this and other inscriptions of the period, it is used to mean the fortnight ending with the full-moon.
- ⁹ Vapa, mod. Sin. Vap, is the name of the Sinhalese lunar month corresponding to Skt. Bhādrapada, August-September. The majority of the Sinhalese months get their names from the nakṣatras which are in conjunction with the moon on the full-moon day of the month; but Vapa seems to be connected with Skt. vāpa and probably the month was so named because the sowing season fell within it.
 - 10 P. Meghavannābhaya.

No. 29. VALLIPURAM GOLD-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF VASABHA.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

I / ALLIPURAM1, a village in the Vadamaracci division of the Jaffna District. is one of the places in the Jaffna Peninsula, now densely peopled by Hindu Tamils, where have been found remains of the Sinhalese Buddhist civilization which flourished in this extreme northern district of Ceylon during the earlier periods of its history, as it did in the rest of the island. The stretch of sandy waste between the village and the sea is said to be strewn with vestiges of ancient human habitations over an area about four miles in length and a mile in breadth. foundations of buildings, bricks, pottery, and coins being occasionally brought to light by the villagers digging here. A fine Buddha image of stone, in the Amarāvatī style, which was unearthed some years ago in the land close to the Visnu temple in the village, was brought to, and preserved in, the Old Park at Jaffna till 1906, when it was presented by Governor Sir Henry Blake to the King of Siam.

The inscribed gold plate which forms the subject of the present paper is said to have been discovered, along with other minor antiquities, beneath the foundation of an ancient structure on the land belonging to the Visnu temple at this village in or about 1936. No information about the find has been given to the authorities as required by the Antiquities Ordinance and the present writer is indebted to the Rev. W. Rahula, an undergraduate at the Ceylon University College, Colombo, for the opportunity accorded him to examine and photograph the gold plate and for such details as are now available about the discovery. The matter has now been placed before the proper authorities and it is hoped that this unique antiquity may ultimately find its way to a public collection². This is the first known example of a gold plate, bearing an inscription of such an early date as the second century, ever found in Ceylon.

The plate, which is very thin and is inscribed on one side only, measures 3 in. by I in. and weighs 69 grains. A margin about in in breadth has been left on the left-hand side of the plate and within this area is inscribed the auspicious word sidha in a line midway between the first and second lines of

VOL. IV

¹ For an account of the archaeological remains at Vallipuram, see Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, vol. ii, pp. 96-97.

² Since writing the above, steps have been taken to acquire this plate for the Colombo Museum, but, I regret to say, unsuccessfully. нh

the inscription. The fourth line of six letters is compressed into the middle of the very narrow space available between the third line and the lower edge of the plate. A short horizontal stroke occurs at the end of the fourth line to mark the period.

The script is Brāhmī of the second century after Christ and, on the whole, agrees with this alphabet which occurs in dozens of stone inscriptions of this period1 found in various parts of the island. Some letters on this plate, however, are of less monumental appearance and more cursive in character than the corresponding symbols found in stone inscriptions, due no doubt to the difference in the material written upon. Notice, for example, the downward vertical strokes of a, ra, and the medial vowel sign for u, which have been curved leftwards at the bottom and carried much higher up than they are in any stone inscription of the period. In the word sidha, the si has its left limb notched, and the left limb of dha, which, according to the standard type of this letter in stone inscriptions of the period, should have been a single semicircular stroke, is formed of two horizontal strokes clumsily joined together by two diagonal ones. The letter ta at the ends of lines 1 and 4 is looped, whereas the same occurring in line 3 is not so. The leftward diagonal stroke of me (l. 2) is carried much higher than the right-hand stroke and the short horizontal stroke attached to it at the top does not extend to the right. The top stroke of *ni* at the end of line 2 is not horizontal but diagonal and the i-sign is written as a continuation of the same stroke curved up leftwards. The straight vertical line, which is usual in the na of this period, slants leftwards in ne (l. 3) and joins the base-line at the left end of the latter and not at the middle as is the rule elsewhere. In the same symbol, the short horizontal stroke at the top has been merged in the e-sign and does not extend to the right of the vertical stroke. These and other variations noticed in the script are doubtless due to the cursive character of the writing.

The language is old Sinhalese, conforming, in general, to the grammatical standards followed in other documents of the period. There is, however, one word on the ascertainment of the precise grammatical significance of which depends the correct interpretation of the one sentence which comprises the whole record. This is bujameni in 1. 2, which, regardless of the inflexion, is undoubtedly equivalent to P. bhunjamāna, the reflexive participle of the root bhuj. A certain amount of uncertainty exists, however, regarding the case-ending of the word. If Nakadiva bujameni is taken as a phrase qualifying Amete Isigiraye,

¹ See for instance, E. Z., Vol. I, pls. 13, 27, and 30, and Vol. III, pls. 7, 13, and 22.

and if we also take the two latter words to be in the nominative singular, bujameni has then to be taken as in the same case and number. Nominative singular forms ending in i are not unknown in the Sinhalese of this period¹; but, so far as my knowledge goes, the change of a in the preceding syllable to e finds no parallel.

Another possible interpretation is that in bujameni we have a prototype of the termination -min frequently found in modern Sinhalese verbal forms called Gerund I (present gerund) by Professor Geiger. This termination, which was formerly taken as a development from the suffix for the reflexive participle, -māna, is, in Professor Geiger's opinion, formed of the instrumental case of a verbal noun in -ma². If we adopt this view, bujameni has to be taken as the instrumental singular of *bujama and equivalent to modern Sinhalese budimin. But no verbal nouns ending in -ma have been noticed in the Sinhalese dialect of so early an age as the second century. The adoption of either of these two interpretations of bujameni would make Amete Isigiraye the subject of the sentence.

The other possible interpretation is that bujameni is in the locative singular and that the whole phrase Amete Isigiraye Nakadiva bujameni is a construction in the locative absolute. The word, in that case, is equivalent to P. bhuñjamāne and has to be derived through a hypothetical form *bujamane which by vowel assimilation could have become *bujamene³ and assumed the form met with in the inscription by the reduction of the vowel e in the last syllable to i⁴. According to this interpretation of bujameni, we have to take the words Amete and Isigiraye to be both in the locative absolute, the whole phrase Amete Isigiraye Nakadiva bujameni being Amacce Isigirāye Nāgadīpam bhuñjamāne if rendered into Pāli. The locative singular termination which is commonly met with in the documents of this period is -hi³; but all the words which have so far been noticed as in the locative case are neuter nouns and those we are concerned with at present are of the masculine gender, in which a different termination, -e, could have been used. A locative case singular in -e is altogether unknown even for neuter nouns, witness,

¹ Compare, for example, the form *Maļu-Tisa-maha-raji* in the 'Jetavanārāma' inscription of Kanittha Tissa, E. Z., Vol. I, p. 255.

² Geiger, A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language, Colombo, 1938, p. 158.

³ Vowel assimilation is quite common in the Sinhalese language at this period; compare, for example, visiti (Skt. vimsati) in E. Z., Vol. I, p. 62 and buku for biku, P. bhikkhu, above, p. 227.

⁴ Compare maharaji for maharaje, and puti for pute, E. Z., Vol. I, p. 211.

⁶ E. Z., Vol. I, pp. 58-99, 67, and 252.

for example, ate in the Vessagiriya inscription of Sirināga II¹. The termination e for the locative singular is quite common in the modern language².

This interpretation makes it necessary to find a subject other than *Isigiraye* for the passive past participle *karite* occurring at the end of the sentence with the force of a finite verb in the active voice. *Piyaguka Tisa*, which may be taken as if it is in the nominative case though it does not contain the termination for that case, should then be treated as the subject of the sentence. The use of the crude form of a noun to do duty as the nominative case has been noticed in other documents of the period³. In the event of the other possible interpretations of *bujameni* being adopted, when *Isigiraye* would be the subject, *Piyaguka Tisa* has to be taken as forming a compound with the word *vihara* which follows it. In my translation of the inscription, I have adopted the last of the three possible alternative renderings of *bujameni* discussed above, though the possibility of either of the other two suggested interpretations being correct has not been excluded⁴.

The inscription is dated in the reign of King Vaha[ba] (Vasabha, circa 126-170 A.D.) and records the establishment of a vihāra at a place called Badakara-atana by an individual named Piyaguka Tisa when the Minister Isigiraya was the governor of Nakadiva (Nāgadīpa).

The king's name, written as 'Vaha', is undoubtedly meant for 'Vahaba', for there was no other royal name in use in the first or second century A.D. which contained these two syllables. At first sight it appears as if 'Vahayaha' of the present document is due to a clerical error, the engraver having, by an oversight, omitted the syllable ba. If this was so, the engraver or the scribe who was responsible for this omission must have been careless to a degree to let such a lapse pass unnoticed in so essential a word as the name of the reigning king, in a document which was considered important enough to be engraved on gold. We also cannot believe that the person on whose account the gold plate was inscribed would have allowed such a grave mistake to pass unnoticed and

. . .

¹ Above, p. 222. Compare also E. Z., Vol. I, p. 67, and Vol. III, pp. 120 and 123.

² Geiger, op. cit.

³ E. Z., Vol. I, p. 252.

^{&#}x27;Mr. Julius de Lanerolle, whom I consulted, would take bujameni to be in the locative absolute but at the same time treat Piyaguka-Tisa-vihara as the name of the monastery. He sees no objection to the sentence being thus interpreted so as to give no name of the person who founded the vihāra, for, in his opinion, the statements that the vihāra was founded in the reign of Vasabha and when Nāgadīpa was being governed by Isigiraya imply that these two personages were responsible for the act.

uncorrected unless he was illiterate. It is, therefore, necessary to examine other possibilities before we conclude it to be a clerical error.

As is well known, proper names in ancient Ceylon, as they did also in ancient India, often conveyed some definite meaning, and it was in many cases permissible to use, in place of the ordinary form of the name, a synonym conveying the same sense. Thus, for example, we find the author of the *Mahāvamsa* using 'Parakkanta-bhuja' for 'Parakkama-bāhu', 'Vikkanta-bāhu' and 'Vikkama-bhuja' for 'Vikkama-bāhu', and 'Vijaya-bhuja' for 'Vijaya-bāhu'. The old Sinhalese vahaba and Pāli vasabha both go back to Skt. vṛṣabha, meaning 'bull' or 'pre-eminent', which word occurs often in Sanskrit in the variant form vṛṣa, without the final syllable bha. If the Sinhalese language of the second century had two distinct words, one derived from Skt. vṛṣabha and the other from vṛṣa, the name 'Vaha' in our inscription can very well be taken as a variant form of, and not an error for, 'Vahaba'.

The minister Isigiraya and the personage named Piyaguka Tisa figuring in this document are not known from other sources. The former name has a somewhat outlandish appearance about it, and it is not easy to take it as the Sinhalese form of any Sanskritic personal name known to us. The last two syllables remind us of the rayan or rayar with which many Tamil personal names, ancient and modern, end; but the possible Dravidian character of the element Isigi is not obvious. Piyaguka Tisa indicates a person named Tissa who was a native of Piyangu [dīpa]. If the alternative of taking this name as that of the vihāra be adopted, it follows that the monastery was named after a person called Piyanguka Tissa who need not necessarily have been contemporary with the inscription. A thera named Tissa who lived in Piyangudīpa figures in the story of Dutthagamani, as coming by air to receive alms from the king at a moment when the latter was in extreme adversity. It is clear from the narrative in the Mahāvamsa that Tissa of Piyangudīpa was considered to have been a religious teacher of great spiritual attainments and a vihāra could conceivably have been named after him in later times.

Among the geographical names occurring in the record, Nakadiva is equivalent to P. Nāgadīpa, which is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* in connexion with the second of the three supposed visits of the Buddha to Ceylon⁵. Nāgadīpa

¹ Mv., chap. lxiii, v. 38.

³ Ibid., chap. lx, v. 91.

⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. i, vv. 44-70.

² Ibid., chap. lxx, v. 238 and chap. lxi, v. 7.

⁴ Ibid., chap. xxiv, vv. 22-27.

also figures in the story of the introduction of Buddhism to the island and is occasionally mentioned in the chronicles up to the tenth century A.D.¹ Though it was vaguely felt that Nāgadīpa must have been somewhere in the north of Ceylon, there was considerable doubt about its exact identification² till Dr. Paul E. Pieris, in a most important paper, entitled Nagadīpa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna3, embodying the results of his archaeological researches in the Jaffna Peninsula, proposed the identification of Nāgadīpa with the Jaffna Peninsula. Dr. Pieris's principal authority for the identification was the Nampota⁴, a comparatively late list of Buddhist shrines in Ceylon, which mentions certain sacred sites still identifiable with places in and around the Jaffna Peninsula, grouped together with the Nāga Kōvila in Demaļa-pattanama (the Tamil port) which Dr. Pieris takes to be the modern town of Jaffna. In the discussion which followed the reading of the above mentioned paper, Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam has referred to the evidence found in the Tamil poem Manimekalai supporting Dr. Pieris's identification of Nāgadīpa. This identification, though it was doubted by some when it was first suggested, has now found general acceptance. Whatever doubts one may have had about the identification are now set at rest by the present document which clearly proves that Nāgadīpa was the name by which the Jaffna Peninsula was known in ancient times.

The circumstances of the discovery of the plate leave us in no doubt that it was found where it was originally deposited in the second century. The inscription, in recording the foundation of the *vihāra*, not only gives the name of the supreme ruler of the island at the time but also that of the local governor of Nāgadīpa. This last detail regarding the time of the foundation of the *vihāra* has no significance if the shrine was not within the territorial division then known by the name of Nāgadīpa. And as the site of the religious foundation is within

¹ The references to Nāgadīpa in the chronicles have been collected together by Dr. Pieris. See J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. xxvi, pp. 11-12.

² Prof. Geiger in his translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, p. 6, n. 2, took Nāgadīpa to be the northwestern part of Ceylon and Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasekara attempted to prove that the name Nāgadīpa was originally applied to an island and afterwards to the mainland comprising at least the maritime parts of Puttalam and Chilaw districts. (*Ceylon Note and Queries*, Sept. 1916, pp. 120–124.)

³ J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. xxvi, pp. 11ff.

⁴ Dr. Pieris ascribes this work to the fifteenth century; but it mentions the Tooth-Relic temple of Kandy, and must, therefore, date after the removal of the Sinhalese capital to that city.

⁶ Codrington, Short History of Ceylon, p. 6, and Geiger, Cūlavamsa, translation, part I, p. 72, n. 5.

the Jaffna Peninsula, it follows that Nāgadīpa and the Jaffna Peninsula are identical¹.

This inscription also proves that Nāgadīpa was governed in the second century by a minister of the Anurādhapura king, that Sinhalese was the prevailing language, and that Buddhist shrines were then being built there. In such references as there are to the Nāgadīpa in the chronicles, as well as in other Pāli writings of Ceylon, there is no indication that in early times this area differed, as it does to-day, from the rest of the island in the nationality of its inhabitants and their language and religion. In fact there are indications that the extreme north of the island played a very important part in the political, religious, and cultural history of the ancient Sinhalese people. This continued so right down to the end of the Polonnaruva period, though it is likely that the proportion of the Tamil element in the population was greater here than in the rest of the island and gradually went on increasing.

Badakara-atana, the place where the vihāra was built, is evidently the ancient name of modern Vallipuram. Badakara would be equivalent to Pāli Bhaddākara or Bhaddaghara and atana has been found in other place-names occurring in inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era²; but no name corresponding to Badakara-atana can be found in the chronicles. Piyaguka in the name Piyaguka Tisa refers, most probably, to Piyangudīpa, an island which is more than once referred to in the Mahāvanisa³. Piyangudīpa is undoubtedly the Puvangu-divayina of the Nampota and other Sinhalese writings and it is probably to be identified with Pungudu-tīvu, a small island to the south-west of Jaffna.

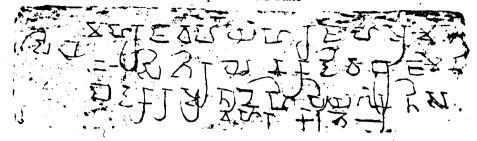
¹ The geographical chapters of the Purāṇas mention Nāgadvīpa as well as Tāmraparṇī among the nine divisions of Bhāratavarṣa. Prof. S. N. Majumdar suggests that this Nāgadvīpa is the same as Elephanta while Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and Mr. V. S. Agrawala identify it with the Nicobar Islands (see Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. xxiii, pp. 133-137). If the Nāgadvīpa of the Purāṇas is the same as the Nāgadīpa of the Pāli writings of Ceylon—and there is no valid reason for a contrary view—the evidence furnished by the latter is definitely against the proposed identifications of the above-named Indian scholars. In the view of the Purāṇa writers, Nāgadvīpa was distinct from Ceylon (Tāmraparṇī), for the two are separately named as two of the nine divisions of Bhāratavarṣa. The Tamil poem Manimekalai (Canto XI, ll. 21-23), too, speaks of Ratnadvīpa (Ceylon) as an island distinct from, though in the vicinity of, Maṇipallavam, which is taken to be the same as Nāgadvīpa. The writer of the Mahāvamsa, on the other hand, considered Nāgadīpa to be a part of Ceylon, for the Buddha's visit to Nāgadīpa is taken by him as one of the three visits by which the Master consecrated the island of Lankā.

² Compare, for instance, *Utarapara-atanahi* in an inscription at Tammanne-kanda. A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report, p. 47.

^{*} Mahāvamsa, chap. xxiv, v. 25; chap. xxv, vv. 104-107; and chap. xxxii, vv. 52 and 55.

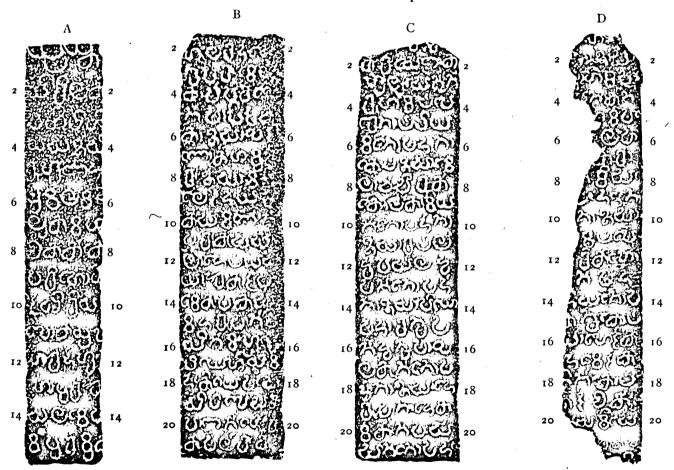
Lastly, a few words may be said about the purpose in burying an inscribed gold plate of this character beneath the foundation of a religious building. It was certainly not done with the idea of furnishing people of a later age with historical information. Once the gold plate was buried, it was hidden away from human eyes and the inscription on it was of no more use than if it had never been written. It was only after the demolition of the building, nay even after the removal of its very foundations, that the inscription stood a chance of being noticed by men, and it was small consolation to the founder of a shrine to have his pious deed proclaimed among men when the shrine itself was no more. Furthermore, the founder must certainly have possessed enough sense to guess that the chances were a thousand to one that the gold plate, when unearthed, would come into the hands of a person caring more for the gold than for the strange words engraved on it and any old-world information that they might supply. If the founder's purpose had been to give publicity to his religious benefaction among his contemporaries or those of later generations, the obvious thing would have been to record the fact on a stone set up in a prominent place, as has often been done in all ages and countries. The only conclusion possible, therefore, is that the inscription was not meant for human beings either of those days or of the present. It must have been for such as could see and notice things buried below the ground, that is to say, supernatural beings.

But why should the builder of a vihāra try to make his good deed known to supernatural beings? According to popular Buddhist belief, still current in Ceylon, the gods of Śakra's heaven, who are anxious about the moral progress of mankind, are in the habit of visiting the earth on every uposatha or sabbath day, for the purpose of taking note of men engaged in good deeds. On full-moon days, the gods are supposed to register, in a golden book, the names of mortals engaged in meritorious actions and these names are publicly announced in the divine assembly as of persons who are likely to obtain a place there very soon. In these tours of inspection, the gods undoubtedly would notice things hidden from human sight, and an inscribed gold plate below the foundations of a vihāra, which is sure to be one of the places included in the itinerary of the celestial recorders, would not for long remain without coming within the range of their The founder of the vihāra, reasoning thus, may have ensured the proclamation of his name in the assembly of the gods as a possible recruit to The date and other circumstances of the building of the vihāra are given in detail possibly as proofs in the case of any evil influences trying to dispute the fact. Perhaps the record was engraved on gold in order to lighten



Scale about 15 times the actual size

Colombo Museum Pillar-Inscription



Scale 11 inches to 1 foot

part of the labour of the divine scribes; they might take it bodily and incorporate it in their register1.

TEXT.

- Siddha² Maharaja Vahayaha³ rajehi amete
- Isigiraye Nakadiva bujameni
- Badakara-atanehi Piyaguka-Tisa 3
- vihara karite

TRANSLATION4.

Hail! In the reign of the great king Vaha[ba*] and when the Minister Isigiraya6 was governing Nakadiva7, Piyaguka Tisa8 caused a vihāra to be built at Badakara-atana.

¹ Similar documents inscribed on plates of gold or copper have been found buried in the stūpas and other Buddhist buildings in North India and the following observations of Prof. Sten Konow about their purpose are apposite here:

'Such records are not, therefore, historical documents or proclamations in the ordinary sense. To quote M. Barth, they are "pious works which indeed admit of a certain amount of publicity, but a publicity intended especially for the next world".

'It thus becomes intelligible that the inscriptions are sometimes dug down in stupas or placed in such a way that it is evident that they were never meant to be seen by mortal eyes. And we understand the care which was taken in order to have the names of the donors written and to include many of their friends and relatives and also why the navakarmika seems to have added his name subsequently in the Patika and Māṇikiala records. This was, as says M. Barth, something more than a gratification of vanity, and a mystic efficacy was attributed to the recording of such names.'

'Such considerations must be kept in mind when we want to judge the nature of the Kharoshtī inscriptions. And that is also the case when a date is added. It is not intended for historical purposes, but to assure the particular pious act recorded against being neglected by the eternal forces that regulate the mystic results: it is particularly this very deed, executed at such and such a moment which should lead to bliss, and the date is then just as good a way of identifying as the mention of a name or of other circumstances.' (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. ii, part I, Kharoshti Inscriptions, p. cxviii.)

- ² See remarks, above, p. 229.
- ³ See above, p. 232, for the possibility of a clerical error here.
- If the word bujameni be taken to be in the nominative case, the translation of lines 2-4 should run: 'the Minister Isigiraya, governing Nakadiva, caused the Piyaguka Tisa vihāra to be built at Badakara-atana'. If bujameni be treated as a gerund, 'governing Nakadiva' should be altered to 'while governing Nakadiva'.
 - ⁶ P. Vasabha.
 - ⁶ There is just a possibility that *Isigiraye* represents Skt. Rsigirika or Pāli Isigirika.
 - ⁷ P. Nāgadīpa.
 - ⁸ P. Piyanguka Tissa.

VOL. IV

No. 30. A NOTE ON THE INDIKATUSÄYA COPPER PLAQUES.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

In my article on the inscribed plaques which were discovered in 1923 in the stūpa called Iňdikaṭusāya at Mihintalē, I have shown that forty-six of these plaques contain short extracts from the introductory chapter of one of the most authoritative Mahāyāna scriptures, namely, the Pañcavinisati-sāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā. The fragmentary texts inscribed on the remaining forty-five plaques were then unidentifiable; nine of the plaques have only a few syllables decipherable so that any attempt to identify them with a particular passage in a known text is bound to be useless. Two of the unidentified plaques contained the name Kāśyapa and it was therefore inferred that some of these extracts could possibly have been from a Mahāyāna text embodying a discourse delivered by the Buddha to Kāśyapa, one of his prominent disciples.

Since writing the above article, I have had the opportunity of perusing the Mahāyāna scripture called the Kāsyapa-parivartta² (Kp.) the Sanskrit text of which has been edited by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein from a unique manuscript found near Khotan, and I have been able to trace to this source the short extracts written on fifteen of the plaques. The Sanskrit text of the Kp, as found in the only manuscript known, is full of errors and the scribe who engraved the extracts on the copper plaques enshrined in the Indikatusaya also does not seem to have been familiar with Sanskrit. It will therefore not surprise the reader to learn that the extracts from the Kp found on these plaques contain many divergences from the corresponding words in the printed text. None of the plaques contains more than thirteen syllables and they often begin in the middle of a word. permissible to form any conclusions from such fragmentary material, it would appear that the manuscript from which the extracts were copied for these plaques was even more corrupt than the one found in Khotan. However, in one place at least, the manuscript utilized by the Ceylon Buddhists in the eighth or ninth century seems to have preserved a reading preferable to that of the published The extract engraved on plaque numbered 51 contains the last words of the prose passage of the section numbered 79 in the published text and the first two words of the next section, leaving out the intervening verse and the phrase

¹ Indikatusäya Copper Plaques, E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 199-212.

² The Kāsyapaparivarta, Shanghai, 1926.

tatredam ucyate which, in this text, invariably introduces a metrical passage. From this circumstance it may be permissible to deduce that the version of the Kp. known to the Ceylon Buddhists in the eighth century or so did not contain the versified passages which, as is often the case in Mahāyāna writings, state over again what has already been said in prose. None of the extracts inscribed on the plaques are from the verses. Baron von Staël-Holstein informs us that in three of the four Chinese translations of the Kp, nearly all the verses are missing. He thinks that this 'may be due to a disinclination of the translators to translate the same matter twice'. On the other hand, it is also possible that these translators had before them a version of the Kašyapapaparivartta in which, as in the version once prevalent in Ceylon, these verses were wanting.

While extracts from the $Pa\~ncavim\'sati-s\=ahasrik\=a$ $Praj\~n\=ap\=aramit\=a$ inscribed on the Indikatus\=aya plaques were taken from a number of contiguous passages, those from the Kp are from passages far removed from one another, and spreading over the whole text. It appears that it was not the intention of the builders of the $st\=apa$ to deposit therein a complete text engraved on copper plaques. The small fragments of the texts inscribed on the plaques would bear the same relation to the whole body of scripture (the $dharmak\=aya$ in the literal sense) as a small particle of bone such as is usually deposited in a $st\=apa$ has to the corporeal body of the Buddha $(r\=apa-k\=aya)$.

It may well be that some of the plaques yet remaining unidentified may be from those parts of the Kp, which are missing in the manuscript, while others are unrecognizable owing to the many clerical errors of the text as well as of the plaques. There are, however, certain plaques containing extracts which do not appear to be from the Kp.

I give below the inscriptions on the plaques and the passages of the Kp. from which they have been extracted. The plaques are referred to by the same numbers as were given to them in the original article, but have now been arranged in the order in which their inscriptions occur in the text. Certain errors which have crept into the readings of the plaques, due in most cases to the unsatisfactory preservation of the writing and in others to our unfamiliarity with the mediaeval Sinhalese compound letters necessary for writing Sanskrit, have now been rectified.

¹ Staël-Holstein, op. at., p. xxii, note 24.

No. 54. mitam sarvvameka-rasamebhavati yadeu

Kp. p. 69¹. Tad yathāpi nāma Kāśyapa nānādigvidikṣu mahānadīṣv āpskandho mahāsamudre praviṣṭaḥ sarvam ekaraso bhavati yad uta lavaṇarasaḥ evam eva Kāśyapa nānāmukhopacitam kuśalamūlam bodhisatvasya bodhāya pariṇāmitam sarvam ekarasam bhavati yad ida² vimuktirasam.

No. 50. dharmmān/asvabhāvan/karoti dha

Kp., p. 94. Evam yo na svabhavena dharmān asvabhāvīkaroti³ dharmā caivāsvabhāvā.

No. 48. śyapa kaści(ka)4d/eva purusa śa

No. 47. ti tat kimemanyase Kā

Kp. p. 97. Tad yathāpi nāma Kāsyapa kascid eva puruṣo⁶ glāno bhavet tasmai vaidyo bhaiṣajyam dadyāt tasya tad bhaiṣajyam sarvadoṣān ucālya koṣṭhagata na nirgacchet⁶ tat kim manyase Kāsyapa api nu sa glānapuruṣa fasmād glānāya parimukto bhavet.

No. 79. iti Kāśyapa āryasyeai7

Kp. p. 106. Tailapradyota iti Kāsyapa āryasyaitat prajñendriyasyādhivacanam.

No. 51. vā strata[m] jñāna[m] drasṭavya[m] tad yath[ā]

No. 53, șena sārddha[m] vipratipadye9

Kp. pp. 115-116. Tad yathāpi nāma Kāśyapa daśasu dikṣu ākāśadhātur evam bodhisatvasyābh*isamskṛtam jñānam draṣṭavyam*...... ¹⁰ Tad yathāpi nāma Kāśyapa rājñaḥ kṣatriyasya mūrdhnā-bhiṣiktasyāgramahiṣī daridrapuruṣeṇa sār-

¹ The passages from the Kp, are reproduced as they occur in the published text, but with such slight alterations as are required by the system of transliteration adopted in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*.

² The manuscript used by the engraver of the copper plaques evidently had *uta* which seems to be the better reading and occurs in a similar context in the first half of this sentence itself.

³ The occurrence of asvabhāvān karoti in the plaques in place of asvabhāvīkaroti of the text seems to be due to variant readings in different manuscripts.

⁴ The syllable ka is superfluous.

⁶ The differences in the reading of the plaque seem to be due to clerical errors, namely, an extra. ka after ci, the omission of the vowel sign for o, and the substitution by error of s for g, the last two aksaras being very similar in the mediaeval Sinhalese script.

⁶ The extract on plaque No. 47 occurs in several passages of the Kp, e.g. pp. 106 and 116; but nowhere is *tat* preceded by a word ending in *ti*. Perhaps there was a variant reading *nirgacchati* in the manuscripts.

⁷ As the last akṣara of this plaque is somewhat weathered, I originally read it wrongly as sro.

^{*} This is evidently a mistake for samskrtam.

The stroke which has led to the reading of the last syllable as dyo is now seen to be only a crack.

See above for the verses left out here.

dham vipratipadyeta tasya tatah putro jāyetah tat kim manyase Kāsyapa api nu sa rājaputra iti vaktavyah.

No. 76. vattara[m*] tair/bbodhisa-

No. 61. tvā namaskarttavyā1 na thāta2

No. 60. to Bodhisatva-ni[r]ijātā3

Kp. p. 129. Tad yathāpi nāma Kāśyapa navacandro namaskṛyate sa ceva pūrṇacandro na tathā namaskṛyate. Evam eva Kāśyapa ye mama sraddadhamti te balavamtataram bodhisatvam namaskartavya na Tathāgataḥ tat kasya heto bodhisatvanirjātā hi tathāgatāḥ.

No. 57. rśā abhāsam4 āgacchanti te

Kp. p. 154. teṣā tatrekākinām advitīyānām kāyapraviviktavihāriņām rajanīyas tajjakriyā rūpaśabdagandharasaṣparśāvabhāsam āgacchamti te tatrāvekṣakāḥ sukhalikānuyogam annyuktā viharamti.

No. 58. nā avatīrņņ[ā*] grāma-nagara

Kp. p. 155. Te ajānantāh teṣām rūpa-śabdagarasa-sparśānām āsvādam cādīnavam cā niḥsaraṇam ca avatīrṇā grāma-nagaranigamarāṣṭrarājadhānīṣva punar eva rūpaśabda-gandharasasparśar hamnyamte.

No. 67. vanaya6-gupto sthitah sa[t*]kāya-dr

Kp. p. 191. pravartavinayo vinaya-guptipratisthitah satkāyadr stir asyānucalitā bhavati.

No. 52. ti aşţānām>bhikşu-śata

Kp. p. 200. Asmin khalu punar gāthābhinirhāre bhāṣyamāne⁸ aṣṭānām bhikṣusatānām anupādāyāśravebhyas cittāni vimuktāni.

No. 63. pariśuddhi pratilasya9

Kp. p. 229. Tathāgatadarśanena ca daśa ca kāyakarmmapāriśuddhi pratilap¹⁰.....

¹ These two plaques seem to preserve a better reading than that found in the published text.

² Read tathā.

³ Read *nirjjātā*. The stroke for the length of the vowel in the last syllable of *nirjjātā* can be mistaken for the *i* sign.

⁴ This is evidently a clerical error for (spa)rśāvabhāsam.

⁵ Before avatīrņņā there seems to have been a word ending in nā in the manuscript used by the engravers of the copper plaques.

⁶ Read vinaya.

⁷ The manuscript known in Ceylon seems to have contained at this place a reading slightly differing from the published text, but conveying the same meaning.

⁸ The copper plaque shows that, in the Ceylon version of the Kp., there was a word ending in ti before aṣṭānām, possibly some such word as bhāṣayati in place of bhāṣyamāne.

Read pratilapsya[nti].

¹⁰ There is a lacuna here in the manuscript. Possibly the word has to be completed as pratilapsyanti.

Besides these extracts, about the identification of which there is no doubt, there are two other plaques containing inscriptions which seem to be from those parts of the Kp. missing in the manuscript. Plaque No. 72 reads titya-samut- $p\bar{a}dal$ sarvadṛṣṭikra. This is no doubt a reference to the pratītya-samutpāda on which there are two sections (61 and 62) in the Kp. There is a gap in section 62 and it is possible that this extract was from that portion. Plaque No. 59 reads (da)sa manas-karmma-parisuddhi. Section 161 of the Kp., which we have given above in connexion with plaque No. 63, gives details of the dasakāyakarmma-pārisuddhi (the purifications of the ten bodily actions). The last two leaves of the manuscript after this section are missing and it is likely that the following section dealt with the dasa manas-karmma-pārisuddhi (the purification of the ten mental actions). A reference to the Tibetan and Chinese translations might settle this point.

These extracts prove that the Kāśyapa-parivartta was not only known in Ceylon during the ninth century but that it was considered to be of so sacred a character that extracts from it were written on copper plaques and enshrined in stūpas. The Kāśyapa-parivartta is a text belonging to the Ratnakūṭa class of Mahāyāna scriptures and Baron von Staël-Holstein is of opinion that originally the name Ratnakūṭa belonged to this text alone. In my paper on Mahāyānism in Ceylon¹, I have pointed out that the Nikāya Sangraha, in giving a list of the various writings produced by heterodox sects, mentions the Ratnakūṭa-sūtras as the work of the Āndhra school and further adds that among non-Theravāda forms of Buddhism and their scriptures, the Vaitulya-vāda, the Vājiriya-vāda and the sūstras such as the Ratnakūṭa were introduced to this island, the last-named in the reign of King Sena I. The names at least of these texts were known to the Theravādins of Ceylon in the fourteenth century and it is not surprising to find that they were in vogue among the Mahāyāna Buddhists of the island in an earlier age.

No. 31. THE TRIKĀYASTAVA IN AN INSCRIPTION AT MIHINTAĻĒ.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

ABOUT 40 or 50 yards to the north-east of the Ambastala Dāgāba at Mihin-talē, reputed to enshrine the ashes of Mahinda, the Buddhist apostle of Ceylon, there is a rock on the perpendicular face of which has been engraved a

¹ C. J. Sc., G., vol. ii, pp. 35-71.

long inscription of 21 lines, covering an area of $16\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 8 ft. The epigraph has been seriously damaged by the action of the weather and possibly also by the destructive attentions of vandals, so much so that large portions of the writing are now totally effaced and many letters, even in the better preserved parts, are not very clear. Dr. Müller (A.I.C., p. 52) makes a passing reference to this record, stating that it is in Sanskrit but that it is too much weatherworn to be of any use. The script, which shows many affinities with the Pallava Grantha alphabet of South India, resembles that of the Tiriyāy rock-inscription¹ and may be attributed to the seventh or eighth century. The size of the letters ranges from $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. and the record consists of 20 lines. It is clear that the epigraph is in Sanskrit verse; but, owing to its fragmentary nature, a connected reading is not possible, on the stone itself, of even a single line.

In my paper Mahāyānism in Ceylon, I quoted two pādas of two verses in the Sragdharā metre², occurring in lines 16-19 of this epigraph, since they contained a clear reference to the doctrine of the three bodies of the Buddha (trikāya) accepted by the Mahāyāna Buddhists. The late Professor Sylvain Lévi, who happened to read my paper, was kind enough to inform me that the verses in question belong to the Trikāyastava which he restored into Sanskrit from a Chinese transliteration and published for the first time³ in 1896, and which was later published in 1911, from a Tibetan codex, by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein.⁴

The Trikāyastava, consisting of three Sragdharā verses adoring the three bodies of the Buddha and a fourth verse in the same metre embodying the wish of the reciter, was taken to China in 973 A.D. by an Indian monk whose name, in its Chinese garb, was Fa-t'ien or Fa-hien (Dharmadeva). The Chinese Tripitaka contains, in addition to a free translation of the hymn, a transliteration, into Chinese characters, of the original Sanskrit. However, owing to the unsuitability of the Chinese alphabet for transcribing a Sanskrit text, the verses could not easily be reconstituted into their original form and it is hardly surprising that a few words remained unrecognizable even to such a great master of Sanskrit and Chinese as Professor Sylvain Lévi. The Tibetan codex has preserved a very satisfactory text of the hymn and Baron von Staël-Holstein has therefore been

¹ E. Z., Vol. IV, plate 16.

² C. J. Sc., G., vol. ii, p. 42.

³ Revue de l'histoire des Religions, Tome xxxiv, pp. 17-21.

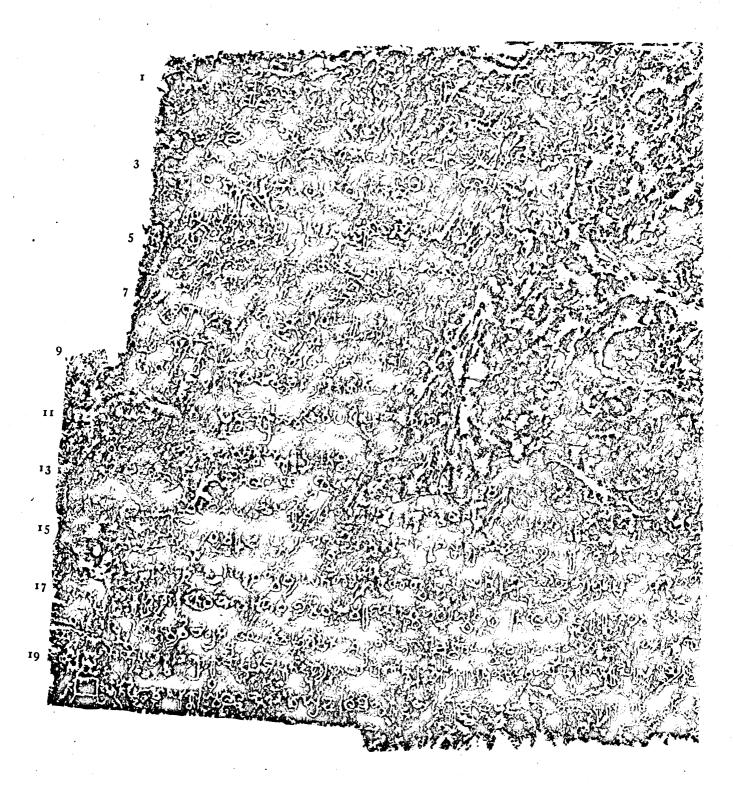
⁴ Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg, 1911, pp. 837-845.

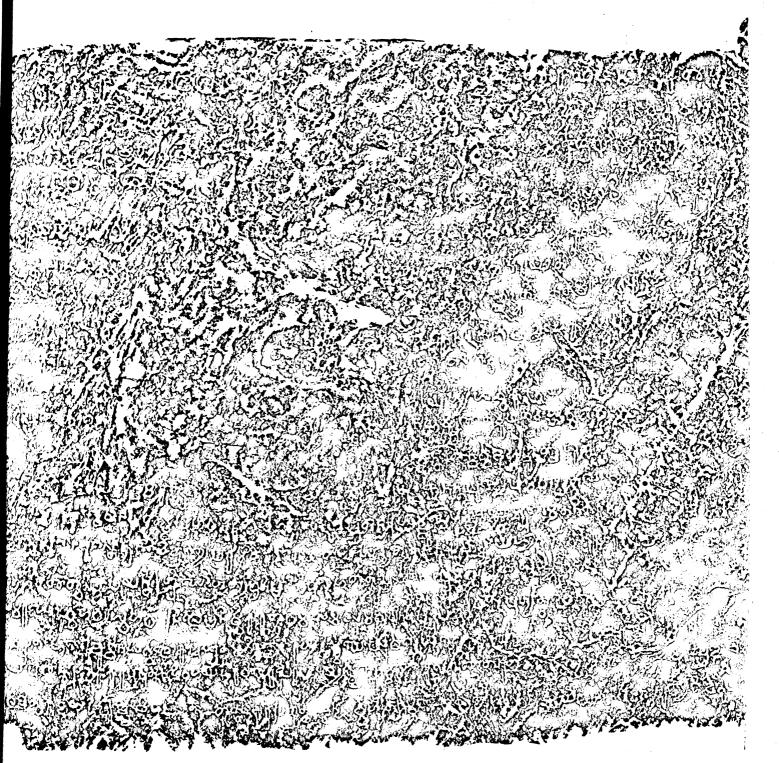
able to correct the few inaccuracies in Professor Sylvain Lévi's text. The Tibetan version, however, does not include the fourth verse.

By the help of these two published versions we are enabled to read the Trikāyastava in the Mihintalē inscription, filling in those portions which are missing on the stone. The text found in our inscription agrees, on the whole, with that of the Tibetan codex (T.), but the orthography of the former is preferable to that of the latter. In T. the anusvāra takes the place of the final nasal of a word but the inscription joins this with the initial letter of the following word according to sandhi rules. Compare, for example, nirlepain nirvikāram in T. with nirllepan nirvikāram of the inscription. This example would also show the reader that in the inscription, consonants preceded by r are duplicated, while T. does not consider this necessary. In one place where the Chinese seems to have preserved a variant reading differing from T., the inscription agrees with the latter. This is in the first line of verse 2 where the Chinese has sukrta-sama-phalām and the other two sukrta-sata-phalām. The inscription also agrees with T. in omitting the fourth verse. At the end of each pāda of a verse, a vertical stroke occurs as a punctuation mark.

The Trikāyastava starts towards the close of the 16th line of the record and is continued in the next two lines and for about three-fourths of line 19. The contents of the record, before it comes to the Trikāyastava, also appear to be in Sanskrit verse, but this part is so fragmentary that no useful purpose will be served by giving such words as can be read here and there. It is, however, apparent that this part of the record, too, consisted of verses belonging to a religious hymn, for in line 4 occurs the phrase kṣiti-tala-nihitenottamānigena vande ('I worship with head placed on the ground'). The end of the 19th line and the last line contain some verses in the śloka metre which seem to give an account of the person who had this hymn engraved on the stone, and his religious aspirations in doing this meritorious act. These verses cannot, however, be fully read and the name of the person is not preserved; but he seems to have been a monk who aspired to Buddhahood, for in one verse we can read bhikṣurb-bodhisattvo gunākarah. The significance of this record from the historical and religious points of view has already been dealt with in my paper mentioned above.

In the text of the *Trikāyastava* which follows, the parts in parenthesis have been effaced on the stone and are restored as found in the Tibetan codex. A facsimile of the whole inscription accompanies this paper and it is hoped that some scholar may find a clue to the identity of the verses which were in lines 1-16.





NO. 31] TRIKĀYASTAVA IN AN INSCRIPTION AT MIHINTAĻĒ 245

TEXT.

L. 16. [Yo naiko nāpy/anekaḥ sva-para-hita-mahā]-[l. 17] sampadādhāra-bhūto i

Naivābhāvo na bhāvaḥ khamsiva sama-raso durvvibhāvya¹-svabhāvaḥ l Nirllepansnirvvikāram śivamsasama-samam vyāpinansniṣprapañcam l Vande pratyātma-vedyanstamsahamsanu[pamam dharmakāyam jinānām l]

[Lokātītām/acintyām] sukṛta-śata-pha[lām/ātmano yo] [l. 18] vibhūtim²/l Parṣan/maddhye vicitrām/prathayati mahatīn/dhīmatām/prīti-hetoḥ l Buddhānām sarvva-loka-prasṛtam/avirat-odāra-saddharmma-ghoṣam l Vande sambho[ga-kāyam tam aham iha mahā-dharma-rājya]-pratiṣṭham l

Satvānām»pāka-he[toḥ kvacid»a]nala iv»ābhāti yo dīpya[mā-] [l. 19]-naḥ l Sambodhau dharmma-cakre kvacid»api ca punar»ddṛśyate yaḥ praśāntaḥ l Naikākāra-pravṛttan»tribhava-bhaya-haram viśva-rūpair»upāyair³» l Vvande nirmmāṇa-kāyan»daśa-dig-anu-gatan»ta[m mahārttham munīnām l]

TRANSLATION.

[Verse 1] I worship that incomparable Dharmmakāya of the Buddhas which, though not one is also not many, which is the support of the great prosperity causing the welfare of one's own self as well as of others; which is not being and is also not non-being; which, like the sky, is of equal disposition to all, is of inconceivable nature, is stainless, unchanging, auspicious; which is unequalled but is also equal, is all-pervading but above every possible determination and is to be comprehended by each one for himself.

[Verse 2] I here do worship that Sambhogakāya of the Buddhas which is transcendental and unthinkable; which causes to spread in the midst of assemblies, for the pleasure of those endowed with wisdom, the great superhuman power of their [i.e. the Buddhas'] own, the result of hundreds of good deeds; which flows forth over the whole world and is of unceasing eloquent voice [proclaiming] the true doctrine and which is the foundation of the great empire of righteousness.

[Verse 3] I worship, by all sorts of means, that Nirmmāṇakāya of the Buddhas which, for the purpose of ripening [the intellect of] beings, sometimes shines radiant as the fire and which, sometimes again, as in the Enlightenment and in [the

¹ T. durvibhāva.

² The danda is written before the ligature mpa.

³ The danda is written before the syllable rova. T. does not duplicate the v in this syllable. VOL. IV

turning of] the Wheel of the Law, appears tranquil; which exists in divers forms; which assuages the dread of the three forms of existence; which goes to the ten directions and is of great benefit [to beings].

No. 32. A FRAGMENTARY PILLAR-INSCRIPTION IN THE COLOMBO MUSEUM.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

MONG the inscribed stones preserved in the Colombo Museum, there is the upper half of a pillar, inscribed on all its four faces, of which the provenance has not been recorded. This fragment of the pillar seems to have been utilized, at a date later than the inscription, as a riser in a flight of steps; and in the process of preparing the stone to serve this purpose by cutting along one of its edges, the last letter in each line of side A and one to three letters at the beginning of all the lines of side D have disappeared. The top of the pillar, with the capital (if there was one), has been lopped off, damaging the first line of writing on each of the four faces. One of the edges of side B has also been chiselled, but no considerable damage has been caused to the writing on this The present fragment stands 3 ft. 6 in. in height and the two whole faces B and C measure 103 in. and 101 in., respectively, at their broadest points. Side A has 15 lines of writing preserved and the other three sides have each 20 lines decipherable on the stone. Not taking into account the signs for the medial vowels i and u, the letters, which are boldly engraved, range in height from I to 2 in.

The script is Sinhalese of the early tenth century and the occurrence of the rounded ka and the relatively short ra makes it improbable that this epigraph was of a date earlier than the reign of Kassapa IV. The language is in keeping with that of other records of the tenth century; but attention may be drawn to the forms $mel\bar{a}cci$ and rat-kol which occur elsewhere as $mel\bar{a}tsi$ and rad-kol.

The record gives rise to an historical problem. What is preserved of it is enough to state that it registered a grant of immunities by a king who had the viruda name of Abhā Salamevan and who is described as a brother of King Sirisangbo Kasub (Sirisanghabodhi Kassapa). The latter sovereign can be no other than Kassapa IV, for the fifth of that name had the viruda title of Abhā Salamevan and Kassapa III can be ruled out since he was of too early a date

¹ This word also occurs in a number of other variant forms.

to be considered the brother of a king of the tenth century, as the monarch who issued the present document is proved to have been by the palaeographic evidence. Sirisangbo Kasub is said in this inscription to have enjoyed the sole sovereignty of Rohana and Malaya (Ruhun-danavu Mala-mandulu tamahat ekat-kot paribhoga kala)¹. Similar phraseology has been applied to King Udaya II (I) in many inscriptions of his younger brother and successor Kassapa IV². The Elle-väva pillar-inscription of Dappula IV (V)³ refers to Sena II in almost the same words, and the present epigraph shows that the phrase, which only indicates that the royal personage in connexion with whom it is used had actual authority over Rohana and Malaya, was also applied to Kassapa IV.

As the present edict introduces the king who promulgated it as a brother of King Kassapa, the latter king must have preceded the former. The viruda title Abhāsalamevan borne by the promulgator of this edict would indicate that he was the immediate successor of a king who had the title of Sirisangbo, which Kassapa IV had. Now, according to the chronicles, Kassapa IV was the youngest of three brothers, who ascended the throne in succession, according to the order of seniority; he was succeeded on the throne by Kassapa V, a son of Sena II, the eldest of these three brothers. There is no evidence whatever in the chronicles to show that Kassapa IV had a younger brother who succeeded him on the throne⁴. The inscriptions so far discovered belonging to the tworeigns support the chronicles. Kassapa V had the throne name of Abhā Salamevan, indicating that he succeeded a Sirisangbo, which Kassapa IV was. Records of Kassapa IV which mention the heir-apparent name a Kassapa as the holder of this dignity. It is therefore clear that in the reign of Kassapa IV, prince Kassapa was acknowledged to be the person entitled to succeed him on the throne.

The Abhā Salamevan of the present record cannot be Kassapa V, since the records of the latter, which give his relationship to his predecessors, state, in agreement with the chronicles, that he was a son of Sena II. The

¹ It is also possible that this phrase refers to Abhā Salamevan, the author of the record, and not to his brother Kasub Sirisangbo.

² Compare, for instance, the Timbiriväva pillar-inscription of Udaya II (I) (E. Z., II, p. 12) and the Colombo Museum pillar-inscription of Kassapa IV (E. Z., III, p. 273).

³ A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report, pp. 45-46.

⁴ E. Z., Vol. I, genealogical tree facing p. 185.

For example the Halbe pillar-inscription, C. J. Sc., G., vol. ii, p. 192.

⁶ For example, the Anurādhapura slab (E. Z., Vol. I, pp. 45-7) and the Bilibāva pillar (E. Z., Vol. II, pp. 38-43) inscriptions.

word which expresses the relationship between Kasub Sirisangbo and Abhā Salamevan admits of no doubt, though its first syllable is missing. It can in no way be taken as a word indicating the relationship that existed between Kassapa IV and Kassapa V. The latter was the former's nephew, but as there is no distinction made in the Sinhalese kinship system between one's own son and that of one's brother, Kassapa V would have been referred to as a put or daru (son) of Kassapa IV. It is also difficult to assume that the scribe inadvertently wrote sohovur for put or daru. One cannot imagine how two words, one so different from the other, could have been confused in such an important document as a royal decree. Besides, it is hardly likely that Kassapa V, in giving his relationship to his predecessors, would have preferred to mention his undistinguished uncle instead of his father who had had a glorious career. It is out of the question to take the Abhā Salamevan of this inscription to be Udaya II (I) who had this viruda and was in fact a brother of Kassapa IV, for in the reign of Udaya II, Kassapa IV had not yet ascended the throne and could not therefore have been referred to as maharad. It might also be argued that this is really a grant of Udaya II but, owing to some reason or other, was not engraved on stone till the accession of Kassapa IV, and when this was done, the relationship of the former to the then reigning king was mentioned in the document. For this assumption there is, however, no parallel in the whole range of Sinhalese epigraphy. The possibility of the document being a forgery has, I think, to be dismissed on palaeographic grounds and considerations of style.

If none of the possibilities detailed above be considered likely, the only other possible conclusion is that, at the death of Kassapa IV, there were two rival claimants to the throne; one a younger brother of the deceased king who had, for some reason or other, been passed over in the selection of the heirapparent at the beginning of the reign, and the other Kassapa V who, as has already been stated, was the prince recognized by the chronicles as the successor of Kassapa IV. Both would, as a matter of course, have assumed the title of Abhā Salamevan as the previous ruler was a Sirisangbo. If such was actually the course of events, the hypothetical younger brother of Kassapa IV could not have received the support of a considerable section of the people and was soon put out of the way, for the chronicles inform us that Kassapa V enjoyed a fairly prosperous reign of ten years and inscriptions are found dated in his seventh regnal year. If such a rival of Kassapa V really existed, the successful claimant might have expunged all references to him in the official records, and as a result, the chronicles completely ignored him. The fragmentary nature of the present

record does not permit us to arrive at any definite conclusion on this point, which can only be clarified by the chance of a future discovery of another document bearing upon this particular period.

Т	E	X	T	
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		A.		
1	සවසනි		9	පරිභොග [ක]
2	සිරිලක්[දි]		10	ල සිරිස[ග්]
3	විහි පිහි[ටි]		11	ශබා කසු(බ් ම)
4	යස ඉසි[ර <u>්</u>]		12	ග රද්නු[සො]
5	රුහුණ්ද[න]		13	ඉහාවුර් අ[භා]
6	වු මලම(ඩු)		14	සලමෙව[න්]
7	ලූ තමහ[ට්]		15	මපුර්මු[කා]
8	එකත් කො[ට්]			* * * * * *
		в.		
1	•• •• •• ••		12	ලා ඉදට්සස
2	ගල්රද් ඉ[ස]		13	සා ඇතුළ් වැ
3	නු වර මෙ[ස්]		14	මේතුවාක් ස
4	කාප්පර් ඉ[ඛ]		15	ම්දරුවන් වි
5	ඤ්වා පිල[ක්]		16	සින් මහ (වා)
6	කා ඉසා බල		17	විශයයි සම
7	ෙණන්ගමු උ		18	දැනිගෙ වැඩ $[\imath]$
8	රා ඉසා ම[හ]		19	සිටි බොසත්
9	ලෙ උදසා [ර]		20	පාණන් ගෙ (ර)
10	ක්සමණන්		21	කවල් රැක
11	වරැ කුඩස		•	* * * * * *
		C.		
1	ස		10	න් නොවද්නා
2	තර් සෙණක්		11	ඉසා රව්ල
3	' නුලු ශසන්න		12	දු පස්ලදු
4	රු ගමට් ඉප		13	වන් නොවද්
5	රෙනාව්ටිය		14	නා ඉසා පිඉයා
6	ම් නොවදනා		15	වද,රනුව
7	කොට් ඉසා ම <u>ේ</u>		16	න් දුනුවා බ
8	ලාච්චි රත්		17	ලතුන් නොව
9	කොල් කැමි ය		18	ද්නා ඉසා ෧ද
	•			

¹ See Plate 23.

19 20			21	සන් නොවද් * * * * * *
20	මතැන වැස	_		* * * * * *
		D.		
1		e e	13	(ඉය)න් වද්
2	•		14	(නා) දිය නොව
3			15	(ල)කනු කොට්
4	. (න් කෙ)නෙකුත්		16	(ඉ)සා ගොළ්කු
5	(1- /		17	(ලි) දෙමෙළ්කු
0	, , ,		18	(ලි) නිඤ් කොට්
7	' (පිවත්) කරා		19	(වද,)ළ එක්
8	' / ته /		20	(තැන්)සම්යෙන්
g	\ / W		21	(ආ මෙතු)වාක් ස
10) (ගන්)නා ඉසා		22	(ම්දරුව)ෙමා
11	. (මෙග)මට් පෙ			* * * * * *
12	2 (රෙ සි)රින් හො			•
		TRANSCRIPT.		
		A.		
1	Svasti) pa	aribhoga [ka-]
2	Siri-Lak-[di-]	10) -ļa	a Sirisa[ṅg-]
3	-vhi pihi[ți]	1	1 b	o Kasub (ma-)
4	yasa isi[rä]	19	2 -h	a-radhu [so-]
5	Ruhuṇ-da[na-]	13	3 -h	ovur A [bhā]
6	-vu Mala-ma(ndu-)	1	4 S	$\operatorname{alameva[n]}$
7	-lu tamaha[t]	1	5 m	apurmu[kā]
8	ekat ko[ț]		*	* * * *
		в.		
1		. 1	0 -1	ksamaṇan
2	-galrad [S]e-	1		arä kuḍasa-
3	-nu varä Me[y]-	1		ā Dețyasa-
4	-kāppar [B]e-	1		zā ätuļ-vä
_		-	, ,	1 -

14 metuvāk sa-15 -mdaruvan vi-

16 -sin Maha(vo)-

-dätiye väd[ä]

17 -tiyehi Sama-

18

5 -ndvā Pi a[k]-

6 -kā isā Baļa-

7 -notgamu U-

8 -rā isā Ma[ha-]

-le Udayā [Ra-]

NO. 32] PILLAR-INSCRIPTION IN THE COLOMBO MUSEUM 251

19 siți Bosat 21 -kaval räka 20 pāṇan ge (ra-) * * * * * *

	c.	i	
sa-		12	-du pas-ladu-
-tar seṇāk		13	-van no-vad-
hulu Senna-		14	nā isā piyo-
-ru-gamaț pe-		15	-vadāranuva-
-renāṭṭiya-		16	-n dunuvā ba-
-m no-vadanā		17	-latun no-va-
koț isā me-		18	-dnā isā de-
-lācci rat-		19	ruvanä de-ka
kol-kämiya-		20	-m-tän väs-
-n no-vadnā		2 1	-san no-vad
isā raṭ-la-			* * * * * *
	-tar seṇāk hulu Sennaru-gamaṭ perenāṭṭiyam no-vadanā koṭ isā melācci rat- kol-kämiyan no-vadnā	satar seṇāk hulu Sennaru-gamaṭ perenāṭṭiyam no-vadanā koṭ isā melācci rat- kol-kämiyan no-vadnā	

D.

1	ga	13	(-ye)n vad-
2	isa	14	(-nā) diya no-va-
3	gama va-	15	-(la)kanu koț
4	(-n ke)nekun	16	(i)sā Heļ-ku -
5	(äta) gam-vä-	17	-(li) Demeļ-ku-
6	(-ssan) lavā	18	-(li) nind koṭ
7	(piṭat) karā	19	(vadā)ļa ek-
8	(ganut) misä	20	(tän)-samiyen
9	(gamaṭ) vädä no-	21	(ā metu)vāk sa-
10	(gan)nā isā	22	` '
11	(me-ga)mat pe-		* * * * * *
12	(-re si)rit ho-		

TRANSLATION.

Hail!..... His Majesty Abhā Salamevan¹, brother of the great king Sirisangbo Kasub², who enjoyed the fame and power which is established in

¹ P. Abhaya Silāmegha.

² P. Sirisanghabodhi Kassapa. For the two viruda names Abhā Salamevan and Sirisangbo, see E. Z., Vol. II, p. 9.

the illustrious island of Lanka by absolutely securing for himself the dominion of the Rohana country and the Malaya district 1 by the aforesaid gentlemen², including Bendvā Pilakkā and Balinotgamu Urā (members) of the body-guard who are in the service of 3... galarad Senu and Detyasayā, the kudasalā⁴, in the service of Udayā Raksamaņa, the Chief Secretary..... (who) mounts guard at the house of the Holy Bodhisattva 5 who is staying at Samadätiya in Mahavoţi 6 touching the village Sennaru which comprises four senās of hulu (it is ordered) that perenāttiyam shall not enter, that melācci and officers of the royal household shall not enter, that governors of districts and governors of provinces shall not enter, that piyovadāranuvan¹⁰, archers and royal messengers shall not enter, that officers of the de-ruvana and de-kam-tän 11 shall not enter that any one who has entered this village (after committing a murder) shall not be arrested by entering the village but shall only be arrested after getting him ejected by the villagers, that the supply of waterwhich, according to previous custom, is being brought to this village from the river shall not be hindered, that hel-kuli and demel-kuli 12 shall be taken as belonging by proprietary right 13 (to this village). The aforesaid gentlemen who have come in accordance with the decree delivered in assembly 14

¹ For somewhat different translations of phrases similar to Siri-Lak-divhi... paribhoga kaļa, see E. Z., Vol. II, p. 13, ibid., III, p. 275 and above, p. 185. In the above translation, I have taken yasa-isirā as the object of kaļa and Ruhuņu-danavu Mala-maṇḍulu tamahaṭ ekat koṭ as an adverbial phrase modifying paribhoga kaļa.

² Sam-daruvan: See E. Z., Vol. III, p. 88.

³ For this tentative rendering of varä, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 108.

⁴ For kuḍasalā, see above, p. 190, n. 9. In view of what is stated there, there is no justification for continuing the practice of writing this word as a proper name.

⁵ Possibly the reference here is to some person who guarded the shrine of a Bodhisattva statue which was the beneficiary of the present grant. As the mediaeval kings of Ceylon were considered to have been incarnations of Bodhisattvas, it is not impossible that the reference is to some person who guarded the king while he was at the place mentioned.

⁶ Mahavoti = P. Mahātittha, the present Māntai near Mannar.

⁷ For the words senā and hulu, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 143.

⁸ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 144.

⁹ The same as melātsi for which see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 110 and above, p. 66, n 9.

¹⁰ Same as pivo-vadārannan for which, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 110.

¹¹ For the two terms see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 143.

¹² For heļ-kuli and demeļ-kuli, see above, p. 54, n. 6.

¹³ *Nind*: see above, p. 54, n. 7.

¹⁴ Ek-tän-samiya: see above, p. 185, n. 9.

No. 33. THE RUVANVÄLISÄYA SLAB-INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN KALYĀŅAVATĪ.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

HIS inscription is engraved on a large stone slab, measuring 12 ft. 9 in. by 1 8 ft. 8 in., used in the pavement of the well-known Ruvanvälisäya at Anurādhapura, in close proximity to its southern vāhalkaḍa. The slab itself seems originally to have served as the landing above a flight of steps in some old building before it was utilized in the paving (proved by short donative records to be a work of about the ninth century) of this part of the extensive platform of the gigantic $st\bar{u}pa$. The inscription covers an area of 6 ft. 10 in. by 4 ft. 4 in. of the slab, and consists of twenty-two lines. The writing is enclosed within a linear framing on the top and the two sides. Lines 1 to 14 are separated from one another by horizontal lines and this was evidently intended to be done throughout the inscription, for the beginnings of such lines are noticed below lines 15 and 16. The inscription was evidently never completed, for the last line ends abruptly before coming to a period. It seems that, owing to some reason or other, the engraving of the inscription was interrupted before the final touches were given to it, this being perhaps due to one of the many internal revolutions or foreign invasions which were so frequent in the first two decades of the thirteenth century. When this inscription was brought to light over fifty years ago, it was, judging from an eye-copy made under Mr. Bell's direction in 1906, in a fairly good state of preservation. It has, however, deteriorated considerably during the past few years, mainly by the carts bringing material for the restoration work of the dagaba being driven over the stone without any measures being taken by those in charge of the site for the preservation of the inscription. a consequence of this, the last eight lines are very faintly visible and their decipherment would have been extremely difficult but for the aid of the eye-copy already referred to.

This inscription has been included by Dr. E. Müller as No. 157 in his A. I. C. Dr. Müller cannot be said to have been very successful in his study of the epigraph. His text is bristling with misreadings and his translation hardly gives any sense. Moreover, he has failed to read the name of Kalyāṇavatī in this inscription; and, having deciphered the name of Sirisaṅgbo Parākramabāhu (I) who is referred to in the epigraph, he assumes the latter monarch to be Vijayabāhu II (meaning the third) and couples this document with the Dondra slabinscription of Sirisaṅgbo Parākramabāhu (probably Parākramabāhu V) which

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also he has mistakenly assigned to Vijayabāhu II. A year after the appearance of Dr. Müller's work, an independent version of this inscription was published by Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara in the R. A. S., C. B.¹ Mudaliyar Gunasekara's text and translation are decidedly superior to those of Dr. Müller and he, having deciphered the name of Queen Kalyāṇavatī, succeeded in assigning the record to its proper place in Ceylon history. Nevertheless, Mudaliyar Gunasekara's text admits of amendment in a number of places and his translation is also faulty to that extent.

The letters range in size from $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. The script is of the twelfth to thirteenth century and is the same as that of the numerous inscriptions of Niśśamka Malla and Parākramabāhu. The letter na of this inscription, however, differs from the common symbol for that letter in this period by the absence of the loop and is decidedly archaic in appearance. The language is Sinhalese of what is known as the 'mixed' variety, that is to say, containing a large proportion of Sanskrit words in their raw state or just going through the initial processes of assimilation. The majority of these newly imported Sanskrit words are written according to the correct orthography (e.g. prasāda-paravaša l. 6 and vicitra l. 9) while a few are written as an ordinary Sinhalese at the time would have pronounced them (e.g. sarddhā for śraddhā l. 2 and rājapprasāda for rāja-prasāda l. 3). Mahogha (l. 11) and Thūpārāma are in their Pāli forms; in kṣīra-pāyāsa and Thūpavamśa we have hybrid compounds, one member being Sanskrit and the other Pāli.

The record is dated in the second year of Kalyāṇavatī and gives an account of the offerings made to the Ruvanvälisāya by Vijayānāvan, who was treasurer of Parākramabāhu and other kings, his wife and his sister's son. The wife of Vijayānāvan and two of his sons figure in an inscription at Nāgalavihāra², but I cannot find any reference to this dignitary in the $C\bar{u}$ [avanīsa. The inscription does not furnish us with any historical information but is of considerable interest in giving us a fairly detailed picture of a public celebration of the worship of the $st\bar{u}pa$ as it existed in the Polonnaruva period. Of some interest is the statement that the votaries listened, in the precincts of the Ruvanālisāya, to a recital of the $Th\bar{u}pavamsa$, which is the name of a work containing the legends and the history of this great $st\bar{u}pa$. There are two versions of this chronicle, one in Pāli and the other in Sinhalese; but as it is unlikely that Vijayānāvan and his wife understood Pāli, the reference is most probably to

¹ Vol. vii, part III (1882), pp. 181-186.

² E.Z., Vol. III, p. 70.

a Sinhalese version. The extant Sinhalese *Thūpavaṁsa* is the work of an author called Parākrama Paṇḍita¹ who had also the title of Sakala-vidyā-cakravartti and, were we certain that the reference in the present inscription is to the work which has come down to us, we can definitely conclude that it was written in the reign of Parākramabāhu I, since there was only one king of that name before the time of Kalyāṇavatī. However, as there was an earlier *Thūpavaṁsa* in Sinhalese, to supplant which the now extant Pāli work was composed, probably in the reign of Parākramabāhu II², we cannot be quite certain about this point.

TEXT.

- 1 අභසසලමෙවන් කලාණවතී සුවමින් වහන්සෙට දෙවනු ඇසළ පුර එකොළොස්වක් [ලද] විසානකනින් සිරිසහබො පාක්කුමබාහු
- 2 චකුවති සුවාමින්වාන්සෙ ඇතුළුවූ රජදරුවන්ගෙ භඬාර පරිපාලනය කොට රත්නතනුයෙහි අතිකපපුසාද ඇති ශුණීබුඩි ගුණේ
- 3 න් සම[න්*]ව්[ත] රාජපපුසාදරාසින් විරාජමානවූ භබාර පොතැ පිරිවතුබම් විජයානාවන් හා මෙකුගෙ අමබු සුගම
- 4 ධාදෙවින් හා මෙකුන්ගේ බැන ලංකා අඛිකාර කොටදනවු දෙවල්නාවන් හා තුන් දෙනැ අගමධර නොඑක්
- 5 පඩිතවරයන්ගෙන් රුව<mark>න්මැලි</mark> සුවාමින්ව දුටුගැමුණු රජපුරුවන් ආදිවූ නොඑක්
- 6 රජදරුවන් විසින් කරනලද පූජාවිශෙෂ අසා පුසාදපරවශ වැ අනුන් හා අසාධාරණවූ පූ
- 7 ජාවිශෙෂයක් කළ මැනැවැ යි නානාවිධවූ අවද,ස් අවසිය අසූවක් පමණ වසතුයෙන් විශෙ
- 9 මණ සාලින් සොළොස්ම්ගලා අනුවා ගණබපුපා සුගණබදිපයෙන් විවිතු කොටැ පාතේ ගෙ
- 10 නැ බජ පතා කා කදලිනොරණිදින් වීරී සරහා අනෙකවශිගයෙ කනදයින් හා ක්රීපායාස
- 11 යෙන් හා මහොසයක් සෙ පළමුවන මඑවෙහි නිරනතරයෙන් සතියක් පූජා කොවැ කපුරු දෙදසක්

¹ The opinion of an editor of the *Thūpavamsa*, quoted by Prof. Geiger in his *L. L. S.* (para. 34), that Parākrama Paṇḍita was the nephew of Parākramabāhu I, who succeeded the latter on the throne under the title of Vijayabāhu, has nothing to support it, and is not endorsed at present by any Sinhalese scholar.

² Pali Literatur und Sprache, para. 34, and the Preface to the P.T. S. edition by B. C. Law.

- 12 කළ ඤිත් පාතැ තුන්වන පියවසාවෙ රියනේ රියනේ කබල්වලැ කපුරුපාන් පුද, ඇ
- 13 ගැ ඇතුළුවූ නොයෙක් පුදිපසූජා ද කරවා නොඑක් කම්මානත කළ මෙහෙකරු
- 14 වන්ව අතව ගල් එබූ මුසු හා රන්පිළි හා උන් අම්බුවන්ව ද හඤනා පිළි ද උංකු සතුටු කරවා
- 15 විහා[ර*]රසාවෙ සිටි ලියන්නවුන් සම්දරුවන් වණ්ණකුවරුන් බමුණත් පසකුන් සිත්[ත]රුන්
- 16 නවන්නන් ශීකියන්නන් බෙරගසන්නන් සකුන්(දු)රයන් ප(ංච)යන් පා දෙණිගය පැන් නගන ගැ
- 17 නුන් ද,මාලෙ බැලු මතුල්ම්ඩ්යන් මාලාකාරීන් (ඔස පැවටුවන් ආදින්ව) පුසාදයෙන් රනින් ස
- 18 තුටු කරවා රුවන්මැලිමඑවෙදි මැ **ථූපවශ** අසා ධම්මකථිකයන්ට සුදුසු පූජා කොටැ
- 19 දූපාරාමසමාම්න්වත් <mark>ශුීමහාබොධීන්</mark> වහන්සෙවත් කපුරුපහන් පතාකා පූජා අදිවූ නොඑක්
- 20 පූජා කරවා සත්ගෙණෙහි තෙරවරුන් වහන්සෙ පුඛාන කොටැ වසන වහනුැටත් මහදන් දී සිවු
- 21 රුපිළි දී නෑ නොනෑ නෙසිසලු පෙුතයන්ට පින්පෙත් දෙවා මේ පූජා ඇසූ මහාජනසාට ද තමාට ද
- 22 බනුලපුිනි උපදවා කළ ප

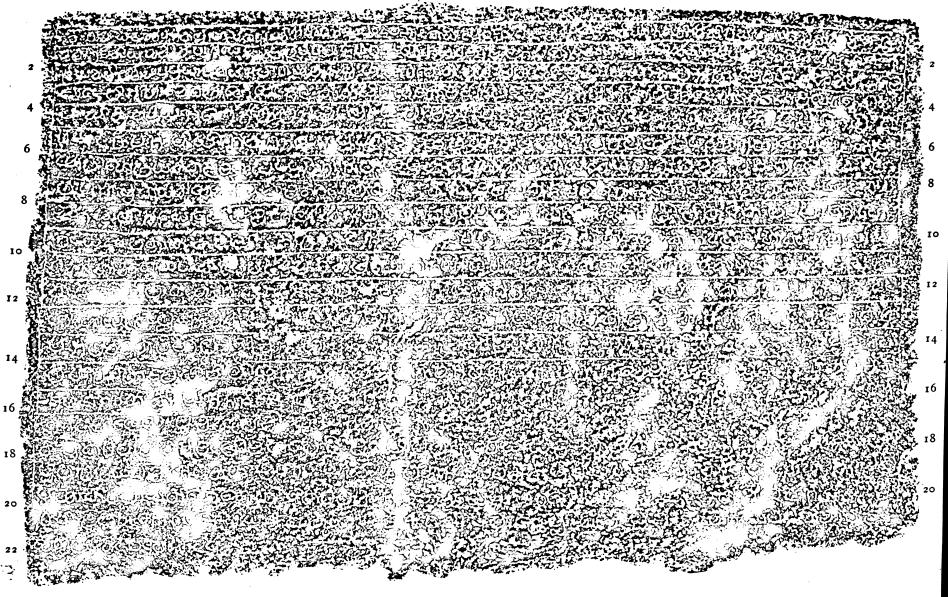
TRANSCRIPT.

- 1 Abhaya-salamevan Kalyāṇavatī suvamin-¹vahanseṭa devanu Äsaļa pura ekoļosvak [lada] Visā-nakatin Sirisaṅgabo Prākkrama-²bāhu
- 2 cakkravarti³ suvāmīn-⁴vānse ätuļu-vū rajadaruvange bhaṇḍāra paripālanaya koṭa ratnattrayehi⁵ adhikapprasāda ⁶ äti sarddh⬠buddhi-gune-
- 3 -n sama[n*]vi[ta] rājapprasāda-rāsīn virājamāna-vū Bhaṇḍāra-potä
 Pirivatubim Vijayānāvan hā mekuge ambu Sume-
- 4 -dhā-devīn hā mekungē bāna Lamkā-Adhikāra Koṭadanavu Devalnāvan hā tun denä āgamadhara no-ek

¹ Svāmīn. In this and in other instances I give the correct Sanskrit form or that now considered to be the standard. However, the forms appearing in the inscription need not be taken as errors; on the other hand, they are interesting as adaptations of Sanskrit words to suit the genius of the Sinhalese language. This process of adaptation was, however, arrested by the intervention of pedantry and we have thus in the Sinhalese vocabulary a large number of undigested Sanskrit words.

² Parākrama. ³ cakravartti. ⁴ See note 1 on p. 256. ⁵ ratna-trayehi.

[°] adhika-prasāda. ° sraddhā. ° rājaprasāda-rāsīn.



Scale about 11 inches to 1 foot

- 5 paṇḍita-varayangen Ruvanmäli-suvāmīnṭa¹ Duṭugāmuṇu-rajjuruvan ādi-vū no-ek
- 6 raja-daruvan visin karana-lada pūjā-višesa asā prasāda-paravaša vä anun hā asādhāraṇa-vū pū-
- 7 -jā-viśeṣayak kaļa mänävä yi nānā-vidha-vū aṭa-dās aṭa-siya asūvak pamaṇa vastrayen viśe-
- 8 şa-vū kañcukayak bahā Cūdāmaņi-caitya-pratibimbayak se višeşa koţā sarahā pas-yalak pa-
- 9 -maṇa sālin soļos-maṅgalā andavā gandha-puṣpa sugandha-dīpayen vicitra koṭā pānē ge-
- -nä dhaja ² patākā kadalī-toraņādīn vīthi sarahā aneka-varggaye kanadäyin hā kṣīra-pāyāsa-
- 11 --yen hā mahoghayak se paļamuvana maļuvehi nirantarayen satiyak pūjā koṭā kapuru de-dāsak
- 12 kaļandin pātā tunvana piyavasāve riyanē riyanē kabalvalā kapuru-pān pudā ä-
- 13 -gā atuļu-vū noyek pradīpa-pūjā da karavā no-ek karmmānta kala mehe-karu-
- 14 -vanţa ataţa gal ebū mundu hā ran-pili hā un ambuvanţa da handanā pili di un>da³ satuţu karavā
- vihā[ra*]-rakṣāve siţi liyannavun sam-daruvan vaṇṇakuvarun bamuṇan pasakun sit[ta]run
- 16 natannan gī-kiyannan bera-gasannan sakun(du)rayan pa(mca)yan pādeniye pān nagana gā-
- 17 -nun dā-māle bälu mangul-mindiyan mālākārīn (osanda-vaṭuvan ādīnṭa) prasādayen ranin sa-
- 18 -tuṭu karavā Ruvanmäli-maļuvedī mä **Thūpavaṁśa** sā dharmmakathikayanṭa sudusu pūjā koṭä
- 19 **Thūpārāma**-svāmīnṭat **Śrī-Mahā-bodhīn**-vahanseṭat kapurupahan patākā pūjā ādi-vū no-ek
- 20 pūjā karavā sat-geņehi tera-varun vahanse pradhāna koṭā vasana vahandāṭat maha-dan dī sivu-

^{&#}x27; svāmīnļa,

² As the Pāli word is *dhaja* it is perhaps unnecessary to read *dhvaja* here, as it ought to have been if a Sanskrit *tatsama* is meant.

³ Read un da.

⁴ This is a hybrid form. It should correctly have been *Thūpavamsa* (Pāli) or *Stūpavamsa* (Sanskrit).

- 21 -ru-piļī dī nā no-nā ne-siyalu pretayanta pin-pet devā me pūjā asū mahājanayāta da tamāta da
- 22 bahula-prīti upadavā kaļa pa

TRANSLATION.

On the eleventh day of the waxing moon in the month of Äsala in the second year of Her Majesty Abhaya Salamevan Kalyāņavatī—under the asterism Visā2—Bhandārapotā Pirivatubim Vijayānāvan 3 who, having administered 4 the treasuries of kings, including His Majesty the Emperor Sirisangabo Parākramabāhu, has abundant faith in the Three Jewels, is endowed with faith and intellect and is resplendent with a multitude of royal favours— Sumedhādevī, the wife of this [Vijayānāvan] and Lamkā-adhikāra Kotadanavu Devalnavan, the sister's son of this [same dignitary]—these three personages. having heard, from various learned men versed in the scriptures, of the distinguished offerings made to the Holy Ruvanmäli by various kings beginning with King Dutugamunu, were imbued with pleasure and [thinking] that it would be well if [they] performed a special offering unlike others, placed [on the stūpa] a special mantle made of about eight thousand eight hundred and eighty pieces of clothes of diverse sorts, distinctively decorated [the stūpa so that it appeared] like a reflection of the Cūdāmani-caitya⁷, caused to be drawn [thereon], with about five yālas 8 of rice [flour], the sixteen auspicious objects9; beautified

¹ Skt. Āṣāḍha, June-July. ² Skt. Viśākha.

³ In this name, *Bhandāra-potā*, which means 'of the Treasury book' is obviously a title indicating the connexion of its holder with the royal treasury. *Bhandāra-potthakī*, the Pāli form of the title, is borne by a number of dignitaries who figure in the reign of Parākramabāhu I. See *Mv*. chap. lxxii, vv. 125 and 229. 'Pirivatubim' is evidently a place name used as the baronial title of Vijaya's family. *Nāvan* is the instrumental plural of $n\bar{a}$ (Skt. $n\bar{a}tha$ or $n\bar{a}yaka$) 'chief'.

^{&#}x27; Literally 'protected'.

⁶ Ruvanmäli-suvāmīnṭa: Literally 'to the Lord Ruvanmäli'. In Sinhalese writings, as well as in the colloquial language, the same terms of respect are used in referring to a sacred object as are applied to persons, to denote reverence or respect. Other examples of this practice found in this inscription are: Thūpārāma-sāmīnṭa and Śrī-mahā-bodhīn-vahanseṭa (l. 19).

⁶ Dutthagāmaṇī (circa 101-77 B.C.), the founder of the Ruvanmäli (or -väli), also called the Mahāthūpa, at Anurādhapura.

⁷ The stūpa which is said, in Buddhist sacred lore, to have been built in Śakra's paradise to enshrine the jewelled head-dress which Prince Siddhārtha discarded on renouncing the worldly life to strive for Buddhahood.

⁸ See *E.Z.*, Vol. III, p. 183.

Solos-mangalā: Mudaliyar Gunasekara has read this compound as solosmāli lā and interprets the latter in an ingenious way. Solos-mangalā occurs in a passage of the Butsarana (edited by the Rev. W. Sorata, Colombo, 1931, p. 229) which describes how the gods decorated the world on the occasion

and (illuminated?) it with fragrant flowers and lamps of scented oil; decorated the streets with flags, banners and arched gateways formed of plantain trees in made offerings incessantly during a week on the first court-yard with, as it were, a great flood of eatables and milk-rice if offered camphor-lamps, in earthen pans placed at [intervals of] each cubit on the third, the lowermost, terrace if with two thousand kalandas of camphor; caused offerings to be made of numerous lamps including $\ddot{a}g\ddot{a}$; gave to the servitors who performed various types of work, rings set with precious stones for their hands and cloths of gold, and, giving wearing apparel to their wives, pleased them, too; through graciousness pleased with [gifts of] gold those who are in the service of the temple if, [to wit], scribes, gentlemen, appraisers, Brāhmaṇas,

of the Buddha's first preaching of the Law. It states, among other things, that the universe was then adorned with solos-mangalā drawn by the gods with pearls extracted from the ocean (Maha-muhudala väda mutu ukā genā deviyan āňdā pī solos mangalāyen). Solos-mangalā is evidently equivalent to Sanskrit sodaša-mangala and would mean 'the sixteen auspicious (objects)'. The kindred term aṭa-mangalā occurring in Sinhalese literature (Amāvatura, Colombo, 1912, p. 24) is obviously the Sanskrit aṣṭa-mangala (see M.W. Dict., s.v.). With the statement that the aṭamangalā were drawn with rice flour may be compared the practice still current in South India of housewives decorating their compounds every morning with various auspicious symbols drawn with that material.

- ¹ $P\bar{a}n\bar{e}$ genä: The reading of this phrase is not free from doubt and its exact significance is not clear. In making the above suggestion I have been guided by the resemblance of $p\bar{a}n\bar{e}$ to $p\bar{a}na$ 'lamp' or 'dawn'. I have also taken sugandha-dīpayen as modifying $p\bar{a}n\bar{e}$ genä while vicitra-kolā is taken as referring to gandha-puspa.
- ² Kadālī-toraṇa: Mudaliyar Gunasekara has translated this as 'plantain trees and triumphal arches'; but in Sinhalese literature we find numerous instances in which kadalī-toraṇa is given in enumerating various types of toraṇas. Cf., for example, kehel-toran in Butsaraṇa, op. cit., p. 293.
- ³ Kṣīra-pāyāsa: In this compound pāyāsa alone would mean 'milk-rice' but such tautological compounds are not rare in Sinhalese, and kṣīra-pāyāsa itself is often found used in this sense in Sinhalese literary works.
 - ' Piyavasā: See the author's The Stūpa in Ceylon, p. 16.
- ⁶ Ägā is equivalent to Pāli agghikā which is explained in the P.T. S. Dictionary as 'oblation, decoration, or salutation in the form of garlands, flowers, &c.' But, as Dr. Wickremasinghe has already pointed out (E. Z., I, p. 258), the use of the word ägā in the Kāvyaśekhara (i. 102), shows that this meaning is incorrect. The Butsaraṇa (op. cit., p. 120), in describing how the guardian deities of the four quarters stood attending on the seated Buddha on a certain occasion, compares the teacher to a stūpa, made of the seven kinds of precious stones, in the middle of four ägā with lamps lit (ik-biti sarvajñayan vahansē pahan üvulu-vū ägā satarak māda diliyena sat-ruvan daha-gabak sē diliyemin vāḍa hindā). From this passage as well as the verse in the Kāvyaśekhara referred to already, one can conclude that an āgā was some sort of erection on which lamps were lighted. The Sinhalese poem Sasadāvata (v. 185), however, compares a god attending on the Buddha to an āgā-house (āgā-gē, P. agghikā-geha) decorated with lotuses and blue lilies. From the Apadāna (P. T. S. edition, p. 33) it appears that, in early Buddhist times, an agghiya, which seems to be the same as agghikā, was some kind of votive structure put up to honour a stūpa.
 - Vihāra-rakṣāve siļi: This phrase obviously qualifies not only liyannan, which occurs immediately

pasakun¹, painters, dancers, singers, drummers, sakundurayan, paincayan², the women who fill the foot-basin ³ with water, the auspicious female slaves ⁴ who looked after the precincts of the stūpa⁵, the garland-making women, the perfumers and others; listened to the Thūpavainsa on the platform of the Ruvannäli itself and made appropriate offerings to the reciters of sacred texts; caused various offerings, including offerings of camphor lamps, banners, &c., to be made to the Holy Thūpārāma ⁷ and the Sacred Śrī Mahābodhi ⁷; gave great largesses to the resident monks led by the venerable elders of the seven confraternities ⁸, [also] gave cīvara ⁹ robes and caused a share of the merit to be transferred ¹⁰ to all the varied [ghosts of] the departed, whether of their kindred or not which has been done having caused abundant joy to the great multitude of people who heard of these offerings, as well as to themselves

after it, but the names of all the other functionaries which follow and as such it is difficult to get any sense by giving to the word $rakṣ\bar{a}$ the meaning of 'protection' which it usually has in Sanskrit. The singers, dancers, &c., were obviously not engaged in the protection of the $vih\bar{a}ra$. In modern Sinhalese, the word $rakṣ\bar{a}va$ has come to mean 'employment' or 'service'; for instance $\bar{a}nduv\bar{e}rakṣ\bar{a}va$ means 'employment or service under the Government'. In the translation given above, I have ventured to assume that the word $rakṣ\bar{a}va$ had already taken that secondary meaning in the twelfth century.

- ¹ Mudaliyar Gunasekara equates pasakun with Skt. pācaka and translates it as 'cooks'. Though this is not impossible, I do not know of any place in Sinhalese literature where the word is found in that sense.
- ² Mudaliyar Gunasekara reads the first of these two words as *sakundurayan*; his rendering of the two words is purely conjectural with no authority to support it. I prefer to leave the words untranslated.
- ³ Pā-deṇiya: This word occurs in the Amāvatura (Colombo, 1912, p. 231) where it stands for P. pāda-dhovana in the Dhammapada!!hakathā (P. T. S. edition, vol. i, p. 415). The word pā-deṇi also occurs in an unpublished donative inscription on a stone basin at Pankuliya near Anurādhapura, where it clearly refers to the object on which the record is engraved. Pādeṇi is therefore to be taken as a compound of pā (Skt. and P. pāda) 'foot' and deṇi (P. doṇi) 'trough' or 'basin' and obviously indicates the stone trough or basin which is often found placed at the entrances to stūpas and shrines of ancient Anurādhapura.
- 'Mangul-mindiyan: The word mindi occurs in Sinhalese literature to mean 'female slave'; and mangul meaning 'auspicious' is probably applied to them here because they belonged to a religious institution and not because they had 'auspicious marks on them' as Mudaliyar Gunasekara interprets the word.
 - ⁵ Dā-māla = P. dhātu-mālaka, 'relic-terrace'.
- 6 Osandavaluvan: This word occurs, without the nasal before the d, in the Sinhalese Jātaka (Colombo edition of 1928, p. 1576) where it stands for Pāli gandhika in Jātaka (Fausböll), vol. vi, p. 336.
 - ⁷ See above, p. 258, note 5.
- ⁸ Sat-genehi: The Buddhist Church of Ceylon in the Polonnaruva period seems to have been constituted of seven Colleges or Confraternities (ganas); but I do not know of any place where the seven are enumerated.
 - 9 The yellow robes worn by Buddhist monks.
 - 10 Pin-pet devā: This expression is equivalent to P. patti-dāna for which see P.T.S. Dictionary, s.v.

No. 34. ALUTNUVARA SLAB-INSCRIPTIONS.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

TANDING on either side at the foot of the flight of steps leading to the main shrine of the dēvāle at Alutnuvara¹, in the Galboḍa Kōraļē of the Kāgalla District, there are two weather-worn inscribed slabs which are said to have been dug out, about fifty years ago, from the ruins of the old Viṣṇu dēvāle at the place. Of these, the slab to the left, as one ascends, has its inscription totally obliterated, but for five lines at the end. The other slab was inscribed on both faces, but the upper half of each face is now obliterated. Mr. Bell, who first brought these inscriptions to notice in 1890, has published their texts and translations so far as he could make them out at that time²; but the progress of Sinhalese epigraphical studies since that date and the advance in our knowledge of the history of the period to which these inscriptions really belong—due particularly to the researches of Mr. H. W. Codrington—have made Mr. Bell's pioneer effort out of date and the present revised edition is therefore offered.

The slab (No. 1) inscribed on two sides is 5 ft. high, 1 ft. 8 in. broad, and 9 in. in thickness. It is not possible to ascertain how many lines of writing there were on each side, for the writing on the upper parts of both sides is almost completely effaced. On each inscribed side of the slab, a continuous text can be made of 19 lines and a few letters can also be deciphered above the first legible line of side A, but not enough to give any sense. The letters, which are shallowly incised, are on an average 11 in. in height. On both sides the writing is extremely crowded together, no space whatever being left between a letter and the one which follows it. Consequently, most of the letters are ill-formed, the right-hand extremity of a letter being often absorbed by the stroke on the left-hand side of the next. In many places where the preservation of the writing is not very satisfactory, this gives rise to considerable doubt whether a quiescent consonant is indicated by the virāma sign or by its being joined to the following consonant. Allowing for malformations due to this clumsy method of writing, the script conforms in general to the standard of the latter half of the fifteenth century.

¹ For the Alutnuvara Dēvāle, which formerly was one of the principal centres of the cult of Utpalavarṇṇa, now identified with Viṣṇu, and is at present dedicated to a local deity of the name of Dädimuṇḍa Baṇḍāra, see Bell's *Report on the Kegalla District*, pp. 46-48.

¹ Bell, Report on the Kegalla District, pp. 80-81. VOL. IV

The language and style of the preserved portions of both documents cannot by any means be called polished or of literary merit; but the grammar is on the whole correct and the orthography is relatively immune from those vagaries which disfigure the original Sinhalese documents dating from the sixteenth century onwards. As orthographical peculiarities the following may be cited: Bhandara (II, ll. 1 and 2) has the first syllable aspirated; Gampala (II, 1. 2) has an anusvāra in place of the consonant m; in words like lekkhya (II, l. 18) and Parākkramayā (II, ll. 1-2) consonants have been wrongly duplicated. As clerical errors we may note the omission of a syllable in each of the words no-givisa[nu]vat (I, l. 4) and pa[va]tumha (I, l. 16). The insertion of the particle ma between the stem and the case-ending, noticed in the words apa ma visin (II, l. 6-7) apa mage (II, l. 7) and apa magen (II, l. 15-16), does not conform to the standard practice according to which these words should have been apa visin ma, apagē ma and apagen ma, respectively; but an analogy to the method adopted in the inscription is found in one of the most authoritative of Sinhalese classics, the Dharmmapradipikā of Gurulugomi, in which the form ovun ma gē is met with. Noteworthy words occurring in the records are uda-kattuva and väda-untäna, both of which, however, have already been met with in other documents more or less contemporary with these under consideration.

No regnal year or date is found in the preserved portion of either inscription; but at the end of II occurs the statement that the edict was set up by Vikramabāhu Āpā at the command of King Senāsammata Vikramabāhu. As inscription I is intimately connected in its subject-matter with II, there is no doubt that both records are of the reign of Senāsammata Vikramabāhu. Mr. Bell took this king to be Vikramabāhu III who reigned from Gampaļa in the middle of the fourteenth century; and a number of other documents mentioning Senāsammata Vikramabāhu were also believed to have been issued by this Gampaļa king, till Mr. Codrington, in one of the many weighty contributions which he has made towards the better understanding of the medieval history of Ceylon, brought indisputable evidence to prove that Senāsammata Vikramabāhu was a personage distinct from the Gampaļa sovereign, and that he was an independent ruler of the Hill Country who flourished in the latter half of the fifteenth century, at a time when the overlordship of the island was, in theory, vested in the princes who occupied the throne of Kōṭṭe². Mr. Codrington, after examining all the

¹ Colombo edition of 1915, p. 296.

² See Mr. Codrington's papers, The Gadalādeņiya Inscription of Senāsammata Vikramabāhu

available documents relating to Senāsammata Vikramabāhu, has come to the conclusion that this monarch's reign, which lasted for at least thirty-seven years, began in 1474 or 1475 at the latest. His initial regnal year was, therefore, not far removed from the date of accession (1472-3) of Bhuvanaikabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe.

Inscription I contains a declaration of allegiance by the inhabitants of Satara Kōraļē, to the kingdom of the Highlands (Kanda-uḍa-kaṭṭuva). The other record embodies an undertaking, presumably by the ruler of the Highlands, that he or any other member of the royal family will not cause loss of property, of limbs or of life, to the people of Satara Kōraļē, so long as they remain faithful to their allegiance. It is therefore clear that one document is the corollary of the other, and that both of them were published at the same time. Inscription II says that on the day this document was drawn up, a letter, which seems to have been embodied in the inscription, was sent by the chiefs of Satara Kōraļē, presumably to the King of the Highlands, intimating their allegiance to him. The letter was signed by the principal chiefs of Satara Kōraļē¹, of whom the names of Yāpā Bhanḍāra, Doḍamvela Parākrama, Varāva Bhanḍāra and Gaṁpaļa Bhanḍāra are found in the preserved portion.

The present epigraphs seem to have a bearing on the Dädigama inscription of the ninth year of Bhuvanaikabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe who, as we have stated above, was a contemporary of Senāsammata Vikramabāhu of Kandy. The Dädigama inscription informs us that, some time before the date of that epigraph, Bhuvanaikabāhu had to come in person to subjugate Satara Kōraļē which had joined in a revolt called the Simhaļa Samgē. That record also has a reference to some affair in the Highlands, which at that date had not yet been settled. The fragmentary nature of the Alutnuvara records does not permit us to say whether they were earlier than the Dädigama epigraph; but it is reasonable to assume that the opposition of the people of Satara Kōraļē to the authority of the Kōṭṭe king is in accord with their undertaking, given in these epigraphs, to be loyal to Kandy.

⁽E. Z., Vol. IV, pp. 8-15), and Notes on the Kandyan Dynasty in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (Ceylon Literary Register, Third Series, vol. ii, pp. 290-296 and 343-351).

¹ The two documents, taken together, are clear on the point that all the chiefs named belonged to the Four Kōraļēs. But two of them, namely Gampaļa Bhanḍāra and Doḍamvela Parākrama, receive their titles from places outside Satara Kōraļē. It is possible that these two chiefs, though they derived their family names from Gampaļa and Doḍamvela, possessed lands in Satara Kōraļē.

⁸ E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 278-286.

In order to understand the true historical import of the Dädigama and Alutnuvara epigraphs and the state of relations between Kötte and Kandy deducible from them, it is necessary to recall that, in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe, the rulers of the Kandyan districts were reduced to the state of feudatories, in which state they remained till the end of that reign. The death of Parākramabāhu VI was followed by civil war between rival claimants to the throne, the outcome of which was the accession to power of Bhuvanaikabāhu VI about the same time as Senāsammata Vikramabāhu proclaimed himself as the independent ruler of the Hill Country, assuming the title of cakravartti and issuing grants in his own name without any reference to a suzerain. It is therefore clear that Vikramabāhu took advantage of the disorderly state of affairs at Kötte after the death of Parākramabāhu VI in order to establish an autonomous and independent state in the Highlands. Bhuvanaikabāhu would not have looked upon an independent King of Kandy with friendly feelings and would have undertaken the subjugation of the Highlands as soon as the state of the provinces near his capital permitted it. And it seems that the campaign of Bhuvanaikabāhu in Satara Kōraļē was but the preliminary to a punitive expedition to the Highlands. On account of its strategic position, the subjugation of Satara Kōralē is an absolute necessity for a general, with his base on the western sea-board, undertaking a campaign in the Kandyan country. A hostile Satara Kōraļē would mean constant danger to his communications with the capital. This fact also explains the spirit of conciliation which is apparent in the wording of the Dädigama edict. We do not know whether Bhuvanaikabāhu continued his advance to the dominions of Vikramabāhu or what the outcome of it was. But we find Vikramabāhu enjoying a long reign of at least thirty-seven years, presumably acknowledging no suzerain; and the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu ends not long after the date of the Dädigama inscription. It was left to the successors of Bhuvanaikabāhu VI to assert the authority of Kōţţe in the Highlands.

Yāpā Bhanḍāra, who figures in one of these epigraphs as a leading personage of Satara Kōraļē, is also mentioned in the Gaḍalādeṇiya inscription of Senāsammata Vikramabāhu¹, which, in its contents, is a document having much in common with the present records. Doḍamvela Parākrama, who was another prominent figure in Satara Kōraļē at the time of these records, is undoubtedly the same as Doḍamvela Parākramabāhu Āpā, mentioned, in a slab-inscription at Gaḍalādeṇiya², as the maternal uncle of Mēṇavara Tunayā who was the leading

¹ E. Z., Vol. IV, pp. 8-15.

personage of the Kandyan districts when they submitted to a Jayavīra Parākramabāhu of Kōṭṭe. The fact that Mēṇavara Tunayā's relationship to Dodamvela Parākramabāhu Âpā is emphasized in the Gadalādeṇiya record shows that the latter personage, in his day, was a chief of great influence. Dodamvela Parākrama may not have been alive when the Gadalādeṇiya slab was set up, for the statement that Mēṇavara Tunayā was his nephew has presumably to be taken as a declaration of the right which the younger chief had to the leadership of the Kandyan people. It therefore seems that the Gadalādeṇiya slab is considerably later in date than the Alutnuvara inscriptions and this fact may be of some weight in coming to a definite conclusion regarding the identity of the king who is said in the former record to have received the submission of the Kandyan districts. Gampaļa Bhanḍāra may be the same as 'Sampale Tandere' a grandson of whom, Queyroz states, rebelled against Rājasimha I towards the end of the latter's reign¹. Varāva Bhanḍāra is not known from other sources.

The second epigraph is attested by Vikramabāhu Āpā. The title of $\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ was usually borne in medieval times by the heir-apparent to the throne and it may therefore be reasonable to conjecture that Senāsammata Vikramabāhu was succeeded in the sovereignty of Kandy by another Vikramabāhu. Mr. Codrington's examination of the documents relating to the period has yielded the result that Senāsammata Vikramabāhu's successor was named Jayavīra; but there are certain facts which indicate the existence of a second Vikramabāhu in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Mr. Codrington therefore conjectures the possibility of Jayavīra having been known as Vikramabāhu².

As stated above, the inscription³ on the second slab has only its last five lines preserved well enough for decipherment. In these we can recognize the words of an imprecation, usually found in medieval Sinhalese records, against persons who cause obstruction to the maintenance of endowments made to religious institutions. Hence we may infer that the subject-matter of this epigraph was a grant of land to a religious establishment. The document is attested by

¹ Fernão de Queyroz, The Conquest of Ceylon, translated by Father S. G. Perera, p. 705.

² Ceylon Literary Register, Third Series, vol. ii, pp. 345-346.

^{*} What is preserved of this record reads:

^{1} ka[vuḍā ba]llā put

² vannāhu nam veti lpitiye

³ tānāyama väda hinda vadāļa mehe

⁴ varin leke [kala] bavața Sanhas

⁵ Sivatta Nāyanārumha.

an officer named Sanhas Sivatta Nāyanāru, according to the order delivered, presumably by the king, when the latter was staying at the rest-house in a village of which the name is not fully preserved. Sanhas Sivatta Nāyanāru figures as the attestor of documents issued in the reign of Senāsammata Vikramabāhu¹ and we may therefore conclude that this record was one of that monarch—a conclusion to which the palaeographic evidence presents no objection.

TEXT.

I.

+ 1 සලස්ම[ට*] කන්දඋඩකටුවට ස + 2 තුරු[වූ] කෙනකුට පතක් බසක් වත් + 3 මිනිස්සත් කෙනකුන් වත් නොහැර + 4 වසනවත් නොගෙන නොහිවිස[නූ*]ව + 5 න් සත්ගණයත් මේ පැවතුන ස + 6 ලසමට අමුක්තක් ² නැති බවට + 7 ත් වැඩඋත්තැන ඇතුළුවූ රාජපර 🕂 8 ම්පරාවේ කුඩා මහත් යම් කි[සි] කෙ + 9 නකු[න්ව]හන්සෙ විසින් වරදව ග +10 න්න තෙක් ම අපෙන් නොවරද වන සලසමට දළද තුනුරුවන් දෙස් +11කොට ³ ශකුබබුහුමා දි⁴ මහෙයා කා ඉදවි +12[යන්] දෙස් කොට බෘතරාෂටු[ාදි] සතරව +13+14 [ර]ම් දෙවියන් දෙස් කොට උපප[ල]ව[ණිා] +15 [දි] ලංකාඛීපති දෙවියන් දෙස් කොට [වැඩ] [උන්නැනට] නොවරදව ප[ව*]තුමහ යි ඉෙක +16ලලෙකුබයක් ් තුබූ බවට සනර කො +17+18 [ර]ලෙ රටනායක දිශානායකඅන් ඇ

තුළුවූ කුඩා මහත් ඇම දෙනමහ

+19

¹ See Some Documents of Vikramabāhu of Kandy, by H. W. Codrington in the J. R. A. S., C. B., vol. xxxii, pp. 64-75.

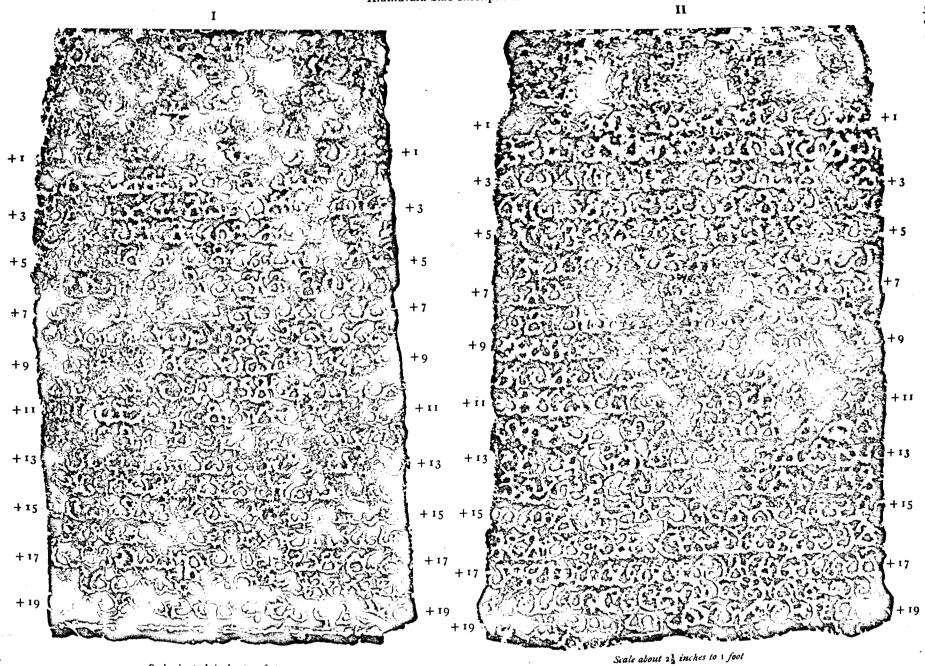
^{&#}x27; 'අමුත්තක්' යි කියවනු.

^{් &#}x27;කො' යන්නෙහි කොම්බුව 11 වැනිපෙළේ අගද ඉතිරිවා 12 වැනි පෙළේද ලියා තිබේ.

^{් &#}x27;ශකුඛුහම්' යි කියවනු .

^{• &#}x27;ශෛලලෙඛායක්' යි කියවනු

^{• &#}x27;දිශානාශකයන්' යි කියවනු.



Scale about 21 inches to 1 foot

II.

* * * * *

- + 1 සාපා භ[න්]ඩාර දෙඩම්වෙල පරාක්
- + 2 කුමයා¹ වරාව හන්ඩාර ගංපල² හන්ඩා
- + 3 ර ඇතුළුවූ ඇම දෙනමන සහර කො
- 🕂 4 රලෙ සේනාව මෙමෙ පණනෙ පවතුමහ
- + 5 යි (ලදුන් ඇර දි) අද පත් යවූ නියාවට
- + 6 නොවරදව පවතින තෙක් අපම මි
- + 7 සින් වන් අපමගෙ වශීයපරමපරුවට
- + 8 ඇතුළත් යම්කිසි තැනකිනිත් මේ කිය
- + 9 න සෙනාවෙන් කෙනෙකු වරදවා ගතත සෙ
- +10 නාවෙන් විචාරා [ඔ]වූන්ටවත් මේ කියන
- +11 සහර කොරලෙ සෙනාවට අතීඑහානි අං
- +12 ගහානි පාණහානි නොකරන නොකර
- +13 වනුව දළදුතුනුරුවන් දෙස් කොට ශ
- +14 කුඛුහමාදි දෙවියන් දෙස් කොට සෙනා
- +15 වගෙන් නොවරදවන කෙනකුට අපමගෙ
- +16 න් නොවරදවන සලසමට සෙනාසමාන
- +17 විකුමබාහු රජුුරුසාම්න්ගෙ මෙගෙවරි
- +18 න් මේ නෛලලෙකබායක් 3 තුබූ බව
- +19 ට විකුමබාහු ඇපාණ වමහ

TRANSCRIPT.

I.

- * * * * * *
- + 1 salasma[ṭa*] Kanda-uḍa-kaṭṭuvaṭa sa-+ 2 -turu-[vū] kenakuṭa patak basak vat
- + 3 minis-sat kenakun vat no-hära
- + 4 vasanavat no-gena no-givisa[nu*]va-
- + 5 -t sat-gaņayat me pāvatuna sa-
- + 6 -lasmata amuktaki näti bavata-
- + 7 -t väda-un-täna ätuļu-vū rāja-para-
- + 8 -mparāve kudā mahat yam kis[i] ke
- + 9 -naku[n-va]hanse visin varadava ga-
- +10 -nna tek ma apen no-varada vana
- +11 salasmața Daļadā-tunuruvan des

^{් &#}x27;පරාකුමයා' සි කියවනු .

[ී] දැන් වෳවභාරය 'ගම්පල' කියා වේ.

^{් &#}x27;ඉෛලලෙඛායක්' සි කියවනු.

⁴ Read amuttak.

- +12 koţa¹ Śakra-b-Brahmādi² maheśākya devi-
- +13 -[yan] des koṭa Dhṛtarāṣṭr[ādi] satara-va-
- +14 -[ra]m-deviyan des koţa Utpa[la]va[rņā]-
- +15 -[di] Lamkādhipati deviyan des koţa [väḍa]-
- +16 [un-tänaṭa] no-varadava pa[va]tumha yi śai-
- +17 -la-lekkhayak³ tubū bavaṭa Satara Ko-
- + 18 [r]aļe raṭa-nāyaka diśānāyakaan ä-
- +19 -tuļu-vū kudā mahat äma denamha

II.

_

- + 1 Yāpā Bha[n]dāra Dodamvela Parāk-
- + 2 -kramayā Varāva Bhandāra Gampaļa Bhandā-
- + 3 -ra ätuļu-vū äma denamha Satara Ko-
- + 4 -raļe sēnāva meme paņate pavatumha-
- + 5 -yi (ladun ära di) ada pat yavū niyāvaṭa
- + 6 no-varadava pavatina tek apama vi-
- + 7 -sin vat apamage vargga-paramparāvaṭa
- + 8 ätulat yam-kisi tänakin vat me kiya-
- + 9 -na senāven keneku varadavā gatta se-
- +10 -nāven vicārā [o]vunṭavat me kiyana
- +11 Satara Koraļe senāvata arttha-hāni am-
- +12 -ga-hāni prāṇa-hāni no-karana no-kara-
- +13 -vanuva Daļadā-tunuruvan des koṭa Śa-
- +14 -kra-Brahmādi deviyan des koṭa senā-
- +15 -vagen no-varadavana kenakuta apamage-
- +16 -n no-varadavana salasmata Senāsammata
- +17 Vikramabāhu rajjuru-sāmīnge mehevari-
- +18 -n me śaila-lekkhyayak⁷ tubū bava-
- +19 -ța Vikramabāhu-Äpāņa vamha.

TRANSLATION.

I.

..... In pursuance of we shall remain without sending a letter, or even a word, a man or an animal⁸, to one who is inimical to the Kanda-uḍa-

- 1 The e sign in kola is written at the end of line 11.
- Read Śakra-Brahmādi.
- ⁸ Read -lekhyayak.
- 1 Read diśānāyakayan.

- ⁵ Read Parākramayā.
- ⁶ Usually spelt Gampala.
- 7 Read lekhyayak.
- Compare the Gadaladeniya Slab-pillar, No. II, ll. 34-36 (E. Z., Vol. IV, p. 25).

kaṭṭuva¹; neither shall we receive or acquiesce in [such action]. The Seven Confraternities² shall have nothing against this arrangement which has thus been effected. There shall be no offence from us till [such time as] when a mistaken [course of action] might be adopted by any lordship of the royal family, small or great, including His Majesty³. To the effect that, having invoked the Tooth-Relic and the Three Gems⁴, having invoked the four guardian deities such as Dhṛṭarāṣṭra⁵ [and also] having invoked Utpalavarṇa and other deities who are the lords of Lamkā⁶, a stone inscription has been set up [recording the undertaking] that we shall conduct ourselves without giving any offence to His³

¹ Kanda-uḍa-kaṭṭuva: An abbreviated form of this compound occurs in a document, existing in manuscript, giving the story of the Mädagama Dēvāle in Sabaragamuva. (Codrington, 'Notes on the Kandyan Dynasty', op. cit., p. 292.) Kanda-uḍa is a Sinhalese compound meaning 'above the mountain' and kaṭṭu a Tamil word, one of the numerous meanings of which is 'government'. The term can, therefore, be translated as 'the Government of the Highlands'. But, in expressions like raja tun-kaṭṭuva, kaṭṭu means 'person' and Mr. Codrington informs me that the expression pāta. kaṭṭuve koṭṭal-badda occurs in a s̄ṭṭuva of Pilima Talavuve dated Śaka 1690 (1769). This expression is equivalent to pāta-raṭa koṭṭal-badda occurring in other documents, and on this analogy kanda-uḍa-kaṭṭuva may be taken to be the same as kanda-uḍa-raṭa 'the country above the mountain'.

² Sat-gaṇaya: The word gaṇaya (Skt. and P. gaṇa) is used in Sinhalese writings to mean the Order of Buddhist Monks. It still has that meaning in the colloquial language but is now considered a disrespectful and sometimes even an offensive term when applied to a Buddhist monk. The expression sat-genehi tera-varun (the elders of the Seven Confraternities) occurs in the Ruvanvälisäya inscription of Queen Kalyāṇavatī (see above, p. 258), indicating that the Buddhist monks of Ceylon in the thirteenth century had constituted themselves into seven colleges or fraternities. The same organization may have remained in force till the sixteenth century. The approval of the organized Church of the land would naturally be taken as setting the seal of spiritual authority on a political pact and, considering this probability, I have rendered the term sat-gaṇaya as 'the Seven Confraternities (of Monks)'. The word gaṇa, however, originally meant a corporation of any kind and the possibility of the term sat-gaṇaya referring to other corporations, seven in number, of a secular nature, is not altogether excluded.

³ Väda-un-täna: This term, which obviously was used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in referring to a king, is also found in the Oruvala Sannasa (E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 51-71) the Gadalādeniya slab-inscription (E. Z., Vol. IV, pp. 16-27) and, with maha prefixed to it, in the Kandy Nātha Dēvāle inscriptions (E. Z., Vol. IV, pp. 27-34). It literally means 'one who has come and remains' and its origin as a royal epithet may perhaps be sought for in the belief that the king of Ceylon was a Bodhisattva incarnate.

⁴ The Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Samgha.

⁸ The other guardian deities of the four quarters are: Virūḍha, Virūpākṣa, and Vaiśravaṇa.

⁶ The other three deities who share with Utpalavarnna the honour of being the lords, i.e. the protectors, of this island are: Sumana, the god who has his abode on the Samantakūṭa mountain (Adam's Peak), Vibhīṣaṇa, the brother of Rāvaṇa and the object of a cult of which the principal seat now is Kälaṇiya, and Skanda, the well-known Hindu god of war. For Utpalavarnṇa, see C. J. Sc., G. vol. ii, p. 66.

Majesty, we—all of us, small and great, of the Satara Kōrale, including the chiefs of districts (raṭa-nāyaka) and chiefs of provinces (diśā-nāyaka)—[do testify].

II.

conduct themselves in accordance with [the terms of] the letter dispatched to-day, sending and presenting women [as hostages]¹, saying: 'We, all of us², the host of the Satara Kōraļe, including..... Yāpā Bhanḍāra, Doḍamvela Parākkramayā, Varāva Bhanḍāra and Gaṁpaļa Bhanḍāra, shall conduct ourselves according to this agreement—so long shall there be no loss of property, loss of limbs or loss of life, inflicted or caused to be inflicted³ with regard to the aforesaid host of the Satara Kōraļe by ourselves or any one whomsoever belonging to our family or our descendants, even, after due inquiry from the host, when any person of the aforesaid host shall have committed an offence.

To the effect that this stone inscription was set up by the order of His Majesty King Senāsammata Vikramabāhu, having invoked the Tooth Relic and the Three Gems and [also] having invoked Śakra, Brahma and other gods, and in order that there shall be no offence from Us to any person of the host who commits no offence—We, Vikramabāhu Äpāṇa, [testify].

¹ This interpretation depends on the accuracy of the reading ladun ära di. The six syllables in question do not at present admit of any other likely reading and the only objection against the reading adopted is the absence of the signs for the umlaut in ära and the i sign in di. But vowel signs are often indistinct in these records and salasma for the usual säläsma may also be compared. In Kandyan times the chiefs who were sent out as governors of the outlying districts were obliged to leave their womenfolk at the capital as surety for their loyalty to the king while they were away from the court. It is not impossible that when the inhabitants of the Satara Kōrale promised loyalty to Vikramabāhu, a number of ladies from the households of the principal chiefs were sent to the court at Kandy, to remain there as hostages.

² Compare the Dädigama slab (E. Z., Vol. III, p. 281) and the Gadalādeniya rock (E. Z., Vol. IV, p. 15) inscriptions.

For the names ending with denamha, cf. Gadalādeniya slab-pillar II, ll. 4-7 (E. Z., Vol. IV, p. 25).

No. 35. THE AMPITIYA ROCK-INSCRIPTION.

By H. W. Codrington.

THE rock on which this inscription is cut was found buried at a depth of several feet below the surface of a terraced paddy-field known as Mäddēpatana, situated in the village of Ampiţiya in the Gandahayē Kōraļē of Pāta Hēvāhaţē, a division of Kandy District.

The inscribed surface measures 9 ft. 5 in. at its greatest length, and 2 ft. 3 in. in depth. The text is preceded by figures of the sun and moon, while above its centre is one which seems to represent a cobra. A somewhat similar figure on the Mädirigiriya and Kataragama pillars has been described as a sickle by the late Mr. H. C. P. Bell, and as a scythe by the present Government Epigraphist respectively (E. Z., Vol. II, p. 26; Vol. III, p. 219).

The **contents** of the epigraph record the dedication of the village Ampitiyē Maddegama to the god of Senkadagala, witnessed by the prince Arāvē Artthanāyaka āpā, in the reign of Siri Sangabō Śrī Vikrama-bāhu, 'on the day on which the tusker of the god of Senkadagala was taken'. The significance of this event is obscure, the usual word in use for capturing a wild elephant being bandinavā.

The aksaras are of the fourteenth century. They vary in height from 2 to 6 in. The orthography is not free from errors.

The epigraph being of the century just mentioned, the king, Vikrama-bāhu, can be no other than the third of that name who came to the throne about A.D. 1357 and was still reigning in A.D. 1374. This monarch has commonly been credited with making Senkaḍagala, the modern Kandy, his capital city, though this event in reality has to be assigned to his namesake Sēnāsammata Vikrama-bāhu, king of the hill-country, in the latter half of the fifteenth century (E. Z., Vol. IV, pp. 9 ff.). As in the case of Gampala, Senkadagala was in existence before it became a capital, but, prior to the discovery of the present record, the earliest mention of the place was in the Sagama inscription, first published by Mr. Bell in the Fournal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (vol. xxii, no. 65, p. 364).

This Sagama inscription also mentions Senkadagala Nātha-sāmī, doubtless the same as the 'god of Senkadagala' of the present record. The Nātha Dēvālē is the oldest temple of a god in Kandy.

The prince Arāvē Artthanāyaka āpā, under this designation, is not known to us from any other source. He may have been an ancestor of Pilama

Talavvē Adigar, who was occasionally spoken of by the name of Arāvē and who claimed royal descent. 'Artthanāyaka', of course, was an official title; it was borne by the brother of the great Alakeśvara. The reading of the prince's name, obscure in the photograph of the estampage supplied to me, is that of Dr. Paranavitana. Arāva village lies in the Gandahayē Kōralē.

The village of Ampiṭiya is stated in our epigraph to belong to Sagam-tunraṭa. The reading tun is that of Dr. Paranavitana, who has had the advantage
of seeing the actual inscription. I have accordingly adopted it. The photograph, however, shows no trace of the virāma sign. The 'three raṭas' otherwise
seem to be unknown. The Maha Kaḍaim pota gives the first four raṭas of Ruhuṇa
as Matu-raṭa, Goḍa-raṭa, Pasgam-raṭa, and Sagam-raṭa. Matu-raṭa still retains its
old name; Goḍa-raṭa, as we know from the Lamkātilaka inscription of the third
year of Vikrama-bāhu III, included Paṭṭiyēgama, now in Hēvāvissa Kōralē of
Pāta Hēvāhaṭē; Pasgam-raṭa presumably had its centre in Pasgama, now in
Hēvāvissa village. The present Gandahayē Kōralē, in which Sagama Vihāra
is situated, as late as 1813 was known locally as Sagam-gandahaya (Lawrie,
Gazetteer of the Central Province, p. 641) and so may be taken as in the main
representing the ancient Sagam-raṭa.

The technical terms occurring in the record are found elsewhere. Valpita, 'jungle', 'chena land', has been discussed in E. Z., Vol. III, p. 238, as well as in the writer's Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon, pp. 8, 35, and svasthira in E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 54, 55. Patkada, primarily applicable to a palm-leaf document, appears in the Madavala rock-inscription (E. Z., Vol. III, p. 240), which reproduced on stone the purport of the original grant.

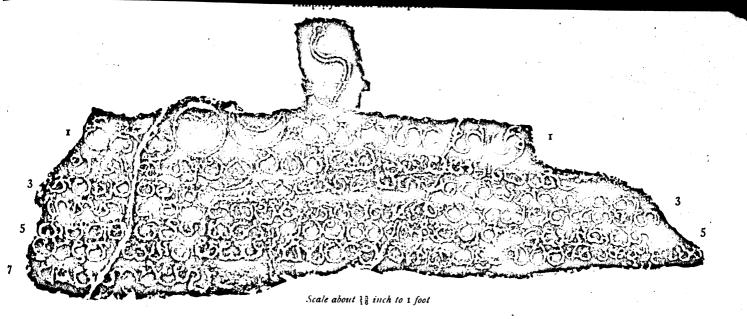
TEXT.

- 1 සිරි සඟහෝ ී ශුී
- 2 වික්ක

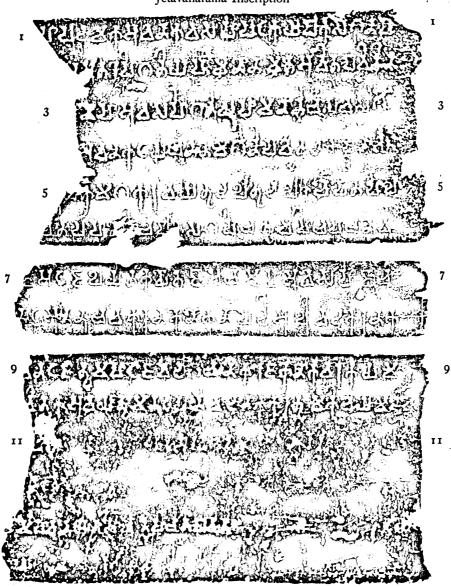
272

- 3 ම භා ් බාහු චකුවහින්සචාම්න්වහන්සෙට තු
- 4 න්වනු වප පුර පැලවිය සෙන්කඩගල දෙවියන්ගේ ඇතා
- 5 ගන්නා දවස සගම් තු(න්)රට බද අංපිවිමය් මදෙදශම හා
- 6 කුමබුරු පිපි ගසකොළ වල්පිව ඇතුළුවූ තැන් **සෙන්**කඩ**ග**
- 7 ල දෙවියන්ට සස්ථිර කරව මේ පත්කඩ දුන් බවට අරාවෙ අළු(නායක)
- 8 ඇපාණ වමහ

¹ The Arāva sannasa (Brit. Mus. Add. 11555 c) dated Saka 1673 (A.D. 1751) is in favour of Arāvē Vijayasundara Mudiyannähē. The name 'Vijayasundara' was that of the Pilama Talavvē family.



Jetavanārāma Inscription



Scale about 11 inches to 1 foot

TRANSLITERATION.

- 1 Siri Saňgabho¹ Śrī
- 2 Vikkra-
- 3 -ma²-bhā³ bāhu cakravarttī- svāmīn-vahanseṭa tu-
- 4 -nvanu Vapa pura päļaviya Senkadagala deviyangē ätā
- 5 gannā davasa Sagam-tu(n)-raṭa bada Ampiṭiyē Maddegama hā
- 6 kumburu piți gasa-koļa valpița ätuļu-vū tän Senkadaga-
- 7 -la deviyanţa sasthira karava mē patkada dun bavaţa Arâve Arttha-(nāyaka).
- 8 äpäņa vamha.

TRANSLATION.

In the third year of Siri Sangabhō Śrī Vikkrama-bāhu on the first of the waxing moon of Vap, on the day on which the tusker of the god of Senkaḍagala was taken, (the village) Ampiṭiyō Maddegama belonging to Sagam-tu(n)-raṭa with (all) places (therein) including fields, meadows, plantations and jungle, was made a permanent possession of the god of Senkaḍagala and this document was given. To this effect I, Arāve Arttha(nāyaka) āpā, am (witness).

No. 36. A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM JETAVANĀ-RĀMA NOW IN THE COLOMBO MUSEUM.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

A FRAGMENT of an irregularly octagonal slab of inscribed stone, appearing from its shape to have originally formed a cross-bar of a railing, is now found among the exhibits in the stone gallery of the Colombo Museum. It was unearthed in 1893 by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in one of the buildings of the group called monastery L of the extensive monastic establishment popularly known as Abhayagiri at Anurādhapura⁵. Dr. D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe's reading of the first eight lines of the record and his notes on some words occurring therein are embodied in an article entitled 'Antiquarian Notes in Burma and India' published by Mr. Robert Sewell in *The Indian Antiquary* (Vol. xxxv, pp. 293 ff.). As may be seen in the sequel, my reading of the record differs considerably from that of Dr. Wickremasinghe and Mr. Sewell's conclusions on the historical

¹ Read Sangabō. ² Read Vikrama.

⁸ Superfluous. ⁴ Read susthira.

⁶ A. S. C. Annual Report for 1893, p. 3.

significance of the inscription are not exactly the same as mine. The dāgāba and the monastic remains, referred to by the name of Abhayagiri in earlier archaeological reports and till now in popular parlance, should really be called Jetavanārāma¹, as adopted in the title of this paper.

At one end of the stone is a tenon and probably there was another at the other extremity. The fracture at one end of the fragment now preserved is irregular; hence, what is left of the lines of the various sides are not of equal length. The preserved fragment measures 1 ft. 111 in. at its longest point. The different facets of the stone measure from 4 in. to $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. across. The stone has been inscribed on seven of its eight facets, there being two lines on each face. The writing on five of the facets of the remaining fragment is in good preservation; but that of the rest has been much damaged, evidently due to a wilful attempt at defacement. It is noteworthy that this stone is of the same variety of marble or limestone as that used in the sculptures which adorned the Buddhist stūpas at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoņda in the Krishna valley. This variety of stone is not found in Ceylon, but a few small pieces of sculpture in the same material and in the style characteristic of the Andhra art, have been discovered at Anurādhapura and some other places in the island2. There is no doubt that these pieces of sculpture have been imported to Ceylon from the Andhra country; similarly, the stone on which the present inscription is indited must have come to Ceylon from the same region. It is, however, not possible to decide whether the stone was meant originally for a monument in the Andhra country or in this island; but, as will be shown in the sequel, there is reason to believe that the inscription itself was engraved on the stone in Ceylon.

The **letters** are boldly engraved and, but for the tails of certain letters like a and ka, and the signs for the medial vowels, are uniform in size in each line, the height ranging from $\frac{7}{8}$ in. to 1 in. In point of calligraphy, this inscription is one of the best among the early records of the island, and its engraver has made a definite attempt to make his handiwork appear pleasing and artistic.

The script differs considerably in type from that of any other ancient Sinhalese inscription of the third or fourth century A.D., the date suggested by palaeographical considerations. In its general appearance, the script of this epigraph has points of resemblance to the alphabet used in some of the inscriptions at Nāgārjunakonda³. The flourish of the upward or downward projections

¹ A. S. C. Memoirs, vol. i, p. 10.

² Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for 1936, pp. 15-18.

³ See Ep. Ind., vol. xx, Plates 1-5.

of certain letters is not so pronounced in our record as in the Nāgārjunakonda documents. But certain pecularities which distinguish the script of this epigraph from that of other Sinhalese inscriptions of the same period are common features in the Andhra alphabet of the time of the Iksvaku kings. The na and ta of our record can hardly be distinguished from one another and in this feature, as well as in the form of these two letters, the script under consideration agrees with that of Nāgārjunakonda. The cerebral na in this epigraph is unusual in the variety of Brāhmī which prevailed in Ceylon in the third or fourth century, but it is identical with the form of that letter in some Nāgārjunakonda records. On the other hand, the left limb of ya in this epigraph is shorter than the right. whereas in the ya of the Nāgārjunakonda records, both limbs are symmetrical. There are, of course, other points of difference but the similarities noticed are enough to establish some connexion between this script and that of Nāgārjunakonda. The script which was common in Ceylon at this time did not, of course, differ much from the contemporary alphabet of the Andhra country, and the two alphabets can more properly be described as two different types of the same southern Brāhmī system of writing. Therefore, any one who was familiar with the normal Ceylon type of alphabet of this period, could, without much effort, have read any document written in the Andhra script. The fact that the alphabet used in this epigraph was not the current Sinhalese alphabet of the period will become clear if one compares this inscription with, for instance, the Tonigala epigraph of Śrimeghavarnna¹ and the Timbirivava rock-inscription of Gothābhaya². It thus appears that, just as this inscription was written on material foreign to Ceylon, the script used in it, too, was an exotic one.

In its language, however, there is no visible foreign influence. In phonology as well as in morphology, the forms noticed in this document do not deviate from the general characteristics of the Sinhalese language of the early Christian centuries, so far as it is known to us from other documents. The total absence of long vowels and anusvāra, of aspirated or conjoint consonants, are some of the important features in which this document agrees with the language of other Sinhalese inscriptions of the early Christian centuries. As regards case endings, we have the crude form of the word for the nominative and accusative singular (e.g. paṭakaya, l. 1, and poṭa, l. 7), the nominative singular in e (e.g. pave in l. 4), the instrumental singular in -ini and -eni (e.g. bevini in l. 2 and pahateni in l. 6), the dative case formed by the addition of the particle aṭa

¹ E. Z., Vol. III, Plate 14.

² Above, Plate 22.

to the genitive termination (e.g. tuman-ața in l. 10), the genitive plural in -ana (e.g. hamanana in l. 2), and the locative in -hi and e (e.g. avasai in l. 3 and hadate in l. 6). Of verbal forms, we have the present participle (karana in l. 8), and the participle preterite (layitaka in l. 7). Parallels can be found in numerous other Sinhalese documents of the period for all these nominal and verbal forms.

However, owing to the nature of its subject-matter, this record, even in its fragmentary state, contains a number of words and phrases not found in other documents of the period, which, while making it of unusual philological interest, stand as obstacles in the way of its decipherment. As only a fraction of each line is preserved, no connected reading of a sentence or a considerable part thereof is available, and we are thus deprived of the help afforded by the context in inferring the meaning of an unfamiliar word or phrase. Consequently, the interpretation of some words in this document is doubtful, and is put forward with a considerable amount of diffidence. The grammatical import of such words will be discussed in the notes attached to the translation.

Unlike the majority of ancient inscriptions in Ceylon, this epigraph does not seem to have, as its subject-matter, a benefaction to a religious institution. The fragmentary nature of the document prevents us from gaining a complete idea of what its purport was, but some indication of its nature is given by what is preserved of the record. The first line tells us that the document is an edict issued in the first year of a king whose name, unfortunately, was in that part of the inscribed stone which is missing. An attempt, however, will be made in the sequel to infer who the king was by the help of the data furnished by what is preserved of the provisions of the edict. After the date in regnal years, the edict seems to have had a short preamble in which the reason for its issue by the king is stated. Here we read that the doctrines of certain monks were unsettled. Later on, mention is made of the 'Five Great Residences'2 and we may, therefore, infer that the monks, whose doctrines needed regulation and to whom the edict was addressed, were the inmates of these establishments. The mention of these monks of the 'five residences' is followed in the preserved portion of the next line by a statement that though (they) were rebuked, sins (were committed by them) in various ways. In the fifth line we read the name Vayatudala, presumably of some doctrine, which, it seems, was written down in books. In the next two lines, the preserved portions are apparently from an

¹ See E. Z., Vol. I, pp. 15, 58-59, 67, 252, Vol. III, pp. 114, 121, 174-176, and 217.

Paca-maha-avasa = P. pañca-mahāvāsu.

injunction to study these books with faith and to (keep) the books so written in the 'Five Great Residences'. The preserved fragment of the eighth contains words of doubtful meaning, but it seems to refer to persons of unruly conduct. The ninth and tenth lines apparently contained an exhortation to future kings as to how they should conduct themselves in the matter of this edict, if they desired their own welfare and the increase of religious merit. In the eleventh line, which is almost totally obliterated, traces of the name Abagiri-mahavihara (Abhayagiri-mahāvihāra) are visible.

These details about the nature of its contents are sufficient for us to arrive at the conclusion that the object of this edict was to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of the ancient Sinhalese Buddhist Church. It can also be inferred that the monks to whom it was particularly addressed, were the inmates of some establishments known as the 'Five Great Residences'. The document does not seem to have concerned itself with the administration of the temporal affairs of the church, or even the enforcement of disciplinary rules, which are the subject of almost all the ecclesiastical edicts of Sinhalese kings known to us. Its aim was to settle the doctrines of the Church and prevent the abuses which seem to have crept into it—an undertaking to which the most courageous of ancient Sinhalese kings was hardly equal. The fact that this edict was written on an imported stone in an outlandish script proves that the king who issued it did so under outside influence, and the origin of the stone and the nature of the script indicate that this influence came from South India. Lastly, the king had busied himself in this work immediately after his accession to the throne, for the edict is dated in his first year.

When we consider whether the facts detailed above fit any account given in the chronicles of the relations with the Buddhist Church of a Sinhalese king of the period to which the epigraph can be assigned on palaeographical grounds, the struggle between the monks of the Mahāvihāra and king Mahāsena (circa 334-361) suggests itself as the event connected with this edict. In the reign of Mahāsena's father, Goṭhābhaya, the adherents of a school of Buddhism called the Vetulyas became prominent in Ceylon. The monks of the Mahāvihāra treated them as heretics and enemies of the true faith and were able to persuade the king to banish them. In his zeal for the purity of the religion, the king went so far as to place brand-marks on the bodies of sixty of the heterodox monks, who found asylum at Kāvērīpaṭṭana in South India. Saṃghamitta, a disciple of one of the disgraced monks, resolved to teach the Mahāvihāra monks a lesson and, coming to Ceylon, was able to gain royal favour and was appointed tutor to the vol. IV

king's two sons. The elder prince, Jetthatissa, was not favourably impressed by the teaching of Samghamitta, but the younger, Mahāsena, became a ready convert. On the accession of Jetthatissa, Samghamitta considered it prudent to leave these shores, and bided his time in South India until his favourite disciple was in power. As soon as Mahāsena ascended the throne, Samghamitta arrived at Anurādhapura and made his abode at the Abhayagiri monastery. The king was persuaded by him that the monks of the Mahāvihāra were not only sinful in their conduct, but also did not follow the true doctrine of the Buddha which, according to him, was the Vetulya-vada. Mahasena ordered the Mahayihara monks to accept the Vetulya teaching. They were equally convinced that the Vetulya-vāda was heresy and, therefore, resisted the interference of the king in religious matters. Mahāsena thereupon proclaimed that no one in the city should give alms to the monks of the Mahāvihāra, who abandoned their monastery and went to Rohana. Thus the monks of the Abhayagiri, who had accepted the Vetulya doctrines, reigned supreme for some time. But there was a reaction led by one of the powerful ministers, and the king was forced to make his peace with the Mahāvihāra. Mahāsena, however, again offended the orthodox monks by building the Jetavana Vihāra encroaching on the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra1.

It will thus be seen that Mahāsena's attempt to regulate the beliefs of the Mahāvihāra monks was due to the influence of a religious teacher coming from South India. Therefore any edict that was issued on this occasion might show this influence, as the present epigraph, in fact, does, both in the material it is written on and its script. According to the chronicle, Mahāsena's conflict with the Mahāvihāra began very soon after his accession, and this edict is dated in the first year of the king who issued it. The Nikāyasamgraha, in its account of the introduction of the Vetulya doctrine in the reign of Goṭhābhaya, says that the king, in order to ascertain whether its teaching was in accord with the word of the Buddha, assembled the monks of the 'Five Great Residences' and made an inquisition into the matter². The same authority, in recounting the religious conflicts in the reign of Mahāsena, states that Samghamitta in vain tried to persuade the monks of the 'Five Great Monasteries' to accept the Vetulya teaching³. It is not stated what these 'Five Great Residences' were⁴, and the term, as

¹ The above account is based on the *Mahāvamsa*, chap. xxxvi, vv. 113-17, 123, and chap. xxxvii, vv. 2-39.

² Nikāyasamgraha, edited by Wickremasinghe, Colombo, p. 13.

⁴ Mr. C. E. Godakumbure has drawn my attention to a passage in the Saddharmākara

such, occurs only here in the Nikāyasanigraha; in the Mahāvanisa, Jeṭṭhatissa is said to have built a vihāra and dedicated it to the monks of the 'Five Residences'. The narrative in the Nikāyasanigraha makes it clear that the 'Five Great Residences' were some monastic establishments which adhered to the doctrines of the Mahāvihāra fraternity and resisted all attempts of the Vetulyakas to introduce new doctrines. It has been stated above that the edict we are now discussing mentions the 'Five Great Residences' and that it appears as if it was addressed particularly to the inmates of these institutions. This is another reason for the conjecture that the edict is one issued by Mahāsena against the Mahāvihāra monks.

The name 'Vayatudala' which occurs in the record, can, without much pressing, be taken as a popular form of the word which has assumed the form 'Vetulla' or 'Vetulya' in the Mahāvamsa and other Pāli writings. 'Vayatudala' is the reading which results by treating all the consonants in the word as voiced, but there is reason to believe that in the Sinhalese orthography of the period many consonants which are graphically represented as having an inherent a were, in actual practice, pronounced mute. In that case, the pronunciation of the word could have been Vaytudla, of which the resemblance to the Pāli form Vetulla is obvious. It is not our purpose here to say anything about the significance of the term Vetulla which has been explained elsewhere's; but it is material to our purpose to draw attention to the fact that Mahāsena's conflict with the Mahāvihāra monks started with his attempt to introduce Vetulya doctrines in that centre of orthodoxy. Therefore, if it be conceded that Vayatudala of this inscription is the same as Vetulla of the Mahāvamsa, there

(Colombo edition of 1924, p. 585) where the pañca-mahā-āvāsa in Anurādhapura are enumerated as Denānaka (Jetavana), Bhagirinaka (Abhayagiri), Mirisaväti (Maricavatti), Dakunugiri (Dakkhinagiri) and Mahāvihāra. The references to the 'Five Great Residences' in the Nikāyasamgraha are in regard to a time before the foundation of the Jetavana-vihāra, and the inclusion of this monastery makes one doubt whether this enumeration has any reliable tradition to support it. The corresponding passage in the Rasavāhinī, on which the Saddharmālamkāra is based, mentions the pañca-mahā-āvāsa; but does not enumerate what they were. Therefore, it appears that the enumeration of the 'Five Great Residences' by the author of the Saddharmālamkāra is merely a haphazard mention of five of the well-known religious institutions of ancient Anurādhapura, and is hardly more authoritative than the enumeration of the late Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana to whom the pañca-mahā-āvāsa comprised Mahāvihāra, Cetiya-vihāra, Thūpārāma, Issarasamaṇa, and Vessagiri (Nikāyasamgraha, English translation, p. 13, note 3).

¹ Mahāvamsa, chap. xxxvi, v. 129.

The suffix ka in the form 'Vayatudalaka', as the word occurs in the inscription, is of no significance.

⁸ In my paper, Mahāyānism in Ceylon, C. J. Sc., G., vol. ii, pp. 35 ff.

is yet another reason for the assumption that this document is an edict of Mahāsena. For the epigraph mentions the writing of 'Vayatudala' in books, and possibly too the keeping of such books in the orthodox establishments known as the 'Five Great Residences'. It cannot be ascertained in what connexion the name of Abhayagiri occurs in this inscription, but it may be mentioned that Mahāsena's hostility to the Mahāvihāra was caused by his partiality to the rival monastery, and the mention of the former in an edict issued in connexion with the latter is not inappropriate.

Lastly, the fact that this inscribed stone has come to light in the precincts of the Jetavana Vihāra, established by Mahāsena, lends support to the view that the edict embodied in it is one of that monarch. It is true that in the first year of Mahāsena the monastery of Jetavana had not yet come into being; but it is not improbable that after the foundation of that institution, a copy of the ecclesiastical edict on which its founder based his religious policy, was set up there, or that the inscribed stone which was originally set up elsewhere was removed to the king's own religious foundation. Thus there is sufficient reason for the assumption that this inscription was one of Mahāsena and that its contents have a close relation to the religious conflict which followed his accession to the throne, as related in the *Mahāvanisa*. It should, however, be noted that, owing to the fragmentary nature of the document, no decisive conclusion is possible. If the missing portion of the stone, containing the name of the king, should some day come to light, it will then be possible to settle this question finally.

If it be accepted that this document is an edict of Mahāsena, the reference to 'sins in diverse ways' may be taken as a charge by the king against the inmates of the Mahāvihāra. In the Mahāvanisa, too, Samghamitta is said to have told the king that the Mahāvihāra monks did not teach the true vinaya (disciplinary rules). From the point of view of the chronicle, this charge was, of course, due to the perverted view of heretics, but to a modern student of history, the consideration whether it had some basis of fact need not be forbidden. It is not impossible that the fraternity of the Mahāvihāra in the time of Mahāsena, as often happens in organizations securely established for centuries, expected allegiance and respect from the king and the people as a matter of course on account of its great traditions of the past, and that some of the individual members consequently were not very conscientious about their own conduct. If conditions were such, the propagandists of the Vetulya or Mahāyāna school who came to this island

¹ For the identification of the Vetulyas with the Mahāyānists, see C. J. Sc., G., vol. ii, p. 36.

would certainly have emphasized these shortcomings in the life of the orthodox monks as a means of gaining adherents to the new teachings, and many people were perhaps genuinely persuaded that in supporting the Vetulyas against the Mahāvihāra, they were doing a service to the religion of the Buddha in eradicating abuses which had crept into the long-established Church. Mahāsena himself may have acted thus in perfect good faith. The chronicles, which have no comments on the undoubted acts of violence committed by the partisans of the Mahāvihāra, such as the murder of Samghamitta and the minister Soņa, do not consider any words too strong to condemn Mahāsena and Samghamitta for their suppression of the orthodox monastery. It is the view of the Mahāvihāra which has come down to our times; and the estimate of Mahāsena's character, formed by modern historians on the basis of the accounts in the chronicles, may not do justice to that king who, in other directions, was undoubtedly a great ruler. But, for more than five centuries after Mahāsena's death, the Mahāvihāra sect whom he offended did not enjoy the complete allegiance of the Sinhalese Buddhists. The Abhayagiri and Jetavana fraternities more than held their own till the fall of the Anuradhapura kingdom and, to the adherents of these two sects, Mahāsena's character must doubtless have appeared quite different from the description of it given in the Mahāvainsa. Perhaps the followers of these sects considered Mahāsena to have been a man of liberal views, able to appreciate and understand the religious and philosophical teachings then making great headway on the neighbouring continent, and desirous of introducing religious reforms among his own people, but whose power, though equal to the task of constructing reservoirs comparable to natural lakes, and building dāgābas rivalling hills, was not effective in assaulting the citadels of orthodoxy, and who paid for his ultimate failure by being branded by people of later generations as the embodiment of evil itself and the arch-enemy of religion. If this epigraph is such as we have surmised it to be, the wilful damage it has undergone may have been at the hands of the followers of the Mahāvihāra, at a time when they had the upper hand in the chronic religious dissensions which prevailed in the island in the later Anurādhapura period.

TEXT.1

1		
2	atarehi gatiya hamanana mata ayita beyini na-	

¹ See Plate 27, facing page 273.

² The number of aksaras missing at the beginning of each line cannot be ascertained.

3	maha-avasahi gatiya hamanana ca sava saga
4	avana kaṭa/pi ca nana-magini pave (nana) sa-
5	ka-maga-kara-Vaya (tuḍala) tuḍalaka ca potahi [[i]-2
6	c(i)ta-paha[ten]i ca biku-sagahi ca tumahi ca hadate vi-
7	
8	naṭa ananu cava karana keṇakana padi aluvala karanaka
9	(na)nața i ja tumahața ja veda icanaka raja-keneka
	varaka yame
10	(v)inaka aveya tumanața puņi-vadanaka-kara tuma-
	kiceya me (ni)
11	Abagiri-mahaviharahi

TRANSLATION.

..... Proclaimed in the first year of of the community of bhikkhus as the doctrines of the monks who belong to are unsettled, the monks who are the followers of the Great Residences and the whole community though rebuked, sins in various ways various (having written) in books the Vayatudala which creates (i.e. points out) the path of with faith in one's mind and of heart in the community of bhikkhus and in one's own self the [exposition of] meaning and the books written in the Five Great Residences and towards those who cause disturbance to one another and create confusion any in the time of any king who desires the welfare of (the others) as well as his own self his own duty which causes the increase of merit to himself the great monastery of Abhayagiri

COMMENTS.

[Line I] Padamaka-avanaka vasahi:—Padamaka is derived from Skt. prathama or P. pathama with the pleonastic ka added. In modern Sinhalese it

¹ These three syllables are obviously repeated by a mistake on the part of the engraver.

Perhaps li is the first letter of the word liyavaya.

³ Perhaps to be read as *liyitaka*.

^{&#}x27; This word may perhaps be completed as ananaja.

is palamu. For avanaka, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 181. Vasahi is the locative singular of vasa = P. vassa. For palakaya, see above, p. 222, no. 1.

[Line 2] Atarchi is evidently the locative singular of atara occurring in modern Sinhalese in the same form, and equivalent to P. antara 'inside' or 'within'. Gatiya is taken to be equivalent to P. gatika, and later Sinhalese gäti, which has assumed the secondary meaning of 'servant' or 'subject'. In the Siyabaslakara, v. 200, gäti is used with the meaning of 'belonging to'. For hamanana (Skt. śramanānām, P. samanānam), see E. Z., Vol. I, p. 64. Mata is the same as the Skt. and P. mata and is taken to mean 'doctrine'. Avita is interpreted as equivalent to Skt. avihita. As regards the loss of the aspirate, compare ata (hand) for Skt. hasta in the Thūpārāma slab-inscription of Gajabāhu I (E. Z., Vol. III, p. 118). Bevini is the instrumental singular of the old Sinhalese word corresponding to Skt. bhāva (bava), and its later form bāvin is still in common use in Sinhalese, its status being almost reduced to that of a particle.

[Line 3] Maha-avasahi:—Perhaps this is what now remains of paca-maha-avasahi, as in 1. 7.

[Line 4] Avana is taken to be derived from Skt. $avaj\tilde{n}a$. The change of $j\tilde{n}a$ to na can be supported on the analogy of the usage in certain Prākritic dialects as the Ardhamāgadhī (see Pischel, $Gram.\ der\ Prakrit-Sprachen$, par. 276). Kaṭapi is treated as resulting from the euphonic combination of kaṭa (Skt. krta) and the particle api. This particle is not found in use in the later language. $Nana-magini = P.\ nānā-maggena$, mod. Sinh., nan-magin. Pave is the nominative singular of pava, Skt. pāpa. For the change of the intervocalic p to v, compare uvaraja (above, p. 217) for Skt. upa-rāja.

[Line 5] -maga-kara-Vayatuḍalaka. The repetition of the three syllables tuḍala is taken to be due to a clerical error. Together with a word or words now missing, the whole of this has to be treated as a compound. Maga-kara (Skt. mārga-kara) is taken to be a formation analogous to Skt. duḥkha-kara, sampat-kara, &c., and the modern Sinhalese compounds such as biya-karu, and väḍa-karu, and qualifying Vayatuḍalaka. Compare also puṇi-vaḍanaka-kara in l. 10. The last syllable, ka, in the word Vayatuḍalaka, has to be treated as the pleonastic which was much in evidence in the early Sinhalese language. It has already been proposed to equate Vayatuḍala with P. Vetulla or Vetulya. Potahi is the locative singular of pota, Skt. pustaka, P. potthaka, mod. Sinhalese pot 'book'.

[Line 6] Cita-pahateni = P. citta-p-pasādena. Among the phonetic changes involved in pasāda becoming pahata, the shortening of long vowels and the change of s to have features common in the Sinhalese language. The change of the intervocalic surd to a mute, in this instance, d to t, can also be paralleled by many other instances in early Sinhalese, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 175, and above, p. 118. Tumahi is the locative singular of tuma 'self', derived from Skt. ātman, P. ātumā (see Geiger, Sinhalese Grammar, par. 134). In modern Sinhalese, this would be tamā kerehi. Hadate is also treated as resulting from the euphonic combination of hada and ate. Hada is taken to be equivalent to Skt. hrd, Pkt. hadakka, and mod. Sinhalese !a(ya) 'heart'. Ate is ata in the locative case. A classical Sinhalese word ata meaning 'interior' or 'within' is met with in the compound tambar-atehi in verse 325 of the Kavsilumina. It seems to be connected with Skt. antar and P. anto.

[Line 7] Ata is evidently from Skt. artha 'meaning', and may, in this text, denote an explanatory treatise like the ancient Sinhalese and Pāli atthakathā. Layitaka is equivalent to Skt. likhita to which the pleonastic ka has been added. The a in the first syllable in place of the original i is noteworthy. The later forms of this word preserve the i in the first syllable and it is not impossible that there was an i-sign in this syllable and that it has been obliterated. Ja is the conjunction ca, the prototype of the modern da. It is noteworthy that, in this record, the conjunction occurs as ca in the first six lines and as ja in the rest of the document.

[Line 8] Ananu is equated with Skt. anyonya. The meaning of cava is doubtful; in the translation it has been taken, as suggested by Mr. Julius de Lanerolle, to be connected with P. cāveti 'disturb' or 'distract', see P. T. S. Dictionary, s.v. Keṇakana is equivalent to the modern Sinhalese kenekun 'persons' or 'individuals'. Its derivation is uncertain, but it is noteworthy that, whereas the word is spelt with a cerebral n in this record, kenek is spelt with a dental n in the tenth-century inscriptions (see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 75). Padi is taken as corresponding etymologically to the Skt. particle prati which also occurs as a prefix. In Skt. the noun which precedes prati used as a particle is in the accusative case, and kenakana which precedes padi in this document, is obviously in the same case. Mr. de Lanerolle suggests that aluvala is connected with P. āloļa 'confusion' or 'uproar'. The medieval Sinhalese āloļa, given in the Dampiyā-aṭuvā-sannaya (edited by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, 1933, p. 30) as the meaning of P. kolāhala, can be considered as a later form of aluvala.

[Line 9] Ananata: If the restoration of the word should be accepted, it is to

be treated as the dative plural of the ancient Sinhalese word derived from the Sanskrit anya, and is equivalent to the modern Sinhalese anunta. Tumahata is the dative singular of tuma, of which the locative form is found in 1. 6. Veda, equivalent to Skt. vrddhi, has also been found in the Ruvanvälisäya inscription of Buddhadāsa (E. Z., Vol. III, p. 122) in the slightly different form of vedha, which also occurs in the Tōṇigala inscription of Śrīmeghavarna with the secondary meaning of 'interest'. Icanaka is the present participle, with the pleonastic ka added, of the old Sinhalese verb derived from the Sanskrit root is 'to desire', &c. Verbal forms derived from this root, though not in use in the modern language, are found in classical Sinhalese. The form isnā, occurring in verse 86 of the Kavsiļumiņa, exactly corresponds to icanaka of our record in meaning as well as in etymology. Varaka is taken as equivalent to modern Sinhalese vara 'occasion', and yame to yam (the relative pronoun), but the fragmentary nature of the document does not permit us to decide whether the proposed meanings would suit the context.

[Line 10] The first six akṣaras of those preserved in this line do not convey any meaning. Tumanaṭa is the dative plural of tuma and is equivalent to modern tamanṭa. In the compound puṇi-vaḍanaka-kara, we have a form analogous to maga-kara in l. 5. Puṇi is derived from Skt. puṇya and the spelling of the word with a cerebral n is noteworthy. In the twelfth-century language, it is spelt with a dental n. Compare pinin in E. Z., Vol. II, p. 110. Vaḍanaka is equivalent to Skt. vardhana with ka added. In the compound tuma-kiceya, tuma is equated with Skt. ātman, modern Sinhalese tamā; kiceya with Skt. kṛtya, classical Sinhalese kisa. The last two letters of this line do not seem to form a word by themselves and no conjectural restoration is possible.

No. 37. NILAGAMA ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF DALA MUGALAN.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

AT Nilagama, in the Kandapalle Kōraļē of the Mātalē District, there is an ancient Buddhist vihāra which is now in a neglected condition but is still occupied by a monk and receives the religious devotion of the people of the neighbouring villages. The modern pansala and image-house are both within a lofty and spacious rock cave, below the drip-ledge of which are two Brāhmī

inscriptions, one in the earliest form of that script and the other referable to about the first century of the Christian era. Not far from this and near the north end of the embankment of the small village reservoir, is a second cave containing Brāhmī inscriptions. To the south of the temple cave, and separated from it by a small paddy-field, is another hillock, on the rocky slopes of which are more ancient caves, in five of which Brāhmī records have been discovered. On a boulder in front of the modern temple is an inscription of about the second century.

Müller, in his A. I. C. (No. 79), mentions Nilagama Vihāra and its inscriptions; but gives the text and translation of only one of them, the later in date of the two records in the temple cave. These epigraphs are of no particular interest, either historically or linguistically, and are not dealt with in this paper, the subject of which is an inscription on a rock at the northern end of the village reservoir and behind the huge boulder containing the vihāra-cave. Müller makes no definite mention of this inscription and it was copied for the first time in 1935 by the overseer who was sent to the place by me to secure estampages of the epigraphs known to exist there. A better estampage of the inscription was prepared later under my personal supervision and it is on this that the present edition of the epigraph is based.

The area of the rock covered by this epigraph of seven lines measures 6 ft. 9 in. at its longest point, and 2 ft. 3 in. at its broadest. Without taking into account the medial vowel signs, the individual letters range in height from 11/4 in. to 4 in. The writing has been executed on the rock without having it smoothed or in any other way prepared for the purpose, and no uniformity in the length and direction of the lines, or in the size of the letters, has been aimed at. Slovenliness in execution, which is a general feature in the ancient epigraphs of Ceylon, particularly in those of the fourth to eighth centuries, is noticed in this too, though not to so great an extent as in many other inscriptions. The letters have not been engraved to any great depth, so that one may pass by this inscription without noticing it when the writing does not stand out clear as it does after a shower of rain. Destructive human agencies, which have been responsible for the disappearance of many valuable ancient epigraphs, have fortunately left this record untouched and, thanks to the wild creepers which often cover this part of the rock and must have done so for many centuries past, nature has not dealt with it in too rough a manner. Parts of the inscription have weathered

¹ A. S. C. Annual Report for 1935, p. 10.

considerably, but only five letters of the whole epigraph are totally illegible and about an equal number doubtful.

The record is interesting on account of its script. It is one of the few epigraphs, so far discovered in the island, assignable to the sixth or seventh century and dated in the regnal years of a king who can be identified. It will presently be shown that there are reasons for identifying the ruler mentioned in this record with Moggallāna II. Thus it furnishes us with a specimen of the Sinhalese script of the latter half of the sixth century, showing an interesting intermediate stage in the evolution of the curved forms of the medieval Sinhalese alphabet from the angular forms of the Brāhmī writing.

Among the dateable Sinhalese records of this period which have so far been published, that which immediately precedes the present document is the Nāgirikanda rock-inscription¹, the interval of time between the two epigraphs being less than fifty years. But the general appearance of the script in the two records differs widely, and it may well be doubted whether the alphabet used by the engraver of the present epigraph is the same as that of the Nāgirikanda inscription, modified by natural changes due to the passage of time. The earlier epigraph shows a preference for angular forms, while the script of the document under review favours curvilinear forms and has a decided tendency to become florid. The script found in the Ruvanvälisäya inscription 2 of Buddhadāsa has a better claim to be considered the prototype of the alphabet used in this inscription. In studying the published epigraphs of the fourth to sixth centuries, it appears that the scribes of Ceylon in that period used two different types of writing. One, the angular, is exemplified by the Tonigala inscription of Śrīmeghavarnna 3 and the Nāgirikanda record of Kumāradāsa. The evolutionary tendencies noticeable in the script of these records resulted in the clumsy, confusing, and very cursive alphabet utilized in the short records on the steps of 'Burrows Pavilion' at Anuradhapura', and a number of other inscriptions dateable in the sixth century or so. The unsuitability of this type of script for general use seems to have been realized by the scribes, and it went out of vogue in or about the seventh century.

The other type of ancient Sinhalese script which, in comparison with the first, may be called the round or florid style and of which the above-mentioned record of Buddhadāsa is one of the earliest examples, seems to have been less

¹ See above, pp. 115-124.

³ See E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 172-188.

² E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 120-126.

⁴ See above, pp. 136-141.

favoured by the scribes in the earlier period, but it came into its own with the degeneration of the angular alphabet into forms, many of which can easily be mistaken one for the other. This second type of script appears in course of time to have lost much of its florid character and become the ancestor of the Sinhalese script of medieval and modern times. The development of this script seems also to have run parallel to that of South India, as may be seen in comparing the individual letters of the present record with those of the more or less contemporary inscriptions of the Pallava kings. But it cannot be maintained that this similarity of the Pallava and Sinhalese scripts of the sixth and seventh centuries was due to a wholesale adoption, by the people of Ceylon, of a foreign script in preference to that which they had been using for centuries. Both the Pallava and Sinhalese scripts are of common origin and, due to geographical proximity, those who used them must have had frequent intercourse with each other, and it is but natural that one school of scribes in the island maintained their system of writing parallel to that of their neighbours on the mainland. In order to show the affinities of the script of the present document with that of somewhat earlier records in Ceylon and with the Pallava script, I give below, in tabular form, some of the characteristic symbols common to it (I) as well as to the Nāgirikanda inscription (II) and the alphabet used in the copper-plate grants of the early Pallava king Simhavarman (436-460) as shown in column XX of Tafel VII in Bühler's Indische Paläographie (III).

The reader, if he is interested, can compare the letters from these three sources with one another and arrive at his own conclusions. I touch upon only a few noteworthy points. If the date proposed by historians for Simhavarman 2 be accepted, the present epigraph is more than a century later in date than the

¹ In the case of some letters, the medial vowel signs attached to them have been eliminated in the drawing, so that their resemblance to the corresponding Sinhalese symbols may not be obscured.

See E. S. Gopan, History of the Pallavas of Kañchī, Madras, 1928, pp. 42-44 and pp. 61 ff.

Indian documents with which we have compared it for palaeographical purposes, and the general appearance of the script in our document speaks, on the whole, for its later date. But certain individual letters in our document are decidedly of a type more archaic than the corresponding symbols found in the charters of Simhavarman¹. For instance, the downward vertical stroke of a, ka, and ra in our record is a mere straight line, as in the earliest Brāhmī, whereas in the Pallava alphabet of Simhavarman, these strokes have already developed an upward curve towards the left-a feature which decided the future development of these letters both in South India and in Ceylon. Similar is the case with the sign for the medial u. Our record has a form of ba, which is square and identical with the earliest Brāhmī symbol for this letter, side by side with somewhat more developed forms; but this development is not precisely in the same direction as in the Pallava script. Other letters, like ta, va, and la, are more or less identical in both. Certain other letters like ma, ja, and da of our record show a stage of development later than that of the corresponding forms of the Pallava script. The ma has its top closed, as in the Brāhmī of the second or third century, whereas it is open not only in the inscriptions of Simhavarman which are earlier in date, but also in the Kuram plates of Parameśvara-varman I2, more than half a century later than the present epigraph. It is the closing of the top of this letter which decided its later development, both in Sinhalese as well as in the South Indian script, and the fact that this feature is noticed in Ceylon earlier than in South India can be adduced as a reason against a possible suggestion that the sixth-century Sinhalese script assumed its form as a result of a deliberate imitation of South Indian writing.

Comparing the script of the Nāgirikanda inscription with that of our record, we note that certain developments in some letters of the former document, due to the cursive character of its alphabet, have not been followed by the writer of the latter. For instance, in the ya of the Nāgirikanda record, the left arm of that letter in the earlier Brāhmī has been reduced to a mere loop, enabling the whole letter to be written at one stroke, whereas in the Nilagama inscription this letter differs but little from its second-century prototype. Again, the ca in the Nāgirikanda inscription has reduced the semicircular appendage, attached to the lower half of the vertical stroke of this letter in the second century, to very insignificant proportions, making the vertical stroke its prominent

For charters of Simhavarman, see Ep. Ind., vol. viii, p. 159, and Ind. Ant., vol. v, p. 154.

South Indian Inscriptions, vol. i, pp. 144 ff.

feature, whereas in our inscription, the vertical stroke is reduced in length and prominence, its appendage having been subject to the development which gave this letter the form which it assumed in later times. When we compare the forms of sa in the two records, that of the present inscription appears to be almost identical with the second-century form of this letter, whereas the sa of the Nāgirikanda epigraph has a development which continued in the later Sinhalese script.

In our record, the lower extremity of da curves downwards to the left and in this symbol we see the prototype of the medieval Sinhalese form of this letter. The symbol for i, forthcoming in this record, is noteworthy, and differs from any other form of that letter found in earlier Sinhalese inscriptions. It resembles, however, the i of the Western and Eastern Chālukya script of the sixth and seventh centuries¹. The two dots in the Chālukya form of i are not visible in our inscription, but owing to the considerably weathered nature of the record we cannot definitely say that they were not there. Alternative forms of a, ba, and ma, differing somewhat from one another, are found, and if the ninth letter of 1. 2 be read as ta, it differs considerably from this letter appearing elsewhere in the record. The second symbol of l. 1, in which one ought to expect a representation of the ligature ddha, is very unusual in form, perhaps due to its being corrected from some other letter. The sign for the medial i which, in the first to the fifth centuries, was usually written attached to the top of the letter as a semicircular stroke turned leftwards, has here been extended till it has become a complete circle. The symbol for e, occurring as the tenth akṣara from the end in the last line, is instructive in explaining how the early triangular form of this letter assumed its ninth-century aspect.

The language is Sinhalese, and the document is of considerable importance philologically, too. It helps us to understand the development of the language during a period pertaining to which very few specimens have hitherto been available to philologists. Unfortunately, more than half of the document consists of the same phrase repeated again and again, with the difference of a proper name only, and the linguistic material furnished by the record is therefore not so much as it would have been otherwise. Nevertheless, even within this limited scope, certain linguistic forms noticed in it are not without value in explaining how the Sinhalese of the first four centuries of the present era assumed the aspect presented to us in the records of the ninth and tenth centuries.

¹ See Bühler's Indische Paläographie, Tafel VII.

In phonology, the language agrees more with that of documents pertaining to the period preceding it than with that of later centuries. Those characteristic features which distinguish the Sinhalese language of the eighth to the tenth centuries from the dialect of the immediately preceding period, such as the change of c to s, j to d, the vowel \ddot{a} , &c., had not yet come into being at the time of this record. The processes called vowel-assimilation and vowel-levelling by Prof. Geiger 1 are illustrated by several forms of words in this inscription, e.g. vasihi (l. 2) for vasahi, vaharaļa (l. 3) for viharaļa, and Sivi (l. 7) for Siva. In amevesi (l. 2) for Skt. $am\bar{a}v\bar{a}sy\bar{a}$, the final semi-vowel has been contracted to i and the vowel a in the preceding syllables has been changed to e. Ameti for Skt. amātya, found in the Tonigala inscription2, affords a parallel. On the whole, there is noticeable a predilection for the vowel i which in some words can be explained by assimilation and other grammatical rules, but in others, like raji (l. 1) for raja (Skt. rājan) and arami (l. 3) for arama (Skt. ārāma), cannot be so The hiatus noticed in Baeli (l. 7), is a feature very unusual in Sinhalese, both ancient and modern. By the analogy of such forms in the modern language, it may be presumed that the vowel in the first syllable was long, though not indicated graphically as such. The length of vowels is rarely shown graphically in the early language. In Mugalana (l. 1) for P. Moggallāna and Skt. Mandgalyāyana, we find a reduction of the vowel o or ou to u. The later Sinhalese retains this form with the elision of the final vowel as the only change. As regards consonants, in addition to such changes as are noticed in Apayihi for Skt. Abhayasya, and which have been found in earlier inscriptions and already commented upon, we observe the dropping out of t and the introduction of the semi-vowel y to avoid hiatus, e.g. pohoyi (l. 3) for P. uposatha and siya (l. 3) for Skt. sata.

The elision of the last syllable ka in the word mapurumu for mapurumuka (Skt. mahā-pramukha) is found earlier in the inscription of Khudda Pārinda³. In Budasa for Budadasa⁴ (Skt. and P. Buddhadāsa), one of the two da's occurring one after the other has been elided. But in the tenth-century language we find a form Buddas⁵ in which only the vowel in the first of these two syllables has been dropped, the consonant remaining. A still later form of

¹ A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language, pp. 22-26.

² E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 177.

³ See above, p. 114.

⁴ This form occurs in the inscription of Khudda Pārinda, already mentioned.

⁵ E. Z., Vol. I, p. 46.

the word is *Bujas*. The elision of one whole syllable at so early a stage of the language is remarkable. If the vowel in the first da in the word *Budadasa* was not pronounced in speech, though shown graphically in writing, the slurring over of the first da, leading to the form *Budasa*, is easily conceivable. This leads one to the question as to whether the early Sinhalese language had no mute consonants at all, as one may conclude from the inscriptions, or whether many of the consonants written as vocalized in the early documents were really mute as is the case, for example, in the writing of Hindi to-day.

Nominal forms found in the document are nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, and locative singular. The crude form of the noun, without any termination, is used both for the nominative and accusative cases. The genitive termination in the word Apayihi for the more usual Apayaha is noteworthy; the final vowel a has changed to i. In the later language this termination usually has the final a replaced by u, e.g. Buduhu (Skt. Buddhasya). The two forms of the locative termination in the words vasihi and davasi may be noted. The first goes back to Skt. -smin and the second to -e. Davasi is obviously equivalent to Skt. divase and is the prototype of the medieval Sinhalese form davasä. The dative termination in vaharaṭa agrees with the earlier language and its later development.

As regards verbal forms, the participle preterite is instanced by lagi, which is equivalent to Skt. lamghita, and an earlier form of which occurs in the Tōnigala inscription as $lagitaka^1$. The dropping out of ta in the interval between the reigns of Śrīmeghavarṇa and Moggallāna II is noteworthy. The tenth-century form of this word is $l\ddot{a}ngu$. Diyi (l. 3) is a gerund formed from the root $d\bar{a}$ 'to give', going back to an ungrammatical form with the suffix -ya, instead of $-tv\bar{a}$ which pertains to this root. It occurs in this form only once in the inscription as against six times in the contracted form di. In the tenth-century language, this verbal form is found as $d\bar{a}$ in which the compensatory lengthening of the vowel i is noticed. It may be that, at the date of this inscription, too, the compensatory lengthening of the vowel was observed in actual speech, though it is not represented in writing, due to the fact that it was then not customary to mark the length of vowels. The verbal form cidivi has been dealt with in another place.²

The king in whose regnal years this document is dated receives the full style of Mapurumu Budasa Dali-Mugalana Maharaji Apaya. In this, only

¹ E. Z., Vol. III, p. 177.

² See above, p, 134.

'Dali-Mugalana' can be treated as a personal name; the rest, being found attached to the names of various kings, either together or separately, can be left out of consideration as being mere titles. 'Mugalana' is obviously the same as Pāli 'Moggallāna' of which name there are three kings mentioned in the chronicles, all of whom flourished in the period to which this epigraph can be assigned on palaeographical grounds. The epithet Dali attached to the name of the king of our record, leaves Moggallana I out of consideration, for that monarch is nowhere mentioned with such a soubriquet prefixed to his name. In the Cūlavamsa1, Moggallana III is said to have been surnamed Dalla, but the Sinhalese Pūjāvalī, in its historical chapter, refers to Moggallāna II as Daļa Mugalan². Pāli Dalla, and later Sinhalese Dala, may both be equated with Dali of our inscription; hence, both the second and third rulers named Moggallana can come in for consideration in deciding the identity of King Dali-Mugalana of our record. The regnal year given in the document, if it is a higher figure than the number of years of the reign of one of these two sovereigns, will eliminate one and decide the question, provided we attach credence to the lengths of reigns of the sixth- and seventh-century kings as given in the chronicles. No valid reason has yet been adduced for distrusting the chronicles on this point.

But the reading of the word expressing the regnal year in the inscription is not absolutely free from doubt. It can be read as atama or padama. Against the first reading, it may be objected that the second letter is unlike the ta appearing elsewhere in the record. But the ta in the Nagirikanda inscription is very much like this symbol, and epigraphs do often contain variant forms of the same letter. If the letter in question is not ta, it can only be da, and the only possible numeral word of three syllables with a da as the second, is padama (first). But more serious objection can be taken to this form on account of the first letter, of which the two horizontal strokes distinctly visible preclude it from being considered a pa. It is too arbitrary to dismiss the upper of these two strokes as extraneous, and the vertical stroke, being carried downwards from the angle formed by its meeting with the lower horizontal stroke, distinctly precludes the akṣara from being read as pa. If the adopted reading is paḍama, the regnal year is the first and it does not help us in identifying the king, but if the other reading is taken as the correct one, the regnal year is the eighth. Moggallana III reigned for only three years, whereas his earlier namesake occupied the throne

¹ Chap. xliv, v. 63.

³ B. Gunasekara, A Contribution to the History of Ceylon, translated from 'Pūjāvaliya', Colombo, 1895, p. 28.

for twenty years. In my opinion, the reading atama is preferable to the other; therefore, I identify king Dali Mugalana with Moggallāna II. Thus this epigraph would support the $P\bar{u}j\bar{a}val\bar{\iota}$, where that authority differs from the $C\bar{u}lavamsa$, in stating that Moggallāna II was called Dala Mugalan. The $P\bar{u}j\bar{a}val\bar{\iota}$ and the $C\bar{u}lavamsa$ were both composed in the thirteenth century, and the Sinhalese work need not therefore be considered as of less authority than the Pāli chronicle. The initial date of Moggallāna II is, according to Geiger, A.D. 537.

The epigraph contains nothing of historical interest beyond the king's name. It is a private document and records that certain individuals, who are named, freed themselves from slavery in the monastery of the place by paying a hundred (kahāpaṇas?) each. This statement, it must be understood, depends on the accuracy of the interpretation of the phrase vaharala cidavi and its variant forms, suggested by me in dealing with some inscriptions at Vessagiriya². I have not, however, so far come across any valid reason against this interpretation of the phrase in question, which occurs in numerous short epigraphs of the period between the fifth and eighth centuries.

The name of the monastery occurs as Nilagama Tisa-arami Raji-maha-vahara. Nilagama (P. Nīlagāma) is, of course, the name of the place, and it is remarkable that this village is still known by an appellation which it had in the sixth century, affording us proof that it has been in continuous occupation for that long period. The monastery itself was called Tisa-arami (P. Tissārāma), probably because it was founded by a king named Tissa. Though the institution was a royal monastery, it was not of sufficient importance to have attracted the attention of the chroniclers.

יייצייי

- 1 Siddham³ [n*] Puviha⁴ Mapurumu-Budasa-Dali-Mugala[na]⁵-maha-raji-a-
- 2 -payihi cata lagi atama-avanaka-vasihi Vesa[ka]-cada(hi6) [a]meve[si]-

¹ See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 15.

² See above, p. 134.

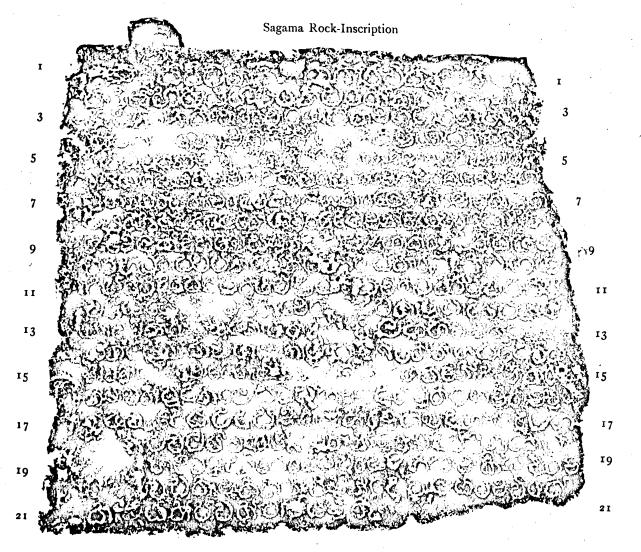
³ For the symbol taken as ddha, see above, p. 290.

⁴ The letter ha in this word admits of no doubt, but the word occurs in all other records as puviya. Perhaps the ha is due to a clerical error. What appear to be traces of a ya, perhaps written to correct the ha, are visible above the line.

⁵ There is some space left between the last letter of *Mugalana* and the first in *maharaji*. A few traces of letters noticed here appear to have been those of the word *Apaya* which occurs after *Mugalana*. Perhaps the engraver by mistake wrote the word *Apaya* before *maharaji* and obliterated this word when he discovered his error.

What may be taken as the left half of a ha is visible on the stone, but if we presume the

Scale about 18 inch to 1 foot



Scale about 1 inch to 1 foot

- 3 [po]hoyi davasi Nilagama Tisa-arami raji-maha-vaharata siya diyi vaherila
- 4 cidivi Gala-araki Buyudeviyayihi ica siya di vaherila cidivi Buyiperi Saba ica
- 5 siya di viherila cidivi Hilisela Sivigonahi ica siya di viherila cidivi Bada Aba ica siya di
- 6 viherila cidivi .. dava Aba ica siya di viherila cidivi Cadiboya Aba ica siya di viherila cidivi
- 7 sivi Aba ica siya di viherila cidivi Baeli Sivi G[o]nayi [mā] ica

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Dated on the new-moon fast day in the month of Vesaka in the eighth year of the raising of the umbrella [of dominion] by His Majesty, the great king Budasa Dali-Mugalana Apaya. By Gala-araki Buyudeviya a hundred [kahāpaṇas] were granted to the great royal monastery [called] Tisa-arami at Nilagama and [he] had himself freed from slavery. And Buyiperi Saba gave a hundred and freed himself from slavery. And Bada Aba gave a hundred and freed himself from slavery. And Bada Aba gave a hundred and freed himself from slavery. And Bada Aba gave a hundred and freed himself from slavery. And Bada Aba gave a hundred and freed himself from slavery.

following letter to be a, the space available does not appear to be enough for both letters, if they were of the average size in this record.

¹ Puviha, evidently the same as puviya, for the interpretation of which see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 179.

² Amevesi = Skt. amāvāsī or amāvāsyā. The word occurs in some inscriptions of about the fourth century as avamesi, referring to the tithis of the dark half of the lunar month. This is possibly formed by metathesis from amevisi, and the later Sinhalese ava, prefixed to the names of the tithis of the dark fortnight, is evidently an abbreviation of avamesi.

³ Skt. Vaiśākha, April-May; mod. Sinh. Vesak.

^{&#}x27;P. 'Buddhadāsa Dalla (?)-Moggallāna Abhaya.' Dali perhaps is the same as Dāṭhā occurring in ancient proper names of Ceylon as Dāṭhāpabhuti, Dāṭhānāga, &c. The occurrence of this word as a proper name or a part thereof bears witness to the popularity of the cult of the Tooth Relic. For the word Apaya and the manner in which it is used, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 124, and above, p. 114, note 10.

⁵ Buyideviyayihi is taken to be in the instrumental case, the construction of the sentence being passive here. But in the similar passages which follow, the active construction is seen. The confusion between the active and passive constructions is often met with in Sinhalese, in literature as well as in epigraphy.

Vaharila (or viherila) cidavi. For the interpretation of this phrase, see above, p. 134.

himself from slavery. And Cadiboya Aba gave a hundred and freed himself from slavery. And ... sivi Aba gave a hundred and freed himself from slavery. And by me, Baeli Siva, a hundred was given and [I] freed [myself] from slavery.

No. 38. SAGAMA ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAIKABĀHII V

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THIS inscription is engraved on a rock situated in a stretch of paddy-fields I in the village of Nugaliyadda in Pāta Hēvāhata, Kandy District, and about a quarter of a mile to the south of the well-known Sagama temple, a shrine dating from Kandyan times. The record has already been published by the late Mr. H. C. P. Bell2; but Mr. Bell's main concern in publishing the document was to use it as an illustration to show the development of Sinhalese writing during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in the course of a long polemic directed against certain conclusions arrived at by the late Mudaliyar Simon de Silva in his paper entitled 'Vijayabāhu VI'3. The record has, therefore, not received at Mr. Bell's hands the same treatment as it would have had if it had been studied for its own sake. The text, as published by Mr. Bell, requires amendment in a number of places; in particular, the words giving the date of the epigraph have been altogether misread in the published version. The date, as now read, compels us to reconsider the opinion previously expressed by scholars regarding the identity of the historical personages who figure as donors in this document. Mr. Bell's translation is admittedly tentative, and a new edition of this important inscription, accompanied by the reproduction of a better estampage than the one on which the published text is based, will not, I think, be considered superfluous.

Without taking into account the auspicious word Śrī, which is written apart from the body of the inscription above line 1, the record, consisting of twenty-one lines, covers an area of rock-surface measuring 5 ft. 9 in. at its longest, and 5 ft. 3 in. at its broadest points. Individual letters vary in height from 2 to 3 inches. The rock having been exposed in turn to the fierce heat of the sun and torrential downpours of rain for a period of about 600 years, the writing has deteriorated

 $^{^{1}}$ $M\bar{a}$. This is taken to be the instrumental singular of the pronoun of the first person.

² J. C. B. R. A. S., vol. xxii, pp. 364-365.

³ Ibid., pp. 316 ff.

to a great extent, though it has been engraved fairly deeply. The whole text of the inscription can, however, be made out with the exception of two letters in line 1 and three in line 19.

The script is Sinhalese of the fourteenth century and differs but little from that of the Gadalādeṇiya rock-inscription of the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV¹. Differing from the Gadalādeṇiya inscription, but agreeing with the Hapugastänna record of the fifteenth year of Parākramabāhu V², our epigraph has two types of the letter na, the common symbol and the cursive one which has been referred to by Mr. Codrington as the Malayālam na.

The language is Sinhalese with a fair admixture of Sanskrit tatsama forms, as is also the case in the literary prose works dating from this period. The orthography is generally correct, save for the following peculiarities: The cerebral l is found in Tri-Simhaļādhīśvara (1. 2) and Aļakeśvara (1. 8), which have to be considered as loan words from the Sanskrit. Though, as a general rule, ligatures are used when two consonants come together in a Sanskrit tatsama word, recourse is had in some places to the method, not considered quite proper, of attaching the virāma sign to the first consonant; witness the words navaratnādhipati (l. 2), mantrīśvara (l. 8), and utsāhaya (l. 9). In the words pitr-vamsa and mātr-vamsa, the anusvāra is indicated by the symbol for the guttural nasal attached to the s. The sign for the medial vowel r and the consonant ra occurring as the second member of a ligature are not distinguishable one from the other, e.g. the second syllables of the words pitr and mitra are written exactly alike and their different values are to be given only according to the sense. On the whole, the record seems to have been indited with considerable care, which, however, was not enough to prevent one or two clerical errors from creeping in. One of the two sa's at the end of line 10 is superfluous, and the word surindhara in line 7 has perhaps to be taken as a blunder on the part of the scribe or the stone-mason.

The language of the document, particularly the first half of it, is very ornate in style, the author having used, in the phrase prasasta-saktidhara-sanmukha, the highly artificial figure of speech called the slessa (double entendre), in addition to less elaborate figures of speech, such as similes and metaphors, in other places.

The inscription is dated in the ninth year of Bhuvanaikabāhu. Judging

¹ See above, pp. 90 ff. and Plate 10.

² See J. C. B. R. A. S., vol. xxii, p. 362, and plate D.

from the degree of development shown in the script, the record may date from the reigns of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV or V but, as the document registers a grant by the Minister Alakeśvara, and as a dignitary of this name first comes into prominence after the death of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV, the present epigraph can, without doubt, be attributed to the fifth monarch of that name. From the data furnished by the Nikāya-samgraha, the initial year of Bhuvanaikabāhu V can be deduced as A.D. 1371-13721; the date of our epigraph would therefore be A.D. 1380-1381. The chronicles relating to this period mention the twentieth year of Bhuvanaikabāhu V and give the impression that he ceased to reign after that date; but the Vēgiriya inscription shows that his reign extended to thirty-four years or more.

The object of the record is to register a donation of lands in the village of Saputala in Sagama by the two brothers Alakeśvara and Devamantriśvara, who are described in terms indicating that they were second in importance to the king only, to the god Nātha of Senkaḍagala and the god of the Nā tree of unspecified location, in gratitude to these deities for having crowned with success the efforts of the two dignitaries to place the affairs of the Church and the State in a stable condition.

It is evident that the two brothers Alakeśvara or Alagakkonāra and Devhimi², eulogized in very high terms in the Mayūra-sandeśa, a Sinhalese poem composed in the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu V, are identical with the two ministers figuring in the present record. Mr. Bell proposed the identification of the Alakeśvara of the present epigraph with Vīra Alakeśvara who is known, from an oft-quoted passage in the Saddharmaratnākara (SR), to have wielded power on two occasions in that troubled and obscure period of Ceylon history which preceded the accession of Parākramabāhu VI. This view, which seemed to fit in with what was known of the general trend of events and the dominant personalities of the period, has been accepted by all subsequent writers³ including Mr. H. W. Codrington who, in his 'Gampola Period of Ceylon History', has admirably marshalled all the evidence relating to this chapter of the island's history. However, the occurrence of the ninth regnal year in this epigraph as

¹ J. C. B. R. A. S., vol. xxxii, p. 277.

Alagakkonāra' is the Tamil form of the name 'Alakeśvara' and Sinhalese 'Dev-himi' is 'Deva-svāmin' in Sanskrit.

³ For instance, Sir D. B. Jayatilaka in his scholarly introduction to the *Pärakumbāsirita* (Colombo, 1922, p. xxii), and Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana in his edition of the *Mayūra-sandeśa* (Colombo, 1928, p. 76).

⁴ J. C. B. R. A. S., vol. xxxii, pp. 258 ff.

now read, introduces serious chronological difficulties for the acceptance of this identification, and it has become necessary to re-examine the whole question in the light of this fresh piece of evidence.

The introduction of the reader to the Alakesvaras who flourished in or about the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu V may help him to follow the ensuing discussion1. The most prominent among the historical personages named Alakeśvara was the minister who rose to fame in the reign of Vikramabāhu III (the predecessor of Bhuvanaikabāhu V), by liberating the Sinhalese people from the threatened subjection to the Tamils of Jaffna and their South Indian allies and. under the title of prabhurāja, became the virtual dictator of the Sinhalese country. This great warrior and statesman (referred to hereinafter as Alakeśvara I) has been taken to be the same as the Alakeśvara mentioned in the Elu Attanagalu-vamsa as flourishing in Saka 1304, and described in that work as the 'lord of Śrī Lankā'. We are not informed as to how, and precisely when, this great minister ended his career; but the SR states that he was succeeded by his son Kumāra Aļakeśvara (Aļakeśvara II) who yielded place to Vīra Alakeśvara (Alakeśvara III), a 'nephew' (Sinhalese bānā) of the first-named. Vīra Aļakeśvara was defeated in battle by his younger brother Vīrabāhu Āpā and fled to South India, where he remained until the demise of his victor and two of the latter's sons. Eventually, Vīra Aļakeśvara returned to the island and, seizing power, ruled at Rayigama for twelve years, till, in or about A.D. 1410, he was made captive and taken to China by Cheng Ho, the envoy of the Ming Emperor, Yung-lo. During all this struggle for power by his nominal subordinates, Bhuvanaikabāhu V continued to occupy the throne of Gampola.

The Alakesvara of this inscription and his brother are given epithets more laudatory and high-sounding than those applied to the king. In fact, the latter is mentioned only for purposes of dating. The two ministers are said to have successfully endeavoured to bring about the prosperity of the State and the Church in the island, and, having vanquished their enemies and strengthened their allies, brought Lanka under one umbrella of sovereignty. Such language in a contemporary public document is only appropriate for one who was at the head of affairs, and could not have been used in describing a minister who held a position subordinate to another in the administration of the country. The Alakesvara of our inscription must, therefore, have occupied the highest position

¹ For the history of the Alakeśvaras, in detail, see Codrington's 'Gampola Period of Ceylon History' (op. cit.) where references will be found to the original authorities as well as to previous writers on the subject.

in the government of the island when this document was indited, i.e. in the ninth year of Bhuvanaikabāhu (A.D. 1380-1381).

If the Alakeśvara of this inscription be taken as Alakeśvara III, it must also be held that the latter was in power in the ninth year of Bhuvanaikabāhu V. It has already been stated that he enjoyed two periods of authority. We are definitely told by the SR that his second period of power lasted for twelve years and ended with his capture by the Chinese. This last event must be placed in or about A.D. 14101 and it is therefore clear that our inscription of A.D. 1380-1381 cannot be assigned to that period. The dates for the earlier period of his rule are not stated definitely in any of the authorities, but Mr. Codrington, after an exhaustive study of the available data, concludes that this fell approximately between 1387 and 13922. This view of Mr. Codrington gains support from the author of the SR, a contemporary, more or less, of Alakesvara III, who states that the seven rulers beginning with Kumāra Aļakeśvara, called the Mayors of the Palace by Mr. Codrington, all came into power after the fifteenth year of Bhuvanaikabāhu V. Therefore, our record is at least six years earlier in date than the beginning of the first period of Alakesvara III's rule. From chronological considerations, therefore, the Alakesvara of our record cannot be Vīra Alakeśvara.

Alakeśvara II was a personage of no significance and appears to have enjoyed power for a very short period only. He may therefore be left out of consideration in deciding the identity of the Alakeśvara of our record. We are therefore left with only Alakeśvara I, who, as stated above, is known from the Elu Attanagaluvamsa to have been in the plenitude of his power in Śaka 1304 (1381-3 A.D.), a year or two after the date of the present epigraph. We are, therefore, led by chronological considerations to conclude that the present epigraph is one of Alakeśvara I. The statement that the Alakeśvara of this inscription was concerned with the welfare not only of the state, but also of the Buddhist Church, agrees well with what is stated of the great Alakeśvara in the Nikāya-samgraha and other sources. What is known of Alakeśvara III does not show that he was much concerned with the prosperity of the Buddhist religion.

Considering that Mr. Codrington has made a very thorough study of the history of the Alakesvaras, I referred the problem raised by the date of this inscription to him and he, with his characteristic courtesy, communicated some of his observations to me³. He admits that on the face of the Sagama record,

¹ J. C. B. R. A. S., vol. xxxii, p. 283.

² Ibid., vol. xxxii, p. 285.

³ In two letters dated 12. 10. 37, and 6. 11. 37.

it certainly looks as if the Alakeśvara therein mentioned was Alakeśvara I', but puts forward certain arguments which can be adduced in favour of the identification so far accepted, without, however, committing himself to maintain them. It will, I think, be advisable to deal with the points raised by Mr. Codrington so that the student may be acquainted with both sides of this historical question and form his own conclusions.

It may be questioned whether the wording of the inscription makes it absolutely necessary to conclude that the two ministers mentioned therein were holding supreme power. The language, it might be argued, can well apply to two important ministers in the life-time of Alakesvara I and, if we assume that the two nephews shared in a campaign of their uncle, the description of Alakeśvara in the record can be taken as referring to the third of that name, even if the first was in power at the date of this epigraph. I have already given my opinion as to the improbability of a subordinate minister using, in referring to himself, the phrases occurring in this record. Assuming that the two nephews took part in a campaign of Alakeśvara I, it would have been most unusual for them to have taken the whole credit for themselves, ignoring their uncle—and this at a time when the latter was all-powerful. In this connexion, one may invite comparison with the tenth-century kings, Udaya I and Kassapa IV, who both claim credit for the same achievement of reducing Rohana and Malaya1. But each of these kings boasted of this achievement only after he had attained supreme power and the parallel, therefore, is not complete, for, at the time of this inscription, Alakesvara III had not yet become master of the country.

The most weighty argument that can be brought forward in support of the now accepted identification of the Alakeśvara of our inscription is the lineage of that minister as given in the record. He is said to have belonged to the Gaṇaväsi family on his mother's side and the Meheṇavara² family on his father's. The younger brother of Alakeśvara III, Vīrabāhu Āpā, is said in the Nikāya-saṅagraha³ to have been a scion of the Meheṇavara family and it follows that the former too was of the same stock. No mention is made in literary or other epigraphical sources of the lineage of the mother of these two princes. The Nikāya-saṅagraha also states that Alakeśvara I was born in the Girivamsa, and the Niyamgampāya inscription, which exists only in manuscript and in an

¹ See, for instance, the Timbirivava inscription of Udaya I (E. Z., Vol. II, pp. 9-14) and the Colombo Museum pillar-inscription of Kassapa IV (E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 270-277).

² This word occurs in the inscription in the form 'Menavara'.

⁸ D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe's edition, p. 28. VOL. IV

unsatisfactory state of preservation, describes him as an ornament of the Vanikie. Vaisya) vainsa¹. In fact, it is the consideration of this point which led to the identification of our Alakesvara with the third of that name.

In order to prove that the Alakeśvara of this record cannot be Alakeśvara I. on account of this difference in the family names, we must be certain that membership of one or other of the two clans, the Ganaväsi and the Mehenavara. must necessarily involve exclusion from the Girivamsa or the Vanik-vamsa. To decide whether this should be so, it is necessary for us to consider what we know of these various families or clans. The reading vanik-vanisa of the Niyamgampāya record occurs in only one manuscript, the other known copy having a reading which does not give any sense. Assuming that vanik-vanisa is what there was originally on the stone², it only proves that Alakeśvara I was of the Vanik or Vaisya caste among the four well-known theoretical social divisions of Hinduism. He could have been a Vanik and at the same time a member of some other less widely embracing social group. For instance, the fact that Niśśamka Malla was of the Kşatriya race did not exclude him from belonging to the Kālinga-vamsa3. The Nāyakkars of South India boast of their Śūdra caste 4 but they are also often referred to under the family name by which they are better known to us. The Niyamgamapāya inscription, therefore, presents no difficulty.

In the professedly historical literature of Ceylon, a family called the Girivamśa is mentioned only in connexion with Alakeśvara I. Mr. Codrington also mentions a small manuscript history of the Alutnuvara Dēvāle in which it is stated that the chief consort of Parākramabāhu II was a lady of the Girivamśa, but we are not certain about the degree of credence that should be attached to this statement. The mother of Parākramabāhu VI, who is reliably reported to have been of the Kālinga-vamśa, is also referred to in some places as born in the Girivamśa. The attempt to establish a connexion between the Girivamśa and the Malaiyamāns of South India has not advanced beyond speculation. The Pāramīśataka refers to Alakeśvara I as Niśśamka Alakeśvara of Amaragiri. There is no doubt that 'Amaragiri' is a place-name and it is

¹ Sir D. B. Jayatilaka's introduction to the Pärakumbāsirita (op. cit.), p. xix.

² The tradition recorded by Queyroz (Father S. G. Perera's translation, p. 24) appears to indicate that vanig-vamsa is the correct reading.

⁸ E. Z., Vol. I, p. 132.

⁴ Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 284.

⁶ J. C. B. R. A. S., vol. xxxii, p. 297.

Malalasekara, History of Pāli Literature, p. 247.

⁷ Ibid., p. 242.

instructive to compare this with the name of his family, the Girivamśa. It appears as if 'Giri-vamśa' is an abbreviation of 'Amaragiri-vamśa' and that Alakeśvara I's family was named after a place which evidently was its seat at some time or other. A large number of the family names of high dignitaries in mediaeval Ceylon are the names of villages. For instance, the prime minister of Parākramabāhu II is said to have been of the Dunukēvatu family, which obviously is named after a village called Dunukēvatta¹. Kālanāgara², Khandhāvāra³ and Karambavalān⁴ are other historical families so named. If the Girivamśa is taken to be of such a character, there is nothing to prevent a scion of that family being also a member of a more comprehensive social group basing its unity on common descent, real or fictitious, from an historical or legendary character of antiquity.

The Ganaväsi and Mehenavara clans, to which the mother and father of Alakesvara are said to have belonged, respectively, are not mentioned either in epigraphy or in literature before the thirteenth century. So far as I know, the Ganaväsi family is mentioned for the first time in the Pūjāvalī⁵ and, in the Daļadāsirita, members of this clan are given an important place in the ceremonial connected with the public exhibition of the Tooth Relic⁶. This inscription itself is the earliest document in which the Mehenavara family is mentioned. In it as well as in the Sinhalese literature of the Gampola period and after, these families are said to have had their origin from the princes sent to Ceylon by Asoka along with the sacred Bodhi tree and are considered as royal. But no Sinhalese king before the Gampola period claimed to belong to either of these clans. The early historical writings of Ceylon, the Dipavamsa, the Mahāvamsa and the commentary of the latter, make no reference to the princes who are said to have accompanied the Bodhi tree. The Mahābodhivamsa gives a detailed account of these princes, describing at length the offices conferred on them by Devānampiya Tissa and where they settled down; but makes no mention whatever of the two families in question. The SR8 tells us that the Ganaväsi family was so called because its members became numerous and constituted themselves into a corporation. This etymology, of course, does not help us in establishing their claim to royal descent and is clearly based on fancy. I have

¹ See above, p. 199, note 1.
² Mv. lxxx, v. 49.
³ Mv. lxxx, v. 37.

⁴ Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, vol. ii, p. 150.

The Pūjāvalī, chapter 34, edited by the Rev. Pandit Mābopitiye Medhamkara Thera, Colombo, 1932, p. 50.

6 A. S. C. Memoirs, vol. iv, p. 36.

⁷ P. T. S. edition, pp. 168 ff.

⁸ Colombo edition of 1923, p. 296.

elsewhere suggested that the word admits of a more reasonable, though less respectable, explanation¹. The SR² states that Ganaväsi and Lämäni were names of the same family and the author of the $P\bar{u}j\bar{a}val\bar{\imath}$ is described as a scion of the Mahāpāṇḍi family of the Gaṇaväsi clan3. The Rājaratnākaraya appears to treat the Moriya and the Mehenavara clans as being identical. From all these, it appears that there was much uncertainty regarding the constitution of these families or clans and that each of them was known by more than one name. As the Pūjāvalī definitely testifies that the Ganaväsi clan had a branch named Mahāpāňdi, it is not impossible that this clan as well as the Mehenavara had other branches of which the Girivamsa may have been one. But it must be admitted that there is no definite evidence to prove this. In the circumstances, the fact that Alakeśvara I was of the Girivamsa does not necessarily exclude him from either the Ganaväsi or the Mehenavara clan.

Much importance may be attached to the statement of the Niyamgampāya inscription that Alakeśvara I was a Vanik i.e. a Vaiśya. It may be argued that Alakeśvara could not, therefore, have had any connexion with the Ganaväsi or Mehenavara clans which were royal. It is true that these clans were considered to be royal in later times and identified with royal races of the earlier periods of Ceylon history. But, as has already been stated, no Sinhalese king before the time of this inscription can definitely be proved to have been a member of either of these two families. And their royal character seems to have been established by the fact that scions of these two families attained to positions of supreme power in the fourteenth century. The fact of one's being a Vaisya does not exclude him from being royal; some of the best known royal families of India were of Vaisya or even Śūdra origin. Vaisya, of course, would exclude kṣatriya; but neither the Gaṇaväsi nor the Meheṇavara clan is described definitely as ksatriya in the documents of the Gampola period. In this connexion it is important to note that the Mayūra Sandeśa, the purpose of which was to glorify Alakeśvara and Devamantrī, nowhere describes these dignitaries as ksatriyas, whereas Bhuvanaikabāhu is so eulogized. It might be objected that the acceptance of these two families as being descended from Mahinda's kinsmen implied their kṣatriya status. The originators of the two families were traditionally believed to be brothers of Mahinda's mother who was a daughter of a merchant of Vidiśā5. They were therefore Vaiśyas and those who claimed

¹ See above, p. 96, note 3.

³ Pūjāvalī, chapter 34, op. cit., p. 150.

⁵ Mv. xiii, v. 6 ff.

² Colombo edition of 1923, p. 276.

See Rājaratnākara, Colombo, 1907, pp. 51 ff.

descent from them could appropriately have been described as of the Vanikvamśa. It may also be mentioned that the term kṣatriya was loosely used in Ceylon, as there was no powerful Brahmin element to regulate claims of caste. Any one who happened to occupy the throne was necessarily a kṣatriya of either the Solar or the Lunar dynasty. As an example, it may be pointed out that the Nāyakkar princes who in their South Indian home were content to be good Śūdras had a sudden rise in the caste scale when they crossed Palk's Strait to occupy the Kandyan throne and were looked upon by the haughty Kandyan nobles as kṣatriyas of the Solar race.

If the present record be taken as one of Alakeśvara I, it might be asked why he, in the Niyamgampāya record, allowed it to be advertised that his family was really of Vaiśya origin, whereas in this inscription he has taken particular care to emphasize his noble origin. To this, it might be replied that, at the date of the Niyamgampāya record, Alakeśvara was certainly much less powerful than he was when this inscription was indited.

For these reasons I conclude that the statement of this inscription that Alakeśvara was descended from the Gaṇaväsi clan on his mother's side and from the Mehenavara clan on his father's is no obstacle to the identification of that minister with Alakeśvara I, if such identification be found necessary from other considerations.

Some scholars who attribute this record to Alakeśvara III in order to reconcile the family details given in the inscription with the data from literary works, take him at the same time to be a son of a sister of Alakeśvara I¹. If the mother of Alakeśvara III was a Gaṇaväsi lady and a sister of Alakeśvara I, it follows that the last named was also a scion of the Gaṇaväsi family, thereby proving exactly what these scholars wanted to avoid. Mr. Codrington, however, has realized the untenability of such a position and suggests that the word $b\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ —the term used in the SR to indicate the relationship between the two Alakeśvaras—should not in this case be taken to mean sister's son but must be taken as meaning either father's sister's son's son or mother's sister's daughter's son. The fact that the identification of the Alakeśvara of our record now accepted necessitates the interpretation of this relationship in such a roundabout way also throws doubt on its validity.

The Mayūra-sandesa can also be quoted in support of the prevailing

¹ For instance Dr. Wickremasinghe in E. Z., Vol. III, p. 35 and Mudaliyar Gunawardhana in his edition of the *Mayūra-sandeśa*, p. 76.

interpretation of this record. One of the stanzas of this poem 1 contains a prayer to the Devundara god to shower blessings on Alakeśvarā, the Apā and Dev-himi (Deva-mantrī). The stanza in question as it appears in Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana's edition of that poem, and in the edition of Välipaṭanvila Dipamkara Thera published in 1910, mentions these three persons by name, and then invokes the god to protect three dignitaries who were brothers ($tun-b\bar{a}$ himin). The Apā mentioned in this verse has been assumed to be Vīrabāhu Āpā who is known from the SR to have been a brother of Alakesvara III and who, as stated above, is described as a Mehenavara prince. The Alakeśvara of this inscription is said to have belonged to the Mehenavara family on his father's side and the Mayūra-sandeša, therefore, appears as an obstacle in taking him to be Alakeśvara I. Against this it may be stated that the Mayūra-sandeśa does not mention that Apa by name and the assumption that he is Vīrabāhu is based on the identification of the Alakesvara of this inscription with Alakesvara III. Moreover, in the edition of the poem published by Välipatanvila Dipamkara Thera in 1923, the lines mentioning the three brothers form part of another stanza and are not found in that in which Alakeśvara, Devamantrī and the Apā are mentioned by name. And this editor assures us that the text adopted by him here is based on two old manuscripts. In view of the confusion thus prevailing in the text of the Mayūra-sandeśa it is, I think, unsafe to depend on that poem in settling the identity of our Alakeśvara. An earlier stanza2 of the poem also refers to three brothers whom, among others, the god Vibhīsana is asked to protect. They are mentioned immediately after the king and queen and there is in this place no mention of Alakeśvara, Devamantrī or the Apa. From this context, one may infer that the three in question were brothers of the king himself.

In the manuscripts of the Mayūra-sandesa, the first mentioned of these two stanzas is very badly preserved, and it is not our purpose here to decide which of the published texts is preferable. Even assuming that the text as published by Mudaliyar Gunawardhana and by Dīpamkara Thera in his earlier edition is correct, there is no necessity to take it that the Alakeśvara

¹ No. 154 in Mudaliyar Gunawardhana's edition (Colombo, 1928); No. 162 in the edition of Välipatanvila Dīpamkara Thera (Colombo, 1923) and No. 150 in the edition of the latter published in 1910.

No. 39 in Mudaliyar Gunawardhana's edition; No. 38 in Valipaṭanvila Dīpamkara Thera's edition of 1923 and No. 37 in that of 1910.

mentioned therein as Alakeśvara III. Such an inference is necessary only if it can be proved that the Äpā mentioned in the verse can be no other than Vīrabāhu Äpā; but the poem contains nothing to warrant such a conclusion. On the supposition that our inscription mentions Alakeśvara I, Devamantrī has to be taken as one of his brothers; and a second brother named Arthanāyaka is known from the Elu Attanagaluvamsa. He, however, is not referred to as an Äpā; but before basing any conclusions on this negative evidence, it must first be established, on the authority of reliable manuscripts, that the particular text of the relevant stanza in the Mayūra-sandeśa is trustworthy.

Before the discovery of the Ampitiya-rock inscription1, this record was the earliest document mentioning Senkadagala, now well known as Kandy. We also learn from these two records that long before the city gained political importance, it enjoyed a reputation as a seat of the god Nātha whose temple is still one of the most important among the many shrines at the place. I have elsewhere 2 proved that the god Nātha is the same as the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, to whom at one time most of the Buddhist world owed allegiance and who still commands the veneration of millions of devotees in China, Japan, Tibet, and Nepal. Nāgasa-deviyo (the god of the Nā-tree), who figures here in the company of Nātha and is a joint beneficiary with regard to the lands granted by this document, has no such respectable antecedents and he seems to be no more than one among the myriads of devas who, according to the beliefs of the Sinhalese Buddhists, haunt every tree of remarkable size and hoary age found in the country-side. The nā (mesua ferrea) is considered to be a tree particularly fancied by devas of this class in the selection of suitable abodes for themselves and their families.

The village of Saputala, in which the lands granted by this document were situated, is still known as Haputalē, and adjoins to the north and west the stretch of paddy fields in which the inscribed stone is found. The fields in question are now considered, for administrative purposes, to belong to the village of Nugaliyadda, but I was told that some years ago the boundaries of Haputalē included this area as well. Sagama, of which Saputala formed a part in the fourteenth century, is no longer recognized as a separate territorial unit for administrative purposes; but, as has already been noted, the adjoining temple still bears that name.

² See C. J. Sc. G., vol. ii, pp 52-64.

TEXT 1.

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- 1 [සූ]සැදි පිරිවත් (නිලික්)ත් රිවිකුල නිල
- 2 ක තුසිංහලාධීවෙර නවරත්නාඛ්පති ලී
- 3 භූවයෙන කබාහු රාජොනතමයහට නව[ව]
- 4 නු සකලගුණමණිනිබජලනිබ් පුශයනශ
- 5 කතිබර නණමුබ පරනාරීපරාබමුඛ ශුිබොබ් වඩා (සැපැ)
- 6 [මි]ණ් ගණවැසිකුල මාතෘවශ පිතෘවශ මෙණවරකුල මෙ පුග
- 7 දූගණබර [සු]රිණබර දිවාකර නිශාකර ලෙසින් ලො එකලු ක
- 8 ල සිරිනුදුල අලකෙපෙර දෙවමනනුි පවර දෙබැය
- 9 න් මේ ලක්දිව ලොසසුන්[වැ]ඩ සඳහා කරන උත්සාහය
- 10 ව පිහිට වැසවපනයෙන් පෙනී ජයකාරණ දක්වා ශ² ශ
- 11 තුැපසම අපරපසම චනුයා සෙ මිතුපසම පූව්පසම
- 12 ච කුයා සෙ [ක]රවමින් මෙ[සෙ දෙ]වනාපුසාදයෙන් ලං
- 13 කාව එකානපතු කොට න[නා] සකල අභි[වෘ]ඞ් කළ හෙ
- 14 යින් සෙන්කඩගලැ නාථසාමින්ටත් නාශස රදවිය
- 15 න්ටත් මෙ අමාතෙතාතත[ම] දෙදෙනාගෙ නමින් නිරනතරයෙ
- 16 න් පාබත් පුදන ලෙසට ස**ග**ම බද සපුනලගම කුමබූ $[\delta_l]$
- 17 කිජුවට දෙයාළ දසාමුණක් හා මෙහි බද ගම්මුදල ග
- 18 [සකො]ළ වල්පිට ඇ[තුළුවූ] තැන් ඉරසඥපමුණු කොටැ
- 19 [දුන් මෙ]ගමට ඉදිරියෙ රජ පූචරජ මහණමැති ආදි තම
- 20 [තමන්ව] වැඩ කැමැති තැන් විසින් දෙවාලයට ම චිරාත්
- 21 කාලයක් පවත්වා ලිය පුතු

TRANSCRIPT.

Śrī³

- 1 [Su]sädi sirivat n(ili)-k(i)t4 rivi-kula-tila-
- 2 -ka Tri-Simhaļādhīśvara navaratnādhipati Śrī
- 3 Bhuvanaikabāhu rājottamayahaṭa f nava[va]-

¹ See plate No. 28, facing page 295.

Superfluous.

In B.'s text this word has been wrongly included in the first line.

⁴ Bt. (nirindu-kot). The four syllables between sirivat and rivikula do not admit of a reading free from doubt.

⁶ Bt. Simhalādhīśvara.

⁶ Bt. rājottama-vahansē.

- -nu¹ sakala-guna-mani-nidhi²-jalanidhi³ prasasta-sa-
- -ktidhara-şanmukha paranārī-parānmukha Śrī-Bodhi vadā (sapä)-
- -[mi]ni Ganaväsi -kula mātr-vamsa pitr-vamsa Menavara-kula me yuga
- Yugandhara S[u]rindhara divākara niśākara lesin lo ekalu ka-
- -la sirin zudula 10 Alakeśvara Devamantriśvara de bava-11
- -n me Lakdiva lo-sasun-[vä]da sandahā karana utsāhaya-
- -ta pihita vä 12 svapnayen 13 penī 14 jaya-kārana 16 dakvā 16 śa 17 śa-10
- -tru¹⁸-pakṣa apara-pakṣa candrayā se¹⁹ mitra-pakṣa pūrva-pakṣa 11
- candrayā se19 [ka]ravamin20 me[se de]vatā-prasādayen21 Lam-12
- 13 -kāva ekātapatra kotä²² ta[nā]²³ sakala abhi-v[r]ddhi kala he-
- -yin Senkadagalä²⁴ Nātha-sā[mi]ntat nāgasa deviya-14
- 15 -nţat me amattotta[ma] de-denage²⁵ namin nirantaraye-
- -n pā-bat pudana lesaţa Sagama bada Saputala-gama kumbur[u²6] 16
- bijuvaţa de-yāla27 dasāmuņak hā mehi bada gam-mudala ga-17
- -[sako]la28 val-pita ä[tuļu vū] tän ira-sanda-pamuņu koţä 18
- [dun me]²⁹ gamaţa idiriye raja yuvaraja maha-ämäti³⁰ ādi tama 19
- ¹ Bt. (agramātya). B. also has ignored the first letter of line 4. In the word navavanu, the second and third aksaras are not very well preserved; but the reading admits of no doubt.
 - ² Bt. guni-nidhi.
- Bt. jala-nidhi.
- 4 Bt. (purandara)-pramukha.

⁵ Bt. pämini.

- 6 Bt. Ganavāsi.
- Bt. Isadhara evidently meant for Isadhara, a reading which would be appropriate to the ⁸ Bt. nisākara. context but is, however, not supported by the letters visible on the stone.
 - B. has a ka at the end of line 7 and another at the beginning of line 8.
- ¹⁰ Bt. udula which is in keeping with modern spelling, but is not supported by what is visible on the stone.
- ¹¹ B. reads debā sanda. The last letter of this word as appearing in the facsimile can, in fact, be taken for the ligature nda but this symbol in the words sandahā (l. 10) and candrayā (l. 11) does not resemble the first akṣara of line 10. I have therefore adopted the above reading which is grammati-12 Bt. pihitava. cally more feasible than B.'s reading.
- 13 On the stone the letter na in this word is not attached to the preceding consonant as it should 14 Bt. peņī. 15 Bt. kāranaya. have been.
 - 17 This syllable is superfluous and is treated as a clerical error. 16 Bt. (śaktava). 19 Bt. sē.
 - 18 B. reads the syllable tr at the end of line 10.
 - 20 Bt. salasamin.
- 21 Bt. me(se devatā prasādayen).
- 23 Bt. (tanā). 22 Bt. koja.
- 24 Bt. -gala.
- 25 Bt. ämätto taman dedenāge.

26 Bt. kumbura.

- 27 Bt. yāla.
- 28 Bt. gahakola.
- 29 Bt. di (mema).

80 Bt. mahā-ämali,

ķγ.

- 20 [tamanța]1 väda kämäti2 tän visin devālayața ma3 cirāt-
- 21 kālayak pavatvā liya yutu

TRANSLATION'.

Prosperity! In the ninth year of the pre-eminent king Śrī Bhuvanaikabāhu in whom Fame abode just as Fortune was well attached [to him]⁵, who is the ornament of the Solar dynasty, the supreme Lord of the three Simhalas and the possessor of the Nine Gems.

The two brothers Alakeśvara and Devamantriśvara, being mines for the gems which are virtues, are [comparable to] the Ocean; being the bearers of extolled power or spears are [comparable to] the Six-faced (God Skanda)⁶; [they] have their faces averted from the women [belonging to] others; [their] mother's lineage is the Gaṇaväsi family which arrived [in this island] bringing the sacred Bodhi [tree]; their father's lineage is the Meṇavara⁷ family and [they] are radiant with a glory which fully illuminated these two [families as well as the whole] world just as the Sun and the Moon [illuminate the mountains] Yugandhara and Surindhara⁸.

In the endeavour which is being made by these two brothers for the benefit of the State and the Church⁹ in Lakdiva¹⁰ Lord Nātha of Senkadagala

³ B. omits ma.

¹ B. gives these four aksaras as if they were well preserved.

² Bt. kämati.

^{&#}x27;As is usual in the epigraphs of this period, the whole document is one sentence. Lest the translation be too cumbersome, I have broken it up into convenient paragraphs.

⁵ Susadi sirivat nili kit: the restoration of this phrase being conjectural, the above translation is only tentative. In sirivat, I have taken the suffix vat to mean 'like' and not 'having' or 'possessing'. Nili is interpreted as derived from Skt. nilāyita.

[•] Śaktidhara sanmukha: In this we have a pun on the word śakti which means 'power' as well as 'spear'. Śakti-dhara is a name of Skanda as his weapon is a spear. Alakeśvara is called śakti-dhara as he wielded power. Alakeśvara, therefore, is comparable to Skanda.

⁷ 'Mehenavara' is a variant form of this name found in Sinhalese literature.

⁶ 'Yugandhara' is the name of one of the seven circles of mountains which, according to Indian cosmography, surrounded the mountain of Meru. Judging from the context, 'Surindhara' also must be one of these seven mythical ranges of mountains, but no such name is anywhere met with. The mention of Meru would be appropriate for the simile used and it may perhaps be conjectured that Surindhara is for Surandhara, a name for Meru coined by the writer of the document, so as to rhyme with Yugandhara. Surandhara may be interpreted to mean 'the bearer of the (world of) gods'. According to Indian cosmography, the abode of the gods rests on Mount Meru.

[•] Lo-sasun = Skt. loka-śāsana. See, E. Z., Vol. III, p. 324, note 7.

¹⁰ Lakdiva = Sk. Lamkādvipa, i.e. the island of Ceylon.

ψ¥.

and the God of the Nā-tree came to their assistance, appeared to them in a dream and pointed out the means of victory, causing the hostile party [to decline] like the moon in the second half of the lunar month and the friendly party [to flourish] like the moon in the first half of the lunar month; thus, with divine favour [they] made Lamkā [subject to the authority of] one umbrella and caused everything to prosper.

In consideration thereof, fields of the sowing capacity of two yālas¹ and ten amunas¹ of seed (paddy), in the village of Saputala comprised in Sagama, and properties included in the house-sites of the village², plantations, and jungle³ appertaining to this were granted as a free-hold enduring so long as the Sun and Moon last⁴, so that bowls of cooked rice⁵ may be incessantly offered in the names of these two noble ministers to the [gods above named].

In connexion with this estate⁶ thus granted, it should be maintained for long as belonging to the shrine of the god, by kings, sub-kings, great ministers and other dignitaries of the future who desire their own prosperity.

¹ For yāļa and amuņa, see E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 183 and 189.

² Gam-mudala: This compound has been translated as 'village-revenue' by Mr. Codrington (E. Z., Vol. III, p. 240). In the Sinhalese rock-inscription at Lamkātilaka, dated in the third year of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV, we find the expression gam-mundala gasa-koļa val-piļa (l. 18) and in the Tamil inscription at the same place dealing with the same grants as the Sinhalese record, the corresponding expression is kādu tenna-maram . . . mā-p-puli-y-ullitla tōppukkaļum ūrnattakkaļum. The three items occurring in the Sinhalese record are enumerated in the reverse order in the Tamil document and the latter also specifies different kinds of trees included in the Sinhalese term gasa-koļa. The word corresponding to gam-mudala in Sinhalese is ūr-nattam in Tamil, which means 'house-sites of the village', see Tamil Lexicon, s.v. I have therefore adopted the rendering given above. See also Codrington, Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon, Colombo, 1938, p. 35, foot-note.

in Ceylon, p. 8 and E. Z., Vol. III, pp. 233 and 238, note r. In the Lamkātilaka Tamil inscription, kādu stands for val-piṭa of the Sinhalese record. In the unpublished Vēragama sannasa of Vijayabāhu VI, we meet with the expressions: mema gama santakin paļamu siṭa bhukti vinda ā kandē val-piṭin niyama kaļa koraţu sēnē galkona hā and satara mā-imaṭa ātuļat vū sariyat gama val-piṭin bhāgayakut. From a comparison of the different contexts in which the word occurs, it may be stated that val-piṭa signified the jungle adjoining a village, which the villagers periodically cleared and cultivated and used for other communal purposes.

⁴ Ira-sanda-pamuņu. For pamuņu, see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 276, note 3.

⁵ $P\bar{a}$ -bat: This word occurs in the Dimbulāgala inscription of Sundara-mahādevī (Ca, Vol. III, p. 7). Dr. Wickremasinghe in his edition of that inscription reads the word as $y\bar{a}$ -bat and refuses to admit $p\bar{a}$ -bat as correct, until another example is cited, on the plea that it is a novel expression (E. Z., Vol. II, p. 19). The reading $p\bar{a}$ -bat in the present inscription is free from doubt, and the word also occurs in the SR, Colombo edition of 1913, p. 490.

[•] For the interpretation of gama as 'estate', see E. Z., Vol. III, p. 276, note 1.

No. 39. TEXT OF THE TIRIYAY ROCK-INSCRIPTION.

By B. Ch. Chhabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (Lugd.), Ootacamund.

OME time back I contributed a note to the *Epigraphia Indica*¹, concerning the text of the Tiriyāy Rock-Inscription which has been edited by Mr. (now Dr.) S. Paranavitana². It has been shown therein that the inscription is neither 'fragmentary' nor 'in prose' as held by the learned Editor, but that it is almost entire and is wholly in verse except perhaps the eleventh or the last line, the first ten lines containing each a stanza in the *Nardaṭaka* metre. This observation was based on the text presented by Dr. Paranavitana as well as on the plate accompanying his paper. I could then also suggest some additions and alterations in the given text.

Later on an inked estampage of this huge inscription was kindly made available to me by Mr. A. H. Longhurst, Archaeological Commissioner in Ceylon, Colombo, through Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. That has enabled me to study the record more closely and to make out its text more accurately. I, however, regret that, the estampage being much worn out through use, it has not been possible for me to restore the text completely. Even some of the deciphered portions are open to question. Still I venture to offer here my reading of the epigraph, believing that the present attempt will be found an appreciable improvement upon the previous one.

To the remarks made in my note referred to above I may now add that even the eleventh line contains a stanza which is in the $Upaj\bar{a}ti$ metre. Thus the whole inscription, except the phrase $abh\bar{a}va-svabh\bar{a}v\bar{a}s > sarvva-dharmm\bar{a}h$ at the end, is decidedly in verse. It may further be noticed that sandhi has not been observed in certain cases, e.g. $bhagav\bar{a}n\ tad$ (ll. 5, 6), that the forms of final t, n, and m are so indicated by their smaller size, and that there are several superfluous marks of punctuation in the inscription. This will be clear from the footnotes to the transcript given below, where some more peculiarities have also been pointed out.

The altered reading must necessitate several changes in Dr. Paranavitana's interpretation of the record. A few instances may be cited here. The fifth stanza has been fully deciphered. The sense of its first quarter, where bimbadharo has been read instead of Buddhāmkuro, is now quite clear. It refers to a well-known attribute of Avalokiteśvara: 'who carries in his tiara a shining

¹ Vol. xxiii, pp. 196-197.

² E. Z., Vol. IV, pp. 151-160 and plate.

image of the Mahāmuni (the Buddha)'. It may, in passing, be remarked that the word mañju-vāg- (l. 6), which has been rendered as 'of sweet speech', is like Mañjusvara and Mañjughosa 1, another appellation of the youthful Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. The expression that follows the name Mañjuvāg describes him as 'one who dispels passion, vice, and sorrow'. The line thus does not contain the doubtful term dahara or dahra. Moreover, it is now evident that the Girikandi-caitya was the abode of the triad; the lord Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, and Mañjuśrī. Finally, attention may be drawn to the two names applied to the merchants' groups who are stated in the inscription to have built the Girikandicaitya. They have been made out as Trapussaka and Vallika, whereas I read them as Trapūssaka and Vallikaka. According to Dr. Paranavitana they 'seem to be corruptions of Trapusa and Bhallika, the names of the two merchants who offered food to the Buddha immediately after his enlightenment'. That they cannot be 'corruptions' is shown below. Furthermore, he holds the persons Trapussaka and Vallika to be identical with Trapusa and Bhallika. This implies that the Girikandi-caitya was built in Ceylon during the very lifetime of the Buddha, which is simply incredible. It may be pointed out that each of the two names in the inscription has the plural termination by which more than two persons are meant. Dr. Paranavitana passes over this difficulty by assuming that the terms 'would be applicable to them (i.e. Trapuşa and Bhallika) and to the merchants who accompanied them', which is not likely. It will be seen that in the present text the names Trapūssaka and Vallikaka show each an additional ka at the end as compared with the original terms Trapusa and Bhallika. Usually in corrupt forms elimination and not addition of certain syllables is noticeable. Hence the forms in question may not be corruptions. It is, I think, better to take Trapūssa and Vallika as variants of Trapușa and Bhallika and the final ka in the former as a suffix indicating similitude². We may thus have no difficulty in explaining the plural termination, nor are we forced to conclude that the Girikandi-caitya dates from the time of the Buddha. It is, on the other hand, more natural to suppose that the inscription was caused to be incised by the very merchants who are said to have established the shrine, and that in their devotional ardour they compared themselves to the two merchants,

¹ For these two names see Index to Saddharma-pundarīka, translated by H. Kern in Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxi.

² Compare Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, samjñāyām ca 5. 3. 97, or as Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit kindly suggests, the expression may mean 'followers of Trapūssa and Vallika'.

Trapuşa and Bhallika, famed in the Buddhist scriptures. Thus the closing decades of the seventh century or the first half of the eighth, the date assigned to the inscription, may be the approximate date of the shrine as well.

TEXT

[Metres: vv. 1-10 Nardaţaka; v. 11 Upajāti, being a combination of Vamsastha and Upendravajrā.]

- 1 Avirata-bhakti-yukta-hṛdayair/avadāta-guṇaiḥ
 prathamatara-pradāna-guṇa-[mūrtti]bhir/eka-gurau
 bhagavati Śākya-rāja-tilake Sugate sutarām/
 adhigata-dhātu[ge] jvalati sammukham/eva [munau ?] [1*]
- 2 [Ša]lilanidhi-prayāṇa-caturaiḥ kraya-vikrayibhiḥ l
 bahu-vidha-yāṇapātra-paripūrita-bha(bhā)ṇḍa-śataih l
 kuśala-vaśāt-sahāya-nija-devatay-ā[pi sa]dā
 bhavati [bha]viṣyad-alpa-[Girika]ṇḍikam-ity-udite || [2*]
- 3 [Sali]lanidhis/taha(taḥ?) samavatīryya sameta-guņaiḥr/
 upagata-nāga-rāja-sabhi(hi)tair/upaśāntatarais/
 ta[d/ap]i vaṇig-gaṇaiḥ kṛtam/idam pravibhāti mudā
 vara-Girika[ṇḍi-c]aityam/iti yat/prathitam/bhuvane || [3*]

¹ This letter is undoubtedly an initial a, though its upper part looks blurred on the impression.

² A superfluous stroke is seen hanging down from the middle of the *bha*, which may in fact be a natural crack on the stone.

³ The visarga is not very clear. The danda following it is not necessary.

⁴ The rock shows a slightly slanting fissure which issues from the lower end of the ta and runs down across the next three lines.

⁵ The au-mātrā in rau is not clear. On the impression it looks more like o-mātrā.

[•] Between the syllables jva and la occurs a big crack which runs across the first three lines.

⁷ The close of each stanza in this inscription is marked by a triangular sign as is clearly seen below in lines 4-6 and 10. Traces of similar signs are discernible also in lines 1-3 though here they appear linked up by a vertical line running across them.

[•] While the sa is not clear, there are traces of two superfluous syllables before it.

[•] The danda is unnecessary. Read obhir bahu-.

¹⁰ The reading devatayeapi sadā is not certain. The following danda is unnecessary.

¹¹ The sign between dhī and sta has been taken to be that for anunāsika.

¹⁸ The visarga is redundant.

¹⁸ The ta has a scratch over it.

¹⁴ The ā-strokes in -nāga-rāja are not very clear.

¹⁸ Read oraih | tade. The tain stais faint.

- 4 0000-0-[sa?]kalamsāvṛta[msamb]uruha-1
 prakara-kṛt-opahāra-rucir-āmgaṇa-bhūmi-talam1
 satatamsabhiprasanna-nara-maṇḍala-bhakti-natam
 vari(ra)-Girikaṇḍi-caityamsabhinamya karomi natim(tim) | [4*]
- 5 Maku[ṭa]-maṇau kṛta-sphuṭa-Mahāmuni-bimba-dharo 1 nivasati yatra siddha-sura-kinnara-pūjyatamaḥ 1 gurur Avalokiteśvara iti prathito bhagavān tad ahar-ahar namāmi Girikaṇḍika-caityam aham 1 [5*]
- 6 Munirsapi Mañjuvāgsmadana-doṣa-viṣāda-haraḥ
 kanaka-vibhūṣaṇ-ojva(jjva)la-vicitrita-gātra-rucirs
 nniyatamsupaiti yatra sukumāra-tanursbhagavān
 tadsahamsapi praṇaumi Girikaṇḍika-caitya-varam || [6*]
- 7 Surasarid-abja-parnna-puṭa-pūrita-gandha-jalāḥ
 kara-bhṛta-puṣpa-dhūpa-manidīpa-nivedya-dharāḥ l
 sa-lali(li)tam-amganās-surapurād-avatīryya mudā
 vidadhati pūjanām bhagavato Girikandi-juṣaḥ ll [7*]
- 8 Surapatir/apy/aneka-parivāra-sur-ānugataḥ sa-laļi(li)ta-divya-śamkha-paṭaham praṇidhana-gataḥ I

¹ The first eight letters of this line are entirely lost.

² This danda is unnecessary.

³ A little space has been left blank between -harah and kanaka-.

⁴ A danda is visible after -ruci. Read -rucih/ni°.

⁵ The *u-mātrā* in the *ku* is not clear.

⁶ Between -jalāḥ and kara- some space has been left unengraved.

While the syllable ssu is not very clear, the following ra is partly covered by the crack which runs below the next six letters.

⁸ The \bar{a} -stroke in the $r\bar{a}$ is not clear.

[•] Between pra and ni there occurs a crack which extends down in the next line where it separates ka and lpi of the word kalpita.

¹⁹ The visarga is not very clear.

surataru-sambhav-ārdra-kusuma-prakaram vikiran vara-Girikandike pranipatan/kurute sukrtam(tam) | [8*]

- 9 Pratidinam zarcca (rcya) mānam zah [i] bh [i] rzaneka-śa [taiḥ]
 4 aviraļa (la)-Simghale (hale) ndra-jana-kalpita-pūjya-śa [tam] vişaya-niri (rī) ti-kāraņam zupāsitam zāryya-śatair aham zapi pūjayāmi Girikandi-gatam Sugata [m] (tam) [119]
- 10 Sakala-tamo-paham/bhagavato da[śa] -
 vara-Girikaṇḍi-caitya[m] prati nimna-dhiyā i

 v nuvatām/a- yad/abhavat/kusalam/pracitam/
 bhavatu bhav-ābdhi-duḥkha-parihi(hī)ṇam/anena jagat || [10*]
- ¹ A superfluous danda is faintly visible after vikiran.
- ² Dr. Paranavitana reads here *pratidinam/arccamāna*[*m*] *mahā-girau*, but that does not seem to be correct, because it does not fit in with the metre. Moreover, what he reads as *rau* is clearly *ra*. This line of the metre appears to be short of one short syllable.
- ³ The letters ne and ka are separated by a crack which runs downwards across the next line separating there da and $\lceil ka \rceil$.
- This letter is clearly an initial a. If the reading of the previous word is right, then we may read -sataireavirala.
- ⁵ There is a big scratch here, which covers the letter following δa and runs horizontally up to the top of the next vi. A little space below the scratch is left uninscribed.
 - This pa looks more like pi.
- While śa can partly be made out, the next four letters are completely obliterated. After bhagavato there was perhaps Dasabhūmi or Dasabhūmiga which is an epithet of the Buddha.
 - * This letter has been rendered obscure by the crack over it.
- ⁹ The second of these two syllables looks like ti. It can also be ga or sa. The probable reading is iti.
- The crack which has also partly covered the preceding two aksaras has obscured this one very much.
 - 11 A superfluous danda is discernible after ta.
 - ¹² A scratch is seen below va.
 - ¹⁸ The \bar{a} -stroke in $v\bar{a}$ has been covered by a crack over it.
 - 14 The visarga is not quite clear.
 - 15 This na also looks like ne.

11 Kṛta-prati[jñai] o ma - o - - 1

O-O-O-O-yana |

Trapūssakair Vvallikakair vvanig-ganaih

kṛtam kṛ[t-ārthai?]r Girikandi-caityam || [11*]

Abhāva-svabhāvās sarvva dharmmāh

NOTE BY EDITOR.

The rock-inscription at Tiriyāy is badly weather-worn. In every line of it there are considerable gaps where no letters are visible and what is left on either side clearly proves that some of these gaps are due to the disappearance of the writing which originally was there. As such, the assumption that all the gaps are due to the defacing of the writing is quite natural and the reading of the record on that assumption does not reveal that it is in verse. The fact that the record is written in a metre which, though explained in books on Sanskrit prosody, occurs very rarely in literature, has also acted as an obstacle in recognizing that the inscription is in verse. In the circumstances, the sagacity of Dr. Chhabra in recognizing that most of the gaps are due to the engraver avoiding such parts of the rock as were unsuitable for writing upon, while others are a result of the defacement of the writing, is really to be admired. There is no doubt now that the document is in Sanskrit verse and the recognition of that fact has enabled Dr. Chhabra to guess at the correct reading in many places where the letters are not well preserved.

Dr. Chhabra's effort has given us as satisfactory a text as is possible of this interesting record, which undoubtedly is a matter for gratification. But it is doubtful whether, as Dr. Chhabra states, this clarification of the reading necessitates several changes in my original interpretation of this document. He gives two instances where he thinks that such alterations are called for. The first is that there is a reference to the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in the word Mañju-vāk in

Only the first four letters of this line of the verse are clear. The remaining seven or eight are rather obscure. The seventh akṣara is clearly ma.

² The preceding ten syllables have been destroyed.

³ This ka is not very clear.

⁴ The stone is chipped off a little to the right side of ni.

⁵ The \bar{a} -strokes in this portion are not very clear. VOL. 1V.

verse 6. Mañju-vāk, of course, is well known as a name of Mañjuśrī but it may be doubted whether the term muni occurring in the same verse is quite appropriate in referring to a Bodhisattva. However this may be, it is quite possible that we have here a mention of Mañjuśrī, but this fact is of minor importance, for the Mahāyānistic character of the record was fully realized by me in my paper on it.

More important is Dr. Chhabra's other suggestion that the two companies of merchants named Trapūssaka and Vallikaka are not to be identified with Trapuşa and Bhallika and their followers who gave the first meal to the Buddha, but are to be taken as some merchants who built the shrine at Tiriyay shortly before this inscription was engraved. The slight alterations in these two names suggested by him are acceptable but they are not material to the question at issue. Dr. Chhabra also objects to the treatment of the forms Trapūssaka and Vallikaka as corruptions of Trapusa and Bhallika and prefers to take them as variations. For the question under consideration it is immaterial whether they are corruptions or variations, for he himself admits that the words Trapūssaka and Vallikaka are connected with Trapuşa and Bhallika. But he conjectures that the merchants referred to in the inscription are so named because they, in their devotional ardour, compared themselves to Trapuşa and Bhallika. bases this assumption on the suffix ka occurring in both names which he thinks indicates similitude. But, as Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit has pointed out, the grammatical analysis of the expression Trapūssakair Vallikakair vanig-ganaih suggests that it means 'the followers of Trapūssa and Vallika'. Dr. Chhabra, himself, admits this interpretation. If the expression means 'the followers of Trapūssa and Vallika' and if the two latter names are variations of Trapuşa and Bhallika, the designations of the two merchants who were contemporaries of the Buddha, it is difficult to understand how Dr. Chhabra can maintain his theory that Trapūssaka and Vallikaka were merchants who flourished in the seventh century or so. If he means some merchants of the seventh century who followed Trapusa and Bhallika in the same way as a person of today is a follower of the Buddha, for instance, this would imply that these two merchants were the founders of a religious sect or school. There is no evidence whatever for such The expression can very legitimately be rendered as 'the a conclusion. companies of merchants who were followers of Trapūssa and Vallika'. In Buddhist legends, Trapușa and Bhallika are each represented as having had a following of 500 merchants on the occasion of their meeting with the Buddha. Neither the suffix ka nor the plural termination therefore should stand in the way of my interpretation.

Dr. Chhabra objects to the implication that the Girikandi-caitya was built in Ceylon during the very lifetime of the Buddha which he characterizes as 'simply incredible'. But the rejection of his explanation does not force one to believe this any more than we are to believe the modern Burmese Buddhists when they assert that their Shwe Dagon was built during the lifetime of My interpretation of the record does not imply that the Girikandi-caitya was, as a matter of historical fact, built during the time of the Buddha. It only implies that certain Sinhalese Buddhists believed so in the seventh century, and there is nothing incredible in that. The Sinhalese Pūjāvalī of the thirteenth century records the tradition that the merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka came to Ceylon and built a stūpa enshrining the hairrelics of the Buddha at a place called Girihandu. The Sinhalese form Girihandu is identical with Sanskrit Girikandika; thus the belief that a Girikandika Caitya was built in Ceylon during the lifetime of the Buddha existed in the thirteenth century. This tradition cannot, as it is in fact, by Dr. Chhabra, be completely ignored in the interpretation of the record.

At Tiriyāy there are pre-Christian Brāhmī inscriptions indicating that, as a Buddhist vihāra, the site goes back to a very great antiquity and though these do not furnish evidence to prove that the stūpa in its present form was existing when the Brāhmī inscriptions were indited, they furnish cause for doubt regarding Dr. Chhabra's conclusion that the shrine called Girikandi was founded in the seventh or eighth century by the companies of merchants named in the inscription.

INDEX

a for ā (Skt. āgata), 171. ā (Skt. āgala), 171. -ä, loc. term., 120. abad-vū, 179. Abagamaya, 133. abahay, 138. Abā Salamevan, 38. Abaviya, 217. Abhā Maharad, 181, 184, 185. Abha Salamevan, 60, 80 n. 24, 181, 187, 189, 190, 246-248, 250, 251 Abhā Salamevan Kalyāņavatī, 79, 80, 256. Abhā Sirisangbo, 181, 184, 185. Abhaya, 36, 130, 140 n. 4, 185 n. 2. abhayadāna, 25. Abhayagiri, 45 n. 6, 111, 113, 136, 139, 140 n. 7, 149, 273, 274, 280, 281. Abhayagiri - mahāvihāra, 277, 278, 282. Abhayanaga, 226, 227. Abhaya Salamevan, 36, 42, 46, 256, 258. Abhaya Salamevan Kalyanavatī, 256, 258. Abhaya Silamegha, 192. Abhaya Sirisanghabodhi, 185 n. 6. Abhayaväva, 76. Abhidhamma, 70, 107. Abhidhānappadīpikā, 46, 86. abi, 228 n. I. Acabalana, 114. Adam's Peak. See also Samantakūţa, 10, 96, 269 n. 6. Adasana, 139-141. adaya, 222. adhikāra, 103. Adhikāra-sluice, 79, 81. adhikāri, 75, 79, 80. adi, 217. adikāra, 25. Adikāriya, 11. Adipāda Dāthāsīva, 171 Ādittiya, 207, 211. admanā, 37, 41, 44, 46-49. adukku, 29. ägä, 259. ägä-house, 259 n. 5. agana, 134. Agbo Mugayin Varadāņa, 187, 189, 190. Agboyā Raksamaņa, 189, 190. Aggabodhi I, 113 n. 3. Aggabodhi II, 113 n. 3. agghiya, 259 n. 5. Agivadamana tank, 126. Agrawala (Mr. V. S.), 235 n. I. Aiyangar, Krishnaswami, 302 1. 4. ājñā-murittu-dada, 29, 32. ājflapti, 62. ak, 44 n. 4. aka, 37, 38, 42, 45-48. akara-karavīma, 25. akkha, 47. aksara, 13, 28, 30, 35, 60, Anīkanga, 5 n. 1, 76.

117, 121, 123 n. 5, 124, 129, 144, 146, 150, 170, 174 n. 1, 223, 271. aksarāļi, 2, 8 n. 2. Alagakkonāra. See also Alakeśvara, 298. Alakeśvara I, 97, 108 n. 1, 272, 298-307, 309, 310. Alakesvara II (Kumāra Alakeśvara), 299, 300. Alakeśvara III (Vīra Alakeśvara), 298-301, 305-307. alamala, 134. Alavala, 99. Alavatura, 97. Albuquerque, 19. alhaka, 46, 47. ali, 217. Älleväva, 181. ālola, 284. Aludeniya, 100, 105. Alut Badalgoda, 77. Alutgama, 28, 32, 33. Alutnuvara in Kägalla District, 12, 13, 21, 261, 263, 265. Alutnuvara in Uva Province, 202. Alutnuvara Devale, 261, 302. aluvaļa, 282, 284. Amaragiri, 302. Amaragiri-vamsa, 303. Amarāvatī, 97, 98, 156, 229, amāttottama, 309. amātya, 291. amāvāsyā, 291, 295 n. 2. Amavatura, 258 n. 9, 260 n. 3. Ambagamuva, 66 n. 2. Ämbäkka or Ambäkka, 99, 105, 109. Ambalantoța, 156. Ambalavā, 207, 211. Ambasthala Cetiya, 146, 152, 170, 242. ambikā, 228 n. 1. Ämbilimīgama, 99. Ämbulmīgama, 99, 105, 109. Ambulugala Rāja, 9 n. 1. amete, 237. Amete Isigiraye, 230. ameti, 291. amevesi, 291, 295. amevisi, 295 n. 2. amga-hāni, 268. ammana, 47. Ampitiya, 271, 272, 307. Ampitiye Maddegama, 271, 273. amuna, 46, 47, 49, 80, 81, 104, 105, 107-109, 189, 190, 309, 311. -an, 35. -ana, 130, 276. ananata, 282 n. 4, 284. Ananda, 68, 71, 72. ananu (Skt. anyonya), 282, 284. ananyam, 8 n. 3. Āndhra, 97, 242, 274, 275.

105 n. I, 114 n. 5, 116, antarabhogika-rāja, 108 n. I. Asaļ, 65. antarāla, 98. Anula, 135 n. 1, 228 n. 1. Anulabi, 224, 227, 228. anumodan vä, 167 n. 1. anunāsika, 146, 170. anunia, 285. Anura Attara, 105, 109. Anurādhapura, 34, 38, n. 7, 45 n. 3, 59, 62, 66 n. 6, 82 n. 2, 86, 111-114, 125, 127, 128, 134, 136, 143, 144, 149, 151, 172, 185 n. 11, 187, 190 n. 7, 198, 215, 216, 218, 222 11. 7, 224-226, 235, 247 n. 6, 253, 260 n. 3, 273, 278, 281, 287. Anurādhapura District, 135 n. 1, 147 n. 8, 148, 215, 223, 228 11. 4. Anurādhapura Museum, 82 12. 2. Anuruddha, 70. anusāsaka-rāja, 108 n. I. anusvāra, 244, 262, 275, 297. anvayāgata-vahal, 206. anya, 285. anyonya, 284. Apa = Abhaya, 139, 140, 141. āpā, 16, 25, 26, 95, 171, 176 n. 2, 265, 306, 307. Apadāna, 259 n. 5. Apahagara, 140, 141. Apahaya (Skt. Abhaya), 138. Apahayagara (Abhayagiri), 138-141. apamagē, 262, 268. apamagen, 262. apamavisin, 262. āpāy, 171, 172, 174, 175. Apaya (P. Abhaya), 114 n. atsam, 43 n. 6. 10, 124, 130, 292, 295 n. 4. Äpāy Daļsiva (Ādipāda Dathasīva), 171, 174, 175. apayihi, 291, 292. api, 283. Aragama, 113. arak, 37, 46 n. 2. ārakkha-paricariya, 86 n. 1. Arakmenā, 85, 86, 89. Aramboda, 210. arami, 291. Aramkäle documents, 8 n. 4, 16, 17. arana, 141. Arāva Sannasa, 272 n. 1. Arāva, village, 272. Arāve, 272. Arāve Artthanāyaka āpā, 271, 273. Arāve Vijayasundara Mudiyannähē, 272 n. I. Ardhamāgadhī, 283. ardha-mandapa, 98. arigiya, 35, 41, 53, 56. Arittārā-vehera, 171, 172, 174-176. ārogya, 147. artha-hāni, 268. Arthanāyaka, 103, 106 n. 3, 272, 307. Arthasastra, 5. arub, 43 n. 6.

Äsaļa (Skt. Āṣāḍha), 60, 64, 65, 179 n. 2. 256, 258. Äsela, 60, 179. Asgiri Vihare, 9, 10. Asgiriya, 9. Asoka, 96, 115 n. 3, 120, 153, 303. as-pantiya, 30. assam, 43 n. 6. āsthāna, 19, 30, 33, 34, 66 n. 3. āsthāna-sālā, 57 n. 8. ata or ati (P. attā), 128. ata (P. anta), 222 n. 10, 284. ata (Skt. hasta), 283. afa (Skt. artha), 282, 284. -ata, 130, 275. atalos, 222 n. 8. atama, 293, 294. ata-mangalā, 258 n. 9. ätamba, 87, 88. alana, 29, 32, 235. atani, 128. atani-simata, 128. atano, 120, 123, 127, 128. atano sime, 123, 127, 128. Atapediya, 11, 14, 15. atara (P. antara), 283. atarehi, 281, 283. atarisaha, 222. atasama, 43 n. 6. ata-samini, 128. Ațasiyapattuva, 11, 14, 15. Atavīragollāva, 62. ale, 219, 222, 232, 284. ațiyän, 35, 42. at-pā-mehe-karana, 206, 210 11. 2. atpasa, 75, 80, 81 n. 7. atsamu, 43 n. 6. Attanagalla, 151 n. 2. Attanagaluvamsa, 69 n. 4, 108 n. 1, 199. atlani, 177. attāņi, 36, 57 n. 8, 66 n. 3, 128, 177. attāni-hala, 55-57, 66 n. 3. attāņi-kaņu, 64, 66 n. 3, 179, 180, 185. attāņi-parahar, 36, 57 n. 8, 66 n. 3. attāņi pārāhar-kaņu, 65, 66 n. 3, 184. Attara, 109 n. 3. Attaragama, 109 n. 3. atthakathā, 284. attharasa, 222 n. 8. atun-näga-ēma, 25. ät-vagē, 12, 14. ät-vehera (anto-vihāra), 189, 190 n. 6. ava, 221, 295 n. 2. Avalokiteśvara, 107, 157, 158, 307, 312, 313, 315. avamasa, 221. avamesi, 295 n. 2. avana, 282, 283. avanai nokki, 195. avanaka, 221, 222 n. 3, 227, 281, 283. avasahi, 276. Averiyā, 206, 209.

aveya, 282. avihita, 283. avirala, 159 n. 1. avita, 281, 283. āvū, 177. aya, 146. ayāmehi, 7. ayä, 205 n. 15. äya, 146. Åyasmanta, 76. Ayuşmat, 76. ayvū, 177, 179. ba, 51, 54 n. 12. Bada Aba, 295. Badakara-atana, 232, 235, Badalagoda, 74, 77, 79, 81. Badalatthali, 73, 77. Badal Periya, 207, 210 n. 5. bada-vas, 156, 168 n. 7. Badulla, 37, 191. Baeli Siva, 295, 296. Baga, 32, 189, 190, 222. Bagu, 221, 222 n. 2. Bak, 32, 33, 190, 221, 222. balat, 190 n. 9; balatun, 251. Balavița, 14, 15, 20, 24, 26, 28, 29. Balinotgamu Urā, 250, 252. Balkh, 155. balu-parageri-as-madala, 30, 32. Bamadata, 138. Bamanagariya or Bamanagiriya, 121-124. bambadesen, 67 n. 5. bambadeyen, 56, 57 n. 7, 65. Bamian, 155. bamunan, 257. bana, 205, 221, 256. bānā, 221, 299, 305. bändä, 44 n. 8. bandāra-kuruniya, 48, 49. bandāra-näļiya, 48, 49. Bandāras, 10, 11. bandinavā, 271. bara, 48, 49. Barros, 19. basnāhira ata, 222 n. 10. bat, 30. Batalagoda, 73, 75-77. Batalagoda-luva, 73. Batalagoda-väva, 73, 75, 77, 209 n. I. batgama, 104, 107, 108. Batticaloa, 14, 15. Batticaloa District, 142, 161, 169. batuno (P. bhātuno), 127. Batuvantudave, Pandit, 202 11. 2. bävin, 283. Bayava, 65 n. 9.

Beames (John), 118 n. 1.

beja- (or beji-) pati, 119.

Bell (H. C. P.), 16, 27, 36,

59, 60, 74, 82 n. 4, 93 n.

3, 94, 99, 112, 115, 128, 148, 181, 190 n. 4, 197,

199, 201, 202, 223, 224,

227 n. 1, 228, 253, 261,

262, 271, 273, 296, 298.

beja-peta, 123, 128.

beji-peta, 123, 126.

Beligal Köralē, 100.

Bemtota Kita, 207, 210 n. 5, | Brahma, 12 n. 1, 13, 15, 24- | cakravartti, 8, 18, 19, 264. Bendvā Piļakkā, 250, 252. Bengali, 54 n. 7, 202. Bentota, 196-199, 201, 202, 205, 209. Bentota Vihara, 10. Beragama, 105, 109. bera-gasannan, 257. Beravagama, 206, 209. Beravagoda, 206, 210. hevini, 275, 281, 283. Bhādrapada, 228 n. 9. Bhaga, 22 n. 2. Bhagavat (Buddha), 158, Bhagirinaka (Abhayagiri), 278 11. 4. Bhallika, 154, 155, 313, 314, 318, 319. Bhalluka, 155, 156, 159 n. 4, 160 n. 4, 319. bhandara, 15, 256, 262. bhandarapota, 256, 258 n. bhandara-potthaki, 258 n. 3. Bhāratavarsa, 235 n. 1. Bhātika, 220. Bhātika Abhaya, 218. Bhatika Tissa, 219-222, Bhattacarya (B), 106 n. 8. bhikkhu, 123, 124, 179 n. 7, 217, 282. Bhuvanaikabāhu, 198. Bhuvanaika Bāhu I, 47, 164. Bhuvanaika Bāhu IV, 8, 77, 93-95, 103, 106, 108 n. 1, 162-164, 297, 298, 311 12, 2, Bhuvanaika Bāhu V, 10, 28, 96, 296, 297-300, 304, 310. Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI, 8, 9 n. 1, 10, 16-18, 263. Bhuvanaikabāhu Mahapā, 198. -bi, 228 n. 1. bikasagahata, 120, 123. bikusagahata, 120, 217. biku-sagahi, 282. biku-sagana, 281. Bilibava, 66 n. 2, 247 n. 6. bim pisä, 167, 168 n. 4. biseva, 112, 114. bisō, 112. Bisovala, 100, 104, 108. biya-karu, 283. Blake (Sir Henry), 229. Bodhi, 131, 136, 208. Bodhigupta, 19, 96. Bodhisattva, 157, 160, 240, 241, 252, 269 n. 3, 317, 318. Bodhi - Uppalavanna - Kassapagiri, 131, 132. bojaka-pati, 119 n. 2, 126. hoji-pati, 119. bojika-pati, 126. bojiya-pati, 119 n. 2. Boke-kumbura, 105, 109. Boksal, 21, 25, 27. Boltudāva, 202. Bolutudāva, 206, 210. Bosat, 251. Bosat-deţu, 189, 190. Bo-tree, 20, 85, 91, 96, 98, 103, 106, 303, 309, 311. Bowl relics, 14, 15, 20, 24-27. Boyagonula, 132, 133. Boya - Opulavana - Kasapigari, 131-133.

26, 103, 104, 106, 107, 268, 270. brahmadeya, 67. brahmadeyya, 67 n. 5. Brāhmana, 103, 106, 194, 195, 259. Brāhmanagiri, 121, 122. Brahmas, 65. Brahmī, 1, 50, 116, 117, 120, 127, 151, 169, 213, 218, 223, 230, 275, 285-287, 289, 319. Brahmin, 193, 202, 305. British, 30. British Museum, 94. Budadasa, 113, 291, 292. Budadasa La-Parideva, 112, 114. Budasa, 291, 292, 294, 295. Buddas, 291. Buddha, 8 n. 1, 10, 33, 65 n. 5, 72, 96, 98, 105-107, 113, 136, 152, 154-156, 158-160, 213, 229, 233, 235, 238, 239, 243, 259, 269 n. 4, 278, 313, 318, Buddhadāsa, 112, 114 n. 8, 153, 285, 287. Buddhadāsa Dāpura, 112. Buddhadāsa Mahāsena, 227. Buddhaghosa, 67 n. 5, 157. Buddhannehäla, 54 n. 1. Buddha-varşa, 32. Buddhism, 30, 70, 98, 132, 169 n. 2, 193, 197, 234, 277 Buddhist, 8, 68-70, 81 n. 9, 90, 91, 96–98, 106 n. 8, 107 n. 8, 109 n. 9, 113-115, 132, 136, 151, 154-156, 161, 179 n. 7, 180, 196, 197, 229, 234-239, 242, 258 n. 7, 259 n. 5, 260 n. 8, 269 n. 2, 274, 277, 281, 285, 300, 307, 314, 319. Buddhist era, 27, 32, 33. Budu, 207, 211. budu-bava, 132, 133, 136. Buduguṇa Alankāraya, 8 n. 4, 16. Bühler (G.), 288. bujama, 231. bujamane, 231. bujamene, 231. bujameni, 230-232, 237. Bujas, 292. buku, 224, 227, 231 n. 3. Bulatgama, 14, 15. Burgess (J.), 97 n. 2. Burma, 132. Burnese, 155, 319. Burrows (Sir S. M.), 136 n. Burrows' Pavilion at Anurādhapura, 47, 134, 136, Burutankanda, 124. Butsarana, 190 n. 9, 258 n. 9, 259 11. 2. Buttala Koraļē, 213. Buyiperi Saba, 295. ca, 119, 282, 284. cada, 123, 124. cada, 221, 227. cada-kolu, 124. Cadiboya Aba, 295, 296. Caitra naksatra, 222 n. 2. caitya, 107, 143, 154, 155. cakra, 16.

Couto (Diogo de), 11, 17. Calamega, 192, 193. Cambodia, 132. Canarese, 48. Candrabhānu, 69, 70. candra-māsa, 124. cara (P. cattari), 119. cata, 221, 222 n. 4, 227. cata (P. cetiya), 143. catara, 119, 123, 143. catupaccaya, 81 n. 9. cāturanta, 222 n. 10. Caturveda Brahmapura, 193. cava, 282, 284. Cave (H. W.), 91 n. 1. caya, 124. caya-kotu, 124. cayara, 119. ce, 119. Central Asia, 118. cetiya, 143. Cetiya-vihāra, 278 n. 4. Ceylon, 10, 12, 19-21, 28, 36-38, 45 n. 12, 65 n. 4, 68-70, 73, 77, 80 n. 26, 82 n. 1, 84-86, 90 n. 2, 96, 98-100, 106-108, 113 n. 2, 115, 116, 118, 120, 122, 127, 131, 132, 136, 152, 153, 155, 163, 164, 175 n. 6, 177, 179 n. 7, 185 n. 3, 186, 187 n. 1, 195 n. 3, 201, 202, 214, 215, 228 n. 4, 229, 233-236, 238, 239, 242, 243, 252 n. 5, 254, 260 n. 8, 269 n. 2, 274-277, 286-288, 298, 302-305, 312, 313, 319. Chakravarti (Dr. N. P.), 312. Chālukya script, 290. Chattagāhaka, 226, 227. chena, 50, 54. Cheng Ho, 299. Chhabra (Dr. B. Ch.), 312, 317-319 Chilaw District, 234 n. 2. China, 243, 299, 307. Chinese, 155, 239, 242, 243, 300. Christian era, 1, 50, 70, 117, 153, 223, 230, 235, 275, cidavayaha, 131, 133, 134. cidavi, 131-135, 144 n. 7, 294, 295 n. 6. cidivi, 292, 295. Ciri-Cangabodi-varman alias Śrī Vijayabāhu-devar, 194, 195. Citaguta, I n. I. cita-pahateni, 282, 284. civara, 260. Clough (B.), 30. Codrington (H. W.), 8, 16, 27, 38, 44 n. 9, 45 n. 2, 46, 73 n. 1, 77, 91, 93 n. 3, 94, 95, 106 n. 5, 107 n. 13, 109 n. 4, 122, 140 n. 5, 163, 171 n. 5, 182 n. 3, 209 n. 2, 261, 262, 265, 271, 297, 298, 300-302, 305, 311 n. 2. Coedes (G.), 69. Cola, 47, 49, 62, 68, 71, 72, 77, 84, 85, 87, 88, 162, 163, 164, 168 n. 2, 182, 193, 215. Colombo, 20, 29, 127. Colombo Museum, 11, 181 n. 8, 184 n. 2, 229 n. 2, 246, 273, 301 n. I.

cuda, 222. Cūdāmaņi, 75, 76, 79-80. Cūdāmaņi-caitya, 257, 258. Cugariya, 123. Culavamsa, 61 n. 1, 69 n. 2, 94 n. 5, 95 n. 5, 181 n. 4, 199, 215 n. 3, 220 n. 3, 254, 293, 294. cundu, 47. da, 284. dä or dā, 167 n. 4. Dädigama, 8, 9 n. 1, 263, 270 n. 2. Dädimunda Dēvatā Bandāra Deviyo, 21, 261 n. 1. dāgāb, 202, 205 n. 9; dāgāba, 10, 81, 148, 151, 253, 274. dāgap, 202. dage-atsam, 43 n. 6. daham, 138. daham-pasak-nā, 100 n. 8. dähän, 138. dahasa, 138 n. 7. daka-baka, 126. dakapati, 126. daka-patti, 126. daka-peta, 123, 126, 128. Dakkhinadesa, 3, 7. Dakkhinapassa, 182, 222 n. Dakunugiri, 278 n. 4. daļa, 293. Daļadā, 14, 24, 25, 267, 268. Daļadāgē, 190 n. 4. Daļadā Māligāva, 49. Daļadāsirita, 303. Dalameya, 130. Dala Mugalan (Mogallana II), 116 n. 1, 142, 150, 285, 287, 294. Daļanā, 145. Daļanā-hāmi, 145 n. 4. daļi, 293, 295 n. 4. Dali Mugalana, 293-295. Dälivela, 99, 105, 109. dalla, 293. Dalsiva, 171, 174, 175. dama-kahavana, 48. dā-māla, 257, 260 n. 5. Dambadeni-Asna, 11, 69 n. Dambadeni Hatpattu, 12 n. 1, 37, 50. Dambadeniya, 84, 197, 199. Dambadiva, 72, 103, 106, 171. Dambullā, 48, 73. Damgamu Siva, 64, 66. Dämi Deva, 206, 211. Dampiyā Aţuvā Sannaya, 49, 284. Dana-madulu, 181, 184. dāna-vattam, 109 n. 9. danaviya, 39, 41. danavu, 170. Dangamu, 110. Dappula, 51. Dappula I, 164, 165. Dappula II, 171 n. 5. Dappula IV (V), 181, 187, 247. Dappula V, 36, 51, 60, 62. Dāpulusen, 165. Dāpura, 112. dariya, 144 n. 6; dariyana, I 44. daru, 168 n. 5, 181, 248. darugam, 166, 168. daru-gedi, 168 n. 5. daru-kusalān, 168 n. 5.

daruya, 133, 136. daruyana, 130, 132, 136, daruyun, 147. das, 88 n. 2. dasa, 47, 135. dasakāyakarmma - parisuddhi, 242. dasa - manas - karmma - pari-Suddhi, 242. dasa-rajadharmma, 72. Dasen, 167 n. 4. Dasen - käli (Dhatusena), 164-167. dasi, 135 n. 1. data, 138. dāthā, 295 n. 4. Dathasiva, 171, 172. Dāthika, 114. davasä, 292. davasi, 292. Day, 172, 175, 176. daya, 138. de, 47, 108 n. 3. de Alwis (J.), 69 n. 5. de-ba, 166, 167. Degalaturu, 202. Degalaturubim, 198, 200, 205, 207, 208, 211. Degaldoruva, 202. dekabali-laduvan, 45 n. 3. dekābālla, 42, 45 n. 3. dekamtān, 65, 67, 184, 186, 251, 252. Delvița, 82. Demala, 103. Demala-adhikāra, 198-200, 205, 208. demala-käbälla, 45 n. 3. Demala-pattanama, 234. Demala Paya, 207, 210 n. 5, Demali-Gäviya, 207, 211. demela-käbälla, 44 n. 1, 45 n. 3. demeļ-kābālla, 41, 45 n. 3. demeļ-kulī, 53, 54, 251, 252. demi, 145. denamha, 268, 270 n. 3. Denanaka (Jetavana), 287 dene, 123 n. 4. deni, 260 n. 3. denu labamha, 57 n. 1. Denuvara, 20, 24, 26. De Patirāja, 104, 108. de-peta-kara, 123, 128. deruvana, 65, 67, 184, 186, 189, 191, 251, 252, de Silva (Simon), 296. desima, 105, 109. Detyasayā, 250, 252. Deva, 140, 141. deva, 108 n. 3, 113, 155. Devā, 171. Devagiri, 110. Devagiri Patirāja, 104, 108. devāle, 9, 11, 186, 261. Devamadi Hatpattu, 65 n. Devamadi Korale, 186. Devamantrī or Devamantrīśvara, 298, 304, 306, 307, 309, 310. Devanagala, 180. Devānampiya Tissa, 66 n. 6, 216, 303. devanu labamha, 35, 57 n.

I.

Deva Patirāja, 197, 199.

devatā, 159. Devhimi. See also Devaman-

trī, 298, 304, 306, 307.

dev-raja, 107 n. 8. Devundara, 306. deya, 30. dēya, 30. Dhamma, 8 n. 1, 269 n. 4. Dhammananda Thera (Valane), 221. Dhammapadatthakathā, 260 n. 3. Dhammāsoka, 76. Dhanyakataka, 97, 99, 103, 106. dharana, 47, 48. dharmakaya, 239, 245. Dharmarajan Pirivena, 202. Dharmmakīrtti, 8, 10, 69, 90, 96-98, 103-107, 162. Dharmma - nandana, 200. Dharmma Parākrama Bāhu IX, 18, 19. Dharmmapradīpikā, 60, 262. dharmmaratna, 167, 169. dhātu, 176 n. 3. Dhātusena, 113, 164, 167 n. 4, 176 n. 3. Dhauli, 120. Dhrtarastra, 21, 268, 269. dhyāna, 138. di, 131, 133, 136, 292. dī. 202. Digamadulle, 174 n. 1. Digä(pidu)lla, 175. Digha Nikaya, 67 n. 5. Digili Senānāyaka, 105, 109. Digiliya, 109 n. 7. diĥi, 174. Dikgala, 103, 106. Dikshit (K. N.), 313 n. 2, 318. Dimbulāgala, 68, 128, 190 n. 4, 311 n. 5. dina, 224, 227. dine, 121, 123, 138, 214, 217. dini, 135 n. 1, 214, 217, 224, 227. dīpādhirāja, 108 n. 1. Dīpamkara Thera (Välipatanvila), 306. Dipavamsa, 303 disā-nāyaka, 268, 270. divākara, 309. divase, 227, 292. divasi, 219, 221. divel, 104, 107 n. 12. Diyagama, 121 n. 1. Diyavälla, 43 n. 2. Diyavällä Kasbā, 38, 41-43, 45, 46, 55, 57, 58. diyi, 292. do-avanaka, 221, 222 n. 3, 227. Documentos Remettidos da India, 12 n. 2. Dodamvela, 16, 263 n. 1. Dodamvela Parakrama, 263-265, 268, 270. Dodamvela Parākramabāhu Äpa, 16, 24-26, 264, 265. Dolosbāgē, 14, 15. dolos-maha-va-tan, 189, 191 12. 7. dona, 46, 47, 49. Dondra, 19. Doni-vagga, 201 n. 2. Dorațiyava Sannasa, 211 n. doči, 45 n. 1. Doti Valaknä, 35, 36, 41, D'Öyly (J.), 109 n. 4. drada, 208 n. 2. Gal-hoy, 172, 174, 175.

dradādhikāri, 205, 208 n. 2. | gal-näv, 149. dravidādhikāri. 208 n. 2. | Galpota, 168 n. 5. Dra(vi)dādhikārin, 208. drsādhikāri. 205 n. 2. dukula, 114, 115 n. 4. Dumbara, 11, 14, 15, 20, 28, 32, 33.
Pansiyapattuva, Dumbara dummal-assam, 43 n. 6. Dunukēvatta, 303. Dunukevatu samily, 107. 199, 303. dunumandullan, 170. dunuvā, 251. Durusava, 132, 133. Dutaga Maharaja, 215, 227. dūtaka, 190 n. 9. Dutugamunu, 257, 258. -e, 119, 120, 130, 219, 231, 232, 275, 276, 292. Egodapota Köralē, 100. cka-annä-siri-bhoga, 184. Ekanāvaka Mudali, 18. eka saya, 47. ekat kot, 250. ek-sat, 75. ek-sät, 75, 79. ek-tän, 185 n. 9. ek-tän kot, 171, 174, 177, 179, 185 n. 9. ek-tan-samiya, 171, 178, 185, 252 n. 14; -samiyen, 64-66, 177, 184, 185 %. 9, 251. Elalu Abo Senevirat, 76. Elephanta, 235 n. 1. Eliot (Sir Chas.), 132 n. 2. Eļiraţa, 100, 104, 108. Ellē-väva, 247. Elu Attanagalu-vamsa, 200, 300, 307. -en, 35. Endera Boyi, 207, 210 n. 5, 21 T. -eni, 275. Eraya, 140, 141. Europe, 108 n. 1. European, 118. Fa-hien, 243. fanam, 106, 107, 110. Fa-tien, see Fa-hien. Ferreira (Miguel), 29. Five Countries (pas-rata), gäta-kos, 87, 88. 20, 24, 26. Foral, 12 n. 2. Four Korales (Satara Kōraļē), 9, 18, 263 n. 1, 270. Fournerau (L.), 70 n. 3. Gadalādeniya, 8, 11, 16, 19, 28, 44 n. 5, 90, 91 n. 1, 96, 97, 99, 107 n. 8, 162, 264, 265, 268 n. 8, 269 n. 3, 270 n. 2, 297. Gadilādeni village, 104, 108. Gagavi, 227, 228. gaha-kola, 200 n. 2. gajaa, 119. Gajaa tank, 123, 124. Gajabāhu I, 126, 214-216, 227, 283 Gajabāhu II, 2-7, 38, 200. Gala-araki Buyudeviya, 295. Galapāta Vihāra, 132 n. 1, 196-198, 200-202, 205, 208. Gala-vehera, 145. Galboda Körale, 261. Galgānē Vihāre, 8, 13.

Gal-vihāra, 108. gam, 54 n. 11, 100 n. 5. gama, 311 n. 6. gaman-māligāva. 20. gama-rāla, 29. Gambāvasaṭava, 90. gam-gon, 184. gam - kadavara, 93, 105, 109. gam-mudala, 309, 311 n. 2. gam-mundala, 311 n. 2. Gampala, see Gampola. Gampala Bhandara, 263, 265, 268, 270. Gampala Siduruvānā. 24, 26. Gampola, 10, 14, 15, 17, 24, 26, 92, 95, 98, 99, 162, 164, 262, 263 n, 1, 268 n. 6, 271, 299, 303, 304. gana, 96. Gana Apa, 140, 141. ganādhipati, 103. ganaki, 222. Ganavasi, 86, 96, 103, 106, 301-305, 309, 310. Ganaya, 140, 141. ganaya, 269 n. 2. Gandahayê Köralê, 271, 272. gandha-puspa, 259 n. 1. Gandhāra, 155. gandharva, 65. Ganesvarācāri, 98, 103, 106. Gangā, 207, 211. Gangala Pallēsiya Pattuva, 37. Gangala Udasiya Pattuva, 54. Gangapalāta, 20. Gangapalāta Koraļē, 99, 100. Ganga - pavata - vihara, 224, 227, 228. Gangasenakapabbata, 224. Gangā-śrī-pura (Gampola), IO. Gangoda, 11. Ganita Sara Sangraha, 48. Gannoruva, 99, 104, 109. -gara, 138. Gärandigala, 142, 144, 145, 149. gasa-kola, 273, 309, 311 n. gäti, 283. gatiya, 281-283. Gattara-divela, 105. Gavidaviya, 217. -ge, 148. Gedigē Vihāre, 9. Geiger (Prof. W.), 61, 69, 94, 95, 113, 122, 135, 138 n. 6, 171 n. 5, 181 n. 4, 187 n. 2, 215 n. 3, 220 n. 3, 231, 234 n. 2, 291, 294. geti, 190. geți-hasa, 189, 190 n. 2. Getkämi Lokeyi, 206, 210. gevala, 104, 107 n. 11. gī-kiyannan, 257. Girātalān Koralē, 18c. giri, 138. Girihandu, 155, 156, 319. Girihandu-vehera, 156. Girikanda, 157. Girikandaka, 157. Girikandaka-vihara, 157. Girikanda-mahāvihāra, 156. Girikanda-pabbata, 157. Girikanda Siva, 157. Girikandi, 156, 159, 315.

Girikandi-caitya, 151 n. I. Hinduism. 302. 154, 159, 313-315, 319. Girikandika, 155-157, 159, 314, 319. Girikandika-caitya, 156-160, 215. Girivadunnā, 39, 41, 43. Girivamsa, 301-304. Godäli, 206, 211. Goda-rata, 11, 14, 15, 272. Gokarälla, 1. Golu Minda, 207, 210 n. 5. 211. Gonagiri, 1. Gonnā, 149, 150. Gonnāva, 186, 187. Gopan (E. S.), 208 n. 2. Goruci, q n. 1. Gothabhaya, 223-228, 275, 277, 278. Grantha, 2, 13, 93, 117, 152, 102. Gulavälla, 174, 175 Gunasekara (A. M.), 30. 234 11. 2. Gunasekara (B.), 18, 43 n. 6, 76 n. 5, 84 n. 2, 94, 121 n. 2, 168 n. 4, 182 n. I, 100 n. 3, 216 n. 5, 221, 225 n. 2, 254, 258 n. 9, 259 n. 2, 260 n. 1, 293 11. 2. Gunawardhana (W. F.), 278 n. 4, 298 n. 3, 305 n. 1, 306. Gurulugomi, 262. Gutakadara, 139, 141. -ha, 119, 222 n. 8. Habarana, 126. Habässa, 213. hada, 284. nadate, 276, 282, 284. hak paliha, 18 n. 1. Halbe, 247 n. 5. häli, 79. hamanana, 271, 281-283. hambā-nāliya, 48. hāmi, 145. Hamsa-sandesa, 143. Handessa, 99. Hanguranketa, 100 n. 7. Hāpāņa, 99. Hapugastanna, 11, 93, 297. Hārispattuva, 20. Harvey (G. E.), 132 n. 2. hasä, 189, 190 n. 2. Hätahaya Köralē, 1. hāt-pasä, 171, 177, 179. Hatthavanagalla - vihāra vamsa, 69, 226 n. 1. Helalu Rāmā, 207, 210 n. 5, 211. Helili Deva, 206, 207, 210 n. 5, 211. hel-kult, 53, 54, 251, 252. heran, 149. Heranasika, 8r n. 7. Hēvāgam Koraļē, 99. Hēvāhāţē, 20. Hēvāvissa Kōraļē, 272. Hēvāvissa village, 272. -hi, 120, 219, 231, 276. Hila, 14, 15. Hilisela Sivi, 295. himi, 127, 145, 175 n. 7. himige, 171, 174, 175 n. 7, 177. hindavū, 202. Hindi, 292. hindivū, 202. Hindu, 91, 107 n. 8, 177, janavu, 170. 193, 196, 229, 269 1. 6. janma-pravēņi, 9.

hinduvū, 202. hinga-kāsi, 29. hira-sanda-bamunu. 87. Hivaļā Agbo, 38, 41, 43. Hocart (A. M.), 7 n. 1, 67, 68, 222 n. 7. honnu, 48. -hu. 222 n. 8. Huien Tsang, 155. hulu, 41, 44, 57, 251, 252. huna, 37, 38, 41, 42, 47, 48, 138, 141 n. 4. huna ka(ha)vana, 47, 48, 141. huna kavana, 138, 140. hunduva, 46. -i, 219, 23I. ica,119. icanaka, 282, 285. idam, 30. idama, 29. idam-bat, 30, 32. idam-ge, 29. Iddavela, 100, 105, 109. Iksvāku, 65 n. 3, 72 n. 2, 185 n. 7, 275. ila, 113 n. 2. İlanaga, 113 n. 2, 221. ilankō, 113 n. 2. ilavarasan, 113 n. 2. Ilubässa, 206, 210. Ilukväva, 135 n. 1. Ilupandeniya, 99, 104, 107. Ināmaluva Koralē, 176. India, 2, 12, 69-71, 76, 91, 97, 106 n. 2, 116, 118, 147, 153, 163, 164, 192, 194, 233, 237 n. 1, 243, 258 n. 9, 277, 278, 288, 289, 299, 302, 304, 312. Indian, 5, 45 n. 12, 49, 66 n. 8, 70, 71, 85, 93, 98, 122, 131, 152, 153, 185 n. 9, 192-195, 217, 235 11. 1, 243, 289, 299, 305, 310 n. 8. Iňdikatusāya, 238. IňdikatusayaCopperPlaques, 238-242. Indo-China, 69. Indravajrā, 93. -ini, 275 ira-sanda-pamunu, 309, 311 12. 4. Īripinniyāva, 54 n. 6, 191 11. 2. isā, 171, 177, 179. Isamviți-vatta, 206, 209. Isigiraya, 232, 233, 237. isirä, 250. isnā, 285. Issarasamana-vihāra, 128 n. 3, 131, 132, 218 n. 1, 221, 278 n. 4. ittu, 171. ja, 282, 284. Jaffna, 47, 229, 234, 235, 299. Taffnapatao, 11. jahasa, 138-140. jahasaka, 140. Jaina, 119. Jaiya, 69, 70. Jambudvīpa, 72, 106 n. 2, 171. Jānakīharana, 122.

Janānurāgacarita, 97.

Japan, 307. Jataka, 154 n. 1, 260 n. 6. Jāvaka, 69. Javira, 17. Javira-Pracrama-Bau, 17. Jaya Bāhu, 17, 192, 193. Jaya Maha Le, 20. Jayamahalena Savulu Parākrama Bāhu, 9. Jayaswal (K. P.), 235 n. 1. Jayatilaka (Sir D. B.), 125 21. I. Jayavandā, 207, 211. Jayavardhana, city of, 18. Jayavira, 8, 16, 19, 265. Jayavira maha - vada - vun täna, 10, 28, 32-34. Jayavīra Parākrama Bāhu. 16-19, 26, 28, 265. Jetavana, 45 n. 6, 86, 136. Jetavanārāma, 60, 127, 231 n. 1, 273, 274. Jetavana-vihāra, 278, 280, Jetthatissa I, 227, 278, 279. jetunge, 148. jinmi, 174 n. 3. jita, 227. Jivasimha, 105, 109. joti, 45 n. 1. Joui Sițăna, 108 n. 4. Julindhara, 86.

kaba!, 257. kabali, 42, 45, 53, 54. Kabuba, 123. kācu, 194-196. kada, 44 n. 5, 79, 81 n. 3. kadā, 75. Kadaba-nama-bara, 114. Kadaimpot, 100. kadaka, 123. kadali-torana, 257, 259 n. 2. Kada Madabi, 144. kadavar, 41, 44 n. 5, 109 n. 5, 144 2. 5. kadavara, 44 n. 5, 93, 109 12. 5. Kadavat Koraļē, 115. kadaya, 123, 126. Kägalla District, 97, 100, 261. Kahambalkulu family, 199, 208 n. 5 Kahambalkulu Mindal, 197, 199, 205, 207, 208, 211. kahāpaṇa, 132, 133, 136, 138, 140 n. 5, 294. kahavana, 133, 136, 138-141. kahavanuva, 48. kaisu, 48. Käkulāgala, 202. Kakuluvāgala, 202, 206, 210. Kala, 135 n. 1, 140, 141. Kalalväli, 174. 175. Kalama, 84, 86-90. Kālanāgara, 303. kalañeu, 48, 195, 196. kalanda, 47, 259. Kalaniya, 18, 19, 269 n. 6. kalanju, 48. Kalapuva, 202, 206. Kalāvava, 38. käli, 167 n. 4. Kālidāsa, 122. Kālinga, 61, 64, 65, 68, 85, 87, 88, 201. Kālinga-vamsa, 302. Kaliyuga, 69. Kaludiyapokuna, 131.

Kaluganga, 9 n. 1, 11. Kalu Kitu, 207, 210 n. 5, 211 Kaļu Rāmā, 207, 210 n. 5, 211. Kaļu Sitāņa, 104, 108. Kalyāna-mahādevī, 211 n. Kalyāņavatī, 73-77, 79, 80, 200, 253-256, 269 n. 2. yatilaka (Sir D. B.), 125 n. 3, 284, 298 n. 3, 302 Kämbur, 35, 44 n. 5. Kämbur-kadavar, 41, 42, 44, 45, 109 n. 5. käna, 49. kanāva, 79, 81 n. 4. Kāňcī, 98, Kāncipura, 70. kancuka-cetiya, 81 n. 6. kañcuka-dhātugabbha, 81 n. kañcukaya, 257. Kandapalle Koralē, 285. Kandasāmi, 11. Kandasāmimalai, 15. Kanda - uda - kattuva, 263, 267, 268, 269 n. 1. Kanda-uda-rata, 269 n. 1. Kandupalāta, 20. Kandupita North, 100. Kandy, 8-10, 12, 15 n., 16, 18, 27-29, 90, 100, 110, 202, 263, 265, 269 n. 3, 270 n. 1, 271, 296, 307. Kandyan, 1, 9, 11, 15 n., 19, 28-30, 47, 66 n. 2, 91, 98, 107 n. 13, 108 n. 2, 109 n. 4, 115, 264, 265, 270 n. 1, 296, 305. Kanittha Tissa, 127, 216, 220, 227, 231 n. 1. kanlävu, 87, 88 n. 6. Kannā, 177, 179. kannalavu, 88. Kantalay, 191, 193-195. kanu, 80, 82 n. 2. Kappalagoda, 87, 88, Käppitigollava, 115. kap-ruk, 169 n. 1. kara, 123, 128. Karadi Devā, 207, 211. Karam Decettu, 195 n. 4. Yajniyakrama-vittan, 194, 195. Kārambagala, 224, 225. Karambavalān, 303. karana, 276. karandu, 210 n. 4. karandu-atsamu, 43 n. 6. karavanu kämäti-vä, 110. karavaya, 143. käravū, 205 n. 10. kariha, 114. karih-aminiya-baka, 190 n. karihi, 115 n. 2. karīsa, 114, 115, 126, 143. karite, 232, 237. kāriya, 9. karsa, 48. karsam, 48. karsāpaņa, 138, 140 n. 5. karu, 145. kāru, 145. käru, 145. kärunu, 189, 190 n. 5. Kasaba, 130. Kasaba-giriye, 131, 133. Kasagalgoda, 202. Kasagaltota, 202. Kasagalugoda, 206, 209. Kāsapabbata, 157.

Kasapi, 130.

Kasbā, 43 n. 2, 130. Kassapa, 43 n. 2. Kassapa I, 131, 132. Kassapa III, 142, 144, 148, 169, 246. Kassapa IV, 47, 51, 150, 181 n. 8, 246-248, 250, 251, 301. Kassapa V, 36, 51, 60, 66 n. 2, 125, 181, 247, 248. Kassapagiri, 131. Kasub, 130 kasu-dāgaba, 75, 80, 81 n. 6. kasuk-dāgaba, 80, 81 n. 6. kasun-dagaba, 81 n. 6. Kāsyapa, 43 n. 2, 238, 240. Kāsyapa - parivartta, 238-242. kata (for kota), 138-140. kata (Skt. krta), 283. Katacanakapula, 123. käta-kula, 183. käta-pat, 118. katapi, 282, 283. Kataragama, 60, 84, 114, 121 n. 1, 271. Kataragama Deviyo Skandha, 12 n. 1, 21. Katikāvat Sangarā, 125 n. 3. kät-kula, 64, 65, 72, 103, 106, 185, 302, 304, 305. kat rājakāriya, 29. kattu, 269 n. 1. Katugampolagama, 128. Katupulla, 9. katuvitnā, 202, 208 n. 7. Kaţuvitnā Sätumba or Devu, 198, 200, 205, 207, 208, 2 I I. kavana (kahavana), 47, 138. kāvanu, 207, 211. Kāveripaţţana, 277. Kāvīra-nagara, 70. Kavsiļumiņa, 284, 285. kavudā ballā put, 265 n. 3. kāvuņuvä, 75, 80, 82. Kāvyasekhara, 259 n. 5. kehel-toran, 259 n. 2. Keith (A. B.), 122 n. 1. Kenahisa-gama, 222. kenakana, 282, 284. kenavi, 121-124. kenek, 14, 284; kenekun, 284. kere, 202. kerē, 202. kereyani, 123, 127. Kern (H.), 313 n. 1. Kesava Vannakka, 104, 108. kevuļu, 206. Khālsī, 120. Khandhāvāra, 303. khānu, 82 n. 3. khāri, 46. Khotan, 238. Khudda Pārinda, 111-114, 291. Khujjanaga, 220, 227. kiceya, 282, 285. Kihirali-Upulvan, 25, 27. Kiling Deviyal-dețu, 189, 190. Kilinggam Devu, 65, 67. kiniya, 124. kinnara, 160. kir, 174. Kirawelle Ralahami, 18. kir-geri, 184. kiri, 115 n. 2, 189, 190. kiri-amunā-bā, 189, 190 n. kiri-var, 191 n. 2.

Kirivavula, 99, 105, 109.

kıriya, 49, 143. Kīrttiśrī, 12. kumbur, 35, 44 n. 5, 57, 58 kisa, 285. Kitā-räjna, 60. Kitkevuva, 206, 210. Kitti, 61, 62, 76, 84. Kittisirimegha, 3, 77. Kivulēkada, 145. Knox (R.), 12, 109 n. 7. Kobbākaduva Vihāre, Kodānā, 205, 207, 208, 211. Kodānāvan, 198. kola, 209 n. 2. kolavel, 206, 209, 210, kolavel-aya, 202, 205, 209. Kolinjivadi, 211 n. 3. Konow (Prof. Sten), 237 n. I. Konta Boganta, 206, 210. kön tree, 210. kopā, 68. Korala Devu, 210 n. 5. kōraļayā, 32, 33. Kora Nāthā, 207, 210 n. 5, 211. koļa, 138, 268 n. 1. Kotadanavu Deva, 200. Kotadanavu Devalnāvan, 256, 258. Kotā-wēriya, 73. Kotgam, 41, 44. Kotmale, 11, 14, 15. kottal-badda, 269 n. 1. Kottange, 82 Kottange-aramba, 82. Köţţē, 8, 9, 11, 16-20, 262, 263, 265. Kottiya, 207, 211. kottu, 47. kotu, 121, 123, 138. *kōvil*, 191. Kovivā, 207, 211. Kramavittan, 195 n. 4. Krishna valley, 274. kriya, 143. krtya, 285. ksatriya, 64, 65, 72, 103, 106, 185, 302, 304, 305. ksīra-pāyāsa, 254, 257, 259 n. 3. kubur, 42, 46 n. 6. kubura, 114. Kuccaveli, 152, 157. 113 n. 3. Kudā Rāmā, 207, 210 n. 5, 211. kudasalā, 184, 189-191, 250, 252. Kudasaļā Devu, 189, 190. Kudasalā Erā, 53, 54. Kudasalā-vatkāmi Sanghay, 64-67. kuduba, 46. Kudumirissa, 17. kukkan-maduva, 30. kula-sam-arub, 41, 43. kula-sataka, 227, 228 n. 5. kulat, 43 n. 6. kulat-sam-arub, 43 n. 6, 53, kuliya, 189, 190. Kulottunga III, 85. Kumāra Alakesvara (Alakeśvara II), 299, 300. Kumāradāsa, 11, 115, 118, 121, 122, 132, 287. Kumāra Dhātusena, 121, 122. Kumaratasa, 118. kumbha, 47. kumbuk, 206, 209. Kumbukkan Oya, 213.

Kuñcanaga, 220, 221, 227. Kunrāmā, 205, 209. Kunukohupitiya, 18. Kūragama Himi, 9 n. 1. Kuram plates, 152, 280. Kurunagala, 37, 50, 65 n. 9, 73, 77, 82, 99, 113, 134, 144, 164, 180, 186. kuruniya, 48, 49. kusalān, 80, 81 n. 10, 205, 209 n. 3. Kuttangala Vihare, 8, 13. fa, 112, 113. lāccam, 47. Lag-div, 180. laghu - prayatnatara - ya kāra, 119. lagi, 292. lagita, 227. lagitaka, 221, 222 n. 4, 292. lāha, 37, 38, 46-48. lahassa, 37, 38, 46-49. lahasu, 37, 38, 41, 44, 45. Lahugala, 142. Lakdiva, 64, 65, 72, 185, 309, 310. Lakvijaya Ābo Singu Senevinā, 75, 76, 79, 80. Lakvijaya Sam Singu Senevinā, 76-79, 81. Lakvijaya Singu Kit Senevi, 76. Lakvijaya Singu Senevi Ābonā, 75. Lakvijaya Singu Senevi Tāvurunā, 75. Lalitavistara, 154 n. 1, 155. Lämäni, 86, 89, 90, 96, 304. Lambakanna, 225, 226. Lam-janavu, 172, 174-176. Lamkā, 3, 12, 65, 68, 72, 106, 167, 168, 235 n. 1, 252, 269, 309, 311. Lamkā-adhikāra, 256, 258. Lamkādhipati, 268. Lamkātilaka, 11,77,88 n. 7, 92-94, 99, 272, 311 n. 2. Lanerolle (J. de), 130 n. 2, 232 11. 4, 284. längu, 292. Lankādīpa, 65 n. 4. Kudā Agbo (Aggabodhi II), Lankādvīpa, 65 n. 4, 185 n. 8. Lankārāma, 151. Lankātilaka-vihāra, 98. La-Paridadeva, 114 n. 2. Laparideva, 112, 114 n. 9. lāssa, 47. Latakatala, 132, 133. Lava-arana, 140, 141. layitaka, 276, 282, 284. leke kala, 265 n. 3. lekhyayak, 268 n. 7. lekkhya, 262. Lévi (Prof. Sylvain), 70, 152 n. 1, 243, 244. Ligor, 70. Līlāvatī, 76, 84. liyana-rāla, 30. liyannan, 32, 103, 259 n. 6. livannavun, 257. liyannō, 30. liyavaya, 282 n. 2. liyitaka, 282 n. 3. Loka, 84. Lokanātha, 84. Loke Arakmenā, 84-89. Lokesvara II, 84, 85. Lokeśvara-bāhu Cakravartti,

157, 307. Lokeyi, 207, 211. Lokissara, see Lokesvara. Longhurst (A. H.), 312. lo-sasun, 167, 168 n. 8, 309, 310 n. 8. Lower Dumbara, 48. Lower Hevahate, 11. Lunar dynasty, 305.

ma, 127, 130, 262. mā, 69, 149. mābo or mābō. 202. Macala-vehera, 143. Mādabi, 144 n, 8. mada-bim, 126. Madagama, 11, 134, 144. Madagama Dēvāle, 11, 269 11. I. Mädagoda, 17. Mädagoda Vihāre, 17. Mädakiňda, 30. Mādamālingam, 69. Mädapalāta, 20. Mädapalāta Koraļē, 99. Madararayana, 140, 141. Mäda-Ulpota, 37, 38, 43 n. 6, 46 n. 6, 54, 66 n. 3. Madavacciya, 115. Madavala, 16, 108 n. 4. Mäddekätiya-vava, 1. Mäddepatana, 271. maddhama, 14. maddhaye, 93, 103. Madhyadesa, 77, 79, 81. madhyaye, 93. Madirigiriya, 4, 66 n. 2, 151 11. 2, 271. Mādurē Koraļē, 82. maduvē ättē, 30. maga-kara, 282, 283. Magam Pattu, 124. Māgha, 85. magiva, 45, 184, 186. Magul - maha - vihāra, 161, 164. maha, 121, 130, 168 n. 5, 191 n. 2, 269 n. 3. mahā, 167 n. 2. Mahā Asthāna, 19, 30. maha-avasahi, 283. Mahābhārata, 177. Mahābodhi, 257, 258 n. 5, 260. Mahābodhivamsa, 86 n. 1, 303. Mahadali Mahana, 113, 114. Mahadaragala, 139, 141. Mahadathika Mahanaga, 113, 218 n. 2. mahādipāda, 179 n. 4, 187. Mahagariya, 123. maha gedi, 168 n. 5. Maha Kadaim-pota, 272. Mahā Kassapa, 197, 199. Mahā Kāsyapa, 10. Mahakilingam, 66. Mahā-Kumāradāsa, 121. Maha-kumaratasa, 121, 123. Maha-Kumaratasa Apaya, 123. Maha - Kumaratasa - raja Apaya, 124. maha-kusalān, 168 n. 5. Mahalapura, 73, 74, 77. mahale, 184, 250. mahāle, 189. mahale, 190 n. 9. Mahallakanaga, 7 n. 1, 216, 226, 227. mahaluvarun, 88 n. 7.

Lokesvara Natha, 107 n. 1, Mahamal Bud, 38, 41, 43, Mahinda II, 172. 46 n. 1. Mahāmalla, 43 n. 6. Mahāmeghavana, 66 n. 6. Mahameghavana Tissārāma, 66 n. č. Mahamevnā, 66 n. 6. Mahamevnā Tisaram, 62, 64, 66. Mahaminilä, 187, 190. Mahaminilä-bim, 187, 189. Mahāmuni (Buddha), 313. Mahānāga, 127, 216. Mahānāma, 111. Mahānāma Jetthatissa, 227. Mahanetpāmula, 17. Mahāniddesa, 70. mahapā, 51, 54, 182. mahāpā, 177, 179 n. 4, 180, 187. maha-pāṇan, 53, 60, 61, 177, 179, 187. mahapanan, 187. Mahapandi, 86, 304. Mahapotana Korale, 223. Maha Pracura Mabago, 17. mahāpramukha, 112. maharad, 248; -radun, 60, maha-raja, 114 n. 10, 143, 215, 237; -rajaha, 217, 221, 227; -raje, 231 n. 4; -1 aji, 222 n. 8, 231 n. 4, 294. Maharakäya, 41, 44. Mahārāstrī, 119. Maharat, 38, 39, 41, 43. maharat-lad, 43 n. 3. Maharatmale, 218 n. 2. Mahāraṭṭha, 38. Mahāsammata, 6, 7, 14, 15, 87, 88. Mahāsena, 224, 225, 227, 277-281. mahathera, 70, 89. Mabātittha, 11. Mahatota, 11, 14, 15. maha - väda - vun - täna, 19, 33. Mahāväğanā, 174, 175. Mahāvagga, 154 n. 1, 155. Mahavalatännē Disāva, 12. Mahaväliganga, 10, 11. Mahāvamsa, 3-5, 9, 11, 17, 38, 48, 61, 62 n. 1, 66 n. 5, 67, 69, 70, 73, 76, 77, 81 n. 6, 84, 95, 113 n. 3, 118, 121, 122, 131 n. 6, 143 n. 1, 148, 153, 157, 164, 171, 172, 177 n. 1, 181, 182, 194, 197, 199 n. 3, 200, 201, 214-216, 219, 222, 224, 225, 233, 234 n. 2, 235, 278 n. 1, 279-281, 303. Mahāvainsa Ţīkā, 48, 118 n. 2, 148 n. 7. mahavar, 189, 191. mahavednā, 41, 44. Mahāvihāra, 45 n. 6, 66 n. 6, 153, 158, 187, 189, 190, 277, 281. Mahavoți, 250, 252. Mahavutu, 11 n. 2. Mahāyāna, 136, 153, 157, 160 n. 3, 238, 239, 242, 243, 280. Mahendra, 205, 208. Maheśvara, 24-27. Mahikāntāva, 15. Mahinda, 5 n. 1, 65 n. 10, 171, 200, 208 #. 5, 242,

Mahinda III, 61. Mahinda IV, 43 n. 6, 51, 59-62, 66 n. 6, 82 n. 2, 125, 127, 210 n. 4. Mahinda V, 35, 51, 59, 61, 62, 64. Mahiyangana, 10, 202. mahogha, 254, 257. Maitreya, 107 n. 2. Maitrī, 93. Maitrī Mahanetpāmula, 17. Majjhima-vagga, 201 n. 2. Majumdar (S. N.), 235 n. 1. makara-torana, 98. makuvamha, 2. mal, 47. Mala District, 185. Malabar, 47, 48, 122 n. 1. Malagaņē, 180. Malaiyamān, 302. mala kahavana, 48. mālākārīn, 257. Malalasekara (G. P.), 86 n. 6, 97 n. 1, 302 n. 6. mala-madulu or mandulu, 181, 182 n. 5, 184 n. 1, 250. maļāraya, 11, 12, 30, 33. Māļatta, 174, 175. Malay Peninsula, 69, 71. Malaya, 181, 185 n. 4, 247, ²⁵², 301. Malayālam, 11, 297. Maldivian, 49 n. 1. Malhēna, 186. maļu, 181. maluvarun, 87, 88 n. 7. Malvattegala, 99. Malvatte Vihāra, 10, 110. Malvatu Oya, 38, 82 n. 2. Mānābharaṇa, 3, 5. Manakappambarāyaru, 206, 209. manāva, 48, 49. Mānavamma, 153. Mandakalapuva, see Batticaloa. Maņdalagiri Vihāra, 3, 4, 6. maṇḍalika-rāja, 108 n. 1. mandapa, 67, 186. manga-kusalān, 168 n. 5. Mangalagama, 100, 105, 100. Mangalapura, 77, 79, 80. Mangalrad Senu, 184, 185. manggiv, 64, 66. mang-giva, 54. mangiva, 42, 53, 56, 57. mangul, 260 n. 4. mangul-mindiyan, 257, 260 n. 4. mānikā, 46. Manikāragāma, 221. Ma(ni)karagamaka - vavi, 221, 222. Manimēkalai, 234, 235 n. 1. Manipallavam, 235 n. 1. Manitalā Kili, 184, 185. Māniya, 207, 211. Mañjughosa, 313. Manjusri, 313, 317, 318. Mañju-vāg, 158, 313, 315, 317, 318. Mannār, 150, 252 n. 6. Manonandana, 206, 210. Māntai, 252 n. 6. Māntöddam, 11. mantrisvara, 297. māpā, 25. Mapandi family, 86-88. Mā-pappālam, 69.

mapurum, II2. mapurumu, 112, 114, 291. Mapurumu Budasa Dali -Mugalana Maharaji Apaya (Moggallana II), 292, 294, 295. mapurumukā, 42, 112, 224, marakkāl, 49. marāļaya, 12, 30. Marayuvahahapa, 139, 140. Maricapitthi, 185 n. 11. Maricavațți, 185 n. 11. marumaneke, 217. massa, 49. mata, 281, 283. Mātalē or Mātalaya, 11, 14, 15, 24, 26, 28, 32, 33, 37. Mātalē Aṭasiyapattuva, 14, Matale District, 9, 54, 116 п. 1, 176, 285. Mātara, 122. mataramaji-baka or -buka, 228 n. 4. mataranyi-bika-pati, 227, 228. Mataviya, 217. Matdala Korala Devu, 207, Matdaļa Sātā, 207, 211. mați-viyala, 82 n. 2. Mäţiyanganē, 12 n. 1. Mātr-devaputra, 104, 107. mātr-vamsa, 297, 309. Maturata, 11, 14, 15, 272. Maudgalyāyana, 291. Maurya, 19, 86. Māvatu, 11 n. 2. Māvatu-rata, 11. may, 149. Māyā, 77, 79-81, 107 n. 7, 163. Māyādunne, 29. Māyatgamu, 99, 104, 108. Mayitrī, 93, 103, 107. Mayūra-sandesa, 298, 304-307. Mayūravatī, 9. me, 127, 130, 202, 227. mē, 30, 202. Medhamkara (Rev. Pandit M.), 69 n. 3, 77 n. 5, 86 12. 2. meghavaṇṇa, 66 n. 6. Meghavanna, Abhaya, see Mekavana Aba. mehekaruvan, 66 n. 3. Mehenavara-vamsa, 9, 301-306, 310. meheni, 19. mehevarin, 15, 265 n. 3, 268. mehi, 130. mekāppar, 179, 184, 250. mekavana, 130. Mekavana Aba, 224, 225, 227, 228. mek-hu, 46 n. 1. meku, 206, 207, 210 n. 5. melācci, 246, 251, 252. melātsi, 53, 54, 57, 64, 66, 67 n. 1, 246. melātsi-radkol-kamiyan, 67 12. I. melātti, 42, 45, 56. Menavara, 309, 310. Menavara Tunayan, 16, 19, 24-27, 264, 265. Mendez (Amaro), 29. Menikkadawara, 18. Meru, 310 n. 8. mapurmukā, 179, 189, 250. | mevan, 66 n. 6.

mevnā, 66 n. 6. -mi, 131. mīgon, 110 n. 1. Mihidala Si, 144. Mihindal, 147, 148, 177, 179, 211 1. 2. Mihind-maharad, 60, 61, 64. Mihind Mahayā or Mahapā, Mihintale, 43 n. 6, 47-49, 59 n. 1, 125, 146, 151 n. 2, 152, 170, 210 n. 4, 238, 242, 244. -*min*, 231. Min Dahampasaknā, 105, 100 Mindal, 198, 208 n. 5. Mind Atvara, 109 n. 3, Mindi, 206, 207, 210, 211. miṇḍi, 260 n. 4. Ming Emperor, 299. Minginiyapotta, 99, 105, 100 Mirisaväți, 278 n. 4. Mirisipiti, 181, 184, 185. Mitaya, 227, 228. Mivangamu, 174, 175. Miyangunu, 202. Miyangunubim, 198, 205, 207, 208, 211. Moggallana, 46-49, 86, 291, 293. Moggallāna 1, 122, 293. Moggallana II, 116 n. 1, 142, 150, 285, 287, 292-294. Moggallana III, 293. mohotti, 45 n. 12. Molāhiţiyavelēgala, 128, 100 n. 4, 217 n. 5. Moriya, 304. Mount Airy, 9. Mudali titles, 10. mudalivarun, 12. mudrā, 210 n. 4. mudu, 210 n. 4. Mugalana, 201, 202. mugam, 45 n. 12. mugaveț!i, 45 n. 12. Muhundehigama, 66 n. 5. Muhund-naru, 62, 64, 66 11. 5. Muhundnaruva, 66. Muhunnaru, 181, 182, 184, 185. Muhunnaruggāma, 66 n. 5. mukavetti, 45 n. 12. mukham, 45 n. 12. muk-hi, 38, 42, 45, 57, 58. mukhya, 45 n. 12. mula-sara, 126. mul-biju, 104, 107 n. 15. Müller (E.), 43 n. 6, 73, 115, 120 n. 1, 121, 123 n. 1, 124, 125 n. 3, 126 n. 1, 127, 134 n. 4, 152 n. I, 196, 197, 224, 228 11. 4, 243, 253, 254, 286. mul-pisä, 166, 168 n. 4. Mundal-kämiyā, 206, 209. mundu karandu, 206, 210 muni, 318. muninda, 65 n. 7. munīndra, 65 n. 7. munindu, 65 n. 7. munuburā, 9. munuburan, 51. munuburavun, 50, 53. munuburu, 50, 90. munuburuvan, 51. munubuvan, 50. munumbur, 35.

munumburan, 35. munumbuvan, 35, 41. nā, 258 n. 3. nä, 202. nā. 202. Nadana-gumu, 140, 141. naga, 65, 130, 214-216. Nāgadipa, 232 n. 4, 233-235. Nāgaiccāņi, 193-195. Nāga Kovila, 234. Nāgala-vihāra, 254. Nagama, 36 n. 2, 190 n. 2. Nagampaha Korale, 148, 215. nāgara, 44 n. 10. Nagaragiri, 200. Nagara Śrī Dharmmarāja, 70. Nāgārjuņakoņda, 274, 275. Nāgasa-deviyo, 298, 307, 309, 311. Nāgirikanda, 111, 112, 115, 122, 129, 130, 132, 137, 287-290, 293. Naka, 130, 214, 217, 224. Nakadiva. Sce also Nagadipa, 230, 232, 233, 237. Naka Maharaja, 216. Nakhon Si Thammarat, 70. Nākolagaņē, 109 n. 3. naksatra, 222 n. 2, 228 n. 9. näliya, 46-19. Nambiya, 207, 211. Nampota, 151 n. 1, 234, 235. Nam-sețți, 206, 209. nana-magini, 282, 283. Nandana park, 107 n. 6. nandavānam, 192, 194. nängi-avurudu-kada, 29, 32. Nāram-riyana, 99, 104, 109. Nardataka metre, 312, 314. narendraya-ha!a, 93. natannan, 257. Nātha, 28, 107, 157, 271, 298, 307, 309. Nātha Devale, 10, 19, 27, 269 n. 3, 271. Nā-tree, god of the, 307. nāvan, 258 n. 3. navaratnādhipati, 297, 308. Näviya, 207, 211. Nayakkar, 302, 305. Nepāl, 307. -ni, 127. Nicobar Islands, 235 n. 1. Nidānakathā, 154-156, 158, 160 n. 4. nij, 54 n. 7. nija, 54 n. 7. Nikāya Sangraha, 7 n. 1, 30, 44 n. 7, 88 n. 3, 95, 96, 98 n. 1, 99, 108 n. 1, 109 n. 8, 121 n. 2, 164 n. 3, 168 n. 5, 172, 242, 278, 279, 298, 300, 301. Nikāyattaya, 45 n. 6. Nikini, 8. Nīlagalla Buddha, 54 n. 5. Nilagama, 116 n. 1, 150, 285, 286, 289, 294, 295. Nilagama Tisa-arami Rajimaha-vahara, 294, 295. Nilakanta Sastri (K. A.), 193 n. I. nila-panduru, 30, 33. nilappoli-y - ūttukku, 192, 194-5 Nilasa tank, 123, 124. nilāyita, 310 n. 5. Nilgonnā Agbonā, 64, 66.

nili, 310 n. 5. Niligalu Bud, 51, 53, 54. nili-kit, 308. nima, 127. nimi, 127. nind, 51, 53, 54 n. 7, 251, 252 11. 13. ninda, 54 n. 7. ninda-gama, 54 n. 7. Nirmmanakaya, 245. Nirvāņa, 136. Nissamgala, 202, 206. Niśśamka, 93, 201. Niśśamka Alakeśvara, 99, 302. Nissamkagala, 201, 202, 210. Niśśamka Malla, 34, 47, 73, 75, 76, 83-85, 168 n. 5, 193, 201, 211 n. 3, 254, 302. Nissamka Patirāja, 99, 104, Nītupatpāņa, 151. Niyamgampaya, 301, 302, 304, 305. -no, 127. no-givisa(nu)vat, 262. nopavat, 81 n. 2. Northern Dagaba, Anurādhapura, 47, 216. Nugaliyadda, 296, 307. nuvara, 99. Nuvarakalāviya, 11, 111. Nuvarakalāviya District, 59. Nuvarakälē, 180, 182. | paṇam, 18, 30, 103-105. Nuvaravävē Kumārasimha Pānama Pattu, 142, 161. Mudiyansē, 20. Ōgodapola, 82. Okāvas, 64, 65, 183, 185.

Okkāka, 65 n. 3, 72, 185. Okkampitiya, 213. Oldenberg (H.), 154 n. 1. *ōlu*, 130. oluvadu, 130, 132, 133. Ootacamund, 312. Opanākē Māliyaddē - vela, 12. opula, 130. Opulavana, 130. Oruvala sannasa, 16, 17, 269 11. 3. osandavaluvan, 257, 260 n. olu, 105, 109 n. 4. ovunmage, 262.

pā, 49, 260 n. 3. pā-bat, 309, 311 n. 5. paca - maha - avasahi, 282, 283. pacavadita-sara, 126. pacayata, 120, 123. paccaya, 109 n. 9. pāda, 2, 119, 121, 124, 130, 148 n. 4, 243, 244. padama, 293. padamaka, 281, 282. padamaka-avanaka, 282. Pada tank, 124. pā-deņi, 260 n. 3, 257. Paderia Edict, 115 n. 3. padi, 282, 284. padi (seer), 47. padi (west), 222. padi-pasahi, 222. pahan, 60. pahata, 284. pahateni, 275. Pajana, 139, 141.

pajra, 12. pajuruvan, 12, 14. pak, 44 11. 4. paka, 221, 227. pala, 132, 133, 135, 139, 140, 145, 149. päļa, 222 n. 7. päla or päla (a measure), 35-38, 41, 44, 46-49, 105, 109, 175 n. 6, 202. Palābatgala, 96. Pa(lama)dama Apa, 139, 141. Pālamottai, 191. Pāli, 9, 43 n. 6, 47, 48, 67 n. 5, 68-71, 76 n. 3, 81 n. 6, 86, 96, 107 n. 4, 120, 124, 125, 149, 170, 197. Palispattuva, 28. Palkumbura, 8, 10, 28. Pallava, 153. Pallava Grantha, 117, 152, 153, 243, 280, 289. Pallavarāyar, 211 n. 3. pamanu, 36, 37, 42, 45, 57, 58, 189, 190. paincayan, 257, 260. pāmiņā, 80 n. 25. pämiņi, 80 n. 25. pamunu, 38, 43 n. 6, 45 n. 11, 87-90, 187, 309, 311 11. 4. Pamunuva, 99, 104, 108. Paņa, 157. pāna, 259 n. 1. panam-gäsvīma, 25. Panapalata, 140, 141. Panäspol-vatta, 206, 209. Panāvāli, 55-57. Panīca-mahā-āvāsa, 278 n. Pañcavimsati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, 238, 239. Pañcayojana-rattha, 201. Pandita Parākrama Bāhu, 18. Pandukābhaya, 157. Pandukambala, 104, 107. Pandyans, 164. pānē genä, 257, 259 n. I. pan-hala, 179 n. 7. Pāṇini, 313 n. 2. Pankuliya, 260 n. 3. Pannala, 77. Pannasāla, 77. pän-päl, 75, 81 n. 8. pansala, 9, 179 n. 7, 285. Pansiyapattuva, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, 28, 32, 33. Päpiliyāna, 125, 126. Pappālam, 69. Papphāla, 69. pār, 114 n. 9. parahar, 36, 65, 184. Parakkama, 85. Parakkanta-bhuja, 233. Parakrama Atvara, 109 n. Parākramabāhu, 77, 166, 168 n. 1, 169, 205, 208, 233, pa(va)tumha, 262. Parākramabāhu I, 2-7, 38, 44 n. 7, 67, 82 n. 2, 109 n. 8, 181, 198-201, 208, 255, 258.

Parakramabahu II, 68, 69,

Parākramabāhu V, 162, 163,

255, 302, 303.

253, 297.

Parākramabāhu IV, 164.

77, 96, 156, 196-199, 202,

Parākramabāhu VI, 16, 17, Pegu, 9 n. 1. 98, 125, 202, 209 n. 2, 298, 302. Parakramabahu VIII, 17-Parakramabahu IX, 17, 19. Parākramabāhu of Dodamvela, 16, 26. Parākrama-bhuja, 205, 208. Parākrama Pandita, 255. Pärakumbā, 162, 166, 168. Pärakumbāsirita, 298 n. 3, 302 n. I. Paramattha-vinicchaya, 70. Paramesvaravarman I, 152, 153, 289. Paramgi, 29, 32. Pāramīsataka, 97, 302. Parana Badalgoda, 77. Paranakūru Koraļe, 100. Parana-nuvara, 73. paranārī-parānmukha, 300. Paranavitana (S.), 12 n. 1, 13, 20, 34, 47, 49 11. 2, 50, 54, 59, 67, 73, 82, 90, 111, 115, 136. paribhoga, 184 n. 2, 250. Parida, 113. Paridadeva, 112, 113. Parideva, 112. Pārijāta tree, 104, 107. Pārinda, 113, 114. paritden, 202, 206. Parker (H.), 73, 74, 77. *partya*, 75. Pārvatī, 192. Pārvatī-satra, 193. pasa, 109 n. 9. pasahi, 219, 222 n. 7. pasakun, 257, 260. pasata, 46, 47. Pasdun Kōraļē, 201, 202. Pasgama, 272. Pasgam-rata, 11, 272. pas-laduvan, 251. pas-rata, 20, 24, 26. pasuvūvan, 7. Pasyodun District, 198-201. Pasyodun-vaga, 201, 205, 208. pata, 46-49, 121, 130. patabandavīma, 25. patagada, 121 n. 1. Pāta Hevāhata, 100, 271, 272, 296. pāla-kaļļuva, 269 n. 1. patakaya, 221, 222 n. 1, 275, 281, 283. Pāta-rața, 269 n. 1. patheyya, 222 n. 7. pati, 108 n. 1, 119, 126, 228 n. 4. Patiraja, 108 n. 1. Patisalala, 133. patkada, 272, 273. Pātradhātu, 14, 24, 25. pattha, 46, 47. Pattini, 15. Pattiyagama, 11, 272. pava, 283. pā vändä ā, 66 n. 2. pavatvā, 75. pave, 275, 282, 283. paya, 119, 124, 175 n. 6. payal or payala, 64, 66, 174, 175. pāyās**a, 2**59 n. 3. Paya-vāpara, 140, 141. payha, 148. Pedara Nāthā, 208, 211. Pedara Vijayā, 208, 211. l pegiva, 45, 53, 184, 186.

penum kada, 29. Pērādeņipura, 10. Peragama Senānāyaka, 105, 110. Pēräs-äļa, 12. peravā, 30. Pereira (Nuno Alvarez), 29. perenāļţiyam, 65, 67, 184, 186, 251, 252. perenaltu, 42, 45, 189, 190. Perera (S. G.), 29, 265. Perimiyankulam, 228 n. 4. Periyakādu Vihāre, 228 n. Periyaturai, 11. peta, 119. Phussadeva Sumangala Sāmi, Pieris (P. E.), 234. pihiti, 84. Pihiti-rajaya, 17. Pihiti-rața, 11, 80 n. 26. Piligama, 99, 105, 109, 126, 1 28. Pilikumbura, 87, 88. Pilikuţtuva, 127. Pilimatalavuva, 99, 105, 109, 269 n. 1, 272. Piliyana, 148. Piliyānavä, 149 n. 1. pīm, 60; pīmen, 60. pinin, 285. pin-pet devā, 258, 260 n. 10. piribhoga, 184 n. 2, 185 n. 5. piribo, 184 n. 2. pirivana, 202. Pirivatubim, 200, 256, 258. pirivena, 62, 66, 167 n. 2, 181, 185 n. 10, 186, 202. Pirivesikuța, 145 n. 4. Pirivesikuța Daļanā-hāmi, Pischel (R.), 119 n. 4. pisiya, 30, 32. pitassam, 43 n. 6. pitassam-arub, 43 n. 6, 54-57. pitassamu, 43 n. 6. pitassamun, 43 n. 6, 53. pitat, 43 n. 6. pitat-sam-arub, 41, 43. piți, 273. pitin, 46 n. 5, 57, 58 n. 2. piya-gät, 148, 149. piya-gata, 145. piyagiv, 64, 66. piya-giva, 42, 54, 56, 57. Piyaguka Tisa, 232, 233, 235, 237 Piyaguka-Tisa vihara, 232. Piyangudīpa, 233, 235. piyavasā, 259 n. 4. piyo-vadārannan, 184, 186, 252 11. 10. piyovadāranuvan, 252. piyum, 60. pohoyi, 291. pokuna, 151, 209. Polgasyāya, 186. poli, 44 n. 8. poliya, 41. poliya bändä, 44 n. 8. Polonnaruva, 3, 5, 6, 34, 38, 50, 51, 55, 57 n. 1, 58 n. 1, 59, 66 n. 5, 67, 76, 83, 84, 86, 92, 109 n. 5, 151 n. 2, 162, 192, 194, 198, 200, 202, 235, 254, 260 22. 8. pou. 48. Ponvāņī Mindā, 206, 210.

Porana Budu, 206, 211. Poraņa Maņiyā, 206, 210. Porana Sala, 207, 211. Portugal, 10. Portuguese, 28, 29, 32, 33, 106. Poson, 184, 185. pota, 267, 282, 283; potahi, 282, 283. Potuvil, 161. Poya Maluva, 9, 10. prabhu, 108 n. 1. prabhurāja, 108 n. 1, 299. pradeša-rāja, 108 n. 1. prākāra, 161. Prākrit, 119, 120, 131, 147. prāņa-hāni, 268. prasada-paravasa, 254. prati, 108 n. 1, 284. pratimā-sāstra, 103, pratiraja, 108 n. 1. pratitya-samutpāda, 242. pratyaya, 75. pratyeka-bodhi, 136. pre-Christian, 139, 151, 218, 228 n. 1, 319. prthuvisvarayan, 103. pūga, 44 n. 4. Pūjāvaliya, 66 n. 6, 69, 76, 77, 81 n. 8, 84, 86, 96 n. 4, 108 n. 1, 113 n. 3, 121, 122, 151 n. 1, 155, 156, 164, 168 n. 4, 182, 199, 201 n. 1, 215 n. 2, 216, 220, 221, 225 n. 2, 293, 294, 303, 304, 319. Puliyankulam, 51 n. 2. punamasiya, 224, 227, 228 11. 8. punapunā, 35, 41, 53, 56. Pungudu-tīvu, 235. puni, 285. puni-vadanaka-kara, 282, 283, 285. pupak, 35, 41, 44 n. 4. Purāņas, 235. purat-hi, 42, 45 n. 12, 57. puresvara, 75, 78. pūrnna-ghata, 176. pūrņņamāsa, 228 n. 8. Puṣya, 186 n. 1. put, 248; puta, 221, 222, Putabhattasela, 96. pute, 217, 231 n. 4. puti, 231 n. 4. Puttalam District, 234 n. puvak, 35, 44 n. 4. Puvak-aramba, 82. Puvarasankulam, 43 n. 6. puvaya, 227, 228 n. 7. puviha, 294, 295 n. 1. puviya, 294 n. 4, 295 n. I. Puyagonula, 130, 132, 133. Quadrangle at Polonnaruva, 59, 194 Queyroz (F. de), 17, 265. Radāgoda Vihāre, 8. rad-kol, 148 n. 3, 246. rad-kol-kamiyan, 41, 42, 53, 56, 64, 184, 251.

radol, 148 n. 3.

166, 291.

n. 4. rājadhāni, 138.

radū, 184, 185 n. 10.

rähänä, 189, 191 n. 5.

Rajadaru-bhandara, 14.

Rājagala. See also Rāssahela, i69. Rajamahavihāra, 37, 50. Rajamāligāva, 34 n. 1. Rājangane, 134. rājapprasāda, 254, 256. Rājarāja, 62. Rājaratnākaraya, 9, 10, 17, 304. Rājarattha, 3, 5, 77, 215. Rājasimha I, 12, 28, 265. Rājasimha II, 109 n. 7. Rājāvaliya, 9 n. 1, 16-19, 84 n. 2, 121 n. 2, 164 n. 1, 216. Rajavamsa, 11. Rajaveśya - bhujanga - man dapa, 67. rajehi, 237. Rajendra Cola, 69. raj-ge upāni kāmi, 43 n. 6. raji, 291. rajjuru, 14, 268. rajol. 148. rajottamayahata, 309. raj-payha, 148. Rak, 41, 44. Raka, 207, 211. Rakahala, 206, 211. Rakkha, 44 n. 7. raksā, 259 n. 6. Raksamana, 184, 190 n. 9. raksāva, 259 n. 6. Raku, 206, 210. Rāmacandra Bhāratī, 202. Rama Khomhëng, 70. Rambava, 36 n. 2. ran, 47. Ranava, 59, 147 n. 8. Rangama, 99, 104, 109. Rangoon, 155. ran-vahal, 206, 210 n. 3. Rasanakāva, 228 n. 4. Rasanayagam (C.), 234. Rasavāhinī, 278 n. 4. Rāsimha Maharaja, 12. Rāssahela, 169, 171, 172, 177, 185 n. 9. raļa, 39, 43 n. 3, 205 n. 5. raļa lābī karavana, 43 n. 6. rata-nāyaka, 268, 270. rața-sabhāva, 20. rat-kol, 246. rat-kol-kämiyan, see rad-kolkämiyan. rat-ladu, 179 n. 6; -laduvan, 53, 54 n. 2, 251. Ratnadvīpa (Ceylon), 235 Ratnakūta-sūtra, 242. ratnattraya, 256. rat-rana, 48. Rāvaņā, 177, 179, 269 n. 6. rāyan or rāyar, 233. Rayigama, 299. rejana, 114. rejena, 114. Rhys Davids (T. W.), 48. rici, 130, 132, 133, 136. ridī, 30. Ritigala, 139. rivi-kula, 72, 308. Rodiyas, 82 n. 4. Rohana, 3, 5, 84, 143, 162-164, 168 n. 3, 171, 172, 175 n. 7, 181, 185 n. 3, 215, 225, 226, 247, 252, raja, 18 n. 1, 25, 103, 124, 278, 301. Rsigirika, 237 n. 6. Ruhuna, 11, 272. Ruhunu-danavu, 80 n. 26, raja-daruvan-da, 166, 167 184, 185, 250.

Rūņu-raţa, 166, 168.

162, 164, 166-168. Rūnu-vehera, 164. rūpa-kāya, 239. Ruvanvälisäya, 85, 153, 200, 224, 225, 253, 258, 260, 269 n. 2, 285, 287. Ruvanväli-suvāmi, 257, 258 n. 5. Saba, 124. Śabana, I n. 1. Sabaragamuva, 11, 269 n. 1. sabhā, 36. Saddharma-pundarika, 313 Saddharmmālankāra, 278 n. 4. Saddharmmarājan Pirivana, 205, 208. Saddharmmaratnākara, 95-99, 107 n. 9, 298, 300, 303-306. Saddharmmatilaka, 107 n. q. Sadeva Ganaya, 139, 140. sādhā, 87, 88 n. 3. saga-begi, 123, 127. Sagama, 28, 96, 271, 296, 298, 300, 307, 309, 311. Sagama Vihāra, 272. Sagam-gandahaya, 272. Sagam-rața, 272. Sagam-tun-rața, 272, 273. sugasa, 117. sagat, 57, 58 n. 3. Sähä, 65. Sāhasamalla, 75, 76, 85. Sahasavarala Daļameya, 133, 136. Śailantāyatana, 202, 205,208. Saiva, 191, 193. Saka era, 93-95, 103, 106. Sakalakala Walla, 18. Sakala - vidyā - cakravartti, Sakanakana Vesiminiya Aba, 133, 136. sakata, 46. Sakka, 65 n. 6. Sakra, 13, 15, 24-27, 32, 34, 103, 104, 106, 107, 236, 258 n. 7, 269, 270. saktidhara, 309, 310. saktidhara-sanmukha, 309, 310 n. 6. sakundurayan, 257, 260. Śākya, 64, 65, 96, 159. Śākya-rāja-tilaka (Buddha), 158, 314. Salamevan, 61, 66 n. 6, 196 n. I. salasma or säläsma, 267, 268, 270 n. I. sāl-tune-bat, 32. Samadätiya, 250, 252. Saman, 21, 25, 27. sāmaņera, 149. also Adam's Peak, 10, 96, 269 12. 6. sāmayehi, 14. Sambhogakāya, 245. sam-daruvan, 42, 45 n. 4, 148 n. 2, 180 n. 2, 250, 251, 252 n. 2, 257. sam-daruyun, 148. Samdessa, 99, 104, 105, 108, Samgamu Vihara, 1, 6. Samghabodhi, 225, 226. Samghamitta, 277, 278, 280,

Rūņu - maha - vehera, 161, | Samghatissa, 225, 226. sayamala, 134. Schurhammer (G.), 29. samiti, 185 n. 9. samiya, 185 n. 9. Selliya, 207, 211. Sen, 172, 174, 175. sam-jarvan, 171, 177, 179, 180 n. 2. senā, 41, 44, 54, 57, 251, sammataya, 25. Sampale Tandere, 265. Sena I, 66 n. 5, 145, 148, 149, 169, 170, 242. Sena II, 47, 150, 170, 177, samudāva, 25. Samuddanagara, 66 n. 5. samvatā, 36. 181, 182, 247. samyak-sambodhi, 136. Sena III, 51, 187. sandhāna, 5, 7. Sena V, 51, 61, 62. sandhi, 244, 312. Senā Lamkādhikāra, 95,98, sandhi-vilakku, 194. 99, 104, 108. sang, 185 n. 10. Senan Kottiya, 207, 211. senāpatirāja, 108 n. 1. Sangā-radū, 182. Sangā-rajna, 60, 61, 64, 65. Senāsammata Vikrama Bāhu, 8-11, 13-16, 18-20, 28, 91, 262-266, 268, 270, Sangha, 65 n. 11, 182, 185 n. 10. sanghā, 8 n. 1, 10, 76, 89, 271. 90, 97, 127, 168, 228 n. 4, senevirat, 25, 103. 260 11. 4. Senevirat-pirivena, 80, 81. sangha-bhogika, 127. Senkadagala, 28, 271, 273, Sangradun Pirivena, 181, 298, 307, 309, 310. 184, 185. Senkhanda, 10. Sāngunā-panhala, 177-179. Sanhas Sivattā Nāyināru, Sennaru, 251, 252. Senu, 250. Sewell (R.), 273. 13, 15, 265 n. 3, 266. Shwe Dagon, 155, 319. Sanhas Sivattēva Kala Perumāl, 13. -si, 120, Sankha-senāpati, 77. Siam, 70, 229. sanmukha, 15, 309, 310 n. sidăva, 134, 144. siddha, 237. 6 siddham, 117, 147, 223, 227. Siddhartha, Prince, 258 n. Sannissiwatte Kulapperumal, 13. Sanskrit, 2, 3, 12, 69, 75, siddhi; 16, 24, 147, 174, 76, 89, 91, 93, 110, 120, 122, 124, 125, 149, 152-177, 179. 154, 157, 170, 202, 208 n. siddinguru, 35, 44 n. 10. sidha, 147, 229, 230. 2, 238, 239, 243, 244, 254, 297, 317. sidham, 114, 123, 147, 217 n. 1, 221, 294. Siduruvānā De-nuvara, 14, Santusita, 103, 106. Sāpāṇa, 99, 105, 109. 15, 28, 29. Saputala, 298, 307, 309, Siduruvānā Kadaim-pota, 311. 10, 11. sār, 119. Sigaliya, 206, 211. sara, 124-126. Sīgiriya, 145–147, 152, 178. Sihigiri, 178, 179. sāra, 119. sarak-rū, 109 n. 1. Saranankara, Thera (V.), silāmaya, 110. Silāmegha, 192, 196 n. 1. Silāmeghavanna, 46 n. 4, saras, 124, 126. 66 n. 6, 195 n. 3. Sārasiyapattuva, 14, 15. sime, 123, 127. Sarataraya, 113. simghalendra, 154. Saratväga, 174, 175. Simhala Bodhivamsa, 86 n. sarddhā, 254, 256. Śārdūlavikrīdita, 202. Simhala-peraliya, 9 n. 1. Sarogāmamūla, 86. Simhala-samge, 9, 263. Sasadāvata, 259 n. 5. Simhalē, 20. sasäta, 94. sasthira karavā, 273. simhalendra, 159 n. 2. Simhavarman, 288, 289. sasura, 216. siňdavi, 131. satanata, 130. Satara Kōraļē, 9, 18, 262 n. 1, 263, 268, 270. Singuruvāņa, 99, 103, 106. Sinhalese, 2, 5, 7 n. 1, 9, 20, 29, 30, 44 n. 4, 46 n. 3, 47, satara-varam-deviyan, 268. satar-pasa, 174, 175 n. 4. sat-ganaya, 267, 269; -ge-49, 54 n. 6, 57 n. 8, 59, 66 n. 6, 69, 74, 75, 81 n. 6, 84-86, 89, 92, 93, 95, 99, nehi, 257, 260 n. 8. 103, 106, 107 n. 4, 108 n. Sātiya, 206, 211. 1, 109 n. 9, 116-121, 122 sāttunā, 205, 209 n. 5; n. 1, 124-127, 130, 131, onāvan, 202. 133-138, 142-146, 149-Sätumba-detu, 205 n. 8. 152, 155, 162, 169-171, satva-dhanavū, 6. 176, 186, 190 n. 9, 193, satya-pratijītā, 24. 197, 201, 208 n. 2, 209 sava-satanata, 132, 133, 135, n. 2, 214, 215, 218, 219, 139, 140, 145. 221, 223, 229-231, 234 11. Savaya, 140, 141. 4, 235, 239, 248, 254, 255, sav-sat-hu, 149. 261, 262, 265, 269 n. 2, sav-satna!, 145, 149. 274-276, 279, 283, 284, saya, 140. sayaka (P. sataka), 130, 133, 287-290, 292, 296, 299, 311 1. 2, 319. 136, 139, 140.

sī-parapurā vä, 202, 205, | Śrī Dharmmarāja, 70. 208 n. 8. siri-bhoga, 184, 185 n. 5. Siridhara, 113. Siri Laka, 166, 250. Sirimegha Jetthatissa, 227. Sirimeghavanna, 224, 225, Sirinaga I, 219-222, 226, 227. Sirinaga II, 218, 219, 221, 222, 224, 226-228, 232. Sirinaka-maharaja, 219, 222, Sirisamboy, 177, 179. Sirisangabo, 85, 251 n. 2. Sirisangabo Lokesvarabāhu, 87-89. Sirisangabo Parākramabāhu, 205, 208, 253, 256, 258. Sirisangabo Śri Jayavīra Parakrama Bāhu, 16, 17, 21, 24-26. Sirisangabo Śrī Parākrama Bāhu, 19, 91. Sirisangabo Śri Parākrama-bāhu Vikramabāhu, 91. Siri Sangabo Śri Sakalakalā Sarvajna Pandita Jaya Suddhodana, 65 n. 5. Bāhu, 17. Siri Sangabo Śrī Senāsammata Vikrama Bāhu, 11. Siri Sangabo Śrī Vikramabāhu, 271, 273. Sirisangabo Vijayabāhu, 72. Sirisangbo Kasub, 246-248, 250, 251. Siri Sanghabodhi, 65 n. 2, 179 n. 3, 195 n. 3. Sirisanghabodhi Kassapa, 246. sirivat, 308, 310 n. 5. si!, 171, 174. siţä, 171. sițāṇa, 108 n. 4. Sītāvaka, 12. siți, 84. sittarun, 257. sīţļuva, 269 n. 1. situ, 25. Situlpavuva, 127. Śiva, 193, 291. Sivaljețu, 149 n. 1. Sivigonahi, 295. siya, 134, 291. siya-agana, 132, 133. Siyabaslakara, 283. Siyambalāpaya, 205, 209. siya-parapura, 208 n. 8. Skanda, 12 n. 1, 21, 25, 27, 151, 269 n. 6, 310. flesa, 297. floka, 93, 125, 202, 244. -smin, 292. sohovur, 248. Sokkanatha Temple, 211 n. soli, 189, 191. Solī, 87, 166-168. soliyä, 189. solos-mangalā, 257, 258 n. 9. Sona, 281. sonna-kahāpana, 48. Sorambara, 14, 15. soro, 79. Soruyur, 174, 175. Sotemuna, 77, 80, 82. Sotthisena, 227. Sragdharā metre, 243. \$rāvaka-bodhi, 136. fresthin, 108 n. 4. fri, 71, 112, 166, 296, 308. | tad-bhava, 149.

fri-ghana, 103. Śrī Jayavīra Maha Vädavun-tena, 10, 28, 32-34. Śrī Lankā, 155. Śri Mahābodhi, 257, 258 n. 5, 260. Śrimeghavarnna, 116, 150, 275, 285, 287, 292. Srī Parākrama Bāhu, 17. Śrī Rājasimha, 18. Silvarddhana Patiraja, 9 n. Stael-Holstein (Baron A. von), 238, 239, 242, 243. Stein (Sir A.), 118 n. 3. sthapati, 93, 103, 110. sthavira, 96. Still (J.), 61. Storey (II.), 4. stūpa, 1, 142, 144, 151, 155, 156, 158, 161, 213, 223, 237 n. 1, 238, 253, 254, 258, 259 n. 5, 260, 274, 319. Subrahmanya Aiyer (K. V.), 192, 193. sud, 44 n. 10. sud-hingur, 35, 41, 44 n. 10. Sudonā, 64, 65. Śūdra, 103, 106, 302, 304, 305. sudu-harak-pantiya, 30. sugandha-dipayen, 259 n. 1. Sugata (Buddha), 158, 159, 314. suhuru-badu, 7, 216. Sukhodaya, 70. sulu, 190 n. 2, 222 n. 9. suluvar, 191 n. 2. suluvedanā, 44 n. 7. Sumana, 15, 269 n. 6. Sumangalavilāsinī, 67 n. 5. Sumbulupat-hälla, 205, 209. Sumedhadevi, 256, 258. Sumitra, 20, 96. sum-vat, 191 n. I. Sunandā, 19. Sundā, 207, 211. Sundara-Mahādevī, 67, 68, 72. Supaniya, 207, 211. Surandhara, 310 n. 8. Surindhara, 297, 309, 310. Sūriya-vamsa, 14, 15, 24, 26, 72. sūru-badu, 7. Sūryya Maharaja, 12. susädi, 308, 310 n. 5. sut-vat, 189, 191 n. 1. Suva, 206, 207, 210, 211. Suva Godäliya, 207, 211. suvanna, 47, 48. Suva Patirāja, 105, 109. Suva, Prince, 105, 109. suvar, 189, 191 n. 2. suvarņņa, 48, 138. suvarņņābhiseka-mangalya, Suva Vatkämi, 206, 210. Suvayā, 207, 211. Suyāma, 103, 106. svasthira, 272. svasti, 14, 24, 25, 71, 89, 103, 147-149, 166, 174, 177, 179, 183, 250. Swamikannu Pillai (D. B.), 95 n. I.

taddhita, 135. -tāk, 177. Talagahamula Vihare, 9. täm, 115 n. 3. tamā, 285. Tamali, 70. Tamalingamu, 69. Tamankaduva, 4,68, 190 n.4. Tambalinga, 69, 70. tambar-atehi, 284. Tambarattha, 68-72. Tămbățikăļă, 148. Tāmbralinga, 70. Tāmbralingeśvara, 70. Tamil, 9, 29, 44, 45, 47-49, 54 n. 6, 69, 71, 85, 99, 106, 112-114, 131, 151, 164, 171, 191, 192, 194, 201, 208 n. 6, 209 n. 4, 211 n. 3, 229, 233-235, 299, 311 n. 2. Tammannagala, 148. Tammannava, 215. Tammannē-kanda, 235 n. 2. Tāmralinga, 69. Tamraparni, 235 n. 1. tānāyama, 265 n. 3. Tañja (Tanjore), 71. Tanjore, 71. Tapassu, 155, 156, 159 n. 4, 160 n. 4, 319. Tathāgata, 241. tatiya, 219, 221. tatsama, 2, 75, 93, 149, 297. Tavaa, 119, 123. tavalama, 205, 209. Tāvurunā, 76. Tāvuru Senevirat, 76. tedasa, 227. tel, 174. te(!)asa, 227 n. 5. tel-var, 191 n. 2. Ten-Kailāsam, 193-195. thabhe, 115 n. 3. thama, 114, 115 n. 3. thera, 68, 71, 72, 86, 90, 228 n. 4, 233. Theravada or Theravadin, 70, 136, 158, 187, 190 n. 7, 242. Thuparama, 126, 151, 257, 258 n. 15, 260, 278 n. 4, 283. Thūpavamsa, 81 n. 6, 254, 255, 257, 260. Tibet, 307. Tibetan, 242-244. timba, 46, 47, 49. Timbavatuva, 202. Timbirivava, 181, 184 n. 2, 223, 228 n. 3, 247 n. 2, 275, 301 n. 1. Timbotuva, 202. Tingavatu, 202, 205, 209. Tipitaka, 107 n. 4. Tiratenayavatta, 202, 206, 209. tiri, 112. Tiri Maha Saba, 114. Tirîtara, 114. Tiritenayāvatta, 202. Tiriyay, 151, 152, 155-157, 243, 312, 317-319. tiru, II2. Tirukunāmalaya. See also Trincomalee, 14. Tiruvālangādu plates, 178. Tisa, 218. Tisa-maharaja, 219, 221, 222. Tisāva Koraļē, 144. Tissamahārāma, 111. tithi, 295 n. 2.

Tonigala, 116, 118, 130, uparāja, 187 n. 2, 214; 215. 134, 150, 225 n. 1, 275, 285, 287, 291. Tooth Relic, 10, 14-16, 20, 24-27, 200, 269, 270, 295 n. 4, 303. Tooth-Relic Temple, 234 n. 4. Topāväva, 34. torana, 259 n. 2. Trapușa, 154, 155, 313, 314, 318, 319. Trapūssaka, 154, 159, 160, 313, 318. trikāya, 243. Trikāyastava, 242-244. Trikāyastotra, 152. Trincomalee, 11, 14, 15, 29, 151, 191. Tripitaka, 243. tri-ratna, 169 n. 2. Tri Simhala, 16, 25, 26, 79, 80, 103, 106, 310. tri-simhaladhīsvara, 297, 308. tubūva, 162. tudi, 191. tudiyä, 189. tuma, 284, 285; ha, 227; °haṭa, 282, 285; °hi, 282, 284; -kiceya, 282, 285; °nata, 276, 282, 285. tumba, 46, 47. Tumpanē, 20, 100. tun-bä-himin, 306. tun-kadekin, 79, 81 n. 3. tun-nakaya, 42, 45 n. 6. Tunpalāta, 100. tunuruvan, 7, 8 n. 1, 14, 24, 25, 267, 268. Tusita, 106 n. 10, 107 n. 2. Uba, 206, 210. ubbega-pīti, 157. Uda Abha Salamevan, 181. Uda Dumbara, 11, 28. Uda-kaţţuva, 12, 262. Udā Mahāpā, 187, 189, 190. Udapalāta, 20. Udapalāta Koraļē, 100. Uda-rața, 9, 32, 33. Udavili, 87. Udaya, 61, 62, 177 n. 1, 187. Udaya I, 47, 51, 171, 172, 301. Udaya II, 51, 60, 187 n. 1, 248. Udaya II (I), 181, 247, 248. Udaya III, 51, 60 n. 6. Udaya Abhaya, 181. Udayā Dasapālayā, 209. Udayā Raksamaņa, 252. uddharanaya, 80. Udugampola, 18, 19, 178. Udukaha Korale, 50. Udukiňda, 30. Udunuvara, 16, 20, 90, 99. Udusäla, 90. Uduvela, 105, 109. Uggal Alutnuvara Devale, 12. Ukkala, 155. ulavadha, 138, 139. Ulibikala, 217. Ulibikala - Naka - mahavi hara, 217. uluvadu, 130, 132, 133, 138. Unambuva, 11. Unapatānge, 99, 105, 109. Upajāti, 312, 314.

327 Uparāja Nāga, 214-217. uparikara, 66 n. 8. Upatissa II, 227. Upendravajrā, metre, 314. uposatha, 236, 291. Uppalavanna, 131. ūr-nattam, 311 n. 2. Utpalavarnna, 15, 261 n. 1, 268, 269. Uttara, 214-217, 227. uttarapassa, 222 n. 7. Uttara Phalguna, 222 n. 2. Uturala, 100. Uturālla, 100, 104, 108. Ūva, 12, 14, 15, 24, 26, 28. Ūva Province, 202, 213. uvaraja, 214, 217, 309. Ūva Tunkinda, 28, 30, 32-34. Uyavandā, 206, 210. vadāļamha, 170. Vadamaracci, 229. vadanaka, 282, 283, 285. vadanin, 170. väda-un-tän, 17. väda-un-täna, 25, 33, 262, 267, 269 n. 3. vadu, 133. vaga, 201 n. 2. vaga pangu vasam, 12. 233. vāha, 46. 233, 23 Vahaka Maharaja, 143. vahal, 104, 135. vahala, 134, 135, 139. vahalkada, 253. vahal-rū, 104, 109 n. 1. Vahana, 140, 141. vahandā, 257.

Vaha (for Vahaba), 232, Vahaba, 214, 215, 217, 232, -vahanse or -vahanse, 12, vahanse-varundäţa, 205. vahara, 133, 139; vaharata, 138-140; vaharaya, 143. Vaharakgoda, 198 n. 1. vaharala, 130, 132, 134, 135, 139, 140, 143, 294. vaharila, 130, 133, 134, 295. vahera, 118; vahere, 120, 130, 132; vaherataya, 120, 123, 138. vaherila, 295. vahira, 112; vahiraļa, 114. Vaišākha, 46 n. 3, 95. Vaisravana, 21, 269 n. 5. Vaisya, 103, 106, 302, 304-305. Vaitulya-vāda, 242. vajāļamha, 170, 174. vajāļeyin, 174, 175, 177, 179. vajanin, 170, 174, 175 n. 1. Vājiriya-vāda, 242. vajrāsana, 103, 106. valaj, 170, 174. Valakaya, 114. Valakna, 35, 41. Valallaviți Koraļē, 196. välän, 35, 60, 64. vaļand, 170. valandā, 36, 44 n. 6. valandanu, 36, 44 n. 6. välangai, 195. Valave Ganga, 9 n. 1, 156. Valentyn, 17. Valjeţu, 148.

Vällaväya, 161. Vallika, 154, 160, 313. Vallikaka, 159, 313, 318. Vallipuram, 229. valpita, 272, 273, 309, 311 Vamkanāsika Tissa, 214, 215, 227. Vamsastha, metre, 314. vändä vadāla, 66 n. 2. Vanik-vamsa, 302, 304, 305. vannakkā, 108 n. 2. Vannaku Nilame, 108 n. 2. vannakuvarun, 257. Vannipola, 13. Vanniyār, 20. Vap or Vapa, 24-26, 227, 228, 273. vāpara, 141. Vapasina-ayatan, 86-88. vapi, 125. vapyāsraya, 125. var, 191 n. 2. vara, 44 n. 5, 285; varä, 184, 190 n. 8, 250, 252 11. 3. varada, 187; varadānan, 187. varahala, 135. varaka, 282, 285. varala, 134. varasala, 135 Varāva Bhandara, 263, 265, 268, 270. Varayana, 140, 141. vāri, 65, 67, 184, 186, 189, 100. varundāta or varundāta, 202. vasa, 283; vasahi, 221, 227, 291; vasihi, 281-283, 201, 202, Vasabha, 151 n. 1, 214, 215, 217, 218, 225-227, 228 n. 4, 229, 232. Vasadavaya, 139, 141. vasala, 135 Vasantatilakā, 2, 72 n. I. vāsar, 124, 125; vāsara, 124, 125; väsar-pät, 125. väsi, 96 n. 3. vāstu-šāstra, 103. -vat, 310 n. 5. vala, 134, 139, 140. Vatadage, 76, 151. vataka, 123, 128. vata kata, 134. vala koļu, 134. vatanā-pasa, 105, 109 n. 9, 166, 168 n. 5. vat-himi, 171, 175 n. 5; -himisaranat, 174; -himi-

yan, 53, 175, 176 n. 2, Vetulya-vāda, 278. 179; -himiyanat, 174. vetvay, 131, 149. Vatkami Pedara Nāthā, 208, 211. Vatrak Kasbā Araksamana. 62, 64-67. vatu-badda, 209 n. 2. Vaudavili Hatpattu, 82, 87. väva, 125. vavi, 119, 125, 222, 227 228 n. 4; vaviya, 228 11. 4. Vavugam Pattu, 169. Vavuniyā, 48. vaya, 131. -vaya, 121. Vayatudala or Vayatudalaka, 276, 279, 280, 282, 283. vayavaya, 131, 132, 136, 149. Vaytudla, 279. väyutu, 171, 174, 175 n. 3. veda, 282, 285. vedahala, 41. vedha, 285. Vēgiriya, 298. veharala, 120, 133, 134. vehera, 10; vehera, 120; veherata, 138. Veheragala, 223. Veherakema, 142. veherala, 130, 132, 134, 144. veheraleya, 134. veher-atsam, 43 n. 6. Vela-assa, 14, 15. Velaikkāra, 194-196. Velgammula, 202, 205, 208. Velmilla, 51, 60 n. 6. vel-vässan, 53, 54. Vendaruva, 11, 28. vera, 162. Vēravala Vihāre, 8. Vesag, 46. Vesaga, 95, 106, 110, 205, 208. Vesak, See also Vesag, Vesaga, and Vesanga, 8, 16, 24, 26, 42, 46, 95, 103, 106, 205, 294, 295. Vesanga, 205 n. 4. Vesiminiya Aba, 133. Vessagiriya, 66 n. 6, 112, 127, 128, 131, 137, 139, 144, 149, 172, 187 n. I, 218, 223, 232, 287 n. 4, 294. Vessantara Jātaka, 98. veta-rat-lad, 43 n. 3. Vetulla, 278, 280, 283. Vetulya or Vetulyaka, 277, 279, 280 n. 1, 281.

Vijayarājā veva, 119, 120, 124, 125. veva-sara, 123-125. veyavaya, 131, 133, 149. veyi, 131. -vi, 121, 124. Vibhīsana, 15, 21, 25, 27, 269 n. 6, 306. Vīdāgama Maitrī Mahanetpāmula Maha Tera Sāmi, vidhi, 202, 206, 209 n. 6. vidi, 202, 209 n. 6. Vidiśä, 304. Vidyodaya, 209 n. 2. vigraha, 5, 7. Vigulavatta, 12, 93, 99. vihara, 112, 224, 232, 237; viharahi, 217, 227, 282; viharata, 291. vihāra, 1, 77, 81, 97, 99, 105, 107, 109 n. 9, 112, 118, 122, 148, 155, 157, 164, 167 n. 2, 196, 197, 208-210, 213, 224, 232-236, 285, 319. Vihara-devi-pirivena. 167, 168. Vihāra-Mahā-Devī, 163, 165-167, 169. vihāra-raksāva, 257, 259 n. 6. viharata, 291. Vihāregama, 37, 50. Vihāregoda, 124. vihira, 224; vihirahi, 227. vijam-desanāva, 104, 107 n. 4. Vijaya, 10. vijaya, 221, 222 n. 3. Vijayabāhu, 77, 198, 233, 255 n. 1. Vijayabāhu I, 66 n. 2, 68, 72, 77, 84, 157, 182, 193, 194. Vijayabāhu II, 253, 254. Vijayabāhu VI, 296. Vījayabāhu VII, 17, 19. Vijayabāhu - devar, 195. Vijaya-bhuja, 233. vijaya bhūmi bhaga, 10. Vijayakumāra, 226, 227. Vijayānā or Vijayānāvan, 198, 200, 205, 207, 208, 211, 254, 256, 258. Vijayanagara, 91, 164. Vijayā Patirāja, 104, 109. Vijayarāja Caturvedi-mangalam, 193-195. Vijayarāja Isvaram, 193.

yār, 194, 195. Vijayā-yāntan-nāvan, 200. vijstapati, 38. Vikkama-bāhu, 233. Vikkanta-bhuja, 233. Vikkirama Calāmega, 192, Vikkīrama 194, 196. Vikkīrama - Calāmega - t - te -Valangai Veļaikkāran, 194, 195. Vikramabāhu, 192, 193, 233, 265. Vikramabāhu I, 68, 72, 196 12. I. Vikramabāhu III, 12, 262, 271, 272, 299. Vikramabāhu Apā, 262, 265, 268, 270. Vikramabāhu of Kandy, 18, 28. vil, 126. vila, 126. Vilgammula, 86-90, 202. Villi, 87, 88. Vimalakīrtti, 96. vimāna, 91, 98, 107 n. 3. Vinaya, 280. Vinaya Piṭaka, 154 n. 1, 222 11. 7. Vinayattha Mañjusā, 49. Vīra Alakesvara, 298-300. Vīrabāhu Āpā, 299, 301, 306, 307. virāma, 2, 120, 142, 143 n. 2, 144, 145, 147, 150, 170, 261, 272, 297. Vīrāmkura, 172, 174, 175. Vīra Parākrama Bāhu, 16-Vīra Parākrama Bāhu VIII. 16. Vīrasimha Patirāja, 99, 104, 108. Vīrasundara, 99, 104, 109. Vīra Vikrama, 9. viruda, 36, 43 n. 1, 61, 80 n. 24, 177, 181, 187, 246-248. Virudha, 21, 269 n. 5. Virūpāksa, 21, 269 n. 5. Visā, 256, 258. Vișnu, 12 n. 1, 21, 24-27, 229, 261. Visuddhimagga, 156, 157. viya, 217 n. 6. viyadama, 29, 32. viyahena, 205 n. 4. viyala, 80, 82 n. 2, 205. viyala tänu, 209 n. I. Viyaulpata, 171, 176, 178, 185 n. 9.

Īśvaram-udai-95. 1-nāvan, 200. u, 233. uja, 233. alāmega, 192, talāmega-t-teangai Veļaik-Vohārika, 220. Votunu, 60. Vṛttamālā, 202. vū (Skt. bhū), 131, 149. vuļuna, 60. vuļuna, 60. vuļunu, 60, 64. vūvamha, 2.

Wickremasinghe (D. M. de Z.), 43 n. 6, 45 n. 3, 57 n. 8, 60 n. 6, 61, 66 n. 3, 76, 85, 86 n. 6, 94, 95, 113, 122, 125-128, 168 n. 5, 171 n. 5, 175 n. 6, 185 n. 9, 191 n. 2, 210 n. 4, 228 n. 4, 259 n. 5, 273, 301 n. 3, 305 n. 1, 311 n. 5.

Wijesinha (L. C.), 113, 122, 171 n. 5.

Woolner (A. C.), 119 n. 5.

-ya, 224, 292. yābat, 311 n. 5. yahan-govuvan, 189. Yajñiyakramavittan, 195. yāļa, 46, 47, 103, 104, 106, 108, 257, 258, 309, 311. Yama, 106 n. 9. yame, 282, 285. yāna, 136. yāntän, 200. Yāpā, 12. Yāpābhaṇḍāra, 11, 14, 15, 62 n. 1, 263, 268, 270. Yāpahuva, 164, 198. Yāpā Maharaja, 12. Yāpāpaṭana, 17. Yāpā Raja, 11. yasa-isirä, 250, 252 n. 1. -yāt, 131. Yaț-väga, 174, 175. *yați*, 110 n. 1. Yatikinda, 30. yati-migon, 105, 110 n. 1. yäți-miyarin, 79, 81 n. 5. Yatinuvara, 18, 20, 99. Yativili, 87. yisā, 171, 174. yittu, 171. Yogarnava, 47. yojana, 201 n. 2. Yugandhara, 309, 310. Yung-lo, 299. yuvarāja, 25, 61, 103, 113 n. 2, 166, 187.