EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF CEYLON



EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

DON MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF CEYLON

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF CEYLON

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

DON MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE

IN FOUR VOLUMES
1904-1934

VOL.I	VOL. II
1904-1912	1912-1927
Dy. 4 to, 332 pp. 30 Plates	*Dy 4 to, 348 pp, 39 Plates*
(Reprint London, 1912 Edn.) 1994	*(Reprint London, 1928 Edn.) 1994*
(Archaeological Survey of Ceylon)	*(Archaeological Survey of Ceylon)*

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

DON MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE

H.W. CODRINGTON

VOL.III
1928-1933

Dy 4 to, 380 pp. 38 Plates
(Reprint London, 1933 Edn.) 1994
(Archaeological Survey of Ceylon)

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

H.W. CODRINGTON
AND
S. PARANAVITANA

VOL.IV
1933-1934

Dy 4 to, 220 pp. 21 Plates
(Reprint London, 1934 Edn.) 1994
(Archaeological Survey of Ceylon)

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF CEYLON

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

DON MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE

H.W. CODRINGTON

IN FOUR VOLUMES
1904-1934

VOL. III
1928 - 1933

ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
NEW DELHI ★ MADRAS ★ 1994

ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
*31, HAUZ KHAS VILLAGE, NEW DELHI-110016.
CABLE : ASIA BOOKS, PH. : 660187, 668594, FAX : 011-6852805
*5 SRIPURAM FIRST STREET. MADRAS-600014

AES
₹2400. (Set of 4 Vols.)
First Published: London, 1933 (Archaeological Survey of Ceylon)
AES Reprint: New Delhi, 1994
ISBN: 81-206-0914-x
81-206-0917-4

Published by J. Jetley
for ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
C-2/15, SDA New Delhi-110 016
Processed by Gaurav Jetley
for APEX PUBLICATION SERVICES
New Delhi-110 016
Printed at Nice Printing Press
Delhi-110 092

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CEYLON

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF CEYLON

VOL. III

1928—1933

LONDON

PUBLISHED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF CEYLON BY HUMPHREY MILFORD

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMEN HOUSE, E.C.

1933

PREFACE

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

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

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

In transcribing the texts of the inscriptions, I have made a slight departure from the system followed in the two previous volumes. The mediaeval prototypes of the modern ligatures ඟ, ඬ, ඳ, and ඹ have been transcribed as *ṅg*, *ṇḍ*, *nd*, and *mb* instead of *ṅg*, *ṅḍ*, *ṅd*, and *ṁb*. We are not certain that the nasals in these combined consonants were only half pronounced in the ninth to twelfth centuries, as they are in modern Sinhalese. On the other hand, there are certain indications that, during this period, they were fully pronounced. The same symbols which have been transcribed as *ṅg* and *ṅd* when occurring in Sinhalese words of the mediaeval inscriptions have also been used in writing such words as *Kāliṅga* and *narendra* occurring in Sanskrit passages; and it is against the accepted usage to transcribe these Sanskrit words as *Kāliṅga* and *nareṅdra*. In such words as *maṅg* and *sand*, where these combined consonants are found without a vowel being added to them, it would be an impossibility to

pronounce the nasal only half. Therefore I have throughout transcribed these symbols showing the fully pronounced nasal as Dr. Wickremasinghe, too, has done in part 1 of the first volume.

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

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

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

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

S. PARANAVITANA.

OFFICE OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, COLOMBO.
June, 1933.

CONTENTS

PAGES

PREFACE iii
LIST OF PLATES vii
SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ix
ABBREVIATIONS xi
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS xiii

D. M. DE Z. WICKREMASINGHE, D.LITT.

1. CEYLONESE CHRONOLOGY 1–47
2. POḶONNARUVA: LAṄKĀTILAKA GUARD-STONE INSCRIPTION (Reg. No. 4) 48–50

H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S. (Retired).

3. THE ORUVAḶA SANṄASA 51–71

S. PARANAVITANA.

4. BADULLA PILLAR-INSCRIPTION (*A.S.C.* No. 350) 71–100
5. MANNAR KACCERI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION (*A.S.C.* No. 355) . . 100–113
6. THŪPĀRĀMA SLAB-INSCRIPTION OF GAJABĀHU I (*A.S.I.* No. 368) . 114–119
7. RUVANVĀLISĀYA PILLAR-INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF BUDDHADĀSA (388–416 A.D.) 120–126
8. A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION ON A PILLAR DISCOVERED NEAR JAFFNA ROAD, ANURĀDHAPURA (*A.S.I.* No. 92) 126–131
9. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE STONE CANOE WITHIN THE CITADEL, ANURĀDHAPURA (*A.S.I.* Nos. 365–367) 131–137
10. GIRITAḶĒ PILLAR-INSCRIPTION (*A.S.I.* No. 370) 138–148
11. AN INSCRIPTION OF NIŚŚAṀKA MALLA, FOUND NEAR THE VĀNÄḶA, POḶONNARUVA (Reg. No. 470) 149–152
12. TWO ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS OF BHĀTIKA ABHAYA AND MAHĀNĀGA AT MŌLĀHIṬIYAVELĒGALA 153–157
13. KUCCAVĒLI ROCK-INSCRIPTION (*A.S.I.* No. 383) 158–161
14. ROCK-INSCRIPTION AT PAHALA KAVINĀṬṬAMA (*A.S.I.* No. 424) . 162
15. TWO ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS AT VIHĀREGALA (*A.S.I.* Nos. 425–426) . 163–169
16. A NOTE ON THE 'ABHAYAGIRI' COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION . 169–171
17. TŌṆIGALA ROCK-INSCRIPTION 172–188
18. TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM EPPĀVAḶA 188–194

PAGES

19. GARAṆḌIGALA ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF KASSAPA III (*A.S.I.* No. 451) 195–199
20. IṄDIKAṬUSĀYA COPPER PLAQUES 199–212
21. KATARAGAMA INSCRIPTIONS 212–225
22. A FRAGMENTARY SLAB-INSCRIPTION FOUND AT THE 'BUDDHIST RAILING', ANURĀDHAPURA 226–229

H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S. (Retired).

23. THE KEVULGAMA INSCRIPTION 230–235
24. THE MAḌAVAḶA ROCK-INSCRIPTION 235–240
25. THE PALKUṂBURA SANNASA 240–247

S. PARANAVITANA.

26. TWO ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS FROM LABUĀṬABĀṄḌIGALA . . . 247–253
27. KAḶUDIYAPOKUṆA INSCRIPTIONS 253–269
28. COLOMBO MUSEUM PILLAR-INSCRIPTION OF KASSAPA IV . . 270–277
29. DĀDIGAMA SLAB-INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANEKA BĀHU VI . . 278–286
30. PILLAR-INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAIKABĀHU MAHAPĀ FROM ANURĀDHAPURA 286–288
31. TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF SENA I 289–294
32. VELMILLA SLAB-INSCRIPTION OF SENA III 294–302
33. TWO TAMIL PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS FROM BUDUMUTTĀVA . . 302–312
34. DEVANAGALA ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF PARĀKRAMABĀHU I . . 312–325
35. KAṬUGAHA-GALGĒ PILLAR-INSCRIPTION 325–331
36. THE TAMIL INSCRIPTION ON THE GALLE TRILINGUAL SLAB . 331–341

H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S. (Retired).

KAṬṬI 340–341

INDEX 343–358

CONTENTS

PAGES

PREFACE iii
LIST OF PLATES vii
SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ix
ABBREVIATIONS xi
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS xiii

D. M. DE Z. WICKREMASINGHE, D.LITT.

1. CEYLONESE CHRONOLOGY 1–47
2. POḶONNARUVA: LAṄKĀTILAKA GUARD-STONE INSCRIPTION (Reg. No. 4) 48–50

H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S. (Retired).

3. THE ORUVAḶA SANNASA 51–71

S. PARANAVITANA.

4. BADULLA PILLAR-INSCRIPTION (*A.S.C.* No. 350) 71–100
5. MANNAR KACCERI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION (*A.S.C.* No. 355) . . 100–113
6. THŪPĀRĀMA SLAB-INSCRIPTION OF GAJABĀHU I (*A.S.I.* No. 368) . 114–119
7. RUVANVĀLISĀYA PILLAR-INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF BUDDHADĀSA (388–416 A.D.) 120–126
8. A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION ON A PILLAR DISCOVERED NEAR JAFFNA ROAD, ANURĀDHAPURA (*A.S.I.* No. 92) 126–131
9. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE STONE CANOE WITHIN THE CITADEL, ANURĀDHAPURA (*A.S.I.* Nos. 365–367) 131–137
10. GIRITAḶĒ PILLAR-INSCRIPTION (*A.S.I.* No. 370) 138–148
11. AN INSCRIPTION OF NIŚŚAṂKA MALLA, FOUND NEAR THE VĀNÄḶA, POḶONNARUVA (Reg. No. 470) 149–152
12. TWO ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS OF BHĀTIKA ABHAYA AND MAHĀNĀGA AT MŌLĀHIṬIYAVELĒGALA 153–157
13. KUCCAVĒLI ROCK-INSCRIPTION (*A.S.I.* No. 383) 158–161
14. ROCK-INSCRIPTION AT PAHALA KAYINĀṬṬAMA (*A.S.I.* No. 424) . 162
15. TWO ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS AT VIHĀREGALA (*A.S.I.* Nos. 425–426) . 163–169
16. A NOTE ON THE 'ABHAYAGIRI' COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION . 169–171
17. TŌṆIGALA ROCK-INSCRIPTION 172–188
18. TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM EPPĀVAḶA 188–194

LIST OF PLATES

Polonnaruva: Laṅkātilaka Guard-stone Inscription. Plate No. 1 . . *to face page* 48

The Oruvaḷa Sannasa. Plate No. 2 . . . . . „ 66

„ „ Plate No. 3 . . . . . „ 70

„ „ Plate No. 4 . . . . . „ 70

Badulla Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 5 . . . . . „ 78

Mannar Kacceri Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 6 . . . . . „ 102

Thūpārāma Slab-Inscription of Gajabāhu I. Plate No. 7 . . . . „ 116

Ruvanvälisäya Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 8 . . . . . „ 126

Jaffna Road Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 8 . . . . . „ 126

Anurādhapura, Stone Canoe Inscriptions. Plate No. 9 . . . . . „ 132

Giritaḷē Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 10 . . . . . „ 139

Niśśaṁka Malla's Inscription found near the Vān-Äḷa, Polonnaruva. Plate No. 11 . . . . . „ 151

Kuccavēli Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 12 . . . . . „ 161

Pahala Kayināṭṭama Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 13 . . . . . „ 165

Two Rock-Inscriptions at Vihāregala. Plate No. 13 . . . . . „ 165

Tōṇigala Rock-Inscription of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa. Plate No. 14 . . . . „ 178

Two Inscriptions from Eppāvaḷa. Plate No. 15 . . . . . „ 190

Gāraṇḍigala Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 16 . . . . . „ 198

Iṅdikaṭusāya Copper Plaques. Plate No. 17 . . . . . „ 206

„ „ Plate No. 18 . . . . . „ 208

„ „ Plate No. 19 . . . . . „ 210

Kataragama Shrine, view from the S.E. Plate No. 20 . . . . . „ 212

Kataragama Kirivehera, view from the E. Plate No. 21 . . . . . „ 214

Kirivehera Slab No. 1. Plate No. 22 . . . . . „ 216

„ **No. 2.** Plate No. 23 . . . . . „ 218

Kataragama Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 24 . . . . . „ 222

Anurādhapura 'Buddhist Railing' Slab-Inscription. Plate No. 25 . . „ 226

The Kevulgama Inscription. Plate No. 26 . . . . . „ 234

Maḍavaḷa Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 27 . . . . . „ 238

Palkuṁbura Sannasa. Plate No. 28 . . . . . „ 246

LIST OF PLATES

Labuāṭabāṅdigala Rock-Inscriptions. Plate No. 29 . . . . . *to face page* 250
Kaḷudiyapokuṇa Cave-Inscription. Plate No. 30 . . . . . ,, 258
,, Slab-Inscription. Plate No. 31 . . . . . ,, 264
Colombo Museum Pillar-Inscription of Kassapa IV. Plate No. 32 . . . ,, 274
Dādigama Slab-Inscription. Plate No. 33 . . . . . ,, 280
Anurādhapura: Pillar-Inscription of Bhuvanaikabāhu Mahapā. Plate No. 34 . . . . . ,, 290
Kivulēkaḍa Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 34 . . . . . ,, 290
Poḷonnaruva: Vaṭa-dā-gē Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 34 . . . . ,, 290
Velmilla Slab-Inscription. Plate No. 35 . . . . . ,, 298
Two Pillar-Inscriptions from Budumuttāva. Plate No. 36 . . . . ,, 306
Devanagala Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 37 . . . . . ,, 320
Kaṭugaha-galgē Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 38 . . . . . ,, 328
The Tamil portion of the Galle Trilingual Slab. Plate No. 38 . . ,, 328

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

अ	ఁ	அ	a
आ	ఁా	ஆ	ā
—	ఁౄ	—	ä
—	ఁౣ	—	ā̈
इ	ఁి	இ	i
ई	ఁీ or ఁ్	ஈ or ஈ	ī
उ	ఁు	உ	u
ऊ	ఁూ	ஊ	ū
ऋ	ఁృ	—	ṛ
ॠ	ఁౄ	—	ṝ
ऌ	ఁ౪	—	ḷ
ॡ	ఁ౫	—	ḹ
—	ఁె	எ	e
ए	ఁే	ஏ	ē
ऐ	ఁై	ஐ	ai
—	ఁ౅	ஒ	o
ओ	ఁొ	ஓ	ō
औ	ఁౌ	ஔ	au
क	క	க	ka
ख	ఖ	—	kha
ग	గ	க (medial)	ga
घ	ఘ	—	gha
ङ	ఙ	ங	ṅa
च	చ	ச	ca
छ	ఛ	—	cha
ज	జ	ஜ, ச	ja
झ	ఝ	—	jha
ञ	ఞ	ஞ	ña
ट	ట	ட (when doubled ட்ட)	ṭa
ठ	ఠ	—	ṭha

ड	డ	ட	ḍa
ढ	ఢ	—	ḍha
ण	ణ	ண	ṇa
त	త	த	ta
थ	థ	—	tha
द	ద	த (medial)	da
ध	ధ	—	dha
न	న	ந	na
प	ప	ப	pa
फ	ఫ	—	pha
ब	బ	ப (medial)	ba
भ	భ	—	bha
म	మ	ம	ma
य	య	ய	ya
र	ర	ர	ra
ल	ల	ல	la
व	వ	வ	va
—	—	ழ	ḷa
—	—	ள	ḷa
—	—	ற	ṟa
—	—	ன	ṉa
श	శ	ச	śa and ça
ष	ష	ஷ	ṣa
स	స	ச or ஸ	sa
ह	హ	க or ஹ	ha
ळ	ళ	—	ḷa
ं (anusvāra)	ం	—	ṁ
ँ (anunāsika)	ఁ (?)	—	ँ
ः (visarga)	ః	—	ḥ
ऽ (avagraha)	—	—	'

ABBREVIATIONS

A. = Apabhraṁśa.

Abh. = Abhidhānappadīpikā, edited by Waskaḍuwe 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. J. 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).

Ds. = Daḷadāsirita. Dv. = Dīpavaṁsa.

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-Māhārāṣṭrī.

JŚ. = Jaina-Śaurasēnī.

Lit. = literally.

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

M. = Māhārāṣṭrī. Mg. = Māgadhī.

Mp. = Müller's plate.

Mr. = Mahāsammata-Rājāvaliya.

Mt. = Müller's text.

Mv. = Mahāvaṁsa. Mv. Ṭ. = Mahāvaṁsa Ṭikā.

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

Nām. = Nāmāvaliya.

Nar. = Narendracaritāvalokana-pradīpikā.

Nik. = Nikāyasaṅgraha.

Or. Soc. = Oriental Society.

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

Piyum. = Piyummala.

p. p. p. = past participle passive.

Pkt. = Prākrit. Pūj. = Pūjāvaliya.

R. = Rājāvaliya, printed edition.

R.A.S. = Royal Asiatic Society.

Rp. = Rājavikrama-pravṛitti.

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. Wijēsiṇha, translator of the Mahāvaṁsa.

Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

Volume III, Part 2

CORRIGENDA

Page 51, l. 3—*For* [illegible] *read* [illegible].

„ 78, l. 13—*For* Gon Samidi *read* Samidi Gon.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 2, line 22, *read* Guṇawardhana.

Page 6, No. 20, *read* 44–17.

Page 29, foot-note 2, *read* Guṇawardhana.

Page 30, foot-note 1, *read* Guṇawardhana.

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

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

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

Page 43, No. 174. *For* 2054–2071 *and* 2071–2072 *read* 2046–2059 *and* 2059–2064; *for* 1511–1528 *and* 1528–1529 *read* 1503–1516 *and* 1516–1521. *See* pp. 283, 428, and 582 of Schurhammer's work cited above.

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

Page 44, No. 175. *For* 21 years *read* 30 years; *for* 2072–2093 *and* 1529–1550 *read* 2064–2094 *and* 1521–1551 (*ib.* pp. 283, 584, 585, and 675).

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

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

Page 45, No. 176. *Read* Dom João Dharmapāla. This king was baptized in 1557 (*ib.* p. 643).

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

2, line 22, *read* Gunawardhana.

6, No. 20, *read* 44–17.

9, Nos. 42–44. Regarding the identification of these three kings with the rulers mentioned in the Maharatmalē Rock-inscription, *compare* p. 156.

12, No. 68, *read* Pārinda.

19, No. 116. Regarding Dappula IV's parentage, *compare* pp. 141–142.

20, Nos. 118, 120, and 121. Regarding the relationship of these three monarchs, *see also* pp. 141–142, 296, and 262–264.

29, footnote 2, *read* Guṇawardhana.

30, footnote 1, *read* Guṇawardhana.

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

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

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

43, No. 174. *For* 2054–2071 and 2071–2072 *read* 2046–2059 and 2059–2064; *for* 1511–1528 *and* 1528–1529 *read* 1503–1516 *and* 1516–1521. *See* pp. 283, 428, and 582 of Schurhammer's work cited above.

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

44, No. 175. *For* 21 years *read* 30 years; *for* 2072–2093 *and* 1529–1550 *read* 2064–2094 *and* 1521–1551 (*ib.* pp. 283, 584, 585, and 675).

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

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

45, No. 176. *Read* Dom João Dharmapāla. This king was baptized in 1557 (*ib.* p. 643).

48, lines 18–19, *for* two *gāthās*, each containing two nineteen-syllable lines *read* a *gāthā* in the *Saddūlavikkīḷita* (Skt. *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*) metre.

49, line 15, *for* epitaph *read* epigraph.

51, line 3, *for* සව *read* සස.

54, footnote 1, *for* Ulukuḍaya *read* Ulakuḍaya.

55, line 23, for *kūkkan maḍuva* read *kukkan maḍuva*.

57, line 6, for *Śandēsaya* read *Sandēśaya*.

Page 67, transliteration, line 14, *for* Dānna *read* Dāna.
72, line 8, *for* Horaboravävawas *read* Horaboravävа was.
77, text C, line 27, *for* isä *read* isā.
77, lines 43–44, *for* keṇekun *read* kenekun.
77, text C, line 49, *delete* full-stop after van.
77, text D, line 22, *for* Samdaruvan *read* samdaruvan.
78, text D, line 52, *for* Golabāgama *read* Goḷabāgamu.
78, line 13, *for* Gon Samidi *read* Samidi Gon.
78, line 30, for *mandrāḍi* read *mandraṇḍi.*
79, line 5, for *mandrāḍiās* read *mandraṇḍi.*
79, line 10, for *välākma* read *väläkma.*
81, line 33, *for* Samidi — *read* Samidi =.
82, line 2, for *Samadā* read *samadā.*
82, line 15, for *ayyan* read *ayyaṇ.*
84, lines 30–31, *for* Udā Siri Saṅgabo *read* Sirisaṅgbo Udā.
85, line 21, *for* on *read* in; *for* Hopiṭigam padiya *read* Hopiṭigamu-padiya.
88, footnote 4, *delete* bracket before *Māyā.*
90, footnote 5, *for* Mc Grindle *read* Mc Crindle.
91, line 27, *for* of the exaction *read* with the exaction.
91, footnote 1, *for* vyavahāranāṁ *read* vyavahārāṇāṁ.
94, line 7, *for* Äppāvala *read* Eppāvaḷa.
96, line 7, for *manavan* read *manavun.*
97, line 8, for *nāli* read *nāḷī.*
97, line 19, *insert* full-stop *after* mentioned.
99, line 18, *for* Niśśanka *read* Niśśaṅka.
103, lines 6–7, *for* Bahadurusen *read* Bahadurasen.
103, text A, line 16, *for* avu *read* āvū.
104, text C, lines 18–19, *for* vadanā *read* vadnā.
105, text D, line 3, *insert* hyphen *after* pe°.
105, text D, line 4, *insert* hyphen *before* °rähärä.
105, text D, line 29, for *Bahaduru-sen* read *Bahadura-sen.*
105, text D, footnote 1, *for* Pilaviṭi *read* Pilaviṭ.
106, line 10, *read* Mäḍiligiriya.
106, line 24, for *gäḷ* read *gäl*; for *sakaṭa* read *śakaṭa.*
109, footnote 3, *for* Daṁbavalagama *read* Doṁbavalagama.
112, line 17, for *kiri vara, tel vara* read *kiri-var, tel-var.*
117, line 6, for *amuna* read *amuṇa.*
123, footnote 3, *for* the Duṭṭha-gāmaṇī *read* that Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.
125, line 30, *for* Jaggayapeṭa *read* Jaggayyapeṭa; for *Peṭi* read *Peṭa.*
127, text A, lines 5–6, *for* para puren *read* parapuren.

Page 133, lines 2 and 13, *for* Mahāpālī *read* Mahāpāḷī.

135, line 23, *for* Jetanana *read* Jetavana.

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

141, footnote 5, *for* 13 *read* 60.

143, line 30—page 144, line 2. Regarding the Sinhalese *gē-* name *Ratnāyaka*, Mr. Codrington thinks that it might be derived from *rat(na)+nāyaka*. He also adds 'Ratnāyaka seems to be a temple officer and is still in use in Sabaragamuva. It thus would more naturally be *rat* (= *ratha*) + *nāyaka*. The car is still used at Saman Dēvālē to my own knowledge. But at Uggal Alutnuvara Dēvālē, the duties of the *ratnāyaka* include giving out the usual clothes, taking charge of the keys of the dēvālē chests, taking care of the money and clothes, &c., while the *attanāyaka mohoṭṭāla* keeps accounts of things taken out and in at the *perahäras* and takes the lead in drawing the car. Possibly the duties of the two offices have got mixed up. But if not, I think *rat* must be equivalent to *ratna*'. (Letter dated May 15, 1932.)

146, line 13, for *paṛṛu* read *paṟṟu*.

152, footnote 4, for *bhriti* read *bhṛti*.

154, line 14, *for* Kuṭakaṇa *read* Kuḍakaṇa.

155, text, *for* sagasa *read* śagaśa.

156, footnote 5, delete full-stop after *puta*; for *Puṭakana* read *Puḷakaṇa*; *for* Devanápiva *read* Devanapiya.

157, line 3, *for* Abaya *read* Abhaya.

164, line 19, *for* Äppāvaḷa *read* Eppāvaḷa.

168, l. 30, for Skt. *kṛṇītvā* read P. *kiṇitvā*.

175, line 6, for *lavana* read *lavaṇa*.

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

176, line 25, for *gena* read *geṇa*.

179, line 8, *insert* 'in the variant form *puvaya*' after 'word'.

180, line 25, for *Kṛtesu* read *Kṛteṣu*.

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

183, line 28, *for* Äppāvala *read* Eppāvaḷa.

184, line 16, for *ammana* read *ammaṇa*.

187, line 20, for *lavana* read *lavaṇa*.

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

187, footnote 2, for *Yāgum* read *Yāguṁ*; for *annañ* read *aññañ*.

188, line 6, for *vaḍavataka* read *veḍhavataka*.

188, line 16, for *Nikinni Sand, Mädin Sand* read *Nikinni-sand, Mädin-sand*.

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

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

220, line 15, *read* word.

223, lines 20–21, *for* Dambdiv *read* Dambadiv.

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

224, line 9, *for* Ruhuṇ *read* Ruhuṇu.

225, footnote 6, for *Variyan* read *Väriyan.*

228, footnote 7, for *Doraṭu* read *Doroṭu.*

233, line 1, *insert* full-stop at the end of the line.

233, line 2, for *minisun* read *Minisun.*

241, line 10, *for* Visuddhimargga *read* Visuddhimagga.

250, line 14, for *kahapaṇas* read *kahavaṇas.*

251, line 9, for *nikita* read *nikata.*

251, line 16, for *geṇeya* read *geṇeye.*

251, line 17, for *geṇe* read *geṇa.*

252, footnote 2, for *Raṭṭhiki* read *Raṭṭhika.*

260, line 13, *for* Kalaväli *read* Kalalväli.

260, footnote 7, *for* Koṭagama *read* Koṭgam.

273, line 14, *read* Kāliṅgarāyar.

276, line 6, *for* Valviṭi *read* Valviṭ.

276, footnote 4, for *Sangha* read *Saṅgha.*

280, text B, line 12, *for* tunaruvangē *read* tunuruvangē.

280, line 13, *for* ajñāya *read* ājñāya.

281, line 25, for *Siṁhala saṅgē* read *Siṁhala saṁgē.*

281, footnote 7, *for* Childer's *read* Childers'.

282, footnote 4, *for* Sangha *read* Saṅgha.

284, line 15, *for* Kūrugama *read* Kūragama.

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

No. 1. CEYLONESE CHRONOLOGY

THE chronological problems that have been raised in the past numbers of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* make it indispensable that we should have some sort of a settled chronological table of Ceylon kings, to which we could consistently refer in our future discussions. We propose, therefore, to prefix to this number such a one, which, though probably subjected to criticism, we feel sure, will none-the-less be welcome to the readers of this publication.

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

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

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

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

[1] For example, see below, p. 5, note 1.

[2] See Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 22. Cf. also Pradhan's *Chronology of Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1927), Ch. xxii for arguments adduced in favour of fixing the death of the Buddha in 487 B.C. instead of in 483 B.C.

[3] As adduced by Fleet, *Ib.*, pp. 5 and 333.

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

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

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

---

[1] See below, p. 11 and Sylvain Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 316 et seq. and pp. 401 et seq.

[2] For these three synchronisms, see Hultzsch, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 525.

[3] By means of adding or omitting reigns or making two contemporaneous kings rule one after the other instead of simultaneously in different parts of the Island. This supposition is not improbable when we consider that the Thera Dhammakitti who wrote this portion of the *Mahāvaṁsa* or rather the *Cūlavaṁsa* lived in the thirteenth century A.D. when 544–543 B.C. era was well established in Ceylon. See below, p. 25.

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

[5] See *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 338, n. 1. [6] pp. xiii and xiv.

[7] We use the title *Mahāvaṁsa* to include the second part of this work, namely, the *Cūlavaṁsa*.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CEYLON KINGS

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CEYLON KINGS

Abbreviations:—*Rp* = Rājavikrama-pravṛitti. *Mv* = Mahāvaṁsa including Cūlavaṁsa. *c* = current. *MR* = Mahāsammata-Rājāvaliya. *R* = Rājāvaliya, printed edition. *Rr* = Rājaratnākara. *Sr* = Saddharmaratnākara. *Pūj* = Pūjāvaliya. *Ds* = Daḷadāsirita. *Dv* = Dīpavaṁsa. *Nik* = Nikāyasaṅgraha. *Nar* = Narendracaritāvalokana-pradīpikā.

No.	*Name and relationship*	*Length of reign*		*Buddhist era whether based on* 483 B.C. *or on* 544–543 B.C.	*Christian era based on* 483 B.C. *as the year of Buddha's death*	*Christian era based on* 544–543 B.C. *as the year of Buddha's death*	*Seat of Government and cause of end of reign*	*Synchronisms and Remarks*
		Mahāvaṁsa	*Other sources*					
				A. B.	B. C.			
1	**Vijaya** *Son of Siṁha-Bāhu, king of Lāla in India.*	38	38	1–38	483–445	—	Tambapaṇṇi-nagara (*Sinh.* Tammännā-nuvara) *natural death*	The chronology from Vijaya to Devānampiya-Tissa is purely traditional, and is not trustworthy for reasons adduced elsewhere; cf. Geiger, *Mahāvaṁsa*, Translation, p. xxi; Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 339–340; Pradhan's *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 243–244.
	INTERREGNUM (***Upatissa*** as regent).	1	1 } 32 *R*	38–39	445–444	—	Upatissa-nagara	
2	**Paṇḍuvāsudeva** (Sinh. ***Paṇḍuvas-dev***) *Son of king Sumitta of Lāla, brother of No. 1.*	30	30	39–69	444–414	—	" *natural death*	
3	**Abhaya** *Son of No. 2.*	20	22 *R*	69–89	414–394	—	" *abdication*	
	INTERREGNUM (Prince ***Tissa***, *brother of No. 3 as regent*).	17	—	89–106	394–377	—		
4	**Paṇḍukābhaya** *Nephew of No. 3.*	70	30 *R*	106–176	377–307	—	Anurādhapura *natural death*	
5	**Gaṇa(pa)-Tissa** *Son of No. 4.*	—	40 *R*		—	—	"	No. 5. *R* and *Rp* make Gaṇapa-Tissa to have been a son of No. 4, and allot him a reign of forty years, and his predecessor thirty years. *Dv* and *Mv* omit him altogether.
6	**Muṭasiva** *Son of No. 4 or, according to R and Rp son of No. 5.*	60	60	176–236	307–247	—		

7	**Devānaṁpiya-Tissa** (Sinh. ***Devana-pā-Tis***) *Second son of No. 6.*	40	40	**236–276**	**247–207**	—	,, *natural death*	This Buddhist date agrees with all the Sinhalese and other Buddhist historical works.
8	**Uttiya** *Brother of No. 7.*	10	10 *Pūj*	276–286	207–197	—	,, *natural death*	
9	**Mahāsiva** *Brother of No. 8.*	10	10 *Pūj*	286–296	197–187	—	,, *natural death*	
10	**Sūra-Tissa** (***Suvaṇṇa-piṇḍa-Tissa*** before Coronation) *Brother of No. 9.*	10	10	296–306	187–177	—	,, *deposed*	
11	**Sena** *Tamil usurpers. Sons of a horse-dealer.*	10	22	12 *Dv*	306–328	177–155	—	,, *slain or deposed*	Regarding the duration of usurpation, see Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 349, and Geiger, *Mv.* Translation, p. xxxv.
12	**Guttaka**	12						
13	**Asela** Wrongly stated as *brother of Nos. 7 to 10 or son of No. 6.*[1]	10	10	**328–338**	155–145	—	,, *slain*	Date agrees also with *Nar.*
14	**Eḷāra** (Sinh. ***Eḷāla***) *A Cōḷa-Tamil ruler.*	44	44	338–382	145–101	—	,, *slain*	
15	**Duṭṭhagāmaṇi** (Sinh. ***Duṭugämuṇu***) *Son of Kākavaṇṇa-Tissa* (see *E.Z.*, Vol. I, p. 142).	24	24	382–406	101–77	—	,, *natural death*	Date agrees also with the *Nar.*
16	**Saddhā-Tissa** (Sinh. ***Sädä-Tis***; inscr. ***Devanapiya Maharaja Gamiṇi Tisa***) *Brother of No. 15.*	18	37 *R, Rp*	406–424	77–59	—	,, *natural death*	,, ,,

[1] Mahānāma who wrote this portion of the *Mahāvaṁsa* in the sixth century A. D. (see p. 12 below) was evidently trying to adjust the lengths of the reigns of the kings who ruled between two well-known epochs of Buddhist history, namely the reign of Devānaṁpiya Tissa (No. 7) 236–276 A. B. (247–207 B. C.) and that of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (No. 15) 382–406 A. B. (101–77 B. C.)—a period of 106 years. The length of Eḷāra's reign (No. 14) may be accepted as correct, but those of Nos. 8 to 13 look like pure guess work. In any case we cannot very well identify Asela (No. 13) with Asela, the ninth son of No. 6, for in that case the latter would have been at least 92 years old at his accession and 102 at his death—such longevity being improbable.

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign: Mahāvaṁsa	Length of reign: Other sources	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
				A. B.	B.C.			
17	**Thūlathana(ka)** (Sinh. ***Tul-nā***) *Son of No. 16.*	1 month 10 days	1 year 8 months *R, Rp*	424	59	—	Anurādhapura *slain or deposed by No. 18*	Date agrees also with the *Nar.*
18	**Laṅja-** or **Ḷajji-Tissa** (Sinh. ***Lämäṇi-Tis***; inscr. ***Devanapiya-Tisa Abaya***) *Brother of No. 17.*	9 years 14 days	9 years 8 months 14 days *Pūj* 9 years 8 months *Nar*	424–433	59–50	—	,, *natural death*	See Fleet, *loc. cit.*
19	**Khallāṭanāga** (Sinh. ***Kaḷun-nā***) *Brother of Nos. 17–18.*	6 years	6 years *Nar*	433–439	50–44	—	,, *slain by his general Kammahārattaka*	*R* omits this king.
20	**Vaṭṭa-Gāmaṇi-Abhaya** (Sinh. ***Vaḷa-Gam-Bā***; inscr. ***Devanapiya Maharaja Gamaṇi Abaya***) *Brother of No. 19.* On the throne	5 months	5 months				,, *ousted*	
21	Tamil usurpers while king in exile: **Puḷahattha** 3 years	27 years						
22	**Bāhiya** 2 years	14 years 7 months	3 years 7 months	**439–466**	44–1	—	,, *each slain by the succeeding usurper, No. 25, slain by No. 20*	Date agrees with *Nik*, see *E. Z.*, I, table facing p. 142.
23	**Panayamāraka** 7 years							The Buddhist scriptures were committed to writing for the first time during the reign of No. 20 (*Mv.* and *Pūj.*).
24	**Piḷayamāraka** 7 months							The famine called Bāminiṭiyā-sāya occurred in this reign (*Pūj.*); but according to *R*, in the reign of Cōra-nāga No. 27.
25	**Dāṭhika** or **Dāṭhiya I** 2 years							
(20)	Back on the throne.	12 years	12 years 7 months					

Pūj 16 years 7 months

26	**Mahācūḷī Mahā-Tissa** (Sinh. ***Mahasiḷu-Maha-Tis***; also called ***Mahadāḷiyā-Tissa***) *Son of No. 19.*	14 years	—	466–480	17–3	—	" *natural death*	
27	**Cora-nāga** *Son of No. 20.*	12 years	—	480–492	3 B. C.–9 A. D.	—	" *poisoned*	
28	**Tissa** (or ***Kuḍā-Tissa***) *Son of No. 26.*	3 years	—	492–495	A. D. 9–12	—	" *poisoned*	
29	Queen **Anulā**[1] With ***Siva*** 1 year 2 months With ***Vaṭuka*** 1 year 2 months With ***Dārubhatika-Tissa*** 1 year 1 month With ***Niliya*** 6 months Alone 4 months *Widow of No. 27.*	4 years 3 months	5 years 4 months *Pūj*	495–500	12–17	—	" *slain by No. 30*	*Pūjāvaliya* gives Balat-Siva 1 yr. 2 m. Vaṭuka 1 2 Brahman (Niliya?) 0 6 Astrologer Vāsukī 1 1 Bāḷa-Tisu (Dārubhatika-Tissa) 1 1 Alone 0 4 5 yr. 4 m.
30	**Kuṭakaṇṇa-Tissa** (Called also ***Makalan-Tissa*** or ***Kāḷakaṇṇi-Tissa***) *Son of No. 26 or brother of No. 28.*	22 years	—	500–522	17–39	—	" *natural death*	Date of accession agrees with *Nar*, though another MS. gives accession 494 A. B., death 516 A. B.
31	**Bhātikābhaya** (Called also ***Bhātika-Tissa I*** or ***Bhātiya-Tissa***) *Son of No. 30.*	28 years	18 *R*	522–550	39–67	—	" *natural death*	Date of accession agrees with *Nar*. According to another copy [B. M. Or. 6606(62)] he died in 544 A. B.

[1] It is wrong, we think, to identify this lady with Anulādevī, the queen of Nos. 19 and 20. According to *Pūj.* No. 29 was the wife of No. 28, but *Mv.* states that she was only the wife of No. 27, and that she poisoned both No. 27 and No. 28.

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign: Mahāvaṁsa	Length of reign: Other sources	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
				A. B.	A. D.			
32	**Mahādāṭhika-Mahā-Nāga** (Sinh. ***Mahadäḷiyā-Mānā***) *Younger brother of No. 31.*	12 years	—	55c–562	67–79	—	Anurādhapura *natural death*	
33	**Āmaṇḍa-Gāmaṇi Abhaya** (Sinh. ***Aḍa-Gämuṇu***) *Son of No. 32.*	9 years 8 months	—	562–572	79–89	—	" *slain by No. 34*	Date of accession agrees with *Nar.*
34	**Kaṇirajānu-Tissa** (Sinh. ***Kiṇihiridaḷa***) *Younger brother of No. 33.*	3 years	—	572–575	89–92	—	" *natural death*	
35	**Cūlābhaya** (Sinh. ***Kuḍā-Abā*** or ***Suḷu-Abhā***) *Son of No. 33.*	1 year	—	575–576	92–93	—	" *natural death*	
36	**Queen Sīvalī** *Daughter of No. 33 or younger sister of No. 35.*	4 months	—	576	93	—	" *deposed*	
37	**Iḷa-Nāga** (Sinh. ***Eḷunnā***) On the throne, 1 year / Deposed by the Lambakaṇṇas, 3 years / Back on the throne, 6 years *Bhāgineyya or nephew of No. 33.*	10 years	—	576–586	93–103	—	" *natural death*	It was in the first year of Iḷa-Nāga that the Lambakaṇṇas deposed him. Both Geiger and Fleet omit recognition of this fact in their list of Ceylon kings.
38	**Candamukha-Siva** (Sinh. ***Saṅda-muhuṇu***) *Son of No. 37.*	8 years 7 months	—	586–595	103–112	—	" *slain by No. 39*	Date of accession agrees with *Nar.*

39	**Yasalālaka-Tissa** (Sinh. ***Yasasiḷu***) *Son of No. 37 or brother of No. 38.*	7 years 8 months	8 years 7 months	605 603	118–120	—	" *slain by order of No. 40*	
40	**Subha-rāja** *A gate-watchman, son of Datta, also a gate-watchman.*	6 years	—	603–609	120 126	—	" *slain by No. 41*	
41	**Vasabha** (Sinh. ***Vähäp***) *Of the Lambakaṇṇa clan.*	44	—	609–653	126 170	—	" *natural death*	
42	**Vaṅkanāsika-Tissa** (Sinh. ***Vaknähä-Tis,*** and ***Vannäsinambapa***; inscr. ***Devanapiya-Tisa Maharaja***) *Son of No. 41.*	3	—	653–656	170–173	—	" *natural death*	For comments on the probable identity of No. 43 with Gajabāhu, king of Laṅkā mentioned in the *Śilappadhikāram*, see Codrington's *Short History of Ceylon*, pp. 24, 26, and 34, Paraṇavitāna in *C.A.* vol. x, p. 115, and Krishṇaswāmi Aiyangār's *Maṇimēkhalai*, p. 40.
43	**Gajabāhuka-Gāmaṇi** (Sinh. ***Gaja-bā***; inscr. ***Devanapiya-Gamiṇi-Abhaya Maharaja***) *Son of No. 42.*	22	12 *Nar* 24 *R and Rp*	656–678	173 195	—	" *natural death*	
44	**Mahallaka-Nāga** (Sinh. ***Mahaḷu-Nā,*** and ***Mahaḷu-Mānā***; inscr. ***Devanapiya - Naka Maharaja***) *Father-in-law (?) of No. 43.*	6	6	679[1]–685	196[1]–202	—	" *natural death*	Regarding the relationship of No. 44 to Nos. 42 and 43, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, pp. 60–62.
45	**Bhātika-Tissa II** (Sinh. ***Bātiya-raja***) *Son of No 44.*	24	24	685–709	202–226	—	" *natural death*	
46	**Kaniṭṭha-Tissa** (Also called ***Cūḷa-Tissa***) *Younger brother of No. 45.*	18	18	709–727	226–244	—	" *natural death*	

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

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign: Mahāvaṁsa	Length of reign: Other sources	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
				A.B.	A.D.			
47	**Khujja-Nāga** (Sinh. ***Kuhun-Nā***) *Son of No. 46.*	2	2	728[1]–730	245[1]–247	—	Anurādhapura *slain by No. 48*	
48	**Kuñca-Nāga** (Sinh. ***Kuḍā-Nā***) *Younger brother of No. 47.*	1	1	730–731	247–248	—	" *deposed*	Ekanāḷika famine broke out. For reference to a famine in Kānchi probably about this period, see KrishṇaswāmiAiyangar's *Maṇimēkhalai*, p. 20.
49	**Siri-Nāga I** (Sinh. ***Siri-Nā*** or ***Kuḍā Siri-Nā***) *Brother-in-law of No. 48.*	19	19	732[1]–751	249[1]–268	—	" *natural death*	
50	**Vohārika-Tissa** (Sinh. ***Vēra-Tissa***) *Son of No. 49.*	22	22	752[1]–774	269[1]–291	—	" *slain by No. 51*	This agrees very nearly with *Nik*, which gives 752–4–10 A.B. as the date of accession of No. 50.
51	**Abhaya-Nāga** (Sinh. ***Abā-Sen***, and ***Abhā-Tissa***) *Brother of No. 50.*	8	8 2 *R*	774–782	291–299	—	" *natural death*	
52	**Siri-Nāga II** (Sinh. ***Siri-Nā***) *Son of No. 50.*	2	2	782–784	299–301	—	" *natural death*	
53	**Vijaya-kumāra(ka)** (Sinh. ***Vijayiṅdu***) *Son of No. 52.*	1	1 6 *R*	784–785	301–302	—	" *slain by No. 54*	
54	**Saṅgha-Tissa I** *Of the Lambakaṇṇa clan.*	4	4	785–789	302–306	—	" *poisoned*	

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

55	**Siri-Saṅghabodhi I** (Sinh. ***Dähämi Siri-Saṅgabō***) *Of the Lambakaṇṇa clan.*			789–791	306–308	—	" *abdication*	
56	**Goṭhābhaya**, called also **Meghavaṇṇābhaya** (Sinh. ***Goḷu-Abā***) *Of the Lambakaṇṇa clan.*	13	13	792[1] 805	309[1]–322	—	" *natural death*	This date agrees with *Nik*, for 798 A.B. expired = fourth regnal year of Goṭhābhaya = the foundation of the Sāgaliya sect.
57	**Jeṭṭha-Tissa I** (Sinh. ***Kalakan-Deṭa-Tis*** or ***Makalan-Deṭa-Tis***[2]) *Son of No. 56.*	10	10	806[1]–816	323[1]–333	—	" *natural death*	
58	**Mahā-Sena** (Sinh. ***Maha-Sen***) *Younger son of No. 56.*	27	27 24 *R*	817[1]–844	334[1]–361	—	" *natural death*	This date agrees closely with *Nik*, *R*, *Rp*, *Pūj*, and other Sinhalese chronicles.
59	**Siri-Meghavaṇṇa (Kitti-s-Siri-Meghavaṇṇa I)** (Sinh. ***Kit-siri-mĕvan***) *Son of No. 58.*	28 *c.*	28	845[1]–872	362[1]–389	—	" *natural death*	Meghavaṇṇa's embassy to Samudragupta (326–375 A.D.). Cf. Sylvain Lévi in *J.A.*, 1900, pp. 316 ff., 401 ff. Also Geiger *Mahāvaṁsa*, Translation, Introduction, p. xxxix. The arrival of the Buddha's Tooth-relic in the ninth regnal year of No. 59 (*Mv.* xxxvii. 92).
60	**Jeṭṭha-Tissa II** (Sinh. ***Deṭa-Tis***[2]) *Younger brother of No 59*	9	10 *R*	872–881	389–398	—	" *natural death*	
61	**Buddha-dāsa** (Sinh. ***Bujas***) *Son of No. 60.*	29 *c.*		881–909	398–426	—	" *natural death*	Mahā Dhammakathī translated the Pāli suttas into Sinhalese in the reign of No. 61 (*Mv.* xxxvii. 175). Arrival of Fa-Hian *circa* 411–413 A.D. Cf. *E. Z.*, Vol. I, pt. iii, p. 83, and *J.R.A.S.*, 1911, p. 1144.

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

[2] Or *Deṭu*.

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign: Mahāvaṁsa	Length of reign: Other sources	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
				A.B.	A.D.			
62	**Upa-Tissa I** *Eldest son of No. 61.*	42	42	909–951	426–468	—	Anurādhapura *slain*	Mahānāma's embassy to China in 428 A.D. (Sylvain Lévi, *J.A.*, 1900, pp. 412, 421). This may have taken place probably when Mahānāma was a priest wielding power in Upatissa's reign. Cf. also *J.R.A.S.*, (*C.B.*), vol. xxiv. No. 68, p. 107.
63	**Mahānāma** *Brother of No. 62.*	22	20 *R*	951–973	468–490	—	" *natural death*	
64	**Sotthi-Sena** (Sinh. ***Sen-got***) *Son of No. 63.*	1 day	1 day	973	490	—	" *poisoned*	Buddhaghosa's visit and the commencement of his commentaries on the Buddhist canon in Mahānāma's reign (No. 63). See *Mv.* xxxvii. 243–244.
65	**Chatta-gāhaka Jantu** (Sinh. ***Sat-gāhaka***; also called ***Lämäṇi-Tis***) *Husband of Saṅghā, daughter of No. 63.*	1 year *c.*	1 year	973	490	—	" *natural (?) death within the year*	
66	**Mitta-Sena** (Sinh. ***Mit-Sen***; called also ***Karal-Sora***) *A minister of No. 65.*	1 year	6 years *R*	973–974	490–491	—	" *slain by No. 67*	
67	**Paṇḍu** *Tamil usurper.*	5 years *c.*	—	974–978	491–495	—	" *natural death*	*Six Tamil usurpers Nos. 67–72.*
68	**Parinda** *Son of No. 67.*	3 years *c.*	—	978–981	495–498	—	" *natural death*	According to *R* seven usurpers apparently counting from No. 66.
69	**Khudda-Pārinda** *Younger brother of No. 68.*	16 years *c.*	—	981–996	498–513	—	" *natural death*	Dhātu-sena (No. 73), all the time waging war against the usurpers.

70	**Tiritara** *Tamil usurper.*	2 months	—	996	513	—	" *slain by Dhātusena* (*No. 73*)	
71	**Dāṭhiya II** *Tamil usurper.*	3 years	—	996–999	513–516	—	" *slain by No. 73*	
72	**Pīṭhiya** *Tamil usurper.*	7 months	—	999	516	—	" *slain by No. 73*	
73	**Dhātu-sena** On the throne probably In captivity (Sinh ***Dā-Sen-Kāḷi(ya)***) *Of the Mōriyan dynasty.*	10 8 } 18 years *c.* 26 years actual rule of No 74	18 years	999–1009	516–526 (*a*)	—	" *put to death by No. 74*	(*a*) A *Dīpavaṁsa-pakaraṇa* was compiled in Pāli by Mahānāma, the incumbent of Dīghāsana- or Dīghasanda-vihāra (*Nær. Mv.* xxxix. 42); obviously the first thirty-seven chapters of the *Mahāvaṁsa.* This Mahānāma Thera was Dhātusena's mother's brother (*Mv.* xxxviii. 16 and 59). Kassapa I (No. 74) took his father Dhātusena prisoner and ascended the throne (*Mv.* xxxviii. 84–85). So he reigned while No. 73 was alive. Hence part of reign of No. 73 is included in No. 74. It is improbable that both 73 and 74 reigned the same number of years each.
74	**Kassapa I** (Sinh. ***Kasubu*** or ***Sīgiri-Käsubu***) *Son of No. 73.*	18 *c.*	18 years	1009–1035	526–552 (*b*)	—	Anurādhapura and Sigiriya *committed suicide* (*Mv.* xxxix. 27)	(*b*) Kassapa's embassy to China, 527 A.D. (see Geiger, *Mv.* Tr. Introd., p. xl). Moggallāna's invasion was in the eighteenth regnal year of Kassapa I according to *Mv.* xxxix. 20, but we are not sure
75	**Moggallāna I** (Sinh. ***Mugalan***) *Son of No. 73.*	18 years	18 years	1035–1053	552–570	—	Anurādhapura *natural death*	
76	**Kumārādi-Dhātusena** (Sinh. ***Kumāra-Dās*** or ***Kumara-Dāsen***) *Son of No. 75.*	9 years *c.*	9 years	1053–1062	570–579	—	" *natural death*	

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign: Mahāvaṁsa	Length of reign: Other sources	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
				A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		that the eighteenth year is counted from the time of the imprisonment of No. 73. If it was the case, Kassapa's reign ended in 1027 A. B. (544 A. D.).
77	**Kitti-Sena** (Sinh. ***Kit-Sen***) *Son of No. 76.*	9 months	**9 years** *R* 6 years *MR*	1062–1071	579–588	518–527	Anurādhapura *slain by No. 78*	The duration of Kitti-Sena's reign as given in *R* seems to us to be more correct. It agrees with the reading *vassamhi* (Geiger's ed. of *Cv.* p. 38). So we have accepted it in our calculation.
78	**Sīva I** (Sinh. ***Mädi-Siv***) *Uncle of No. 77.*	25 days		1071	588	527	,, *slain by No. 79*	
79	**Upa-Tissa II** (Sinh. ***Lämäṇi-Upa-Tissa***) *Father-in-law of No. 80.*	1 year 6 months	1 year 6 months *Pūj* 2 years 6 months *Nar*	1071–1073	588–590	527–529	,, *died through grief*	
80	**Amba-Sāmaṇerādi-Silā-kāla** (Sinh. ***Lämäṇi Aṁba-heraṇa-Salaměvan***; called also ***Lämäṇi-Akbo*** in *R*) *Moggallāna I's sister's husband, also husband of daughter of No. 79.*	13 years *c.*		**1073–1086**	**590–603**	**529–542**	,, *natural death*	The introduction for the fourth time of the Vaitulya canon Dhammadhātu = the twelfth regnal year of this king (No. 80) = 1088 A. B. current = 852 after the introduction of Buddhism (*Nik.* and *Mv.* xli. 37); therefore accession = 1076 *c.*, a discrepancy of only about two years, which will almost disappear if we follow *Nar* and take *diyaḍḍha-vassa*
81	**Dāṭhāpabhuti I** (Sinh. ***Dāpuḷu-Sen***) *Second son of No. 80.*	6 months 6 days	6 months	1086	603	542	,, *suicide on field of battle*	

82	**Moggallāna II** or **Cūla-Moggallāna** (Sinh. ***Daḷa-Mugalan***) *Eldest son of No. 80.*	20 years *c.*	20 years	1086–1105	603–622	542–561	" *natural death*	(*Mv.* xli. 26) to mean 'two and half years' as Wijesinha has done.
83	**Kitti-Siri-Megha** [-vaṇṇa] **II** (Sinh. ***Kuḍā-Kit-Siri-Mĕvan***) *Son of No. 82.*	19 days	19 years *R*, *Pūj*	1105	622	561	" *slain by No. 84 A*	We do not think that the length of the reign of No. 83 as given in *R* and *Pūj* can be correct, considering that No. 84 A was a contemporary of Nos. 80, 81, and 82. The text of *Mv.* xli. 91 is, moreover, ambiguous. It may be inferred from it that the day on which Mahānāga (No. 84 A) killed No. 83 was the nineteenth from his departure from Rohaṇa. This might or might not have been the nineteenth day after the accession of No. 83.
84 A	**Mahānāga** (Sinh. ***Senevi-Mānā***) *Of the Moriya-vaṁsa.*	3 years *c.*	3 years	1105–1108	622–625	561–564	" *natural death* or *slain by No. 84 B* (*R and Pūj*)	
84 B	**Lämäṇi-Siṅgānā** (Called also ***Lämaṇi-Siṁha*** and ***Saladaḷa-bōnā***)		9 years				" *slain by No. 85*	No. 84 B is omitted in the *Mahāvaṁsa* and *Nar*, but appears in the *Pūj* and all the *Rājāvaliyas*. The Sinhalese authorities seem to indicate that Nos. 84 A and B were two different persons, and not one and the same individual.
85	**Aggabodhi I** (Sinh. ***Akbō***) *Mahānāga's nephew.*	34 years *c.*	30 *R*	1108–1141	625–658	564–597	" *natural death*	
86	**Aggabodhi II** (Sinh. ***Kuḍā-Akbō***) *Son of sister of No. 85.*	10 years *c.*	10	1141–1150	658–667	597–606	" *natural death*	
87	**Saṅgha-Tissa II** (Sinh. ***Asiggāha-Saṅgha-Tissa***) *Brother of No. 86 R and Pūj*	*not stated*	2 months *R*, *Pūj*	1150	667	606	" *slain by order of No. 88*	No. 87 is probably identical with Saṅghabhadda; see *Mv.* xlii. 42.
88	**Moggallana III** or **Dalla-Moggallāna** (Sinh. ***Lämäṇi-Bō-nā-Mugalan***, or ***Mädi-Bō-Mugalan***) *General of No. 86* (*Mv.*, xliv. 2–3)	6 years *c.*	6 years	1150–1155	667–672	606–611	" *slain by No. 89*	

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign: Mahāvaṁsa	Length of reign: Other sources	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
				A. B.	A.D.			
89	**Silāmeghavaṇṇa**, called also **Asiggāha(ka)** (Sinh. ***Salamĕvan***) *Son of Malayarāja* (*Mv.*, xliv. 53–56)	9 years *c.*	9 years	1155–1163	672–680	611–619	Anurādhapura *death through illness*	
90	**Aggabodhi III,** called also **Siri-Saṅghabodhi II** (Sinh. ***Siri-saṅga-bō***) *Son of No. 89.*	6 months		1163	680	619	" *ousted*	
91	**Jeṭṭha-Tissa III** (Sinh. ***Lämäṇi-Kaṭusara Deṭa*[1]*-Tis***) *Son of No. 87.*	5 months		1163	680	619	" *suicide on battle-field*	
[90]	**Aggabodhi III** (throne recovered)	12 years	16 *Pūj*	1163–1175	680–692	619–631	" *dethroned and driven back to India, finally died in Rohaṇa through illness*	Cf. *Mahāvaṁsa* xliv. 126–131 and 143–144.
92	**Dāṭhāsiva**, afterwards called **Dāṭhōpa-Tissa I** (Sinh. ***Lämäṇi-Daḷupa-Tis***) At war with No. 90 4 years *c.* *A general of No. 91.*	16 years *c.*	12 years *Pūj and R*	1175–1178	692–695	631–634	" *killed by No. 93 in battle*	Dāṭhōpa-Tissa's (No. 92) reign of twelve years is made up of four years' war with No. 90 and eight years' war with No. 93. *Nar* rightly omits this king.
93	**Kassapa II** (Sinh. ***Päsuḷu-Kasubu***) At war with No. 92 8 years; As paramount king 1 year *Younger brother of No. 90.*	12 years *Mv.* xliv. 153. / 9 years *c.*	9 years " "	1178–1186	695–703	634–642	" *death through illness*	

[1] Or *Deṭu.*

94	**Dappula I** (Sinh. ***Dāpulu***) *Second son of Mahā-Tissa* (*Mv.*, xlv. 38–41).	7 days	3 yrs 3 mths *Pūj* 10 years *R*	1186	**703**	642	,, *death through grief*	Three years in Rohaṇa and seven days at Anurādhapura (*Mahāvaṁsa* xlv. 80–81).
95	**Hatthadāṭha I,** called also **Dāṭhopa-Tissa II** (Sinh. ***Lämäṇi Daḷupa-Tis***) *Nephew (?) of No. 92* (*Mv.*, xliv. 154)	9 years *c.*		**1186–1195**	[703–712]	**642** (*a*)–651	,, *death through illness*	(*a*) Mānavamma's (No. 99) first attempt with the help of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I (*c.* 630–668 A.D.) to gain the Ceylon crown, repulsed by Dāthopatissa II (No. 95) (see *Mv.* xlvii. 39–43 and Hultzsch in *J.R.A.S.* 1913, pp. 528–529). This synchronism proves that the Buddhist Era of 544–543 B.C. was in use in Ceylon in the seventh century A.D.
96	**Aggabodhi IV,** surnamed **Sirisaṅghabodhi III** (Sinh. ***Siri-Saṅgabō***) *Younger brother of No. 95.*	16 years *c.*		1195–1210	[712–727]	651–666	,, *natural death*	
97	**Datta** (Sinh. ***Valpiṭi-väsi-Dat***) *Mv.*, xlvi. 41.	2 years	2—6—0 *Nar* 10 years *R*	1210–1212	[727–729]	666–668	,, *natural death ?*	
98	**Uṇhanāgara Hatthadāṭha II** (Sinh. ***Huṇannaru-riyan-daḷa***)	6 months	6 months	1212	[729]	668	,, *slain* (*Mv.* xlvii. 57–58)	
99	**Mānavamma** (Sinh. ***Makalä-pāṇō***) *Son of No. 93* (*Mv.*, xlv. 6 and xlvii. 2–3)	*not stated*	35 years *R, Pūj*	1212–1247	[729–764]	668–703	,, *natural death ?*	Duration of reign not given in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. The second invasion of No. 99 probably took place in the last year of Narasiṁha-varman (*Mv.* xlvii. 49–53).
100	**Aggabodhi V** (Sinh. ***Akbō***) *Son of No. 99* (*Pūj and R*)	6 years	6	1248[1]–1254	[765–771]	704[1]–710	,, *natural death*	
101	**Kassapa III** (Sinh. ***Kasubu***) *Brother of No. 100.*	*not stated*	7 years *R, Pūj*	1254–1261	[771–778]	710–717	,, *natural death ?*	Duration of reign not given in the *Mahāvaṁsa*.
102	**Mahinda I** as ādipāda (Sinh. ***Midel-raja*** or ***Midel-raja-pāṇō***) *Brother of Nos. 100 and 101.*	3 years	3 years	1262[1]–1265	[779–782]	718[1]–721	,, *natural death*	A portion probably included in the seven years of Kassapa III.

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

No.	*Name and relationship*	*Length of reign*		*Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.*	*Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death*	*Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death*	*Seat of Government and cause of end of reign*	*Synchronisms and Remarks*
		Mahāvaṁsa	*Other sources*					
103	**Aggabodhi VI**, surnamed **Silāmegha** (Sinh. ***Akbō-Salamĕvan***) *Son of No. 101.*	40 years *c.*	40 years	A.B. **1265–1305**	A. D. [782–822]	A. D. **721–761**	Anurādhapura *natural death*	Silāmegha's (No. 103) embassies to China in 742 and 746 A. D. (*Journ. Asiatique*, 1900).
104	**Aggabodhi VII** (Sinh. ***Kuḍā-Akbō***) *Son of No. 102.*	6 years *c.*	—	1305–1311	[822–828]	761–767	Polonnaruva *natural death*	
105	**Mahinda II**, surnamed **Silāmegha** (Sinh. ***Salamĕvan Mihiṁdu***) *Son of No. 103.*	20 years	—	1311–1331	[828–848]	767–787	Anurādhapura *natural death*	
106	**Dappula II**, called also **Udaya-rāja** (Sinh. ***Dāpulu*** and ***Udārāja***) *Son of No. 105.*	5 years	—	1331–1336	[848–853]	787–792	Polonnaruva (?) *Mv.*, xlix. 9. *natural death*	**Udaya** in *Pūj*, *R*, and *Nik.* Cf. Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37.
107	**Mahinda III**, surnamed **Dhammika Silāmegha** (Sinh. ***Häḷigäravil Hiskā-sō-Mihiṁdu***) *Son of No. 106.*	4 years	7 years *R*	1336–1340	[853–857]	792–796	Anurādhapura (?) *natural death*	
108	**Aggabōdhi VIII** (Sinh. ***Mädi-Akbō***) *Grandson of No. 105 or son of No. 106* (*Mv.*, xlix. 45)	11 years *c.*	—	1340–1351	[857–868]	796–807	" *natural death*	
109	**Dappula III** (Sinh. ***Dāpulu***) *Younger brother of No. 108.*	16 years	12 years *R* 16 years *Pūj.*	1351–1367	[868–884]	807–823	" *natural death*	
110	**Aggabodhi IX** (Sinh. ***Päsulu Akbō***) *Son of No. 109.*	3 years	—	1367–1370	[884–887]	823–826	" *natural death*	

111	**Sena I**, surnamed Silā-megha (Sinh. ***Matvaḷa-Sen*** or ***Salamĕvan-Sen***) *Younger brother of No. 110.*	20 years	—	1370–1390	[887–907]	826–846	Polonnaruva *natural death*	According to *Nik* the accession of No. 111 = 1363 A.B. *c.*, a discrepancy of about six years.
112	**Sena II** (Sinh. ***Mugayin-Sen***; inscr. ***Abhā-siri-saṅgabō*** or ***Buddas-siri-saṅgbōy-Abhay***) *Son of Kassapa, brother of No. 111.*	35 years *c.*	—	1390–1424	[907–941]	846–880	,, *natural death*	Cf. Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 and 52.
113	**Udaya I** (Sinh. ***Udā***; inscr. ***Udā-Abhā-Salamĕvan***) *Brother of No. 112.*	11 years *c.*	17 years *R*	1424–1435	[941–952]	880–891	Anurādhapura (*Mv.* li. 126) *natural death*	
114	**Kassapa IV** (Sinh. ***Kasup***; inscr. ***Kasub-siri-saṅgbō***) *Brother of No. 112?*	17 years		1435–1452	[952–969]	891–908	Polonnaruva *natural death*	The expedition of the Pāṇḍya and the Sinhalese troops of Kassapa V against the Cōḷas is also recorded in an inscription of the twelfth year of Parāntaka I (i.e. 918–919 A.D.) (see Hultzsch, *J.R.A.S.* 1913, p. 526).
115	**Kassapa V** (Sinh. ***Kasup*** or ***Pāsuḷu Kasubu***; inscr. ***Salameyvan Abahay***) *Son of No. 112?*	10 years *c.*	6 years *R and Pūj*	1452–1462	[969–979]	908–918	,, *natural death*	
116	**Dappula IV** (Sinh. ***Dāpulu***) *Son of No. 112 or half-brother of No. 115 (E Z.*, I. p. 184).	7 months *c.*	7 months	1462	[979]	918	,, *natural death*	
117	**Dappula V** (Sinh. ***Kuḍā Dāpulu***; inscr. ***Buddas Abahay Salamĕvan Dāpula***) *Brother of No. 116 (Pūj and R)*	12 years *c.*	12 years	1462–1474	[979–991]	918–930	,, *natural death*	During the reign of No. 117 the Pāṇḍyan king crossed over to Ceylon to enlist assistance against the Cōḷas, but as this was not forthcoming he de-

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign		Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
		Mahāvaṁsa	Other sources					
118	**Udaya II** (Sinh. ***Udā***) *Son of Mahinda, brother of No. 112* (*E. Z.*, I. p. 184).	3 years *c.*	—	A. B. 1474–1477	A.D. [991–994]	A. D. 930–933	Polonnaruva *natural death*	posited in Dappula's care his crown, &c., and went over to the Kēraḷas. This statement of the *Mv.* is confirmed by the inscriptions of Rājendra Cōḷa I (Hultzsch, *l. c.*).
119	**Sena III** (Sinh. ***Sen***) *Brother of No. 118* (*R and Pūj*)	9 years *c.*	—	1477–1486	[994–1003]	933–942	,, *natural death*	
120	**Udaya III** (Sinh. ***Udā***) *Brother of Nos. 118 and 119* (*E. Z.*, II, table facing p. 59)	8 years *c.*	—	1486–1494	[1003–1011]	942–950	,, *natural death*	The Cōḷa invasion during the reign of No. 120 was probably that of Parāntaka I in or shortly before 943 A.D. (Hultzsch, *l. c.*).
121	**Sena IV** (Sinh. ***Pāsuḷu-*** or ***Mādi-Sen ?***) *Son of No. 115* (*E. Z.*, II, table facing p. 59).	3 years	—	1494–1497	[1011–1014]	950–953	,, *natural death*	
122	**Mahinda IV** (Sinh. ***Kuḍā Midel*** or ***Midel-salā*** *R*) *Brother of No. 121* (*E. Z., l. c.*)	16 years.	—	1498–1514	[1015–1031]	954–970	,, *natural death*	Cf. Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–40, 53.
123	**Sena V** (Sinh. ***Salamĕvan-raja***) *Son of No. 122* (*E. Z., l. c.*).	10 years.	—	1515–1525	[1032–1042]	971–981	,, *death through drink*	,, ,,

124	**Mahinda V** (Sinh. ***Mihiṅdu***) *Half-brother of No. 123 (E. Z., l. c.).*	36 years *c*	48 years		**1525–1561** *c.*	[1042–1078]	**981–1017** *c.*	Poḷonnaruva and Anurādhapura	In his thirty-sixth regnal year Mahinda V was taken captive by the Cōḷa forces of Rājendra Cōḷa I in about 1017 A.D. (Hultzsch. *J.R.A.S.* 1913, p. 523).
	INTERREGNUM, while the Cōḷas were ruling at Poḷonnaruva, and Mahinda V in captivity in India.	12 years			1561–1573 *c.*	[1078–1090]	1017–1029 *c.*	Poḷonnaruva and Rōhaṇa	
125	**Kassapa,** afterwards called **Vikkama Bāhu,** whose authority was upheld by the Sinhalese, while the Cōḷas ruled at Poḷonnaruva. *Son of No. 124.*	12 years	—		1573–1585	—	1029–1041 *c.*	Rōhaṇa *death through illness*	According to *Nar* all these rulers held sway contemporaneously and not one after another.
126	**Kitti** *A general.*	8 days	—	40 years 6 months 8 days	1585	—	1041 *c*	,, *slain by No. 127*	
127	**Mahālāṇa Kitti** (Sinh. ***Mahalē***)	3 years *c.*	16 years *Nar*		1585–1588 *c.*	—	1041–1044 *c.*	,, *committed suicide on being defeated by the Cōḷas*	
128	**Vikkama-Paṇḍu**	1 year	—		1588–1589	—	1044–1045	Kalutara *slain by No. 129*	
129	**Jagatīpāla** or **Jagatpāla**	4 years	—		1589–1593	—	1045–1049	Rōhaṇa *slain by the Cōḷas*	
130	**Parakkama-Paṇḍu I** *Son of No. 128.*	2 years	—		1593–1595	—	1049–1051	,,	
131	**Loka** or **Lokissara I**	6 years *c.*	—		1595–1601	—	1051–1057	Kataragama *natural death*	
132	**Kassapa** (Chief of the Hair Relic.)	6 months	—		1601	—	1057	,, *slain*	

No.	*Name and relationship*	*Length of reign*		*Buddhist era whether based on* 483 B.C. *or on* 544–543 B.C.	*Christian era based on* 483 B.C. *as the year of Buddha's death*	*Christian era based on* 544–543 B.C. *as the year of Buddha's death*	*Seat of Government and cause of end of reign*	*Synchronisms and Remarks*
		Mahāvaṁsa	*Other sources*					
133	**Kitti,** called afterwards **Vijaya-Bāhu I** (*a*) Rōhaṇa (*b*) Before Coronation (*c*) After Coronation *Descendant of No. 92* (see *E. Z.*, II, table facing p. 59).	15 years 2 years } 72 55 years	Correctly (*a*) 15 expired (*b*) 2 ,, (*c*) 38 ,, } 55	A. B. (*a*) 1602–1617 (*b*) 1618–1620 (*c*) 1620–1658	A. D. —	A. D. (*a*) 1058–1073 (*b*) 1074–1076 (*c*) 1076–1114	Poḷonnaruva *natural death*	The *Mahāvamsa* leaves ambiguous whether fifty-five years were the period of Vijaya Bāhu's reign after coronation or include, as they should, the period of rule in Rōhaṇa as well. *Mv.* lx. 91. See also *E. Z.*, II, p. 207.
134	**Jaya-Bāhu I** *Brother of No. 133.*	1	Correctly 2 *c.*	1658–1660	—	1114–1116	,, *deposed*	
135	**Vikkama-Bāhu I** *Son of No. 133.*	21	—	1660–1681	—	1116–1137	,, *natural death*	See *E. Z.*, II, pp. 200–202.
136	**Gaja-Bāhu II** On the throne At war with No. 137 *Son of No. 135.*	16 years 6 years } 22 } 33	—	1681–1697	—	1137–1153	,, *natural death*	
137	**Parakkama-Bāhu I** *Son of Mānābharaṇa* (*E. Z.*, II, *l. c.*).	27 years	—	**1697–1730**	—	**1153–1186**	,, *natural death*	This date agrees with the Sāhasa Malla inscription of Poḷonnaruva, *Nik*, and *Rājaratnākara*. See *E. Z.* II, p. 205 ff.
138	**Vijaya-Bāhu II,** called also **Paṇḍita Vijaya-Bāhu** *Son of No. 136* (*E. Z.*, II, *l. c.*)	1	—	1730–1731	—	1186–1187 *c.*	,, *poisoned?*	
139	**Mahinda VI** (Sinh. ***Kilin-kes-dā-Mihiṅdu***)	5 days	—	1731	—	1187 *c.*	,, *slain by No. 140*	

140	**Kitti-Nissaṅka-Malla** *Of the Kāliṅga race.*	9	9	1731–1740	—	1187–1196 *c.*	„ *natural death*	For this king's full name see *E. Z.*, II, p. 221.
141	**Vīra-Bāhu I** *Son of No. 140.*	1 day	—	1740	—	1196 *c.*	„ *slain?*	
142	**Vikkama-Bāhu II** *Younger brother of No. 140.*	3 months	—	1740	—	1196	„ *slain by No. 143*	
143	**Coḍagaṅga** *Nephew of No. 140* (*E. Z.*, II, p. 221).	9 months	—	1740–1741 *c.*	—	1196–1197 *c.*	„ *deposed*	
144	**Līlāvatī** (through the minister **Kitti**) *Queen-dowager of No. 137.*	3 years	—	1741–1744 *c.*	—	1197–1200 *c.*	„	
145	**Sāhasa-Malla** *Half-brother of No. 140* (*E. Z.*, II, p. 221).	2 years	—	**1744 *c*–1746**	—	**1200 *c*–1202**	„	Sāhasa-Malla's coronation 23rd August, 1200 A. D. (*E. Z.*, II, p. 220).
146	**Kalyāṇavatī** *Queen-dowager of No. 140.* (Through the minister **Āyasmanta Camūpati** (*Mv.* lxxx. 33–38)	6 years	6 years	1746–1752 *c.*	—	1202–1208 *c.*	Poḷonnaruva *deposed*	This minister is identical with **Āyuṣmat-pṛtanāpati** in Sāhasa-Malla's inscription and with **Elaḷu Ābō Senevirat** in *Pūj* and *R*, and also probably with **Lak-Vijaya-Siṅgu-Senevi Ābōnāvan,** see *E. Z.* II, pp. 100–101 and 221.
147	**Dhammāsoka,** a prince, 3 months old, with the above-mentioned minister as regent (*Mv.* lxxx. 43). *Relationship not stated.*	1 year	1 year	1752–1753	—	1208–1209	„ *Both the prince and the regent slain by No. 148.*	

No.	Name and Relationship	Length of reign: Mahāvaṁsa	Length of reign: Other sources	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
148	Anikaṅga, Mahādipāda (Sinh. ***Ānḷyaṅga***) *Usurper.*	17 days	17 days	A. B. 1753	A. D. —	A. D. 1209	Poḷonnaruva *slain by his own general, Camūnakka*	
[144]	**Līlāvatī** Restored by ***Camūnakka***	1 year	1 year	1753	—	1209	" *deposed by No. 149*	
149	**Lokissara II** *Usurper*	9 months	9 months *Nar* 5 months *R*	1753–1754	—	1209–1210	" *slain?*	
[144]	**Līlāvatī** Restored by ***Parakkama*** of the Kāḷanāgara-vaṁsa	7 months	7 months *Nar* 4 months *R*	1754	—	1210	" *deposed by No. 150*	
150	**Parakkama Paṇḍu II** (Sinh. ***Pārakum Paṇḍi***) *Usurper*	3 years	3 years	1754–1757	—	1210–1213	" *taken captive by No. 151*	
151	**Māgha,** afterwards called **Kāliṅga Vijaya-Bāhu,** and **Jaya-Bāhu** *Usurpers*	21	19 *R*	1757–1778	—	1213–1234	" *deposed?*	
	Contemporary rulers:— (1) ***Subha-Senāpati***	—	—	—	—	—	Subhapabbata (Sinh. *Yāpavu*)	
	(2) ***Bhuvaneka-Bāhu***	—	—	—	—	—	Govinda-pabbata in Rohaṇa	
	(3) ***Saṅkha-Camūpati***	—	—	—	—	—	Gaṅgādoṇi-pabbata in the Maṇimekhalā country	

152	(4) **Vijaya-Bāhu III,** called also **Vijaya-Bāhu Vat-himi** *Descendant of No. 55.*	4	24 *Pūj, R*	1763–1767		1220–1224?	Jambudoṇi (Sinh. *Daṁbadeṇiya*) *natural death*	The Buddhist scriptures revised and copies of them made; a *Katikāvata* was issued; the Tooth-relic was brought from Kotmale to Daṁbadeṇiya and was enshrined on Beligala rock; so Buddhism was restored. This ruler had two sons, ***Parakkama-Bāhu*** and ***Bhuvaneka-Bāhu,*** and one daughter.
153	**Parakkama-Bāhu II,** called also ***Kalikāla Sāhitya Sarvajña Paṇḍita Parākrama Bāhu I*** *Son of No. 152.*	10 years at war with No. 151 and others		**1768–1778**	—	**1225–1235**	Daṁbadeṇiya and Polonnaruva *natural death*	*Pūjāvaliya* being a contemporary record, we accept 33 years as the correct duration of this king's reign reckoned from his coronation in 1779 A.B. (1236 A.D.) referred to in the *Aṭṭanagaluvaṁsa.* Dhammakitti Thera (*Brit. Mus. Cat. of Sinhalese MSS.*, Introd., p. xvii) to whom the authorship of the first portion of the *Cūlavaṁsa* is traditionally ascribed, seems to have stopped his account with the reign of Parakkama-Bāhu I (1153–1186 A.D.). See Geiger's Preface to *Cūlavaṁsa*, pp. ii–iii. Possibly death or political disorders may have prevented his continuing the chronicle to his own time, namely, 1236–1269 A.D. The second coronation at Polonnaruva (*Mv.* lxxxix. 10) took place probably
		35	33 *Pūj* [32 *R*]					
		30 years as supreme sovereign		**1779–1809**	—	**1236–1266**		
		3 years in retirement		**1809–1812**		**1266–1269**		

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign: Mahāvaṁsa	Length of reign: Other sources	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
				A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		shortly after his retirement in 1809 A. B., see *Nikāyasaṅgraha* and *Rājaratnākara*; vanquished Māgha and Jaya Bāhu, rulers at Poḷonnaruva; repulsed two raids by Candabhānu, a Malay or Jāvaka chieftain (*Mv.* lxxxiii. 36 and lxxxviii. 62–75)[1]; held a convocation and restoring the purity of the Buddhist Church, had a fresh *Kaṭikāvata* issued. He had five sons, ***Vijaya-Bāhu, Bhuvaneka-Bāhu, Tiloka-Malla, Parakkama-Bāhu,*** and ***Jaya-Bāhu,*** called in *R* ***Siri Vijaya-Bāhu*** and a nephew named ***Vīra-Bāhu.***
154	**Vijaya-Bāhu IV,** called also ***Bōsat Vijaya-Bāhu*** *Eldest son of No. 153.*	2 years *c*	5 years *c* Probably 3 years after retirement of No. 153 and about 1½ years as his successor	1813–1815	—	1270–1272	Poḷonnaruva *slain*	This king (No. 154) was slain at the instigation of a general named ***Mitta*** who attempted to usurp the throne, but was in his turn killed, and the army placed ***Bhuveneka Bāhu I*** of Yāpavu on the throne. Soon after or just before this king's death (comp. *Mv.* and *Daḷadāsirita*) a famine arose in Ceylon, and
155	**Bhuvaneka-Bāhu I,** called also ***Lokeka-Bāhu*** (*Rr* and *Daḷ*) *Brother of No. 154 or son of No. 153.*	11 years	11 years	**1815–1826** *c.*	—	**1272–1283** *c.*	Daṁbadeṇiya and Yāpavu *natural death*	
	INTERREGNUM (***Ārya-Cakravarti***)	3 years?	1	1826–1829	—	1283–1286	Jaffna	

[1] His first invasion took place in 1236 A.D. the eleventh regnal year of this king according to *Mv.* apparently reckoning from 1225 A.D., the second in 1256 A.D. See *Bijdragen tot de taal-land-en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, Deel. 83, p. 472 and *J.R.A.S.* (C. B., No. 68, p. 110.

								Arya Cakravarti made a raid and was successful in carrying away the Tooth-relic (*Daḷadā*) from Yāpavu, which he delivered over to his king Kulaçekhara, who has been identified with the Pāṇḍyan king Māṟavarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulaçekharadeva, *c.* 1268–1308 A.D. (see *Madras Epigraphy*, Report for 1907, p. 70, and Hultzsch, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 531).
156	**Parakkama-Bāhu III** *Son of No. 154 or grandson of No. 153.*	*not stated*	*not stated* but from calculation approximately 7 years	**1829–1836**	—	1286–1293	Poḷonnaruva *deposed?*	Recovered the Tooth-relic from Kulaçekhara by friendly negotiation and deposited it in the Tooth-relic temple at Poḷonnaruva.
157	**Bhuvaneka-Bāhu II,** called also **Vat-himi-Bhuvaneka-Bāhu** *Son of No. 155.*	*not stated*	24 years *Rr* more probably 9 years	**1836–1845**	—	1293–1302	Kurunegala (Hatthisela-pura) *natural death*	According to the *Daḷadā-sirita*, both No. 156 and No. 157 ruled contemporaneously at their respective capitals until the latter, for some reason or other, deposed the former and brought the Tooth-relic from Poḷonnaruva to Kuruṇegala. The *Mv.* text is corrupt here.
158	**Parakkama-Bāhu IV,** called also ***Paṇḍita Parakkama-Bāhu II*** *Son of No. 157.*	*not stated*	Calculated from facts shown in remarks column about 30 years	1846–1876	—	1303–1333	,, *natural death*	We are indebted to Mr. Codrington (*Ceylon Antiquary*, x. 2, p. 89) for drawing attention to the Tamil poem *Sarajōti-mālāi*. The king mentioned in its colophon should in our opinion be

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign		Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
		Mahāvaṁsa	Other sources					
				A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		identified with Parakkama-Bāhu IV for the following reasons:— Like *anurāi* for *anurā*, *mālāi* for *mālā* or *sapāi* for *sabhā*, *tambāi* or *dambāi* can in Tamil stand for *tambā* or *dambā* but not for *tamba* or *damba*, besides the Tamil equivalent for *jambu* is சம்பு. We may, however, take தம்பை as a mislection for either தும்பை (war) or தும்பி (elephant); and we may interpret the latter as a Tamil abbreviation for Hatthi-sela-pura ('elephant-rock-city,' Kurunegala) the capital of Parakkama-Bāhu IV (No. 158). So according to this poem, No. 158 was on the throne in Çaka 1232 (1310 A.D.) and this being his seventh regnal year, his accession was in 1303 A.D. According to the *Daḷadāsiriya* composed by this king himself or at his request, he was still on the throne in Çaka 1247 expired (1326 A.D.). He had the *Bodhivaṁsa* also translated into Sinhalese by Vilgammūla Mahā

159	**Bhuvaneka-Bāhu III,** called also ***Vanni Bhuvaneka Bāhu*** *Relationship not stated.*	*not stated*	approximately 14 years	1876–1890	—	1333–1347	Kurunegala?	Thera, and from the latter's inscription at Kitsirimevan-kālaṇi-vihāra we see that in 1876 A.B.[1] (i.e. 7 years after the compilation of the *Daḷadāsirita*) he was still holding the post of Māhimi. The king's death may have taken place about 1876 A.B. (1333 A.D.). The authorship of the Sinhalese *Jātaka* book is also attributed to this king (*Mv.* xc. 83).
160	**Vijaya-Bāhu V,** called in *Mv.* ***Jaya-Bāhu*** and in Sinh. works ***Savuḷu Vijaya-Bāhu*** *Relationship not stated.*	*not stated*						The reign of No. 160 is presumed to have ceased with the accession of No. 161 in 1890 A.B. as stated below. The portion of the *Cūlavaṁsa* beginning from No. 159 was written in the middle of the eighteenth century A.D., during the reign of Kīrti Çrī Rājasiṁha. The scanty treatment of the reigns of these kings may be due to the author not having found records concerning them.
161	**Bhuvaneka-Bāhu IV** *Relationship not stated: probably son of No. 158.*	*not stated*	at least 10 years	As *āpā*[2] 1885–1890 As *king* 1890–1895	—	1342–1347 1347–1352	Gaṅgāsiripura (Gampola) *natural death?*	This king's minister's, namely, Senālaṅkādhikāra's Laṅkātilaka inscription (Br. Mus. copy) gives Çaka 1264 (1885 A.B. = 1342 A.D.) as Bh. B. IV's accession, while *Mv*, *Nik*, *Nar*, and other authorities record 1894 A.B. as the fourth regnal year of

[1] See *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. ii. pt. 3, p. 152.
[2] Wielding equal power with the king, as suggested both by Mudaliyar W. F. Goovavardena and Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka.

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign: Mahāvaṁsa	Length of reign: Other sources	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
				A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		this king. Therefore the former may be the date of his assumption of the office of *āpā* of No. 160, and the latter 1890 A. B. (1347 A. D.) the year of his accession to the throne. The Vēgiri-devāle inscription, however, states that Çrī Parākrama Bāhu āpā made a grant in the tenth regnal year of this king (No. 161). Counting from 1885 A. B. (Çaka 1264) the date of the grant would fall in 1895 A. B. (1352 A. D.).
162	**Parakkama-Bāhu V** (Sinh. ***Savuḷu Pärākumraja***) *Son of No. 160 according to R* (Brit. Mus. Or. 6606(91)). See also *Pärākumbāsirita*.	*not stated*	at least 11 years	As *āpā*[1] 1891–1895 As *king* 1895–1902	—	1348–1352 1352–1359	Dätigama[2] and Gampola *not stated*	Hapugastänne inscription gives Çaka 1281 expired as the eleventh regnal year of No. 162. ∴ His accession = 1281–11 = 1270 = 1891 A. B. = 1348 A. D., but according to Vēgiri-devāle inscription quoted above he was holding the office of *āpā* in 1352 A. D. So 1348 A. D. was most probably the year of his appointment to the office of *āpā* shortly after No. 161 became paramount sovereign.

[1] Wielding equal power with the king, as suggested both by Mudaliyar W. F. Goovavardena and Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka.
[2] Or Dädigama, the intervocal *t* being pronounced as its voiced equivalent *d* according to the usage of Tamil and certain Prākrit dialects.

163	**Vikkama-Bāhu III** *Relationship not stated: probably a nephew of No. 162.*	*not stated*	at least 18 years	As *Yuva rāja* [illegible]–1903 A[illegible] 1903–1918		1357–1360 1360–1375	Gampola *not stated*	Niyamgampāya inscription gives 1916 A.B. expired as the seventeenth regnal year of No. 163. Therefore his accession was in 1900 A.B. Vigulavatta inscription makes Çaka 1282 expired as the fourth regnal year, which gives Çaka 1279 (1900 A.B.) as the date of accession. Thus the two inscriptions agree, and they both count from the date of the assumption of the rank of sub-king. *Vimukti-saṅgraha* was composed in the eighteenth regnal year of this king. During the reign of No. 163 Niççaṅka Alagakkōnāra of Amaragiri, otherwise Alakeçvara, an intrepid warrior of the Girivaṁsa lineage[1], who was allied by marriage to Senālaṅkādhikāra Senevirat, a minister of Bh. B. IV (No. 161), came into prominence, rose to the rank of minister and *prabhu-rāja*, and dwelt in Pērādeṇiya. With a view to check the ever-growing domination of the Tamils under their ruler Ārya Çakravarti of Jaffna, he commenced war preparations and had strong fortresses built at Rayigama and Kōṭṭe.[2] In 1912 A.B. (1369–70 A.D.)

[1] For a full account, see Mr. Edward W. Perera's contribution to *J.C.B.R.A.S.* 1904, and Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka's Introduction to his edition of the *Parākumbā-sirita*.
[2] See *Nikayasangraha*, p. 28.

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign		Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
		Mahāvaṁsa	Other sources	A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		
								he called together a convocation of Buddhist priests under the presidentship of the elder Dhammakitti, and had the religion purified. Thereafter, towards the close of Vikkama-Bāhu's reign, Alakeçvàra, after he had reviewed his army, felt himself strong enough to defy the Tamil king. So he showed his spirit of independence by hanging Ārya Cakravarti's tax collectors. This led the Tamil king to dispatch two divisions of his army by land and sea to crush the Sinhalese. Bhuvaneka Bāhu V (No. 164), who had by this time succeeded Vikkama-Bāhu III (No. 163) to the Gampola throne, got frightened and fled from Gampola and took refuge in the fortress of Rayigama. In the battles that ensued, Ārya Cakravarti's power was effectively destroyed. Bhuvaneka Bāhu returned to Gampola, but his cowardly conduct made him so unpopular in the capital that he seems to have

								betaken himself to Kōṭṭe and to have lived more or less under the aegis of his powerful minister Alakeçvara, who was in Çaka 1,304 (1925–26 A.B. = 1,382 A.D.) still his prime minister. At this time Alakeçvara's brother Aṭṭhanāyaka also was his minister (*Aṭṭanagaluvaṁsa*).
164	Bhuvaneka-Bāhu V *Relationship not stated: probably related to Senālaṅkādhikāra, prime minister of No. 161.*	20 years	at least 30 years	As *āpā* 1903 1914 As *yuva-rāja* 1914–1918 As *king* 1918–1934	—	1360–1371 1371–1375 1375–1391	Gampola and Kōṭṭe *natural death*	According to *Nik*, the fifteenth regnal year of No. 164 was 1929 A.B. Therefore the year of accession probably from *āpā* to the rank of *yuva-rāja* (sub-king) was 1914 A.B., because No. 163 was alive in 1918 A.B. as shown above. In the twentieth regnal year of No. 164 āpā Vīra-Bāhu (No. 165) ascended the throne (*Nik* and *Mv*). Counting from 1914, i.e. the year of accession of Bh. B. V (No. 164) to *yuvarāja* rank, the end of his reign may have been in 1934 A.B. The statement in the Vēgiriya inscription that a grant was made by this king in his thirtieth or thirty-fourth regnal year may be explained by counting the regnal years from the

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign		Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
		Mahāvaṁsa	Other sources	A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		
								possible date of his assumption of the rank of *āpā* in 1903 A. B. (1360 A. D.). See, however, Mr. H. C. P. Bell's explanation in *J.C.B.R.A.S.*, 1912, pp. 292–295. After this Tamil war, Niççaṁka Alakeçvara, the prabhu-rāja, with his brother Arthanāyaka, lived for some time in Rayigama, and afterwards the former settled down for the rest of his life in Kōṭṭe, the city he had himself built, where No. 164 also held his court for reasons explained above. At Rayigama, the family seat of the clan, the prabhu-rāja's son Kumāra Alakeçvara may have, in the usual course, assumed the reins of government. Shortly afterwards, probably on the death of the prabhu-rāja and his son (*c.* 1925–1930 A. B., 1382–1387 A. D.), his nephew (sister's son), Vīra-Alakeçvara, became the governor of Rayigama, while his other nephew, Vīra-Bāhu, who had distinguished himself

as a soldier, succeeded him as *āpā* of Bh. B. V (No. 164), and lived in Gampola. But on the death of No. 164 in about 1934 A. B. (1391 A. D.) Vīra Alakeçvara, being the elder of the two nephews, challenged Vīra-Bāhu's right to succeed No. 164 to the sovereignty of the Kōṭṭe kingdom. As a result there was civil war in which Vīra-Alakeçvara was vanquished and was compelled to flee the country. We may add that Senālaṅkādhikāra Senevirat of the Mehaṇavara clan, a close relative of the royal family, may have married the prabhu-rāja's sister. The two nephews were the issues of this marriage, and that is why they are referred to as scions of the Mehenavara clan and Vīra-Bāhu (No. 165) as *sālako* (Sinh. *suhura-baḍu*) of No. 164. The last reference lends, it is true, some colour to the statement in the *Rājaratnākara* and in the *Mahāvaṁsa* that Niçcaṅka Alagakkōnāra became Bhuvaneka-Bāhu V (No. 164), but contemporary records are quite against this view.

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign: Mahāvaṁsa	Length of reign: Other sources	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
				A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		
165	**Vīra-Bāhu II** *Brother-in-law? (sālako) of No. 164.*	*not stated*	6 years	1934–1940	—	1391–1397	Gampola and Kōṭṭe? *ousted by No. 166*	In 1939 A. B. expired (1396 A.D.), another convocation of the Elders of the Buddhist Church was held under the patronage of No. 165. It was presided over by Dhammakitti II, author of the *Nikāyasaṅgraha* and other treatises. No. 165 had two sons, namely, ***Vijaya āpā*** and ***Tunayesaya***. The former, on his father's accession to the throne, may have become *āpā*, being the heir-apparent to the crown. The fate of these princes, or even of their father, is not known.
166	**Vīra-Alakeçvara,** probably called also ***Vijaya Bāhu VI*** *Elder brother of No. 165.*	*not stated*	12 years *Sr*	1940–1952	—	1397–1409	Kōṭṭe *taken captive by the Chinese*	We stated above that No. 166 was defeated in battle by his younger brother Vīra-Bāhu II (No. 165), and had to flee the country. But he returned with a large South Indian army, probably in about 1397 A.D., and ousting No. 165 from the Kōṭṭe throne reigned there for twelve years (*Sr.*). It must be remembered that at this period the kings of Kōṭṭe, no doubt through the

2032

							late prabhu-rāja's military achievements, were recognized as the paramount sovereigns of the island. So, No. 166, on ascending the Kōṭṭe throne, may have taken the *biruda* title Vīra Vijaya-Bāhu as many a Sinhalese sovereign had done before. But the evidence so far adduced in support of this probability is not sufficient to settle the point. Neither the inscriptions nor the Sinhalese works of the period help us much. For further discussion, see *J.C.B.R.A.S.*, 1912.
							In 1405 A.D. the Chinese eunuch Tcheng Houo arrived to take away the Tooth-relic of the Buddha, but his plans were frustrated and he himself was plundered by Alagakkōnāra (obviously No. 166). Four years later, in 1409 A.D., he came again—this time with a large army—and managed to capture Alagakkōnāra with his queen, children, &c. (*Spolia Zeylanica* (June 1912).
167	INTERREGNUM [***Parakkama-Bāhu Āpā*** ruling] *A grandson of Senālaṅkādhikāra Senevi* (*Sr.*)	*not stated*	about 5 years	1953–1958	—	1410–1415	— Tcheng Houo returned to China in 1411 A.D. together with the Ceylon king and his family as captives. So, from the end of 1409 A.D., Ceylon was with-

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign		Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
		Mahāvaṁsa	Other sources	A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		
								out a king, but according to *Saddharmaratnākara*, a grandson of the abovementioned Senālaṅkādhikāra Senevi, by name Parakkama-Bāhu and by rank an *āpā*, held sway during the interregnum. If this was the case, then this Parakkama-Bāhu was a member of the Alakeçvara family, possibly a son of the captive king or of his brother Vīra-Bāhu II (No. 165). He may, therefore, be identified with the ruler appointed by the Chinese as their vassal and also with Alakeçvarayā of the Rājāvaliya, who made several attempts to kill the young Lambakaṇṇa prince (a great-grandson of No. 162), whom Visidāgama Thera had arranged to place on the throne as Parakkama-Bāhu VI (No. 168).
								Vīra-Alakeçvara and the other captives were released in about 1411–1412 A.D. by the Chinese, but in the night after their return to Ceylon, Vīra Alakeçvara is stated to have been murdered

								in his capital (see E. W. Perera's contribution to *J.C.B.R.A.S.*, 1904).
168	**Parakkama-Bāhu VI** *Son of Lāmāṇi Jaya Mahalāṇa or great-grandson of No. 162.*[1]	52 years	57 years	(*a*) As king elect in hiding **1953–1955** (*b*) As ruler of Rayigama and at war with No. 167 **1955–1958** (*c*) As crowned king of Kōṭṭe **1958–2010**	—	**1410–1412** **1412–1415** **1415–1467**	Rayigama and Kōṭṭe *natural death*	(*a*) The year of accession according to *Mv.* xci. 15, and *Nar* = 1953 A. B. (*b*) The year of accession according to *Pañcikā Pradīpa*, *Gaṇitasiṁha* and *Nāmāvaliya* = 1955 A. B. (*c*) The year of accession according to *Sr. Ruvanmala*, *Kāvyaçēkhara* and inscriptions = 1958 A. B. The poem *Kivi-lakuṇu-miṇimal* was composed in the fifty-fourth year of this king. Princess Ulakuḍaya Devī was the daughter of No. 168. Her eldest brother was Senānāyaka Sapumal-kumāra who invaded the kingdom of Jaffna, killed its Tamil king Arya-Cakravarti, and established himself as its ruler. Another brother was the Prince of Ambulugala (*R*) who by order of his father the king (No. 168) led a punitive expedition to the Kanda Uḍa-raṭa (Kandyan District), which was then a subordinate principality, reduced its refractory ruler Jotiya Siṭu to subjection and appointed

[1] See *Parākumbāsirita*, v. 27.

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign		Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
		Mahāvaṁsa	Other sources	A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		
169	**Jaya-Bāhu II,** called also ***Vīra Parakkama-Bāhu*** (*R*) *Son of princess Ulakuḍaya-Devī or grandson of No. 168.*	*not stated*	about 2 years	2010–2012	—	1467–1469	Kōṭṭe *slain by No. 170*	another—a solar prince of the Gampola royal family—to rule over the district. The king, moreover, dispatched a naval expedition and destroyed the piratical Malabar prince Vīra Rāma, who had seized some Sinhalese trading vessels.
170	**Bhuvaneka-Bāhu VI,** previously called ***Senānāyaka Sapumalkumāra*** *Eldest brother of princess Ulakuḍaya-Devī or son of No. 168 (R).*	7	7	2012–2019	—	1469–1476	,, *natural death*	On receiving the news of the death of No. 168 and the accession of No. 169 to the throne, Prince Sapumal, the rightful heir, came down from Jaffna with a large army, and killing No. 169 ascended the throne under the title Bhuvaneka-Bāhu VI. His brother, the prince of Ambulugala, quelled a rebellion in the South raised by Çrīvardhana Patirāja and Kūragama Himi. The Kalyāṇi Upasampadā ordination was held as stated in the Kalyāṇi inscription (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. xxii. 1893).
171	**Parakkama-Bāhu VII,** called also ***Paṇḍita Parākrama-Bāhu*** *Adopted son of No. 170.*	*not stated*	about 8 years	2020–2028	—	1477–1485	,, *slain by No. 172*	Prince Ambulugala rose against the king, killed his generals in battle, and entering Kōṭṭe, killed No. 171 at midnight. The

								next morning he ascended the throne under the title Vīra Parakkama-Bāhu.
172	**Parakkama-Bāhu VIII,** called also ***Vīra Parākrama-Bāhu,*** previously known as ***Ambulugala-Rāja***	*not stated*	20 years *R*	2028–2048	—	1485–1505	Kōṭṭe *natural death*	No. 172 had one daughter and six sons, namely: (1) ***Dharma Parākrama-Bāhu,*** (2) ***Çrī Rājasiṁha,*** (3) ***Sakkāyudha,*** (4) ***Rayigam Baṇḍāra,*** (5) ***Taniyān-Vallabha,*** and (6) ***Sakalakalā - Vallabha.*** Of these the second and third lived at Mānikkaḍavara as fellow husbands of a Kīravälla princess; the fourth at Rayigama; the fifth and sixth were sons by a second wife; the former lived at Madampe, and his daughter had two sons, Vīdiya Kumāra and Tammiṭa-Baṇḍāra, by a Malabar prince; the latter settled himself at Uḍugampola. On the death of No. 172 his eldest son Dharma Parākrama-Bāhu ascended the Kōṭṭe throne.
173	**Parakkama-Bāhu IX,** called also **Dharma Parākrama-Bāhu** *Eldest son of No. 172.*	This king's reign is omitted in *Mv*	20 or 22 years *R*	**2049–2071**	—	**1506–1528**		The Munnessaram Sannasa which has been condemned as not genuine (*J.C.B.R.A.S.*. xix, p. 399 note), gives in fact the correct Buddhist date, for 2060 A. B. expired. being the twelfth regnal year of No. 173, his accession must fall in (2061–12) 2049 A. B. (1505–6 A. D.) as given in

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign		Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
		Mahāvaṁsa	Other sources					
				A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		the present list. According to Müller's and Bell's reading, however, of the Kālaṇiya inscription (*A.I.C.*, No. 162 and *Ceylon Antiquary*, i. 3, p. 156) this king ascended the throne in 2051 A.B. But the correct reading is most probably *de dās ekun panas* (2049 A.B.) instead of *ek panas*. Under orders from the king, his two brothers Sakalakalā-Vallabha and Taniyān-Vallabha attacked and destroyed the Moors (*yon-senāva*) who had come to Chilaw for the pearl-fishery, led by their captain named Kadirā of Kāyalapaṭṭaṇam, while the [illegible] brother, Çrī Rājasiṁha of Mānikkaḍavara, brought the ruler of Uḍaraṭa to subjection. Some time later this ruler became again recalcitrant and had to be subdued by Sakalakalā-Vallabha of Uḍugampola. The *Rājavaliya* speaks of the arrival of the Portuguese in 1522 A.D., but according to Portuguese authorities they seem to have come to Colombo

							either in November 1505 or in September 1506 (*J.C.B.R.A.S.*, xix. 1907, p. 320). As soon as No. 173 heard of their arrival, he summoned to his presence his four brothers, took counsel with them, and on the advice of his brother Sakkāyudha, who had secretly seen the strangers, he entered into a treaty of peace and friendship with them. No. 173 died after a reign of 22 years. His brother Çrī Rājasiṁha being dead, the throne was offered to Sakalakalā-Vallabha, but was declined as Sakkāyudha (No. 174) was the rightful heir.
174	**Vijaya-Bāhu VII,** previously called ***Sakkāyudha*** (***Cakrāyudha***) *Brother of No. 173.*	*not stated*	over 15 years *R* (probably 18 years)	As semi-independent ruler in the South 2054–2071 As Kōṭṭe king 2071–2072	1511–1528 1528–1529	Kōṭṭe *murdered*	No. 174 and his late elder brother Çrī Rājasiṁha were associated husbands of a Kīravälla princess at Mänikkaḍavara. To them were born four sons, namely: (1) ***Mahā Raygam Baṇḍāra,*** who died when young, (2) ***Bhuvaneka-Bāhu,*** (3) ***Para Rājasiṁha,*** and (4) ***Māyādunne.*** No. 174 married a second time and brought up a stepson or a brother-in-law called ***Deva-rāja Kumārayā,*** whom he nominated for the throne, overlooking the claims of the three
	Jaya-vīra Baṇḍāra, king of Kanda-uḍaraṭa, married d. of Sakalakalā-Vallabha.		about 20 years	2065 (?)–2085 (?)	1522 (?)–1542 (?)	Kandy	

No.	*Name and relationship*	*Length of reign*		*Buddhist era whether based on* 483 B.C. *or on* 544–543 B.C.	*Christian era based on* 483 B.C. *as the year of Buddha's death*	*Christian era based on* 544–543 B.C. *as the year of Buddha's death*	*Seat of Government and cause of end of reign*	*Synchronisms and Remarks*
		Mahāvaṁsa	*Other sources*	A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		sons by his first bed. This led to a civil war, with the result that the brothers with the assistance of Jayavīra, king of Uḍaraṭa, captured Kōṭṭe, had their father murdered, and placed their eldest brother Bhuvaneka-Bāhu on the throne.
175	**Bhuvaneka-Bāhu VII** *Son of No. 174.*	*not stated*	over 20 years *R* (probably 21 years)	2072–2093	—	1529–1550	Kōṭṭe *accidentally shot*	For a discussion on the date and duration of the reign of No. 175 see *J.C.B.R.A.S.* for 1912. This king had a grandson (afterwards called Don Juan Dharmapāla) whom he nominated for the throne. This caused the brothers with Jayavīra, king of Kandy, as their ally, to rise against him. He, on the other hand, secured the assistance of the Portuguese. Ambassadors were sent to Lisbon, and his grandson was made a Christian with the title Don Juan Dharmapāla. The war continued with varying success until in Dec. 1550 the king (No. 175) was accidentally shot by a servant of the Portuguese viceroy.
	Contemporary rulers: (*a*) **Rājasiṁha,** called also **Rayigam Baṇḍāra** *Younger brother of No. 175.*	,,	about 12 years	2072–2084 (?)	—	1529–1541 (?)	Rayigama	
	(*b*) **Māyādunne** (P. *Māyādhanu*) *Second younger brother of No. 175.*	,,	about 46 years	2078–2124	—	1535–1581 [1]	Sītāvaka	
	(*c*) **Jayavīra Baṇḍāra,** mentioned above.	,,	—	—	—	—	Kandy	
	(*d*) **Kumāra Baṇḍāra** *Son of* (*c*), probably identical with **Vīra-Vikkama** (*Mv.* xcii. 6–10).	,,	probably 45 years	2085–2130 (?)	—	1542–1587 (?)		

[1] See also the B. M. copy of *Rājalekhanaya*, Or. 6606 (104).

176	**Don Juan Dharmapāla** *Grandson of No. 175.*	***not stated***	46 years	2094–2140	—	1551–May 27, 1597	Kōṭṭe and Colombo *natural death*	Thereafter the Portuguese placed No. 176 nominally on the Kōṭṭe throne. Māyādunne as leader of the national party took the field again against the Portuguese. This time he was assisted among others by his own sons, notably Ṭikiri Rajjuru Baṇḍāra, whose military achievements got him the appellation Rājasiṁha. According to *Rājalekhana* Māyādunne died in Çaka 1503 on Sunday the twelfth day of the waning moon in Nikini (i. e. 1581 A. D.), and Rājasiṁha, who in May 1578 was vested with regal power, carried on the war successfully until he made himself master of the whole interior of Ceylon. In August 1587 he laid siege to Colombo, and in March 1593 (on Wednesday the fifteenth day of the waning moon in Mādin-dina, Çaka 1514[1]) died of illness. His grandson Rājasūrya Kumāraya succeeded him on the throne of Sītāvaka. But soon afterwards Sītāvaka fell and Konappu Baṇḍāra assumed paramount sovereignty in the interior under the title of Vimala Dharma Sūrya
177	**Rājasiṁha I,** called also ***Ṭikiri Rajjuruvo*** *Son of Māyādunne.*	***not stated***	about 12 years	2124–2136	—	1581–March 1593[1]	Sītāvaka *natural death*	
178	**Vimala Dhamma Sūriya I,** previously called ***Konappu Baṇḍāra*** *A prince of the Gampola dynasty.*	***not stated***	about 11 years	2136–2147		1593–1604[1]	Kandy *natural death*	

[1] See *Rājalekhana* and Pieris's *Ceylon and the Portuguese*, pp. 113–114.

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign		Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
		Mahāvaṁsa	Other sources	A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		
179	**Senāratna** (Sinh. ***Senarat***) *Brother of No. 178.*	7 years	about 31 years	2147–2178	—	1604–1635[1]	,, *natural death*	(No. 178). He, moreover, strengthened his position by marrying Dona Catherina, the admitted heiress to the Kanda-Uḍa-Raṭa. No. 176 died in Colombo on May 27, 1597. No. 178 died in Çaka 1526 (1604 A. D.), on Monday the second day of the waxing moon in the month of Vesak[1], having appointed Senāratna as Regent during the minority of his son Āsthāna Baṇḍāra. Senāratna, however, married the widowed queen and assumed the crown in 1609 A. D. In the same year he formed an alliance with the Dutch. In 1628 he divided his kingdom among his two stepsons Kumāra Siṁha (i.e. Āsthāna Baṇḍāra) and Vijayapāla and his own son Mahā Āsthāna, called afterwards Rājasiṁha II, to whom fell the Uḍaraṭa. According to *Rājalekhana* king Senāratna died in Çaka 1557 (1635 A. D.) and Rājasiṁha II in Çaka 1609 (1687 A. D.)
180	**Rājasiṁha II** *Son of No. 179.*	52 years	—	2178–2230	—	1635–1687	,, *natural death*	

[1] See *Rājalekhana* and Pieris's *Ceylon and the Portuguese*, pp. 113–114.

								on Friday evening the second day of the waxing moon of the month of Unduvap.
181	**Vimala Dharma Sūrya II** *Son of No. 180.*	22 years	20 years	2230–2250	—	1687–1707	Kandy *natural death*	No. 181 caused an ordination ceremony to be held in 2240 A.B. (1696–7 A.D.). He died in Çaka 1629 (1707 A.D.) on Friday the fifth day of the waxing moon in Vesak.
182	**Çrī Vīra Parākrama Narendra Siṁha** *Son of No. 181.*	33 years	32 years	2250–2282	—	1707–1739	,, *natural death*	No. 182 died in Çaka 1661 (1739 A.D.) in the month of Vesak.
183	**Çrī Vijaya Rājasiṁha** *Brother-in-law of No. 182.*	8 *c.*	—	2282–2290	—	1739–1747	,, *natural death*	No. 183 died in Çaka 1669 (1747 A.D. ?) on the fifth day of the month of Nikini.
184	**Kīrti Çrī Rājasiṁha** *Brother-in-law of No. 183.*	35 *c.*	33 years *Nar*	2290–2323	—	1747–1780(?)	,, *accidental death*	No. 184 ascended the throne in 2290 A.B. (*Mv.* xcix. 2) and died in Saka 1703 (1781 A.D. ?) on Wednesday the third day of the waning moon in the month of Unduvap. According to Mr. H.C.P. Bell, he died in 1778 by a fall from a horse (*Kegalle Report*, p. 11).
185	**Çrī Rājādhi Rājasiṁha** *Brother of No. 184.*	18 *c.*	—	2323–2341 *c.*	—	1780–1798 *c.*	,, *deposed*	
186	**Çrī Vikrama Rājasiṁha** *Son of the sister of No. 185.*	17	—	2341–2358	—	1798–1815	,, *deposed*	Deposed by the English on Feb. 8, 1815, and died in captivity in 1832.

No. 2. (REG. No. 4). POḶONNARUVA: LAṄKĀTILAKA GUARD-STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-BĀHU IV (1270–1272 A.D.)

IN the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* for 1910–1911 (p. 37), Mr. Bell mentions the discovery of this epigraph on the inner face of the left guard-stone[1] of the east entrance to one of the buildings in the group of ruins now, rightly or wrongly, known as Jetavanārāma[2]. He speaks of it as follows :—

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

[1] For a clear illustration, see *A. S. C. Annual Report*, 1920-1921, Plate XIV.
[2] See plan of Polonnaruva facing p. 84 above, Vol. II.
[3] See Vol. II, No. 39, p. 238 ff.
[4] See Plate I.



Scale about $\frac{1}{5}$

Lankātilaka Guard-stone. *From an ink-impression supplied by the Archæological Commissioner, Ceylon.*

worthily the name of Laṅkā-Tilaka, which signifies the jewel of Laṅkā. And he made there a standing image of Buddha of the full size, which was delightsome to behold, and called it Laṅkā-Tilaka[1].'

This description more or less tallies with what remains still to be seen in the ruined building where the inscribed guard-stone is *in situ*. Mr. Bell[2] is, therefore, quite justified in identifying the ruin with the Laṅkātilaka image-house built by Parakkama-Bāhu I. Mr. Hocart, however, thinks that as the balustrades do not fit the present stairs, they might have been brought from another building[3]. Possibly the guard-stones only are in their original position.

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

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

The following edition of the inscription is based on two estampages supplied by the Ceylon Archaeological Survey. We have also examined the text published by Mr. Bell for the first time in his *Annual Report* for 1910–1911[5].

TEXT.	TRANSCRIPT.
1 (යං) ලංකාතිල	1 (Yaṁ) **Laṁkātila-**
2 කං පරක්ක	2 **-kaṁ Parakka-**
3 ම භූජෝ කාරෙ	3 **-ma-Bhujo** kāre-
4 සි ලංකිස්ස	4 -si Laṁkissa-
5 රෝ [ෑ] කු(ඩ්ඩං මා)	5 -ro [ā] ku(ḍḍaṁ mā)
6	6 .. ..
7	7 .. ..
8	8 .. ..

[1] Ch. lxxviii, 52–55. Wijesiṇha's translation.
[2] *A.S.C. Annual Report*, 1910–1911, p. 37.
[3] *A.S.C. Annual Report*, 1920–1921, p. 8.
[4] Ch. lxxxviii, 92–121.
[5] In the second volume of the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* just to hand, we find on p. 11 this faulty text reprinted. It is a pity that the epigraphist was not consulted beforehand on the matter.

	TEXT (*continued*).	TRANSCRIPT (*continued*).
9	.. (භවෙ) [॥] (තං) සූ	.. (bhave) [॥] (taṁ) sū-
10	(රො වි)ජයාදි	(-ro **Vi**)**jayādi-**
11	බාහු වසුධා	**Bāhu**-vasudhā-
12	නාථො මහිම	nātho mahī-ma-
13	(ඩ)නං [।] ජිණ්ණං	(ṇḍa)naṁ [।] jiṇṇaṁ
14	වස්සසතං	vassa-sataṁ
15	තදෙව භව	tad eva bhava-
16	නං කාරාපයී	-naṁ kārāpayī
17	සාධුකං [॥]	sādhukaṁ [॥]

TRANSLATION.

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

No. 3. THE ORUVAḶA SANNASA

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

THE document now published is an oblong copper-plate $10\frac{13}{16}$ inches long by $3\frac{15}{16}$ inches broad, with a thickness of $\frac{1}{16}$ inch. On each side are fifteen lines of writing, on the left of which appear සව in a flourish below the sun and moon on the obverse, and Vishṇu's *cakra* and chank-shell on the reverse. The *sannasa* for many years has been in the possession of Mr. W. P. Ranasinha, Notary Public; no claim is based on it, and it has every appearance of authenticity. The reproduction of the plate, much pitted with rust, is due to the courtesy of the Surveyor General. I am indebted for the loan of the *sannasa* to the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.

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

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

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

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

Line 5. The names Avuhoḷa Ojjhalu Paḷaiporokkul Perumāḷun of the Kauňḍinya *gotra* and Śennā Ojjhalun of the Harita *gotra* are found in the Kuḍumirisa record. These people appear to have been Vaishṇava Telugu

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(a) i. Nāmavaliya. Tenth year, Śaka 1343.

ii. Päpiliyāna I. Seventeenth year, 1972 A.B.

iii. Moggallāna Pañcikāpradīpa. Accession 1955 A.B., forty-fifth year, Śaka 1379.

iv. Gaṇitasiṁha. Accession, 1955 A.B.

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

මහරජ්ජුරුවන් වහන්සේ වැඩ ඉන්දදී). It is also found in the Demaḷaduva copper-plate, and in the Denavaka *sannasa*, fragments of which still exist at Pāpiliyāna. Here the Aramanapola Vihārē is said to have been built, to acquire merit for the queen, on the orders of 'Seḷiyadarayārun vāḍa un tān' (සෙළියදරයාරුන් වැඩ උන් තැන් විසූ මෙහෙවරුන්). The expression literally should mean 'the place where he was', but as in line 8 of the present document it is qualified by මහ, must be understood analogous to the later *vāsala*, *maha vāsala*; it clearly refers to a person. The Kandy Nātha Dēvālē inscription uses it of the reigning king; thus it is 'His Majesty', 'His Highness'. Seḷiyadarayārun probably was a prince[1]. The spelling ෙනන is found occasionally in the Pāpiliyāna documents and elsewhere.

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

Line 15. The construction of කුඩුවළ ගති යාඉයන් is obscure.

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

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

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

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

Line 7. *At-āvuda bālayan*. 'Young men' or 'inferiors' armed with hand-weapons[1]. Compare යන එන ඉස්වාබාලයන් of the Ganēgoḍa *sannasa* (*Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 93). *Daḍavāddan* is a well-known term; 'hunters armed with sticks or clubs' (*daṇḍa*), as opposed to 'hunters with dogs', the later *kūkkan maḍuva* people.

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

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

---

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

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

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

සමනැස් ඔනිදු පිරණිවි වස පවත් ල ද
දෙදහස් පසළොසක් අවුරුදු පිරුණු ස ද
දියගොස් පැනිරි බුවනෙක බුජ නිරිදු ස ද
පිරිවස් නුනෙගි සිර ලක රජ කිසෙවි ල ද

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the Vēgiriya inscription the ó approximately is of the 'pear' shape, though in certain instances it is open at the top. In the ෂ the head is large and bold, its bottom left-hand corner forming a distinct point, and the tail being carried up to a point level with the top of the head. We may here consider other undoubted records of the reign of Parākrama Bāhu VI. In the Kāragala inscription of the eleventh year (*circa* 1425), with its schedule referring to a previous grant by a Vijaya Bāhu, the ó often is of the 'pear' shape, open at the top, but with a tendency to the 'tadpole' form, which also appears. The head of the ෂ is becoming smaller. The point is pushed out distinctly to the left and at least in one case (Kāragala No. 1, line 11) is less pronounced; in this case also the head appears to be almost closed. The tail usually is carried farther round than in the Vēgiriya record. By the time of the well-cut inscriptions, still partly extant at Pāpiliyāna (Pāpiliyāna *sannasa* II, thirty-ninth year, and Denavaka grant, forty-fourth year; my plates A, B), the ó may be said to have assumed the 'tadpole' shape definitely, the open-topped 'pear' surviving very occasionally. The ෂ has the open head and differs little from the Kāragala type, though it is more uniformly drawn. So far development is normal. The divergence of the script in the oddly worded Beligala *sannasa* (*Report on the Kegalla District*, p 94), purporting to be of the same reign, from that employed in these records of undoubted authenticity is remarkable and will be referred to again.

1414

c. 1425

c. 1453 & 1458

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

c. 1480

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

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

So far, with the exception of the Beligala grant, the epigraphy of the period is hardly in dispute. There are two periods in which it is unsettled, namely that before the reign of Vijaya Bāhu VII and that comprising the reign of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII. For the reign of Vijaya Bāhu VII we have three documents, the dated stone inscription from Dondra (*c.* 1513/14 A.D.) and the copper *sannas* of Uḍugampola (1517 A.D.) and Dondra (*c.* 1519 A.D.). The first named document (my plate D) is of some interest. The ම assumes several shapes (lines 4, 5, 7), on the whole not unlike the Dädigama forms. But it is the ó which is most peculiar. The 'keyhole' reappears in line 2, perhaps the 'pear' in line 5, and a most unusual form in line 1, the line which is prolonged into the short

c. 1513/14 'tail' being carried to the *right* of the head or commencement of the letter[1]. The form of ó with a very short 'tail' occurs. The appearance of archaic and peculiar forms may be due to the fact that the record was cut at Dondra, at a distance from the capital. The Uḍugampola *sannasa* has a fairly uniform ó, though the 'tail' slightly varies in length. The ම has the open as well as the closed head, and its tail is carried well over the centre of the

1517 letter. The workmanship of this grant is poor. It is the Dondra copper-plate (*Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 96) which illustrates the script best. Here the ó is developing its 'tail'. This in some instances is longer than we have found it hitherto; usually, however, it is of moderate length and not

1519 so developed as in the Ganégoḍa *sannasa*. In the ම the head is closed, the sharp point on the left has disappeared, and the curve of the tail is carried well over, even more so in some instances than in the Uḍugampola plate. We may also notice the appearance of the Malayalam ൩, e.g. in lines A 5 and B 7. In the Kälaṇiya inscription (*Ceylon Antiquary*, i, p. 153) the 'tail' of the ó usually is longer than in the Dondra copper-plate; the ම has the open head, often nearly closed, but it retains the sharp point on the left, and the

c. 1527/8 tail is somewhat less pronounced than in our Oruvaḷa grant.

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The next specimen of writing in point of time is the Sītāwaka *sannasa* of Śaka 1499 or 1577 A.D. (*Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 97.) The general appearance of this hand is modern enough and with the flourishes to the letters differs much from the script both of the Ganēgoḍa plate and of the Nākolaganē record, which precedes it only by nineteen years. A new era is indicated not only by the development of the writing but also by the marked change in the traditional form and style exhibited by the Sītāwaka document. This new era coincides with the practical disappearance of the Kōṭṭē monarchy; the younger generation would have found the Court of Sītāwaka, the national centre, more congenial to their aspirations, and such literary activity as existed would have secured royal patronage there. Yet this *sannasa* and the Dondra and Ganēgoḍa copper-plates as well as the Nākolaganē record (line 17) are linked together by the presence of the Malayam න[1].

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

POSTSCRIPT.

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

[1] This න is found also in the Hapugastänna inscription.

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

TEXT.

A. 1 ස්වස්ති ශ්‍රී වෛවස්වත මනු සංඛ්‍යත මහා සම්මත පරම්පරානුයාත සුර්‍ය්‍ය වංශොත්භූත සුමිත්‍ර රාජපුත්‍ර පවිත්‍ර

2 ගොත්‍රාභිජාත මහාරාජාධි[1] රාජ ත්‍රි සිහළාධීශ්වර නවරත්නාධිපති **ශ්‍රීමත් සිරි සඟබො ශ්‍රී පරාක්‍රම බාහු** චක්‍රවර්ත්ති ස්වා

3 මීන්වහන්සෙට තුන්වන්නෙන් මතු අවුරුදු ඇසළ පුර විසෙනිය සකල නගරාග සම්පත්තියෙන් සමුද්‍රීවූ **ජය**

4 **වර්ධනපුරෙහි** මඟුල් ප්‍රාසාදයෙහි ඇමැති ගණයන් පිරිවරා සිහාසනෙහි වැඩ හි[1]ද ලොව කළමනා වැවස්ථා විචරා වදාරන සමයෙ

5 හි ශාඩිල්‍ය ගොත්‍රයෙන් ආ බමුණු **පොතා ඔජ්ඣලුන්**ෙ මකු බ්‍රහ්ණ **අවුහළ ඔජ්ඣලුන්** මෙ කී දෙන්න පළමු අ

6 පගේ රාජාධිරාජවූ ත්‍රි සිහළාධීශ්වර[1] බොධිසත්ත්වාවතාර **මහා පරාක්‍රම බාහු** වැඩ වුන් තෙන ඔටුණු[1] පස්පනස් ධරන තුරු ක්‍ර

7 මයෙන් මෙ කී දෙන්න අග්‍ර පුරොහිත තෙව කරන කල්හි මෙකුන්ට සේවා දිවලට දුන් බණගම **ඔරුවළ** මෙ කී අයට

8 ම පැවැත එන ප්‍රස්ථාවට මහ වැඩ වුන් තෙන ඉකුත්ව වදාළ තෙන සහජාත පුත්‍ර රාජකුමාරයන් කරන්ට සුදුසු අපරක්‍රි

9 යා තේව මෙ කියන බමුණු **අවුහළ ඔජ්ඣලු** පුරොහිතයන් කළ නිසා බො හො ප්‍රසංසා කොට සන්තොෂව වදා

10 රා මෙකුන්ට පැවැත එන ගම නිබැඳි දානක්ෂෙත්‍ර කොට අමුතුව වෙනින් ගම් සැලස්මක් නියම කර වදාළ තෙන

11 එ කියන පුරොහිතවරුන්ට කීප අවුරුද්දක් තිබූ බණගමෙයි යන **ඔරුවළ** තඹ පත දෙවා වදාරන්ටයයි කියා සැ

12 ල කළ තෙන මෙ කී **අවුහළ ඔජ්ඣලුන්ට** දානක්ෂෙත්‍ර කොට සිතා වදාළ අතුරුගිරි කොරළෙ බද බණගමට හිමි

---

[1] Subscript letter.

13 නැගෙනහිරින් වඳුරාමුල්ලේ කරඳගස ඇළ හා දකුණු දිගින් ඔරුවළ පිටියෙ ඇළ හා බස්නාහිරින් බ

14 ලලැවිල අශ්‍රොන පොරේ ඉම පරගස අත්මග හා උතුරු දිගින් කොරතො ඉම දියවුණු මතොරණ මිගස

15 **සිල්පැත් දෙළ අඹුළුවායෙ කුඩුවළ ගති යායෙන්** මෙ කී සතර මාහිමට ඇතුළත්වූ සරිය හා මෙ

B. 1 කියන **ඔරුවළ** ගමට පළමු පටන් වෙනින් පැවැත ගෙන ආ උඩවෙලින් කුඹුරු එකමුණු දෙපෑළක් බිජුවට සරි

2 යත් සිරිවින්න එක පෑළ ප(ල්ලා)සක් **අතුරුගිරිගම** මැඳ කපුරා කුමාරයාගේ වත්ත හා මෙහි බද කුඹුරු එකමුණු

3 දෙපෑළක් ඇතුළුවූ වල් විල් කුඹුරු ඕවිටි ගම්මුදල ගෙවතු ගස කොළ ආදී සියල්ලම උත්පලවර්ණ දිව්‍ය

4 රාජොත්තමයාණන්වහන්සෙට අවුරුදු එකකට පණම් පසළොසක් බැගින් පැසිද මෙ කියන[1] **අවුහළ ඔජ්ඣ**

5 **ලු** පුරොහිතයන්ගේ දරු මුනුබුරු පරම්පරාවට ආ චන්ද්‍රාක්ක ස්ථායීව පවතිනා පණතටත් සලස්වා ස්වස්තිරව

6 පත් ලියා දෙන්නෙයයි මෙ කියන ගමට රජ යුවරජ මහා අමාත්‍යාදී කෙන කුන්ගෙන්වත් බාහිරවූ කොරළකරන්නන්වත්

7 බෙත්ම අතාවුද බාලයත් විසින්වත් ඇත්තලයින් බලුවැද්දන් දඩවැද්දන් මෙ කී නොයෙක් දෙනාගෙන්වත් බතක් බුල

8 **තක්** මෙවරක් පතක් දඩක් මුඩක් පළියක් මරාලයක් අවුලක් උද්දරණයක් කළ කී කෙනෙක් ඇත්නමුත් කියලා කැ

9 රවූ අයෙක් ඇත්නම් සජීව කාළසූත්‍රාදී අට මහා නරකයෙහි පැසී ගොඩ නො දැක අනන්ත ජාතිශමශා

10 න ප්‍රෙතව උපදිනාහු නම් වෙති මෙ ලෙස නො වී අපගේ මහ පරම්පරානු යාත මහරජ කෙනෙක් ඉදිරි පැමු

11 ණුනුහොත් මෙ ගමට සහායව නිල ලා බලේ ලා දුන් මහරජරුවනෙක් ඇත්නම් අපේ මහ බොධිසත්ව **පරාක්‍රම බාහු**

12 මහ රාජොත්තමයාණණ්වහන්සෙ පස්පනස් ඔටුනු ලංකාවෙ පැළඳ පින් කොට මෙ මඟුල් සක්වළ චක්‍රවළ චක්‍රවර්ති

13 **රජව** කෙළුවර මහ බො වඩා ලොවුතුරා බුදු බව සිධවුණාහු නම් වෙති කියා මෙ ලෙස වදාළ මෙහෙවරින් මෙ ස

14 න්හස් තාඹු පත්‍රය ලියා දුන් බවට **පාලාන්තරුමහ**—දාන පාලනයොම්මධ්‍යෙ ද

15 නාච්චෙයානුපාලනම් දානාත් ස්වර්ගමවාප්නොති පාලනාදච්චුතම් පදම්

---

[1] Subscript letter.

TRANSLITERATION.

A. 1 Svasti śrī Vaivasvata Manu saṁkhyata Mahā Sammata paramparānuyāta suryya-vaṁśotbhūta Sumitra rājaputra pavitra

2 gotrābhijāta mahārājādhi[1]rāja Tri Siṁhaḷādhīśvara navaratnādhipati **Śrīmat Siri Saṅgabo Śrī Parākkrama Bāhu** cakravartti svā-

3 mīnvahanseṭa tunvannen matu avurudu Äsaḷa pura viseniya sakala nagarāṅga sampattiyen samurdha-vū **Jaya-**

4 **varddhana-purehi** Maṅgul prāsādayehi ämäti gaṇayan pirivarā **siṁhā**-sanehi väḍa hi[1]ñda lova kaḷamanā vävasthā vicarā vadārana samaye-

5 hi Śāṅḍīḷya gotrayen ā Bamuṇu **Potā Ojjhalun** meku byāṇa **Avuhaḷa Ojjhalun** me kī denna paḷamu a-

6 pagē rājādhirāja-vū Tri Siṁhaḷadhīśvara[1] Bodhisatvāvatāra **Mahā Parā-krama Bāhu** väḍa vun tena oṭuṇu[1] pas-panas dharana turu kra-

7 mayen me kī denna agra purohita teva karana kal-hi mekunṭa **sēvādi**-valaṭa dun baṇagama **Oruvaḷa** me kī ayaṭa-

8 ma päväta ena prasthāvaṭa maha väḍa vun tena ikut-va vadāḷa tena sahajāta putra rājakumārayan karanṭa sudusu aparakri-

9 yā tēva me kiyana Bamuṇu **Avuhaḷa Ojjhalu** purohitayan kaḷa nisā boho prasaṁsā koṭa santoṣa-va vadā-

10 rā mekunṭa pävata ena gama tibädi dānakṣetra koṭa amutuva venin gam sälasmak niyama kara vadāḷa tena

11 e kiyana purohitavarunṭa kīpa avuruddak tibū baṇagameyi yana **Oruvaḷa** taṁba pata devā vadāranṭayayi kiyā sä-

12 la kaḷa tena me kī **Avuhaḷa Ojjhalunṭa** dānakṣetra koṭa sitā vadāḷa Aturugiri Koraḷe bada baṇagamaṭa him

13 nägenahirin Vaṅdurāmullē Karaṅdagasa-äḷa hā dakuṇu digin Oru-vaḷa-piṭiye-äḷa hā basnāhirin Ba-

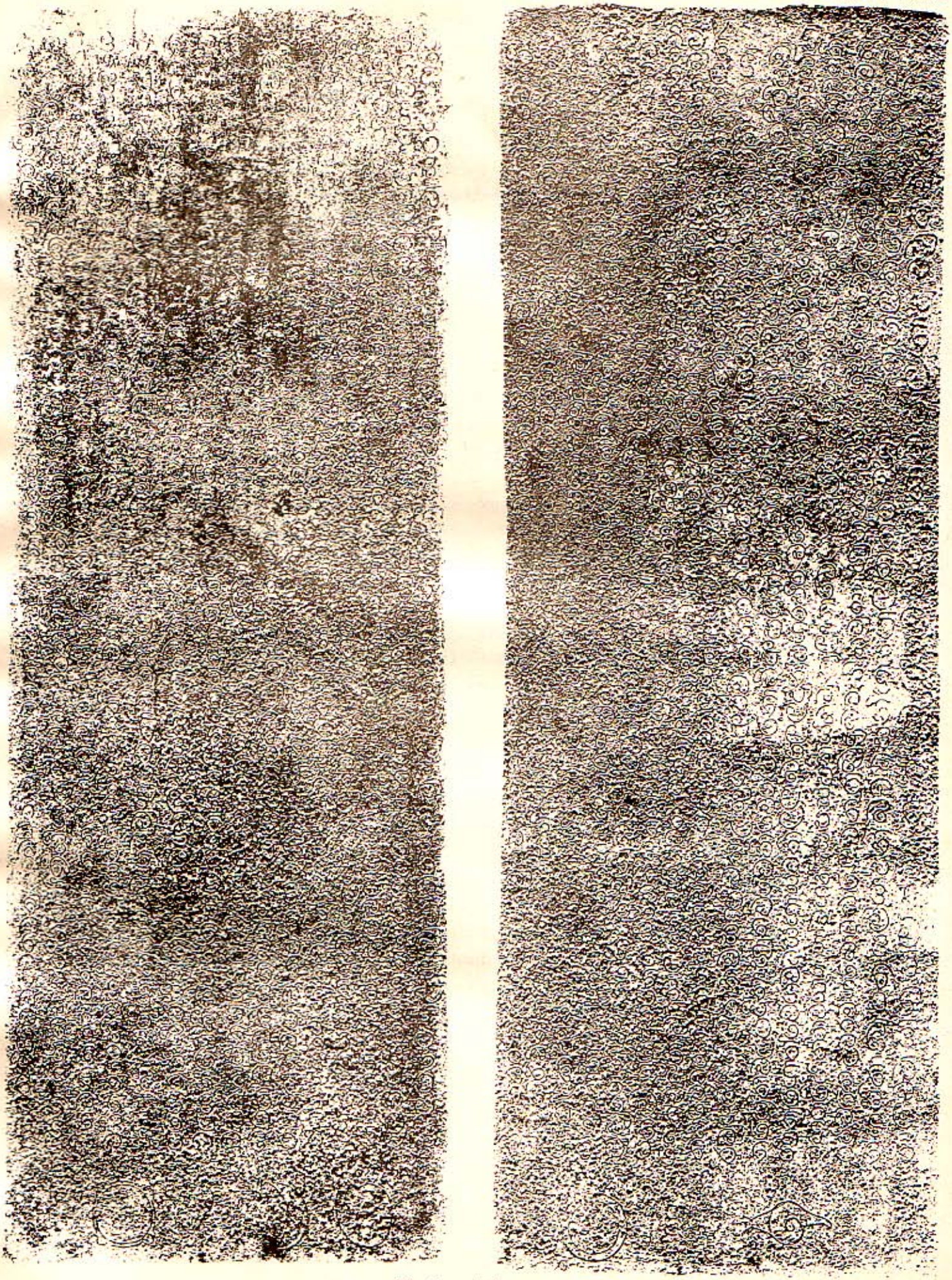
14 llävila Aggona Porē ima Paragasa atmaga hā uturu digin Korato ima diyavuṇu matoraṇa mīgasa

15 sīlpän doḷa **Aṁbuḷuvāye Kuḍuvaḷa gati yāyen** me kī satara māhi-maṭa ätuḷat-vū sariya hā me

B. 1 kiyana **Oruvaḷa** gamaṭa paḷamu paṭan venin päväta gena ā Uḍavelin kuṁburu ekamuṇu de-pāḷak bijuvaṭa sari-

2 yat Sirivinna eka pāḷa pa(llā)sak **Aturugirigama** mäṅda Kapurā **kumā-rayāgē vatta** hā mehi bada kuṁburu ekamuṇu

[1] Subscript letter.



The Oruvaḷa Sannasa

3 de-pāḷak ätuḷu-vū val vil kuṁburu ōviṭi gam-mudala ge-vatu gasa koḷa ādī siyallama Utpalavarṇṇa divya-

4 rājottamayāṇanvahanseṭa avurudu ekakaṭa paṇam pasaḷosak bägin päsida me kiyana[1] **Avuhaḷa Ojjha-**

5 **lu** purohitayangē daru munuburu paramparāvaṭa ā candrārkka sthāyīva pavatinā paṇataṭat salasvā svastira-va

6 pat liyā denneyayi me kiyana gamaṭa raja yuvaraja mahā amātyādī kena-kungen-vat bāhira-vū koraḷa-karannan-vat

7 betma at-āvuda-bālayan visin-vat ättalayin balu-väddan daḍa-vaddan me kī noyek denāgen-vat batak bula-

8 tak mevarak patak daḍak muḍak paḷiyak marālayak avulak uddaraṇayak kaḷa kī kenek ätnamut kiyalā kä-

9 ra-vū ayek ätnam Sañjīva Kāḷasūtrādī aṭa mahā narakayehi päsī goḍa no däka ananta jātiśmaśā-

10 na preta-va upadināhu nam veti me lesa no vī apagē maha paramparānu-yāta maharaja kenek idiri pämu-

11 ṇunuhot me gamaṭa sahāya-va nila lā balē lā dun maharaja-ruvanek ät-nam apē maha Bodhisatva **Parākrama Bāhu**

12 maha rājottamayāṇaṇvahanse pas-panas oṭunu Laṁkāve päḷaṅda pin koṭa me maṅgul sakvaḷa cakravaḷa cakravartti-

13 raja-va keḷavara maha bo vaḍā lovuturā Budu bava siddhavuṇāhu nam veti kiyā me lesa vadāḷa mehevarin me sa-

14 nhas tāṁbra patraya liyā dun bavaṭa **Pālāttarum**ha—Dānna pālanayor-mmadhye da-

15 nārccreyānupālanam Dānāt svarggam-avāpnoti pālanād accutam padam

TRANSLATION.

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

[1] Subscript letter.

The two Brahmans **Potā Ojjhalun** and his nephew **Avuhaḷa Ojjhalun** of the Śāṅḍilya clan first of all served as chief domestic chaplains (*purohita*), one after the other, until His Majesty our king **Mahā Parākrama Bāhu,** sovereign of Tri Siṁhaḷa and an incarnate Bodhisatva, had worn the crown fifty-five times[1], and received as maintenance for their service the *baṇagama* **Oruvaḷa.** While he was continuing to possess, on His Majesty's demise this aforesaid Brahman **Avuhaḷa Ojjhalu** performed the subsequent rites fit to be observed by royal princes, a king's legitimate sons. For this cause His Majesty gave him much praise and showed His pleasure by making the village, which had continued in the possession of these (Brahmans), a perpetual[2] *dānakṣetra* (gift-land), and ordered a fresh grant of a village apart. On the prayer that We should grant a copper-plate for the *baṇagama* **Oruvaḷa,** which these domestic chaplains had held for a number of years, We have contemplated making the same a *dānakṣetra* in favour of the aforesaid **Avuhaḷa Ojjhalun,** and [accordingly] have written and given a permanent plate, granting it with a command that as long as the Sun and Moon endure there shall continue in the lineal descent of the children and grandchildren of the aforesaid domestic chaplain **Avuhaḷa Ojjhalun** the following lands:

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

East, Vaṅdurāmulle Karaṅda-gasa äḷa,
South, Oruvaḷa-piṭiye äḷa,
West, The boundary of Ballävila, Aggona and Pora, and the Para-gasa atmaga.
North, The boundary of Korato[ṭa], Diyavuṇu matoraṇa mī-gasa, and Sīlpän-doḷa.

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

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

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

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

---

[1] Literally, had worn fifty-five crowns.

[2] Taking පිවැදී as a clerical error for පිවිදී.

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

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

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

KEY TO PLATES.

	A.		B.
1.	සක් මාළු	1.	(ෙ)සළියදරයාරැ(න්)
	කාලක් ලූණු දු		(පි)ත් පිණ්සැ නවයො
	ක් සුවද මල් දහ		(ප)ය ලැගුම් ෙගය
	ස් නැළි දෙකක් දු		(ල්)පත්දෙළු වෙලි
5.	ම්ව අහිල් පලම් නු	5.	(හා)මෙමැ නැන ෙගව
	යහා අවුරුදු පූජාව		(ව)කුඹුර බිජුවට
	ට පොල් දහසක් හා(ම)		(න්)දන්ගමුව හා ව
	පුර පසළොස්ව(ක)		(න්) බිජුවට දැමුණ්
	යක් පොල් දෙසිය		(ෙ)දල්නොට කුඹුර
10.	සකට ග්‍රහ එක්ද(හ)	10.	(ව)ල් විල් හා නැනු පි
	නක් මාළු රත් දෙම(ස්)		හා ගරුනාඩ සහින
	එකකට ලූණු දසය		(ෙ)න පුනෙත්‍රා මහදෙ
	කට පිළියට පණ(ම්)		ෙකාවැ සලස්වා ද
	ල් සයක් ගෙනෙති(වැ)		(හා)රයට නායකවූ
15.	ස්සක් මාළු රත් අව	15.	(ත්)වැවිරුත් කාලය
	න් නෙලට පොල් සය		(ත්)ශ්‍රෙයොනු පාල
	සක් විධානේ නැනට (බු)		(ව)ූනම්පදම් (සෙයි)
	අවක් පුවක් විසිස(ත)		

C.

පරාක්‍රම භූජ

D.

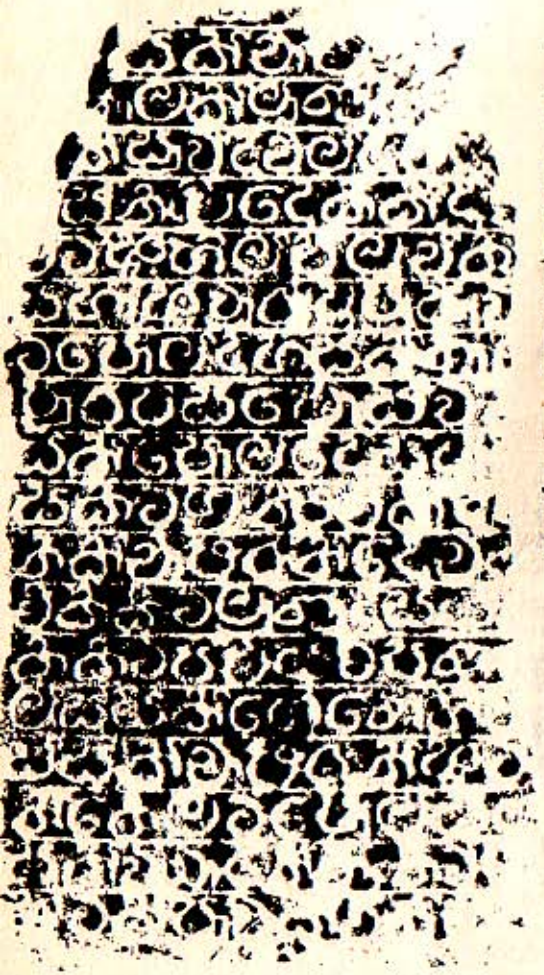
1. ස්වස්ති ශ්‍රී ශුද්ධ ශක වරුෂ
එක් දහස් සාර සිය දෙ
තිස් වන්නෙහි රජ පැමිණි
ස්වස්ති ශ්‍රී මහා සම්මත
5. පරම්පරානුයාත සූරිය
වංශාභිජාත ශ්‍රී ලංකාධිප
ති ශ්‍රීමත් සිරිසඟබො
ශ්‍රී විජය බාහු චක්‍රවත්ති
ස්වාමීන්වහන්සෙට සත

E.

(a) 1. විජයභඩාරපොතුන් අම්බු සුමෙධා
දෙවීන් ප්‍රවෙණීන් වළඤ්ඤ ආ සෙරියා
ව්‍යවස්ථාවට බද තැනින් නාගලට
කුසලාන් කොටැ පිදූ සැට මඩලැස්
5. සයි ඉන් පටවනැ දකුණු දිගින්
පසමුණෙක් වටනා පසයටයි
සිටවිණෙන් කුසලාන් දිග්පිටියයි
මෙකුන් පුත් පරාක්‍රම අත්වර මිඤ්ඤාවර
දෙන්නා ප්‍රවෙණීන් ව්‍යවස්ථා කොටැ වළඤ්ඤ ආ
10. නාගලට වටනා පසයට පිදූ මුගයිනයි
පළුලුගොඩැ පන්තිස් යාළෙ බද වල්වසරින්
ගිරිහඬු සාතා කුමාරයන් නාගලට කුසලන්
කොටැ පිදූ කුඩා මුගලන මහ මුගලනයි
(b) බුධවර්ෂ දෙදාස් එක් සිය එකයි උඩුවෙ
15. රියෙ මුග්ගිලි මල්බත නැගීනි මෙකුන් මෑනි[1]
න් සමඟිව නාගලට කුසලාන කොට පිදූ කුරැ
ගොඩ ඉදිරිපිට දසමුන[1] කුසලාන පසමුන[1] වටනා
පසනටඩවැ තුනමුනයි ආඩිගම ආදිවට

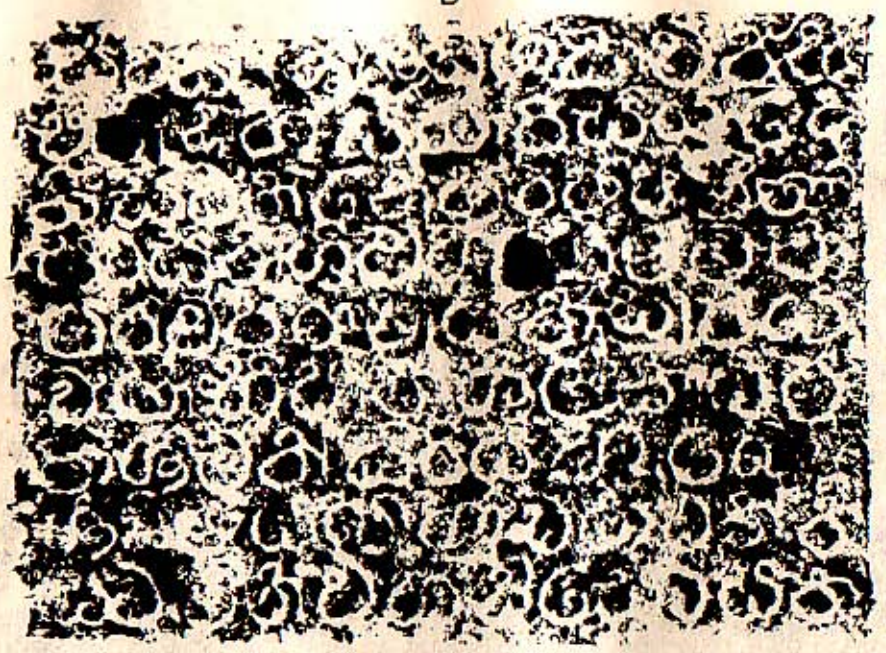
Malayalam න.

A



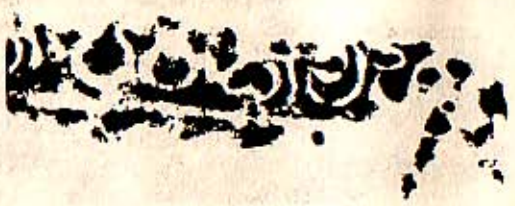
Pāpiliyāna Sannasa II

D



Stone Inscription from Dondra

C



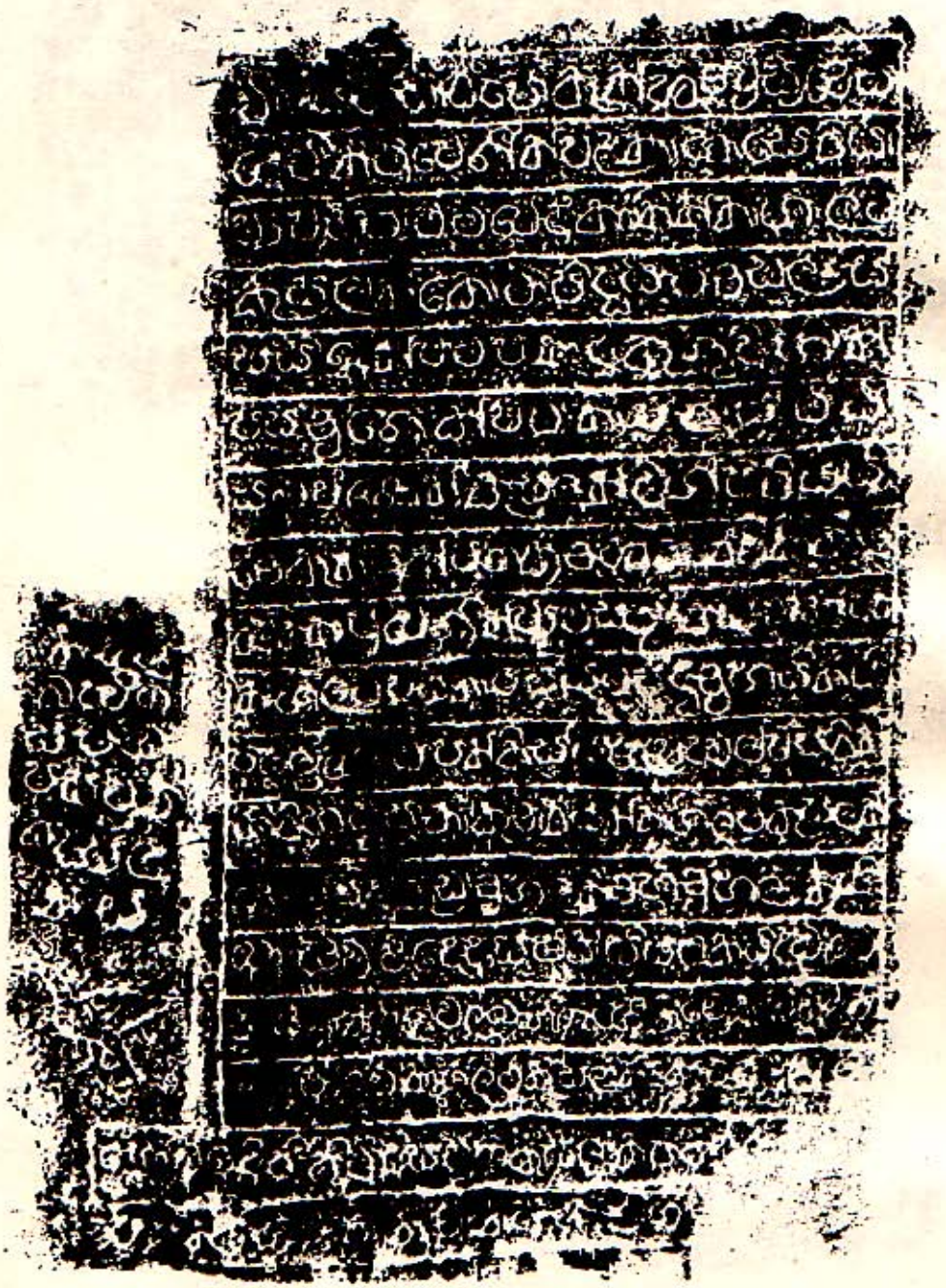
Kuḍumirisa Inscription

B



Devanaka Grant

E



Nākolaganē Inscription

At side:—

20. නාගලු
බද මිග
ස්වෑව
පසමුන
කුසලා
නසි

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

By S. PARANAVITANA,
Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

About three miles to the north-east of Mahiyaṅgaṇa[1], one of the largest, oldest and most venerated among the Buddhist *stūpas* in Ceylon, lies the Horaboravāva, the most important among the ancient irrigation works in the province of Ūva. This tank, though it does not equal the great reservoirs of the northern part of the island, is still a work of the first magnitude[2]. Mr. John Bailey, the

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

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

then Assistant Government Agent at Badulla, writing about this tank in 1857, mentions the pillar which forms the subject of the present paper. He says: 'There is no authentic tradition of the origin of Horaborawewa. It is vaguely attributed to Tissa, 140 B.C., brother of Dootoogamunu. A stone pillar 11 feet 8 inches in length by 9 inches which has an inscription on each of its sides (each inscription 8 feet in length) lies in the midst of what is now forest which once was without doubt a range of paddy fields.... It would probably throw some light on the subject[1].' The Horaboravävawas restored by the Government in 1870, when this pillar was removed to Badulla and set up near the junction of the Kandy and Baṇḍāravela roads, a few yards distant from the local Kacceri. We find another reference to this pillar in 1893 by Mr. Herbert White in his *Manual of Uva*, p. 53, where he says: 'The inscription on the pillar which commemorates the construction of the former work (i.e. Horaboraväva) which is now set up in Badulla has, I believe, up to the present not been deciphered[2].'

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

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

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

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

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

The characters belong to the alphabet that was in use during the middle of the tenth century; but throughout the whole record and more particularly in side D, they show a marked tendency to cursive forms. Some of the letters are written in more than one type as may be seen from the following examples: *a* 𑌅, 𑌆 *i*, 𑌉, 𑌊, 𑌋, *ka* 𑌕, 𑌫 *ba* 𑌬, 𑌭, 𑌵. The first form of *ba* given here is interesting as it helps us to connect the medieval symbol for this letter with the same character 𑌬 occurring in second-century records[1]. The conjoint consonants 𑌨 *ndra* and 𑌩 *gra* have not yet been noticed in any other Sinhalese inscriptions of this period. Attention may also be drawn to the form of *da* 𑌡 occurring in l. B 25 which very nearly approaches *ha*. The hook at the beginning of letters is very inconspicuous and it is with some difficulty that one can distinguish between the letters *ga* and *ha*, *ta* and *va* or *va* and *pa*.

As regards orthography, one of the chief peculiarities is the rarity in which the nasal is used before the consonants *g*, *ḍ*, and *ba*. According to the style affected during this period, there is a decided predilection for the nasal at such places and is found introduced where, etymologically, it has no place[2]. But in the present record, it does not occur even where a nasal is to be expected etymologically, as in the case of *maḍapaya* and *abu* (Skt. *maṇḍapa* and *ambikā*). The writing of the Sanskrit *vaṇiggrāma* with a single *ga* and the *svarabhakti* in *savāmi* are other points deserving notice. As regards grammar, the following are peculiarities worthy of note. *Ukāvas* and *upādā* are older forms than the more frequent *okāvas* and *ipādā*. With regard to the former, it may be interesting to compare it with *uk* (Skt. *ikṣu*). The contracted form *vēr* occurs side by side with *veher*. The change of *ka* to *ta* in *sut* (Skt. *sulka*) is unusual, but the same phonetical change is noticed in some Pāli words. Compare P. *takkola* (Sin. *takul*) for Skt. *kakkola* and, on the other hand, the change of *ta* to *ka* in Pāli *khānu*, (Sin. *kanu*) for Skt. *sthānu*[3]. In *viseniyi*, the locative case is seen in *yi* and in *gamhi lā*, the use of the particle *lā* after the same case is noticed.

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

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 208.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[3] See *J. P. T. S.* for 1908, p. 108.

monarch is given variously by different authorities; but 941 A.D., that of Dr. Hultzsch, which he arrives at by the help of South Indian synchronisms[1], is the most worthy of credence. Accordingly, the date of our inscription would be somewhere about 942 A.D.

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

As regards the place-names mentioned, Mahiyaṅgaṇa and Sorabara[2] have already been commented on. The maps do not give any place named Hopiṭigama in the neighbourhood of Mahiyaṅgaṇa; nor is there any information to be gathered about this place in the chronicles. Evidently, the place where the pillar was found is the site of this village which, from the accounts given in this epigraph, seems to have been a place of considerable commercial importance.

TEXT.

A.

1 Siri- bara kät-ku-
2 -la kot Ukāvas-
3 rad-parapuren ba-
4 -ṭ Lak-div-poḷo-

[1] *J.R.A.S.* for 1913, p. 524.

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

5 yon parapuren hi-
6 -mi vū e me kulen ba-
7 -ṭ **Samidi**[1] **Gonbiso**
8 tu[mā] kusä upädä āpā-ma-
9 -**hayā**-siri vidä piḷiveḷa
10 se rädä päminä rädä ka-
11 -ḷa **Sirisaṅgbo Udā** ma-
12 -ha- radahu tumā sat lä-
13 -ṅgu devana havuruduu-
14 -yehi Nikinni Sa[nd]
15 ava viseniyi [‖*] **Sora-**
16 **-barahi** āvū **Hopiṭi-**
17 **gamu** padiyä[2] väpāra[ya-]
18 -n kuḍin vat- himiya[n-]
19 vahanse **Miyaguṇ-ma-**
20 **-ha-vēr** vāḍi kalä gi-
21 -ya davasä padi-lad da-
22 -ḍanāyakayan gätta-
23 -n **Sataḷosä pirinivi-**
24 **-yan vahanse** davasä
25 **kaḷa** vävasthā **ikmā** a-
26 **-nnāyen daḍa gat-ha**
27 no sirit paḍuru ga-
28 -tha gamin piyeyi-
29 -si väḍi tänä dänvū-
30 tänin **Sataḷosä** (**va-**
31 **-hanse**) davasä kaḷa siri-
32 -tak misä annāyen
33 karana däyak nokara-
34 -nā säṭiyaṭ vävas[thā]-
35 -vak liyavā taba[nna]-
36 -ṭ vadāḷen sabhāye
37 lekam-gehi sam-da[ru]-
38 -van hind[ä si]ṭ vū vävа-
39 -sthā siriti [‖*] Me **Hopiṭiga-**
40 **-mu** (padi lad) kenekun
41 gättan gamaṭ ā [ka-
42 -lä] mandraṇḍin vaṇigrāma-
43 -n[3] Mahāgrāmayan hindä
44 **Sataḷosä- piriniviya-**
45 **-n vahanseyi** davasä
46 vävasthā se pere-siri-
47 -t daḍa ganut misä ani-

B.

1 -[yā] no karanu isā
2 gam-laddan gätta-
3 -n mandraṇḍin hindä [vi-]
4 -tāra koṭ piri-kapā da-
5 -kvā dun daḍa ganut
6 misä gam vaṭā genä
7 ge tirā genä daḍa
8 no eḷvanu isā
9 daḍa gämä hindä e[ḷ-]
10 -vat misä kuḍin
11 gämin piṭat koṭä
12 no genä yanu isā
13 no pirikäpū daḍaṭ
14 väläkme no gan-
15 -nā koṭ isā lī
16 daḍaṭ savāmi ginu-
17 -t misä abu-daru-
18 -van väläkme no

[1] Can be read as *samadā* also.
[2] Can be read as *vadi* also.
[3] Read *vaṇig-grāmayan.*

19 gannā isā gama-
20 -ṭ ā radolan raha
21 mas dī gitel no
22 gannā isā vatu-
23 pet vet vädä raha
24 no gannā isā
25 sora-veḷadam [no]
26 karanu isā poho-
27 dā sal kaḷākuge-
28 -n väpudayaṭ te-
29 -l paddak gannā
30 isā **Miyuguṇ-ma-**
31 **-ha veherä** väpuda
32 pavatvanu isā vä-
33 -pudayaṭ no läbuṇā-
34 -kugen pere sirit
35 daḍa väpudayaṭ ga [1]
36 gannā isā ba-
37 -ḍu genä gam van
38 goṇi-gon no ga-
39 -nnā isā me gämä si-
40 -ṭä raṭ-dag no gannā
41 isā väḷätä vana
42 uḷvāḍu kaṇakka-
43 -run gamaṭ āku-
44 -la no karanu isā
45 mekun gättan ga-
46 -maṭ vadnā raha ma-
47 -s dī gitel [2] pähä-
48 -rä no gannā i-
49 -sā padi [3] vadanā ba-

C.

1 -ḍu pere magaṭa
2 gos no gannā
3 [isā] (vā gavā) ḷahi
4 . . . . t kusalān k[ä]-
5 -[rä] genä dī tamāge
6 [kärä] ginut misä nosi-
7 -tak no karanu isā
8 [gaṇa] lahassen mi-
9 -sä sesu lahasiye-
10 -n no mananu isā ga-
11 -m van baḍu gämä vik-
12 -kä misä genä yet sut-
13 vat no gannā isā [no-]
14 pā viki baḍiyehi dīṇa
15 sut-vat ganut misä
16 ākula no karanu isā
17 no pāṭu [4] madaḍiyen (no
18 yen [5]) nokiranu isā su-
19 -t-baḍu notänä hindä
20 no vikuṇanu isā sa-
21 -l no kaḷa manā tänä no-
22 kiranu isā sal no
23 kaḷa manavun no kiranu
24 isā kaḷa-masu [6] puravat
25 sī miyä [7] vāṭena masu
26 unu koṭä no gannā-

---

[1] This syllable seems to be superfluous.
[2] Can be read as *dihi-tel* also.
[3] Can be read as *vadi* also.
[4] Can also be read as *novāḷu*.
[5] The three symbols *noyen* are evidently a clerical error, and should be considered as a repetition.
[6] Mr. Codrington reads, *kuḷa masu*, see *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 198.
[7] [*y*]*i misä* according to Mr. Codrington.

27 koṭ isä bulat pu-
28 -vak maḍapaye tabā
29 vikuṇanu koṭ isā no-
30 tänā tabā vikka duṭu-
31 -vā radolan haravā ga-
32 -nnā isā demuḷä bad
33 valvalä daḍu pat no
34 kapanu koṭ isā me-
35 -he-karuvanaṭ ākula
36 no karanu isā mega-
37 -mhi aṭadenā ge navatā-
38 -n no gannā isā
39 vat-himiyan vahan-
40 se väḍiyä āpā rad-
41 daruvan väḍiyä pere
42 sirit paḍuru denu i-
43 -sā gamlad-näyaka ke-
44 ṇekun padi ā kalä Sa-
45 -taḷosä piriniviyan
46 vahanse davasä
47 pere sirit paḍuru pa-
48 -s vissa no genä
49 annāyen van.

D.

1 . . . . ganitī ku-
2 -ḍin[hi pirikapā]
3 väḍi tänä dän-
4 -vū tänin pere
5 sirit pas-vi-
6 -ssa ganneya yi
7 vadāḷa tänin paḍura-
8 -ṭ pas-vissa ga-
9 -nnā koṭ isā
10 me gamhi lā mini ko-
11 -ṭā yet radolanaṭ [lä-
12 bi] navatnā se[ki-]
13 -n navatanu isā
14 demeḷan(ṭa raṭa nā)-
15 tän daru avā
16 no denu isā ma . .-
17 -vuṭiyen bolā
18 si [n] kiravu a (ga)
19 me lā hā kra ra [ṭṭu]
20 . . isā kuḍin ge
21 käruṇu ākulaya-
22 -ṭ Samdaruvan läbi
23 ākula haravanu isā
24 sam-daruvanṭa no lä-
25 -buṇu kuḍiyak äta
26 lagaḍu hoḷ daḍu no si-
27 rit karanu (para)kapā
28 . . . . . bat no de-
29 nu isā veḷadām go-
30 -vi-kam . . . . a gämi-
31 -n piṭat ka . . . . . .
32 no vädä . . . . . .
33 . . varada noved ga[m]
34 aḍaviya aṭadenā
35 . . ma [nigaha] läbuvan
36 (rad-daḍa) aṭa-denā pirivaha-
37 nnā hindvā illanu i-
38 sā me varadaṭ vädä
39 . . . . no (na) ganu isā
40 me vävasthā ikmä ga-
41 -maṭ radolan ani-
42 -yā kaḷa sabhāye leka-
43 -m geyi daruvan ṭa kiyā
44 [a] vul haravā . . . . . .
45 dun . . . . yukti . . . . . .
46 [me pahaṇ hindvannaṭ ā]

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

TRANSLATION

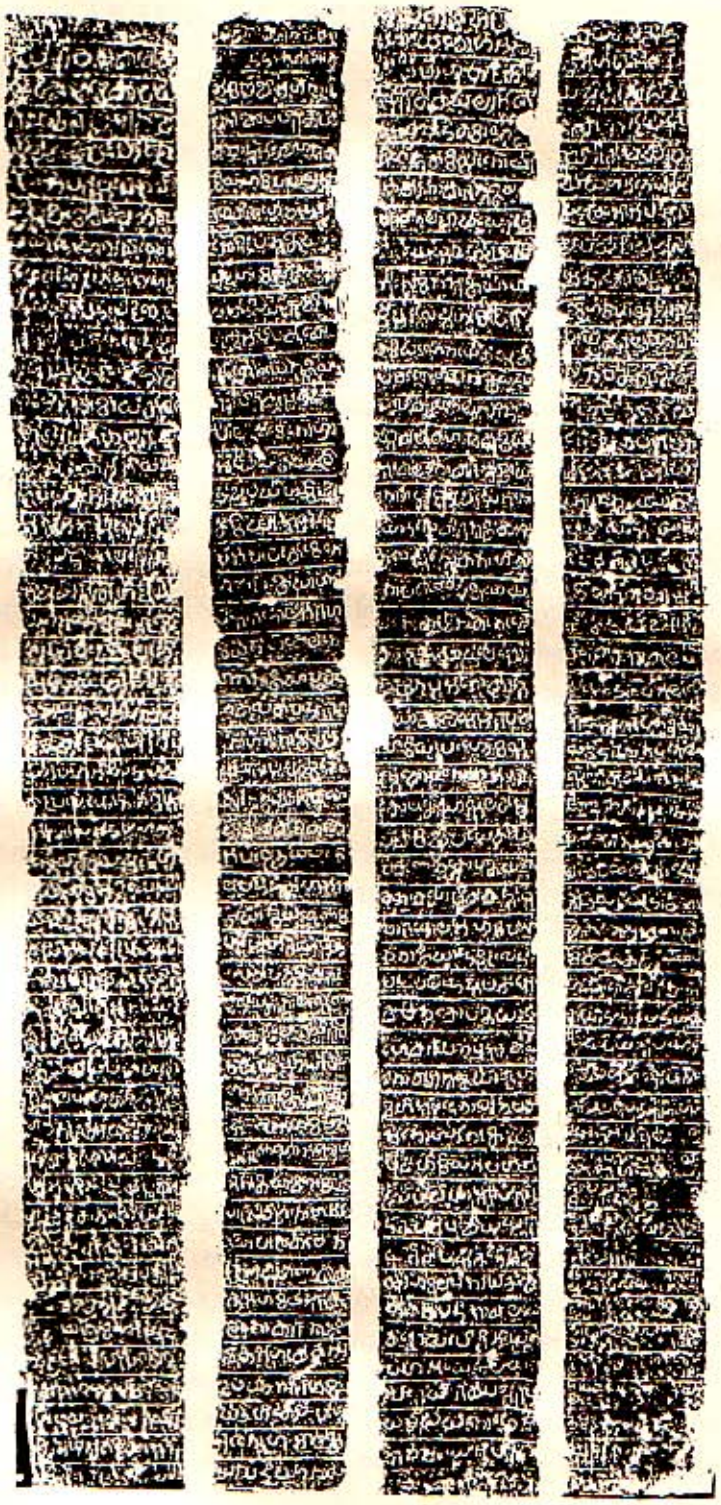
[Lines 1–15] On the fifth day of the waning moon in the month of Nikini (July to August) in the second year after the raising of the umbrella of dominion by the great king **Siri-Saṅgbō Uḍā,** descended from the lineage of king Ukāvas (Ikṣvāku) the pinnacle of the illustrious Kṣatriya race; who is by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

[Lines 15–39] Whereas, on the occasion of his visit to the great monastery of **Miyuguṇ**[1], when merry-makers came from the village, it was brought to the notice of His Majesty, by the merchants and [other] residents of the market [town] of **Hopiṭigamu,** that in days gone by, the subordinate officials[2] of the magistrate in charge of the market transgressed the regulations enacted during the time of the **Lord who expired at Sataḷosa**[3], exacted fines illegally and received presents contrary to custom; and, whereas, it was ordered [by His Majesty] that a decree should be passed and promulgated[4] prohibiting the unlawful acts committed in violation of the institutions established in the time of 'the Lord who expired at Sataḷosa', the following rules and observances were established by the officials of the Secretariat (*lekamgē*) connected with the Council of State (*sabhā*).

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

---

[1] Pāli Mahiyaṅgaṇa.
[2] Literally 'servants'.
[3] This may also be rendered as 'the Lord who died in the 17th (year of his reign').
[4] Literally 'written and kept.'



Badulla Pillar Inscription

கொழும்பு தமிழ்ச் சங்கம்

நூலகம்

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

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

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

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

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

[Lines B 19–26] Royal officers who have come to the village should not receive liquor, meat, curd[1], or ghee [from the villagers]; they should not enter gardens and demand toddy, and they should not take part in illicit trade.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Lines D 10–13] If any person leaves this village after committing murder, he should be arrested[1] in the same manner as he would be arrested when encountered by royal officers.

[Lines D 14–16] The office of district headman (*raṭa nā*?) should not be given to Tamils; [and] daughters[2] should not be given in marriage to them.

... ...

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

---

[1] Literary 'stopped.'

[2] *daru*, P. *dāraka*, 'children'.

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

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

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

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

COMMENTS

[Lines A 4–6] *Lak-div poḷo yon parapuren himi.* For Mr. Wickremasinghe's explanation of this phrase see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 248, n. 7. The alternative rendering given there is, in my opinion, preferable to what he has adopted in his translation. In this metaphor, the island of Ceylon is compared to a maiden of whom the king is, by right of descent, the husband. As the word *Lak-div* is of the neuter gender, and consequently its being joined together in a metaphor with a word of the feminine gender would make the author liable to the charge of allowing, in his composition, the defect named *bhinna-liṅga* in Sanskrit poetics, a feminine noun *poḷo* has been introduced to the compound. The similar phrase *Lak-div-poḷo mehesana paraṇuren himi* occurring in the Vessagiriya slab of Dappula V [1] is also to be translated in the same manner equating *mehesana* with Skt. *mahiṣī* and not with *maheśāna* as taken by Mr. Wickremasinghe. The occurrence of the word *mehesuran* in a similar phrase in the Aṁbagamuva inscription [2], does not militate against this view, as it is in quite a different context. For Mr. Codrington's comments on this phrase, see *J. C. B. R. A. S.*, vol. xxix, p. 308 ff.[3]

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

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 25. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 213.

[3] Compare also the phrase *Laṁkā paṭhavi yobbanāya alaṁkata vadane viya* in the *Mahāvaṁsa-ṭikā*, p. 208.

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

[Lines A 8–9] *Āpā* and *mahayā* are equivalents of the words *ādipāda* and *mahādipāda* used in the later chapters of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, and it is generally believed that they are corruptions of the Pāli words in question. But the fact seems to be that the Pāli terms are mistranslations of the Sinhalese titles. In Ceylon inscriptions of the pre-Christian centuries, the word *aya* (Skt. *āryya*, P. *ayya*) is used to denote a prince[1]. *Ayaputa* (Skt. *āryya-putra*) is the title by which royal princes, governors of provinces, are referred to in the inscriptions of Aśoka[2]. In the *Mahāvaṁsa* (chapter xxii, v. 15), Uttiya, the brother of the king of Kälaṇiya is called an *ayya*. To this princely title *aya* was added, in later times, the honorific suffix *paya* or *pā* (Skt. *pāda*). The Tamil *ayyan-aḍigaḷ*, occurring as the title of a prince in the Koṭṭāyam plates of the Chera king Sthānu Ravi[3] has precisely the same significance. The word *ayapaya* thus formed was contracted, on the one hand to *āpā* and on the other to *yāpā*. The intermediate form *aypaya* is preserved in the 'Jetavanārāma' inscription of Mahinda IV[4]. *Mahayā* is a contraction of the compound *maha-aya* and *mahapā* of *maha-aya-paya*. The author of the *Cūḷavāṁsa*, in giving the Sinhalese words a Pāli garb did not take the trouble to find their correct etymology; and especially as the word *ā* corresponding to Skt. *āryya* and Pāli or Prakrit *ayya* had become obsolete in his time and as a word *ā* representing the Pāli *ādi* was in common use, he adopted *ādipāda* as equivalent to *āpā*; whereas it ought to have been rendered by *ayya-pāda*. Thus, etymologically, *āpā* means 'prince' and *mahayā* or *māpā*, 'the great prince' or 'crown prince'.

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

---

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

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

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

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

[5] *Mv.* lix, v. 84 f.

Dappula III. in order to continue the succession in his own line, by keeping off his brother's son, did not make an *ādipāda* of the latter. And this prince considered the step to be of such gravity that he raised a rebellion and lost his life in the attempt. Among the princes who held this rank, the one who is intended by the reigning king to be his successor, it appears, was distinguished by the title *maha-āpā* or *mahayā*, i.e. the chief among the *āpās*; and, to all intents and purposes, this word has the same connotation as 'heir-apparent'. This explains the reason why, in their epigraphic documents, the kings of Ceylon of this period almost always insert the phrase *āpā mahayā siri viňdā* (having enjoyed the ranks of *āpā* and *mahayā*) before the statement *piḷiveḷa se rädä päminä* (having attained to the sovereignty in regular succession). In unsettled times, of course, enterprising aspirants to the throne assumed, of their own accord, the title of *āpā*, as was done by Vijayabāhu I. The princes who held the title of *āpā* were very often deputed as governors of provinces; but an *āpā* does not necessarily mean 'a governor' as has been assumed by the translator of the *Mahāvaṁsa*. The *mahapā* was very often the *yuyarāja* also; but sometimes there were different princes holding these two offices, as, for example, in the reign of Udaya I [1].

[Lines A 10–11] *Rädä kaḷa* = Skt. *rājye kṛta*. This phrase cannot be taken to mean 'who reigned', as the word *rädä* is in the locative case and, moreover, such a rendering would imply that the king who issued the grant had ceased to to be on the throne when this document was written. There is no reason to infer that this edict was engraved after the death of Udaya III. Therefore, I have translated these two words by 'established (*kaḷa*) in sovereignty (*rädä*)'. But by whom was he established on the throne? A comparison with the practices of later times might enable us to give a satisfactory answer to this question. When Rājādhirāja Siṁha of Kandy died, the prince who succeeded him on the throne—the last king of Kandy—was elected by an assembly of the chief ministers of state, the heads of the Buddhist Church, and the governors of the provinces [2]. It is true that, on this occasion, those assembled did nothing more than give their formal consent to the first Adigar's choice, but the mere fact that such an assembly was held points to the conclusion that the elective principle was recognized in the installation of a monarch on the throne. Coming to earlier times, we read in the *Mahāvaṁsa* that after the death of Vijaya-bāhu I (1065–1120 A.D.), the deceased king's sister, her three sons, the chief officers

[1] *Mv.* li, v. 90–3.

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

of state and the monks who dwelt in the eight chief *vihāras* 'took counsel together and with one mind anointed the sub-king'[1]. Probably, a similar procedure was adopted in the tenth century, in inaugurating the rule of a new king; and the practice followed in the Kandyan times, as many another of the institutions in vogue during the Kandyan period, was one dating back to the medieval age. It is also possible to trace it back to still more ancient times. In the Vedic as well as in the epic Sanskrit literature, there are several references to 'king-makers' (*rāja-karttāraḥ*[2]) who take part in the consecration of a king. It is the opinion of some scholars that these 'king-makers' not only took part in the ceremonial of the king's consecration; but also performed the function of electing him[3]. The passage in the Mahā Govinda Sutta[4] which mentions the 'king-makers' (*rāja-kattāro*) may be adduced in support of this theory. If this term is thus understood, it would be interesting to see 'the king-makers' of the Vedic and Epic ages functioning in Ceylon during the tenth and twelfth centuries and the tradition still kept up—though in a shadowy form—as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century.

[Lines A 11] *Sirisaṅgbō Udā*: There were three rulers of Ceylon who bore the name of Udaya; but as the first was an Abā Salamevan and as the present record belongs palaeographically to a period later than his reign, he is out of the question; and we have to decide which of the two—the second or the third of this name, both of whom had the *viruda* of Siri Saṅgabo—has to be identified with Siri Saṅgabō Udā of our record. The statement that he visited Mahiyaṅgaṇa in the Rohaṇa country might, at first sight, seem to give us a clue. But on reference to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, we find that both these monarchs visited the Southern Principality during their respective reigns; the one (i. e. Udaya II) to escape the fury of the populace whom he had alienated by his violation of the rights of the Ascetics' Forest[5]; and the other flying before the victorious arms of the Coḷas[6]. Therefore, we have to decide this question by other evidence. From the Puliyaṇkuḷama slab inscription[7], we learn that Udaya II's parents were Mihind Mahayā and the princess Kitā. The name of the father of Udā Siri Saṅgabo of the present record is not given and that of his mother, though

[1] *Mv.* lxi, v. 1–3.

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

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

[4] *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii, p. 233.

[5] *Mv.* liii, v.-20.

[6] *Ibid.*, ch. liii, v. 44.

[7] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 186.

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

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

[Line A 17] *Padi.* Owing to the close resemblance between the symbols for *v* and *p* throughout this record, it is difficult to decide whether *padi* or *vadi* is the correct reading. In my text, I have adopted the former. From the context it is clear that this word is applied to the mercantile quarter of a town. It may be derived from Pāli *paddhana*, a word occurring in the *Dīgha Nikāya*[1] and translated by Prof. Rhys Davids by 'village street[2]' or from Skt. *patha*, 'a road'. Compare Skt. *vaṇik-patha* which literally means 'trader's path'; but has also the connotation of 'merchant's shop' (see Monier Williams *s. v.*) and is used in that sense in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya[3]. *Padi* in Tamil means 'a town'. In a grant of Dhruvasena II, king of Valabhī, the word *pathaka* connotes 'a territorial division' (Kālāpaka-pathaka). Dr. Bühler, who has edited this grant in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. vi, p. 13), remarks that '"*Pathaka*" occurs in the sense of "mahāl" or "tālukā" on the Chālukya plates of Aṇhilvāḍ pretty frequently'. If the *padi* of the present record is equivalent to *pathaka*, the Hopiṭigam padiya was a territorial division comprising several villages. If the alternative reading be adopted, it may be compared with the Tamil *vadi* 'a path or road'. In South Indian Tamil inscriptions it occurs very frequently in proper names such as Pallavanāraṇa-vadi[4], Paramēśvara vadi[5], Vayirmēga-vadi[6], &c. These are translated 'the path called Pallavanāraṇa-vadi, &c.' That a word which originally meant 'a road' assumed the secondary meaning of 'market' is natural. The word *vīdiya* (Skt. *vīthi* 'a street') is applied at present to the market-place in some of the interior villages, and the headman in charge of it is styled the *vīdiye āracci*. The word *pāra* (road) is also used in some districts to denote the local market.

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

---

[1] *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. lii, p. 340.
[2] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. ii, p. 369.
[3] Dr. Samasastry's edition, p. 63.
[4] *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. iii, p. 324.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 334.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 337.

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

[Lines A 21–22] *Padi lad daḍanāyaka* was evidently an officer whose duty it was to look after the affairs connected with markets. Compare the office of the *kaḍa goṣṭiyehi ätto* mentioned in the inscription on one of the pillars of the Audience Hall of Niśśaṅka Malla at Poḷonnaruva[4]. In the sixteenth century, there was a prince named *Vīdiye-baṇḍāra*[5]. Can it be that this was only his official title and not a proper name, and that he was a similar functionary to the *padi-lad daḍa-nāyaka* of our record? *Daṇḍa-nāyaka* means literally 'one who applies the rod', and signifies a magistrate. It is also the title of a military commander. A general of Parākramabāhu I was called Laṅkāpura Daṇḍanātha. This term (*daṇḍa-nāyaka*) occurs also in the Jetavanārāma slab-inscription of Kassapa V (Vol. I, p. 47)[6].

[Lines A 22–23] *Gättan* in modern Sinhalese means 'servants'. In the *Heraṇasika*[7], the word *gäti* is used in the sense of 'belonging to'.

[Lines A 23–24] *Sataḷosä piriniviyan vahansē* occurs more than once in this record as the name of a ruler whose institutions, it was the object of the present edict to confirm. It is not a proper name; but appears to be an honorific title by which a deceased ruler is referred to. I take Sataḷosa as a place-name and translate the phrase as 'the Lord who died at Sataḷosa'. In this I am guided by the South Indian usage according to which deceased kings are often referred to by the name of the place in which they happened to die. For instance, the Chola king Āditya I is named *Ārṟṟūr tuñjiṉa dēvar* (the lord who slept or died at Ārṟūr) in the epigraphs of later kings[8] and Parāntaka II, *alias* Sundara Choladeva, was known by the posthumous title of Poṉ-māligai tuñjiṉa dēvar[9] (i. e. the lord who

---

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 99. n. 1, 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 199 n.
[3] Dhammārama's edition, Colombo, 1915.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, ii. 248.
[5] Dr. P. E. Pieris, *Portuguese Era*, vol. i, p. 75 ff.
[6] *Sam daruvan daṇḍa nāyakayan hiṅdä vicāra ḳoṭ*, &c.
[7] Colombo, 1911, p. 29. See also *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 239, n. 10.
[8] See *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1907*, p. 71 and *S. I. I.*, iii, p. 71.
[9] K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, pp. 238, 387.

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

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

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

---

[1] *Puraṇāṇūru*, lii. 5–6.

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

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

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

[5] Compare *tiyuṇu* and *tivuṇu*; *diyuṇu* and *divuṇu*. (Skt. *tikṣṇa* and *dviguṇa*). See also Geiger, . *S. S.* § 24.

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

interpreted in different ways by the scholars who have dealt with these records[1]. I have adopted V. A. Smith's rendering as suited to the present context. Of the two forms *piyavisi* and *piyeyisi*, I take the former to be the earlier form, and the change of the *va* to *ya* in the latter to be owing to the influence of the preceding syllable *ya*. Another Pāli word which has a kindred meaning to that of *sāmajja* is *pekkha*[2], and the first member of the word under discussion (*piya*) is most propably derived from it. The second member *visi*, I take to be a corruption of the Pāli *visūka* of similar meaning and the word *piyeyisi* or *piyavisi* a *dvandva* compound formed of these two distinct words. By this is meant, most probably, a party of dancers, jugglers and the like, brought by the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Hopiṭigamu, for the entertainment of the king, when he visited Mahiyaṅgaṇa. The modern word *hēvisi*, applied to the beating of drums in Buddhist temples, seems to be a further corruption of *piyavisi*, by the contraction of *ya* to *e* and the change of *pa* to *ha*[3]. (*Piyavisi* < *pēvisi* < *hēvisi*).

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

[Line A 37] *Lekam-gehi*. This term occurs here for the first time. It may be compared with such expressions as *Mahayā gē bäḷätun* and *rad gehi bäḷaya* in the Puliyankuḷama slab-inscription, and *Māgē Goṅgayan* in the Vessagiriya Slab No. 2[4]. In these words, I think, we can recognize the beginnings of the use of *gē* or family names such as the modern *Liyanagē*, &c.

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

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

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

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

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

[5] *Mv.* lx, v 1.

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

[Line A 42] *Mandraṇḍi*. This word has not been noticed in any other document of the period; and its meaning is not quite clear. Most probably, it is the same as Tamil *maṉṟāḍi* which occurs in South Indian inscriptions[1]. The insertion of the corresponding sonant after a nasal when followed by a liquid is in accord with the rules of Sinhalese phonology. Compare, for instance, Sin. *vaňduru* (Hindi *bandar*) for Sanskrit *vānara* and *ämbul* for *amla*. The Tamil *maṉṟāḍi* are often mentioned in inscriptions as receiving, from the village assembly, the gifts of sheep made to temples for providing sacred lamps; and therefore this word has been interpreted as 'shepherds'. In this record, the *mandraṇḍis* are empowered to sit in council together with the corporation of merchants, the subordinates of the village headmen, and another corporation known as the Mahāgrāmas; and to decide the amount of fines to be levied. Shepherds or herdsmen are sometimes authorized, in the Hindu law books, to take part in deliberations regarding the affairs of the village administration. In the case of disputes over a village boundary, it is enjoined by Manu that the aged, the herdsmen, those who draw the line of boundary, and other foresters, should decide the boundary line[2]. But we are not absolutely certain whether the *mandraṇḍi* of our record are herdsmen; and therefore the word is left, for the present, untranslated. There is another possible interpretation. *Maṉṟu* in Tamil means 'the village assembly' and *aḍi* a 'servant'. Hence *maṉṟaḍi* or *mandraṇḍi*, as the word is spelt here, may mean a servant or employee of the village assembly. This would be in keeping with 'the servants of the village headman' with whom the *mandraṇḍis* are associated in the sentence immediately following.

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

> Lajjite 'tha Vaṇiggrāme rājā sañjāta-vismayaḥ.
> kimetaditi papraccha sa tāṁ Devasmitāṁ svayam (ii. 5. 12).

---

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

[2] *Manu*, viii, 260.

Considering that the Sanskrit *va* is sometimes changed to *ma* in the vernaculars, it may be interesting to draw attention to the similarity of this word to Maṇigrāma, the name of a guild of merchants mentioned in the Koṭṭāyam plates of Vīrarāghava[1]. Other references to the same guild occur in the Cochin plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman[2], in a copper-plate grant of Sthānu Ravi[3], another ruler of the West Coast of South India, and in a Tamil inscription found at a place named Takopa in Siam[4]. Of the Maṇigrāmas, the Sthānu Ravi plates say that 'should they themselves commit a crime they are themselves to have the investigation of it'—a privilege which the Vaṇigrāmas of our record, too, seem to have enjoyed.

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

There is another possible interpretation of this word; that is, to take it to mean the residents of a town named Mahāgrāma. And, curiously enough, there is some evidence to show that a town of this name existed near Mahiyaṅgaṇa or that the last-named itself had that appelation. Ptolemy, in his geographical account of Ceylon, after describing Anurogrammon (Anurādhapura) as the royal residence, mentions a place named Maagrammon which he calls the metropolis and places it beside the great river (Mahaväligaṅga)[5]. Commenting on this, Sir E. Tennent says: 'His (Ptolemy's) Maagrammon would appear on the first glance to be Mahagam, but as he calls it the metropolis and places it beside the great river it is evidently Bintenne whose ancient name was Mahawelligam[6].' If the word *Mahāgrāma* of our inscription be taken in the latter sense, it would afford a remarkable confirmation of Tennent's hypothesis about the identity of Maagrammon.

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

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

---

[1] *Ep. Ind.* vol. iv, p. 290 ff.
[2] *Ind. Ant.* vol. iii, p. 333 ff.
[3] *Travancore Archaeological Series* vol. ii.
[4] *J. R. A. S.* for 1913, p. 337.
[5] *Ptolemy's Geography of India*, edited by McGrindle, 1885, p. 250.
[6] *Ceylon*, Vol. i, p. 536, n. 2.

enumerating the different kinds of law courts, Nārada says: 'Family meetings (*kula*), corporations (*śreṇi*), village assemblies (*gaṇa*), one appointed by the king, and the king himself, are invested with the power to decide law-suits; and of these, each succeeding one, is superior to the one preceding it in order [1].'

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

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

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

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

'Whenever he (i. e. the creditor) meets his debtor in the street or road, he stops him abruptly and draws a circular line around him on the ground with a stick, or sometimes without this ceremony, sits down besides him, and forbids him by the king's command to move from the spot without paying his money. The debtor is obliged to sit himself also, and in respect of the king's name, neither can stir, till some other person approaching and interfering, engage to be answerable for the debt, or for the person, in the presence of witness, to call both before the proper chief, to have the case investigated and settled. This is called Welekme Damanava or placing under inhibition [3].'

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

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

---

[1] Kulāni śreṇayaś=c=aiva, gaṇāś=c=ādhikṛto nṛpaḥ, pratiṣṭhā vyavahārāṇāṁ gurv=ebhyastū=ttaro=ttaraṁ.

[2] Colombo, 1925, p. 700.

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

absolute punishment, or rather a torture to compel payment. The culprit is delivered to the charge of one or more persons and seated on the ground with head uncovered, exposed to the sun, and thus detained till he makes satisfaction. Sometimes to increase the inconvenience of the situation, a heavy stone is laid on his shoulder which he is obliged to hold with both hands; and is allowed only to shift from one side to the other but does not throw off for fear of immediate corporal chastisement. The fatigue and pain of this situation soon compel him to submit and to send for the money, or a place, if he has it; or induce a relation or a friend or inferior headman to become security and obtain his release. The latter mode of extorting payment (by loading with a stone) is adopted only towards refractory persons who refuse to comply with the sentence, show contempt of authority, or have before deceived, or for whom, on account of their character, no one will readily undertake to answer. It is scarcely acknowledged by the superior Kandyan chiefs to be strictly legal, though it is certainly a custom of some antiquity and was practised and tolerated in the country till the dissolution of the Kandyan Government. It has also, I understand, been employed, but in rare instances, to enforce payment of revenue [1].'

Knox gives a similar account of the second method of the *väläkma*, and illustrates it by a drawing [2]. Dr. P. E. Pieris tells us that this custom prevailed in the maritime districts under the Portuguese rule [3]. Marco Polo, when he visited South India (Maabar) in the thirteenth century, observed this custom among the Tamils and gives us a quaint story how the king himself, on one occasion, had to submit to this extortion [4]. From lines 15–19 of our record it appears that sometimes women and children were also thus put in the *väläkma*; but this practice has been declared unlawful by the regulations embodied here.

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

---

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

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

[3] *Portuguese Era*, vol. ii, p. 86.

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

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

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

Anurādhapure aññataro rājakammiko ten'eva kammena jīvikaṁ kappento viharati. So kir'ekadivasaṁ rañño kenacideva karaṇīyena Muggāyatana-raṭṭhaṁ gantvā tatth'ekaṁ kevaṭṭa-gāmaṁ agamāsi. Tattha manussā rājakammiko ayaṁ 'ti bahuṁ suraṁ upanāmesuṁ. So tehi saddhiṁ suraṁ pivitvā matto sabbarattiṁ kīḷitvā pana divase chinnāya surāya chātajjhatto maṁsena bhattaṁ atthī'ti pucchi. Te rājadūto ayaṁ'ti kukkuṭa-maṁsa-rasena sappinā saddhiṁ sālibhattaṁ upanāmesuṁ.

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

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

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

---

[1] See *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act II. For the practice of *dharṇā*, see Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 148.

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

[3] Colombo, 1892, p. 27, v. 175. *Baḍu vikiṇiyaṭa vesun tabana tän sal nam vē.* The *Piyummala* also explains it similarly. *Sal yanu vikuṇanṭa veḷaňdun baḍu tabana tänaṭa nami.*

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

[Line B 28] *Väpuda.* I take this to be a corruption of *vät-puda* (Skt. *vartti-pūjā*). *Vät* originally meant 'the wick of a lamp'; but in course of time, its meaning was extended to include the lamp itself. Compare the phrase *pahayä Budnaṭ vät telaṭ dun dasa kaḷaňdak isā* in the Vessagiriya record of Dappula V [1].

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

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

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

[Line B 40] *Raṭ-dag.* So far as I know, this word has not been noticed elsewhere and its exact meaning is not clear. Evidently, it is the name of a tax. *Dag* may be derived from the Pāli root *jag* (in *jaggati*, &c.), and would therefore mean 'watching or guarding'. *Raṭ* of course, is Pāli *raṭṭha* and is applied to a territorial division corresponding to a modern Kōralē. The term *raṭ-dag* seems to be of the same significance as *nāḍu-kāval* occurring in the inscriptions of South India as the name of a tax [2].

[Line B 41] *Väḷātä.* Not given by Clough. It is the same as *väḷäta* occurring in the *Sikhavalaňda Vinisa* [3] (p. 24) and the *Dharmmapradīpikā* (p. 92) [4]. The *Ruvanmàla* has the slightly different form of *välahat* [5]. Its etymology is not clear.

[Line B 42] *Uḷvāḍu* or *Uḷpāḍu.* This word occurs in the Buddhannēhäla pillar inscription, and Mr. Wickremasinghe comments on it as follows: 'These seem to be the names of certain low-caste communities. *Uḷvāḍu*, probably same as *hulvaḍu* basket weavers (*Ruvanmala*, p. 59) [6].' But it appears from our record that the *uḷvāḍu* were a class of officers. Most probably it is the same as Tamil *uḷpāḍaṉ* which occurs in several inscriptions from Travancore. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, the learned editor of these inscriptions, comments on the word as follows: 'In all probability, the terms *uḷpāḍaṉ* and *perumudiyāṉ* should

---

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 25.
[2] *S. I. I.*, vol. iii, p. 289.
[3] Edited by D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1924.
[4] Dhammarama's edition, Colombo, 1915.
[5] Colombo, 1892, p. 65.
[6] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 199, *n.* 12.

have originally indicated some officers connected with the temple. This is apparent from the very passages which mention them. What their precise and primitive functions were it is not possible to fix; but this much may be safely advanced, viz. that they were entrusted with the care of temple funds or properties which were left in their charge. From the subjoined record, we learn that these persons issued gold from the temple[1].' *Kaṇakkar* means an accountant, and the whole compound *ulvāḍu kaṇakkar* might signify 'the accountants in charge of the temporalities belonging to a religious establishment'. The occurrence of the word *kusalān* meaning a 'religious gift' in the sentence immediately following might lend some support to this interpretation; but unfortunately this sentence is imperfectly preserved and the context not sufficiently clear.

[Line C 4] *Kusalān.* As stated above, the sentence in which this word occurs is fragmentary, and, therefore, we are unable to say in what connexion it is used here. But there is no doubt as to the meaning of the word itself. The evidence put forward by Mr. Bell in support of his interpretation of the word as meaning a religious benefaction against that of Mr. Wickremasinghe is quite convincing[2], though the etymology suggested by him does not seem tenable.

[Lines C 4–7] The text being not quite certain, the translation of these lines offered above is only tentative. As regards the word *kara* (rental), see Mihintale slab inscription of Mahinda IV line A 44[3]. I have taken the word *nositak* as it is found on the stone; but, on the other hand, if it be taken as a clerical error for *nosiritak*, which is likely, the translation ought to be modified by substituting 'nothing contrary to custom'.

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

---

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

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

[3] *E.* Z., Vol. I, p. 105, n. 1.

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

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

[Lines C 13–16] In the case of merchants trying to evade the payment of the government dues, Manu enjoins that eight times the usual rate be imposed[1].

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

[Lines C 17–18] *Nopätu* is formed of the negative prefix *no* and p. p. p. of the verb *paṭavanu* which most probably means 'stamped', in this place. Compare the phrase *san ota manavan sanin paṭvay* in the Mihintale tablets[2]. *Madaḍi* is a rare form of *madaṭa* or *madaṭi* (Tamil *mañjāḍi*, Pāli *mañjeṭṭhi* Skt. *mañjiṣṭha*) the name of a weight, the twentieth part of a *kaḷaňda*[3]. If the word *nopätu* has been correctly interpreted, it would show that weights used by traders were stamped by the officers appointed by the king. For rules concerning the testing and stamping of weights and measures by the government officers, see Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*[4] pp. 126 and 127 and *Manu viii*, 403. If the alternative reading *novätu* be adopted, the words 'which are not in circulation' may be substituted for 'which are not stamped'. This meaning is arrived at by deriving *vätu* from Skt. *varttita*. After the word *madaḍiyen* we read *noyen*, which is evidently a clerical error, the engraver, by mistake, having repeated the three syllables *ye, n, no.*

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

Sī miyä väṭena 'which has overflowed and fallen on the ground'. *Sī* is the

---

[1] *Manu*, viii, 400.

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

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

[4] Dr. Shamasastry's translation, 2nd edition.

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

In measuring paddy and other grains, that which falls on the ground in the process of measuring had to be given to the receiver. South Indian inscriptions lay special stress on this point; and in the measuring, a certain portion is allowed to compensate for this wastage. For instance, an inscription from Tirukkarai in Travancore[1] says that one *nāḻi* is to be given extra for 600 *naḻis* to cover up the wastage thus caused.

[Lines C 27–32] Special sheds were sometimes constructed within the temple premises for selling betel nuts, the chewing of which formed one of the chief luxuries of the people. A tax was imposed on sellers and its proceeds went to the temple. The *Mahāvaṁsa* informs us that Mahinda IV 'built a betel hall (*tāmbūla maṇḍapa*) and spent the revenue thereof for the medicine and diet of the brethren that belonged to the school of the elders[2]'. A tax on betel sellers is very often mentioned in Tamil inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, and it seems to have been a regular item of the revenue of the village assembly[3].

[Line C 32] *Demuḷä*. Compare *Abayagiri nakāhi demuḷin sāhanuvaṭ vāḍi saṅgun* in the Mihintale tables already mentioned[4] *Muḷa* means an 'assembly' or 'a congregation'; and the two congregations of the monks refer, most probably, to the *ubhayavāsa* i. e. the monks who dwelt in the forest (*vanavāsika*) and those in the monasteries close to the villages and towns (*gāmānta senāsana vāsika*).

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

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

---

[1] *Travancore Archaeological Series* iii, p. 176. [2] *Mv.* liv. v. 47.

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

[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 92. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

inscriptions[1], we know that in the Tamil Country, several committees were elected annually for the different departments of the village administration. The most important of these was the Committee in charge of the Annual Village Work (*saṁvatsara grāma kāryaṁ*) of which the number, however, was fixed at twelve. The other committees such as 'Garden Committee', &c., consisted of six members each. Further down in our inscription, there is the mention of *aḍaviya aṭadenā'* which may by translated as '(the Committee) of Eight in Charge of the Forests'. In the Mäḍirigiriya pillar-inscription[2], there is reference to a committee of five entrusted with the management of work appertaining to the fields (*velä yut pasdenā*).

[Lines C 37–38] *Navatän*, Skt. *nivāsa-sthāna*, 'lodgings'. Modern Sinhalese *navātän*.

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

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

[Lines D 14–16] The translation offered here of these lines is only tentative. But it is not improbable that such an injunction, directed against the Tamils, should have been issued by a king who had just experienced a defeat at the hands of their South Indian countrymen[3].

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

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

[Line D 26] *Hoḷ daḍu*. *Hoḷ* means pain. See the Puliyaṉkuḷam inscription of Udā Mahayā (Vol I, p. 186) and also *Sidat Saṅgarāva* (Dhammārāma's edition p. 114[4]). This word appears to me to have been derived from Pāli *heṭha*. *Daḍu* (Skt. *daṇḍa*) means 'punishment' and *hoḷdaḍu* may mean 'torture'.

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

---

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

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 30.

[3] See above p. 84.

[4] *Tunu hoḷa vaṭa haḷa.*

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

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

[Line D 54] *Araksamaṇa*, occurring in some records in the form of *Raksamaṇa*[1], was an official title which is found, in these documents, to have been applicable to the Chief Secretary (*mahalē*). In a pillar inscription from Sīgiriya[2], we come across the variant form *Araksämiyā* which shows us that the second member of this compound is formed of *sami* (Skt. *svāmin*) with the addition of the honorific suffix *aṇa* and means 'master'. *Arak* represents Skt. *ārakṣaka* 'a guard' or 'protector' and therefore the word *Araksamaṇa* means the 'Chief Guardian'. If the suggestion made in the sequel that the *Mahalē* was in charge of the treasury of the king be found tenable, this title might have been applied to him in that capacity. In this connexion, the phrase *bhaṇḍāra-rakṣāvehi siṭi yamma kenekun* occurring in an unpublished epigraph of Niśśanka Malla may be compared with advantage. Mr. Codrington suggests that there might have been some connexion between this title and the office of *Arakmēnā* given to the chief who guarded the Bodhi tree.

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

Mr. Wickremasinghe at first took this word to be a place name, but later on he says it was an office[3]; but what the nature of this office was, he does not attempt to explain. There is hardly any doubt that this word is identical with Kuṇḍasāla, which, according to late Kandyan usage, was a pleasure-house of

---

[1] See the Buddhanne-häla Pillar quoted above. Mr. Wickremasinghe derives this from P. *Rakkhasamaṇa*.

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

[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 210.

the king. But in the seventeenth century, as Dr. Pieris informs us[1], Kuṇḍasāla was the name of the building in which the king's treasures were reported to have been kept. If it be assumed that this word originally meant the treasury, and the meaning of 'pleasure-house' was a secondary one, we may, with some justification, interpret the word *Kuḍasalā* occurring in the names of the *dūtakas* in the medieval inscriptions, as 'treasury officer'. The fact that their chief was very often the *mahalē* might give some support to this theory, as in later times the officer in charge of the treasury was called a *Lēkam mahatmayā*[2].

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

No 5. MANNAR KACCERI PILLAR INSCRIPTION[3] (*A. S. C.* No. 355).

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

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

---

[1] *Portuguese Era*, vol. i, p. 320.

[2] *Maha aramudalē lēkam mahatmayā*, See Davy, p. 139.

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

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

The letters are boldly engraved and vary in size from 1½ to 2 inches. They belong to the script of the last quarter of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth; but, however, show a mixture of forms earlier as well as later. Some examples of variant forms occurring side by side are given below to illustrate this statement.

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

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

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

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

[1] *Cey. Ant.* vol. iv, p. 102 ff.

itself, on the one hand into *ica*[1], the precursor of *isā* (modern Sinhalese *hā*) and on the other to *ja*[2], the prototype of *j* and *d* of the medieval Sinhalese speech and the modern *da*. Another partly effaced pillar inscription from the same place (No. 351 of the A. S. Register) which, from the archaic nature of the script, may well be ascribed to a period anterior to the time of Sena II, has the same peculiarity. Yet another record from the north, which comes from a place named Kōvil Puliyaṉkuḷama[3] in the Mannar district, affords us a further example of this archaic feature. Without examining more records from this part of the country, it would be premature, perhaps, to pronounce this as a peculiar feature of the Northern dialect of the Sinhalese language.

In this connexion, it is interesting to observe that, in the Aṁbagamuva rock inscription of Vijayabāhu I[4], this same dialectal peculiarity has persisted down to much later times, and in a district far removed from the locality of the present record. What has been taken as a punctuation mark in this inscription by its learned editor is, in fact, nothing but a *ca* written with a certain degree of flourish[5]. From these facts it seems clear that the development of the Sinhalese language was not uniform in all parts of the island. While younger forms were adopted in the language spoken in and around the capital, older forms persisted in the outlying districts of the north, and in the secluded hills of the Malaya country where the inhabitants were naturally more conservative.

This inscription is dated on the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Mādindina (March–April) in the twelfth year of King **Siri Saṅgbo** who, by the form of the script employed, may by identified either with **Sena II** (*circa* 844–879 A. D.), or his brother **Kassapa IV** (*circa* 890–007 A. D.)[6]. Mr. H. C P. Bell identified him with the former[7], and the archaic nature of the script, as well as of the language, seems to favour this view. But, the executor of this grant,

---

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

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

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

[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 212 ff.

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

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

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



Mannar Kacceri Piliar Inscription

Paṇḍirad Dāpuḷu, figures, in the same capacity, in records of the third year of Kassapa V[1]. And as it is very unlikely that the same minister held office from the twelfth year of Sena II to the third year of Kassapa V—a period of fifty-four years—I am inclined to ascribe this pillar to Kassapa IV.

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

TEXT.

Side A[2].

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

---

[1] See the Mädirigiriya pillar inscription, *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 25 ff.

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

[3] Read *Siri.*

Side B.

1 -miyen **Pa-**
2 **-ṇḍirad Dāpu-**
3 **-ḷā** varä **Me-**
4 **-kāppar Pi-**
5 **-laviṭ Mayi-**
6 **-dand**[1] ca **Koḷa-**
7 **-bā Sivu** ca
8 api dedena-
9 -mo ektän-
10 samiyen
11 vadāḷeyi-
12 -n megama-
13 -ṭ rad-kämi-
14 -yan piyo-
15 vadāran no-
16 vadanā ca dunu-
17 maṇḍula me-
18 -lässi raṭ-
19 ladu pas-
20 laddan no-
21 vadanā ca de-
22 kam-tän de-
23 ruvane pe-
24 -reläki dunu-
25 pā-balat pa-
26 -ḍi-meheyä
27 ättan

Side C.

1 no **vadnā** ca
2 gäl gon vä-
3 -riyan bila[2] ba-
4 -t bili säl
5 kiravar[3] tel va-
6 -r nogannā ca
7 perenāṭṭu-
8 -vam no vandnā ca
9 megam hun
10 täri kuḍin
11 avalin no-
12 gannā ca sa-
13 -dā laddan no
14 vadnā ca Ma-
15 -hapuṭu[4] lad
16 -dan no va-
17 -dnā ca kabhäli
18 lad no va-
19 -dana ca **Nā-ve-**
20 **-herä** väs-
21 -san no vad-
22 -nā ca **Raka-**
23 **vehera**-vässa-
24 -n novadnā ca
25 me tuvāk dena
26 no vadnā
27 koṭ megama-

---

[1] This is most probably intended for Mayind (Pāli Mahinda).
[2] Read *bili-bat.*
[3] Read *kirivar.*
[4] Could be read as *Mahavuṭu* also.

Side D

1 -ṭ api dede-
2 -namo at-
3 -tāṇi pe
4 rähärä dun-
5 -mahayi [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

REMARKS.

[Lines A 10–12] *Bahaduru-sen piyangala. Bahadurusen* is equivalent to Skt. *Bhadrasena.* The word *piyangala* occurs, among the published records, in the Mihintale Tablets ascribed to Mahinda IV [3], in the 'Jetavanārāma' slab inscription

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

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

[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 95.

of Kassapa V[1] and the Mäḍiligiriya pillar inscriptions of the same king[2]. Parker, in his *Ancient Ceylon*, (p. 425) gives a short record from Kurundankuḷam in the Mullaittivu district in which also this word is met with. The variant form *piyanhala* occurs in a mutilated record from a place named Saṅgili Kanadarāva[3]. Dr. E. Müller and Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara both take this word to mean a 'stone ceiling'[4]. Mr. Wickremasinghe, at first took it to be the proper name of a monastery[5], but later changed his view, and surmises that it is 'applied to certain important buildings of a monastery set apart for a special purpose'[6]. Mr. Bell, too, is of opinion that it is a proper name and that the *piyangala* at *Mäḍiligiriya* was named after a monastery of a similar name at Mihintalē[7]. Mr. Wickremasinghe has already pointed out the etymological connexion between this word and *patana-gala* in the Perumaiyāṉkuḷam rock inscription of Vasabha[8]; but this latter word he leaves untranslated though he equates it with a Sanskrit form *prārthanāśilā*. In the Tissamahārāma slab inscription, now in the Colombo Museum, (*A. I. C.* No. 67), we have a variant form of this word as *padana-gala* which enables us to connect it with the Pāli *padhānasālā*. The word *patan bhūmi* in the *Saddharmaratnākara*[9], representing the Pāli *padhāna bhūmi*, is further evidence for this equation. The change of *dha* to *ta* and its subsequent corruption to *ya* are in accord with the rules of Sinhalese phonetics[10], and do not require any comments, but the transformation of *sa* to *ga* requires some explanation. The alternative form *piyan-hala* shows that the *sa* had first been changed to *ha* which ultimately assumed the form of *ga*. As examples of the change of *ha* to *ga* may be given *magila* for *mahilā*[11] and *siṅgu* for *siha*.[12] Sin. *gäḷ* derived from Skt. *sakaṭa* and *gal*[13] for Skt. *śaila* (*sala* < *hala* < *gala*) are other examples of this phonetic change. The words *padhāna-sālā* and *padhāna ghara* occur more than once in the *Mahāvaṁsa*[14] and an inscription at Amarāvatī mentions a *padhāna maḍavo*, which word, however, has been translated as

---

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 53.
[2] Vol. II, p. 25 ff., and *Cey. Ant.*, vol x, p. 78 f.
[3] No. 81 of 1898–1900.
[4] *A. I. C.* p. 118 and *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 108, n. 12.
[5] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 53, n. 1.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 27, n. 2.
[7] *Cey. Ant.*, vol. x, p. 83.
[8] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 28, n. 8.
[9] Colombo, 1923, p. 313.
[10] See Geiger, *L. S. S.*, p. 44.
[11] In an unpublished cave inscription from a place named Baṁbarahela.
[12] In the Galpota Inscription of Niśśaṅka Malla, *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 112.
[13] It may be mentioned that *gal* could also be derived from T. *kal*. But there is the possibility that the Tamil word itself is of Skt. origin.
[14] See, for example, *Mv.* ch. 37, v. 182, ch. 42, v. 46, and ch. 46, v. 11.

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

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

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

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

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

[1] Burgess. *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, p. 105.
[2] See *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, vol. iii, p. 146.
[3] See *Mv.* l, v. 82.
[4] *Cey. Ant.*, vol. ii, p. 190.
[5] Bell, *Report on the Kegalle District*, p. 83.
[6] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 206, note 2.
[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 34.
[8] The form *samiyen* is due to the final vowel *u* of the stem being changed to *i* when followed by a suffix of which the initial letter is *ya*, cf. *haṁbiyehi* from *haṁbu* (*Sikhāvalaňda vinisa*, p. 55) and *baḍiyehi* in the Badulla Pillar inscription. See above p. 76.
[9] *E. Z.*, Vol. I. p., 206.

this interpretation the whole compound may mean 'by the assent of the assembly'. *Ek-tän* may also represent Sanskrit *eka-sthāna*, and as one of the meanings attached to the word *sthāna* is 'state' or 'condition' (see Macdonell's Sanskrit Dictionary, *s. v.*) *ektän* might signify 'being of one disposition' i. e. 'unanimous'. Hence *ektän samiyen* may be interpreted 'with the unanimous assent'. This interpretation is supported by the occurrence of similar phraseology in the Tamil inscriptions of South India. An inscription from Karuvūr, dated in the third year of the Chola king Rājendradeva, tells us that a decree of the king was 'unanimously approved of' by the chief secretary and three citizens who are named in the document[1].

In phrases like *pahaṇ hiňduvannaṭ vadāḷa ektän samiyen*[2], this word occurs in the form of a noun, and in other places such as *ektän samiyen väňdä vadāḷeyin avut*[3] it is used in the capacity of an adverbial phrase. The present record affords examples of both modes of using the word. In the first instance, it probably has the secondary meaning of 'a decree passed with the unanimous assent of the Council'.

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

[Line B 3] *Varä* occurs also in other records as *varä van* or *varin ā*. Messrs. Bell and Wickremasinghe take this to mean 'of the family of' or 'descended from the lineage of' and the proper name which precedes this word as a patronymic of the *dūtaka* (messenger) whose name follows it[4]. But a consideration of the following facts leads one to doubt this interpretation.

(*a*) In the Īṟipinninyāva pillar inscription of Udaya I[5], mention is made of a general named Kuṭṭhā who has been identified—I think with good reason—with Kuṭṭhaka who figures in the reign of Sena II, the immediate predecessor of Udaya, and who could have still been alive in the reign of the latter monarch. According to the above interpretation of *varä van*, one of the signatories to this grant, Guligamu Araḷe is said to bear the name and official title of this general as his patronymic. This Guligamu Araḷe could not have been further removed from the general than the third generation, and the natural mode of referring to

---

[1] *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. iii, p. 38.
[2] Vessagiri Slab of Mahinda IV, *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 34.
[3] Bilibāva pillar inscription, *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 39.
[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 194 and *Cey. Ant.*, vol. x, p. 79.
[5] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 163 ff.

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

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

This unformity throws some doubt on the accepted interpretation.

(*c*) Officers, when they are said to belong to the Council of state (*sabhā*), are invariably referred to without the so-called family name [2].

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

In some records, the place of *varä* or *varin ā* is taken by *davasä* which means 'in the time of' or 'in the day of' [3] and this helps us to connect *vara* with Sanskrit *vāra* 'one's turn' or 'day'. And a comparison of the methods that were in vogue in later times as regards the services of the royal messengers helps us to interpret the meaning of this word with tolerable certainty. The messengers at the Kandyan court who were known as Kaṭupulles [4] were divided into two sections each under the superintendence of one of the two Adigārs [5], and had to take their turn of service by rotation. Each officer's period of duty would be called his *mura* 'or turn' which in course of time would easily assume the secondary sense of 'turn of one's duty' or 'service'. The word *mura* and *vāra* are precisely of the same meaning, and assuming that the same conditions prevailed in the tenth century as during the Kandyan period [6]—which is quite probable as the name for a royal messenger in the Kandyan times is also met with in an inscription of this period—we may interpret *varä* by 'in the service of'. In

---

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

[2] See the Vēvälkäṭiya, Kukurumahandamana and Ayitigevāva inscriptions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Lines B 17–18] *Melāssi*. The most frequent form of this word is *melāṭsi*; other variants are *melaṭṭi*, *melatti*, *melāṭṣi* and *melakṣi*[8]. Mudaliyar B. Gunasekera equates it with the Sanskrit *mleccha*[9] and translates it by 'barbarians', and Mr. Bell, too, favours this interpretation[10]. Mr. Wickremasinghe at first adopted the same view, but elsewhere leaves the word untranslated. In

---

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 295.
[2] See Bühler's *Palaeographie*, p. 95.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 21.
[4] As in the Buddhannehäla pillar inscription.
[5] As in the Īripinniyāva and the Rambāva pillar inscriptions.
[6] See the Vessagiriya slab inscription, above Vol, I, p. 34.
[7] As in the Poḷonnaruva Raja-māligāva pillar inscription.
[8] See the Index to *E. Z.*, Vol. I, where references will be found to each of these forms.
[9] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 53, n. 10.
[10] *Cey. Ant.*, vol. x, p. 84.

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

[Lines B 19–20] *Pasladdan.* According to Mr. Wickremasinghe, 'keepers of district records[3]'. From its being always found together with *raṭladu*, 'chiefs of districts', one would prefer to take *pas* as derived from Pāli *passa*, 'a province', as in *dakkhiṇa-passa.* We know that there were in the Rajaraṭa four such divisions[4] which were subdivided into *raṭas.* The Sinhalese *pas* and *raṭa* correspond to the *maṇḍalam* and *nāḍu* of the Tamil kingdoms of South India.

[Lines B 21–22] *Dekam-tän* often occurs, as it does in the present record, in association with *deruvanä.* In the inscriptions of this period, the word *kamtän* (Skt. *karmmasthāna*) is used in the sense of 'an office' or 'a place where business is transacted'. Compare *kamtän ledaruvak* in the Mihintale tablets[5]. Hence *de kamtän* means the two offices or two places of business. What these two

[1] See *S. I. I.*, vol. iii, p. 226 and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 308.
[2] See *Tamil Lexicon s.v.*
[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 170, n. 9.
[4] See *C. J. Sc.*, Section G, vol. i, p. 108. For this suggestion I am indebted to Mr. Codrington.
[5] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 111, note 9.

were, we cannot say with certainty. In the inscription No. 115 of *A. I. C.*, already mentioned, the word *ākaṃtān* is used to denote an officer whose duty, it appears, was the supervision of the royal revenue. With this to guide us, could the other office be taken as that which related to the public expenditure? Kauṭilya, in discussing the duties of the Collector-General[1], (*samāharttā*) mentions revenue (*āyaśarīra*) and expenditure (*vyaya-śarīra*) as two of the principal heads into which the administration was classified.

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

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

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

[Line C 10] *Tāri-kuḍi.* The interpretation of this word, which is not met with elsewhere, as 'ferrymen' is purely conjectural. In doing so, I have taken the first member of the compound to be connected with Sanskrit *tāraka.* Compare also the word *tārika* occurring in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Pāla kings of Bengal[2].

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

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

---

[1] Dr. Shamasastry's translation, p. 64.

[2] See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 325.

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

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

[Lines C 14–15] *Mahaputu laddan*, officers of Mahaputu, or Mahavutu was another name for Mahātittha [2]. It appears that there was a special officer in charge of this important seaport.

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

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

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

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

> Jater viśeṣeṣu pureṣu c=aiva
> grāmeṣu deśeṣu ca teṣu teṣu
> anugraho yo nṛpater nideśāt
> tajjñaḥ parīhāra iti vyavasyet ‖ i. 10.

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

---

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

[2] For the identification of Mahavutu see *Cey. Ant.*, vol. x, p. 94.

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

[4] *Rasavāhinī*, Colombo 1911, p. 167. *Sīhala dīpamhi uttara passe Nāga-viharo nāma ekaṁ vihāraṁ ahosi.*

[5] *Mv.* xliv, v. 51.

No. 6. THŪPĀRĀMA SLAB INSCRIPTION OF GAJABĀHU I

(*A. S. I.* No. 368)

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

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

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

The **orthography** is in keeping with the style of the period; and, as regards **grammar,** in addition to the features already pointed out by previous writers dealing with contemporary epigraphs [1], the present document furnishes us with examples for the following rules:

Ga changes to *ka* in the middle of a word, but retains its original form otherwise. Compare, for example, *nakara* for Skt. *nagara*, *gamiṇi* for Skt. *grāmaṇī* and *saga* for Skt. *saṅgha*. In compounds, when the second member has an initial *ga*, it does not change into the corresponding mute, e. g. *Goṇa-giri*. The change of *ma* to *ba* in *araba* is due to the preceding *ra* [2]. The cerebralization of dentals is noticed in *paḍavaya*.

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

---

[1] See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 58 f. p. 67 and p. 210.

[2] For other examples of *ma* changing to *ba* see Geiger *L. S. S.*, p. 48.

and in the Prakrits of the middle Indian stage, this had given place to the *anusvāra*. The Sinhalese language, from the very start of its career, seems to have lost this sound, and hence the accusative singular, as well the nominative singular of neuter stems [1], presents the same form as that of the crude stem. An understanding of this fact is essential to have a correct idea of the construction of the sentences in the early Sinhalese records. The present record furnishes the following examples to this rule : *pati* for Pāli *pattiṁ*, *daka* for Skt. *udakaṁ*. In *kutarani* we have the instrumental singular in *ni* as in classical Sinhalese and in *Vahabayaha* [2] the genitive singular in *yaha*. As regards the last named phonetic change, it may be observed that the old Indian termination *sya*, while it assumed, on the one hand, the form of *ssa*, *sa* and *ha*, it seems to have been transformed, on the other hand, to *saya* by *svarabhakti* and then to *yasa* and *yaha* by metathesis and the substitution of *ha* for *sa*. The medieval suffix *yahu* in the word *Mihindyahu*, occurring in an inscription of Dappula V [3], seems to be a direct descendant of this second-century termination. In *vaviya*, we have an example of the genitive singular of feminine stems, ending in *ya*. Compare Skt. *vāpyāḥ* and Pāli *vāpiyā*. Dr. Wickremasinghe takes the *ya* in similar words as a corruption of the pleonastic *ka* [4], but in most of the cases where this form occurs, the genitive is required by the rules of syntax.

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

The king who issued this grant was **Gajabāhu I** (*circa* 171–193 A. D. according to Geiger) and is referred to, as in all the other records of his, save one [5], by the name of Gamiṇi Abaya. The present epigraph supplies us with no further historical information regarding him. For an account of his reign, the reader is referred to vv 115–122 of the xxvth chapter of the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Rājāvaliya* (Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara's translation, Colombo, 1900) pp. 47–49.

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

[1] Compare the word *Ariṭa Maha-gama* in an inscription from Riṭigala (See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 152).
[2] Dr. Wickremasinghe takes the form *Vahabaya* as the stem.
[3] See below, p. 126 ff.
[4] See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 259.
[5] The Ruvanvälisāya slab-inscription, No. 5 of *A. I. C.*

not far removed in time from the original grant, as there is no appreciable difference in the script—to the effect that the city accountant, whose name is not preserved, gave in exchange the water-revenue of the Nakaravavi tank (Nuvara-väva).

TEXT.

1 Siddham[॥*] Maha [raja-Vaha] bayaha [ma]rumaṇaka
2 Tisa-Maharajaha puti Maharaji Gamiṇi
3 Abaya Nakara(hi) G(o)ṇagiri [1]-utaviya daka-pati ca
4 bojaka-pati ca Rataṇa-araba viharahi bikusaga-
5 -hzaṭaya sovaṇa-kutarani daka ata paḍavaya.
6 [ca]tara-paca paribujana koṭu dine [॥*] Nakara-gaṇaka Na-
7 . . . . . Nakara-vaviya daka-pati parivavaṭa koṭu dine [॥*].

TRANSLATION.

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

REMARKS.

[Line 3] *Goṇagiri-utaviya* is a somewhat difficult form. From the analogy of other instances, the word coming immediately before *dakapati* and *bojakapati* ought to be the name of a tank or of a field. Compare *Nakara-vaviya dakapati* in line 7 of this inscription and *Varakaviya bojakapati* in the Ruvanvälisäya slab-inscription already referred to. In the Galvihāra rock-inscription [2], there are several names of fields ending in *vi*, e. g. *Tulataravi-keta, Acavi-keta, Mahavi-keta, Vajabuti-galakavi-keta.* In an inscription from Näṭṭukanda, several names of fields ending in *viya*, viz., *Culatisaviya, Karajaviya, Sivalaviya*, are noticed [3]; and similar names are also met with in some of the unpublished records of this period. From a comparison of these examples, it becomes evident that *viya* in

[1] The medial *o* sign is not preserved; I have adopted this reading as it enables us to equate it with Goṇṇagiri.

[2] *A. I. C.*, No. 54

[3] *A. S. C., Seventh Progress Report*, p. 48.



Thūpārāma Slab Inscription of Gajabāhu I

கொழும்பு தமிழ்ச் சங்கம்

நூலகம்

this compound connotes a field. If this interpretation be adopted, the term *utaviya* would be equivalent to the expression *uta-kubara* occurring in the 'Jetavanārāma' slab-inscription of Maḷu-Tisa [1]. The precise meaning of the word *uta*, too, is not definitely settled. Dr. Wickremasinghe thinks that it means a grain tax; but this meaning does not suit the context here. In Niśśaṅka Malla's inscription at Daṁbulla, occurs the phrase *uttē amuṇa*, which has been translated 'an *amuna* of the best soil' [2]. The *Ruvanmala* and *Piyammala* lexicons give the word *uta* as a synonym for 'the best' [3]. From a comparison of these examples it becomes clear that *uta*, *utu*, and *utta* are all derived from the Sanskrit *ud* meaning 'superior'. *Goṇagiri*, of course, is a place-name, and the whole compound *Goṇagiri-uta-viya* may be rendered 'field of the first rate at Goṇagiri'. This would show us that at this time the fields were divided into different classes according to their degree of fertility. That it was so during the twelfth century we learn from the inscriptions of Niśśaṅka-malla [4]. As regards Goṇagiri, which according to our record was situated within the area included in the city, it may be interesting to note that the *Mahāvaṁsa* mentions a place by the name of Goṇṇagiri in the eastern quarter of the city, where a *vihāra* was built by King Sūratissa.

[Line 3] *Dakapati.* For the explanation of this word see above, Vol. I, p. 72.

[Line 4] *Bojakapati.* The precise meaning of this word, of which the variant forms *bojapati* and *bojiyapati* are know from other records, is not clear. Dr. Wickremasinghe's rendering [5] 'income enjoyed by the *gāmabhojaka*' 'village headman' does not seem to be feasible. Several inscriptions of this period mention donations, to religious institutions, of *bojakapati* pertaining to fields and tanks by kings as well as by private individuals. It is inexplicable why these donations were made at the expense of the village headman. A distinction which is noticed in connexion with the mention of this word in royal grants as opposed to those by private individuals might afford us a clue to its interpretation. In the first class of documents occurs the phrase *bojiyapatikara kaḍaya* [6] 'having freed from the tax of *bojiyapati*' which is substituted in private grants by the causative form *bojiyapatiya kara kaḍavaya* [7] 'having caused to be

---

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 255. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 153.

[3] *Ruvanmala and Piyammala.* Baṭuvantudāve's edition of 1892, p. 63.

[4] *E Z.*, Vol. II, p. 117. [5] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 259. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

[7] See the Habarana rock-inscription, *A. I. C.*, No. 61. Dr. Müller reads these words as *karakaḷa waya* and translates 'the Karakaḷa tank'. See also Dr. Wickremasinghe's comments, *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 257, n. 1.

made free from the tax of *bojiyapati*'. This shows that *bojakapati* was some kind of revenue due to the king. In Sanskrit, *bhoga* has the meaning of revenue (see Monier Williams *s.v.*), and as *bhoga* and *bojaka* or *bojiya* are both derived from the same root *bhuj*, we may assume that *bojaka* has the same signification as *bhoga*. In South Indian documents, the term *rāja-bhoga* and *rakṣā-bhoga* denote the ruler's share of the produce from the fields [1]. In Rajputana, the state share of the produce of the land is called *bhog* [2]. *Pati* has been equated with Pāli *patti* and rendered 'revenue'. It could as well mean 'a share' [3]. Compare, for example, the sentence, *Te satamattā 'pi vāṇijā ekekaṁ sahassaṁ datvā tena saddhiṁ nāvāya pattikā hutvā* [4] (Each man of the hundred severally gave him a thousand pieces to buy a share in the ship [5]), where the word *patti* has this meaning. Etymological considerations and the context in which this word occurs give support to the interpretation of this word as 'king's share'.

[Line 4] *Rataṇa Araba.* (Pāli *Ratana Ārāma*). A monastery of this name does not figure in the chronicles. Perhaps it was the monastery attached to the Ratna caitya [6] (Ruvanväli sāya). The proximity of the place where the inscribed slab was discovered to that monument may give some support to this view.

[Line 5] *Sovaṇa-kutarani daka ata paḍavaya*, 'Having poured water from a golden vase into the hand'. With this compare *ran koṭuruyen . . . Budun ata diya ota*, in the *Amāvatura* [7]. In this sentence, the word *koṭuru* stands for Pāli *bhiṁkāra*, the corresponding passage in the *Nidānakathā* being '*Suvaṇṇa bhiṁkārena . . . Dasabalassa hatthe udakaṁ pātesi* [8]. Pouring water into the hands of the donee when making a gift of land is a well-known Indian custom. In addition to the Pāli passage above quoted, the account of the dedication of the Mahāvihāra in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (xv. 24) and the expressions *nīrōḍ-āṭṭi*, and *udakapūrvam* occurring in Indian inscriptions may be compared [9].

Sovaṇa is Pāli *sovaṇṇa* and means 'golden'. As stated above, *koṭuru* stands for Pāli *bhiṁkāra*; but its etymology is not clear. This word also occurs in the slab-inscription of Gajabāhu I from Ruvanvälisāya (*A. I. C.* No. 5) and in another

---

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 238, *n.*, 5.

[2] See Baden Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, p. 199.

[3] *Cf.* Hindi *patti* 'share' and *pattidār* 'a shareholder'.

[4] *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 122.

[5] *Ibid.*, translation, vol. i, p. 20.

[6] For the use of the word Ratnacaitya instead of the more familiar Ratnamālī caitya see *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 83.

[7] Richard de Silva's edition, p. 35.

[8] *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 85.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, pp. 303, 332.

record from Mōlāhiṭiyavelēgala, published by Mr. Bell in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. iii, p. 76. *Daka* is Pāli and Skt. *udaka* and means 'water'. *Ata* is the same as Skt. *hasta* and Pāli *hattha*. The elision of the initial *h*, a common feature in the later Sinhalese speech is noticed here, so far as I know, for the first time. It is not clear whether the correct reading is *ata* or *ati*. If the latter be the case, the locative singular termination *i* standing for Skt. and Pāli *e* (as in *hatthe*) is noteworthy. In the case of the reading adopted in the text, the crude form of the stem does duty for the locative singular.

Paḍavaya, (Pāli *patāpayitvā*), is the past participle of the causative form of the root *pat*, 'to fall down', and means 'having poured'. In the cerebralization of *ta* in this word, the Sinhalese follows the Mahārāṣṭrī and other Prakrit dialects[1].

[Line 6] *Nakara-gaṇaka*. Other possible renderings of the word *gaṇaka* are:—the leader of a *gaṇa*, the name given to a small battalion; an astrologer; an overseer. In the last sense it is used in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, iii. 43. Compare also the word *gaṇaka mahāmacca* occurring in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, iv. 64. M. Senart's notes on a similar word *gaṇāpaka* occurring in an inscription of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena at Nāsik may also be compared in this connexion[2]. *Nakaragaṇaka* can also signify a member of the city corporation (*gaṇa*). It might also mean a native of Nagaraṅgaṇa, a place of which name is given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (chap. xxi, v. 81).

[Line 7] *Nakara-vavi* (Pāli *Nagara-vāpī*) 'city reservoir' is equivalent etymologically to Nuvaravāva; but we cannot be sure that the large irrigation work near Anurādhapura, known by this name, is meant here, as its ancient name has not been determined as yet. It is remarkable that the *Mahāvaṁsa*, which contains so many references to the Tisāväva (Tissa-vāpī) and Basavakkuḷam (Abhaya-vāpī), does not mention the reservoir which is the largest among the irrigation works in the immediate vicinity of the old city.

[Line 7] *Parivavaṭa* has been taken to be the precursor of the medieval *pirūḷ* and the modern colloquial *pirivaṭa*. Compare the word *parivaṭa* occurring in the inscription No. 3 of Nāsik (*Ep. Ind.* vol. viii, p. 65). The occurrence of two *va*'s in the present form shows that it goes back to a Sanskrit word like *parivyāvartta*. No such word is given in the Sanskrit dictionaries, but is met with in the *Dampiyā-aṭuvā gäṭa-pada-sannaya* a Sinhalese glossary to the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, dating from the first half of the tenth century.

---

[1] See Pischel, *Gram. der Pkt. Spr.*, p. 156.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 89.

No. 7. RUVANVĀLISĀYA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF BUDDHADĀSA (388–416 A. D.)

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

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

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

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

	This Inscription	*The Vēragoḍagala Inscription.*
a.		
k.		
m.		
h.		

[1] Published by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in the *Cey. Ant.*, vol. iv, p. 207.

On the other hand, the *sa* ꦱ of the present record is of a more archaic nature than the same letter occurring in the Vēragoḍagala inscription. The *na* ꦤ shows the intermediate stage of evolution between the second century ꦤ and the ninth century ꦤ. The ligature *tra* ꦠ and the letter *ḍha* ꦡ are noticed here for the first time in an epigraph of the early Christain centuries. Attention may also be drawn to the mode of attaching the medial vowel sign *u* in *nu* ꦤ and *tu* ꦠ which may be contrasted with *yu* ꦪ and *pu* ꦥ.

The **language** is no less interesting than the script. As regards **phonetics,** the replacing of a sonant by the corresponding surd is represented by such examples as *meka* for *megha*, *Apaya* for *Abhaya* and *nakaraka* for *nagaraka*. The vowel *a* is changed to *e* when followed by a syllable ending in *i* as *peta* for Pāli *patti* and *veḍha* for Pāli *vaḍḍhi*. In modern Sinhalese the *e* in many such words has assumed the form of *ä*, e. g. *väḍa* representing *veḍha* of this record[1]. The use of cerebral *ṇ* in *ṇakara* owing to the influence of the following *ra* is noteworthy. The general tendency of the Sinhalese language is to do away with cerebrals at the beginning of a word; and, therefore, this form is not met with in the language of later times.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Buddhadāsa** (388–416 A. D.) son of **Jeṭṭhatissa** (379–388 A. D.). He was one of the most famous of Ceylon kings and is best remembered for the hospitals which he instituted throughout the island. The king himself was a physician of great repute, and many remarkable cures are attributed to him[2]. He is also credited with the authorship of a medical work named *Sārārthasaṅgraha* which is still in use among native physicians[3]. Only one inscription of this king has yet been published, and that, too, is a fragment. There is another slab from the Northern Dāgäba area[4], now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Anuradhapura which ought to be attributed to him. The name of the king is given there as Mahāsena, son of Jeṭṭhatissa, and besides the regnal year and date, very little of the record is preserved. The **object** of our inscription is to record the gift of the pillar on which it is engraved, by certain individuals of the town of Mahila.

---

[1] See Geiger *L. S. S.*, p. 35.

[2] See *Mv.* xxxvii, vv. 112 ff.

[3] This work exists only in manuscript. The language in which it is written does not support its attribution to Buddhadāsa.

[4] No. 16 of the list of inscriptions given on p. 73 of the *A. S. C. Annual Report for 1911–12.* Another slab from the same locality contains the name Budadasa (Dupara)-deva maharaja. I am not certain whether this, too, has to be ascribed to the same monarch.

TEXT[1].

1 .. .. .. [Siri][2] Meka Jeṭatisa Maharaja Apayaha puta Budadasa Mahasena Mahara-

2 [3].. .. .. .. [Ma]hilaka ṇakaraka Sumanayaha puta Mahilaka ṇakaraka Sivayaha Makalka ṇakaraka

3 .. .. jitra Kama[la][4] Aba karavika ṭabi [॥*]
Sava-[5]satan≍aṭa peta anumovatu [॥*]
Mapurumakah≍aṭa veḍha vayu [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

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

REMARKS.

[Line 1] (*Siri*) *Meka Jeṭatisa* (Jeṭṭha-Tissa II) was the younger son of Mahāsena. The *Mahāvaṁsa* tells us very little of him except that he was proficient in the art of ivory carving[6]. From the present record we learn that the name Śrī-Megha, by which his elder brother is known in the chronicles, was applied to him as well. The use of the word *Jeṭṭha*, meaning elder, as part of his personal name, though he was the younger son of Mahāsena, demands some words in explanation. In my opinion, the *jeṭṭha* in this and other similar names does not signify seniority of birth, but is an old official title which, in

---

[1] See Plate No. 8 facing p. 126.

[2] There is no doubt that the missing letters contained the auspicious word *Siddham*, and *Siri* the first part of the word Sirimeka.

[3] The first two letters of this line were most probably *jahi* (*rajahi*), and a *ma* ought to be supplied before *hilaka* on the analogy of the word which is repeated later in the same line.

[4] The right-hand stroke of this letter appears too short for a *la* and too long for a *pa*, but is closer to the latter. However, I have adopted this reading, as Kamalā is more appropriate for the name of a female than Kamapa.

[5] There is a stroke resembling the medial vowel sign *e* attached to *sa*. If this be taken as a part of the letter and not a mere crack in the stone, this word ought to be read *setan≍aṭa*.

[6] See *Mv.* xxxvii, v. 100 f.

course of time, came to be used as a proper name. In early records, the kings of Ceylon are sometimes referred to by the title of *Mapurumuka* (Skt. *Mahāpramukha*, medieval Sinhalese *mapurmukā*) as, for instance, in the last sentence of the present record. Numerous cave inscriptions of the pre-Christian centuries contain the names of private donors to which the title *parumaka* is prefixed. The Sanskrit *pramukha* (Pāli *pamukha*), of which *parumaka* is a corruption was the designation by which the head of a guild or corporation was known in ancient times[1]. Another of the commonest regal titles of early Sinhalese kings, *Gāmaṇī*[2], is the same as the Vedic *Grāmaṇī*[3], the headman of the village corporation. On the analogy of these, it follows that *jeṭṭhaka* itself is of similar origin and meant the head of a corporation, or alderman, in which sense it is found used in the Jātakas[4]. With these names it may also be interesting to compare the word *Seṇiya* (Skt. *Śreṇika*), a title of king Bimbisāra of Magadha, the contemporary of the Buddha. It is connected with the Sanskrit *śreṇī*, 'a guild'. These names are also of interest in giving us an idea of the notions of kingship prevailing in those early days. If the etymology of these words tell us anything, the early kings of Ceylon seem to have been the leaders, though hereditary, of popular assemblies; and when, later, they assumed the role of absolute monarchs, the old names, now meaningless, continued to be used as personal names[5]. It is also possible that the kings of Ceylon were not of Kṣatriya but Vaiśya origin, though they professed to belong to the Kṣatriya caste. Some of the most famous among the royal families of India during historic times were of Vaiśya origin.

---

[1] See Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, Second Edition, p. 47.

[2] The Vedic *grāmaṇī* seems to have been an official of far greater importance than the village headman was in later times; for he is included among the eight *vīras* (heroes or friends of the king) the others of this class being the royal chaplain, the queen, the charioteer, the chamberlain, and the collector-general. He is also included among a list of officials called the *ratnins* who take a conspicuous part in the Rājasūya ceremony (see *Ancient Indian Polity* by N. N. Law, pp. 87 and 170).

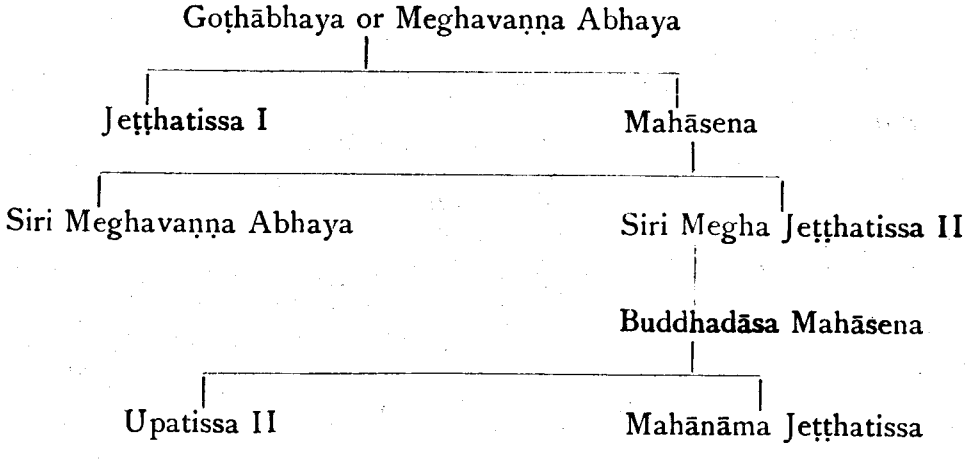
[3] The *Mahāvaṁsa* expressly tells us the Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was given this name on account of his being the chief of Mahāgāma (*Mahāgāme nāyakattaṁ*, &c.). See Ch. xxii, v. 71.

[4] See *Jātaka* (Fausböll) ii. 18; iv. 137; ii. 335, &c.

[5] Another similar name is, perhaps, Goṭha in Goṭhābhaya. It may be equivalent to Skt. *goṣṭika*, the head or member of a guild. See the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 327) where the word *goṭhi* occurs in this sense. In the case of Goṭha Imbara, one of the warriors of Duṭugāmuṇu, the *Mahāvaṁsa* explains this word as meaning 'short'. But this could be explained as a popular etymology invented at a time when the real meaning had become obsolete, and perhaps also influenced by the tendency noticed in folktales which delights in representing heroes of prodigious strength as having possessed diminutive bodies.

[Line 1] *Apaya* (Pāli *Abhaya*). In this and other records of the period, this name is used as an honorific suffix after *maharaja* and not as forming part of the personal name. It occupies about the same position as of *pā* in *rajapā* of medieval records. It is also probable that instead of being derived from Abhaya, it may be representing Skt. *āryapāda*.

[Line 1] *Budadasa Mahasena*. It will be noticed that Buddhadāsa used the name of his grandfather as part of his own name. From the chronicles and the contemporary records, it appears that among the kings of Goṭhābhaya's line, as a rule, the grandson adopted the name of the grandfather. The *Mahāvaṁsa* tells us [1] that Goṭhābhaya was also known as Meghavaṇṇa Abhaya. One of his grandsons is known in the chronicles by this name, and the present record informs us that Jeṭṭhatissa II, another grandson of his, had the same name. Buddhadāsa, according to this record, uses the name of his grandfather in addition to his own; and in the inscription from the 'Jetavanārāma Area' referred to above, he is mentioned by the name Mahāsena alone. Again, from the Tissamahārāma slab now in the Colombo Museum [2], we learn that Mahānāma, a son of Buddhadāsa, had the full title of Mahanamika Jeṭatisa, thus showing that he, too, had the name of his grandfather in addition to his own. The following pedigree will bring out the facts more clearly.



[Line 2] *Mahilaka nakaraka* may be equivalent to Pāli Mahelaka-nagara, a town of which name, the *Rasavāhinī* informs us, was situated not far from

[1] Chapter xxxvi, v. 98.

[2] *A. I. C.*, No. 67. Dr. Müller does not ascribe this to Mahānāma but, in my opinion, there is no doubt that Mahānāma was the author of this record.

Anurādhapura [1]. A place called Mahela also figures in the campaign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī against Eḷāla [2].

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

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

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

[Line 3] *Karavika.* The *ka* is merely pleonastic. *Karavi* is the equivalent to Skt. *kārāpita,* Pkt. *kārāvïa.*

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

[Line 3] *Sava satan-aṭa,* Skt. *sarvva-satvānām artham.* Compare *sava-satānaṁ* in an inscription at Jaggayapeṭa (*A. S. S. I.* p. 110). *Peti* equals Pāli *patti,* 'partaking of merit'. For M. Senart's notes on this word see *Ep. Ind.,* vol. viii, p. 64. This word occurs in the form of *pet* both in the *Dampiyā-aṭuvā-gaṭapada-sannaya* and in the modern language. Compare *pin-pet.* The phrase

---

[1] *Rasavāhinī,* Colombo 1907, p. 166.

[2] *Mv.,* xxv, v. 48 f.

[3] *A. S. C. Annual Report for 1896,* p. 8, No 19.

sava-satan=aṭa peta (or *pati*) occurs at the end of several donative inscriptions of the period [1]. Mr. Parker reads it as *sivisa tanaṭa liti*, and probably connecting *sivisa* with the modern colloquial word *sēvisi* renders it by 'written at the tom-tom beating place'. Mr. Bell reads *savasa-tanaṭa pati* and translates 'granted at the Assembly Site' [2]. In some donative inscriptions from Vessagiriya in Anurādhapura, dating from about the sixth century, this phrase occurs in a slightly variant form as *pala sava-satan=aṭa*, 'the merit (*pala*) is given to all beings'. Similar formulas are of frequent occurrence in the Buddhist donative inscriptions of India. For example, compare *sarvva-sattvahitasukhārtham* in inscription No. 15 of Nāsik (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 88) and *yad=atra puṇyaṁ tad bhavatu sarvva satvānām anuttara-jñānāvāptaye=stu* 'in the Buddha-Gayā image inscription of Mahānaman (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 279).

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

[Line 3] *veḍha*, Skt. *vṛddhi*, Pāli *vuḍḍhi* or *vaḍḍhi*, modern Sinhalese *väḍa.*

Vayu, Skt. *bhavatu*, Pāli *hotu*, *bhotu* or *bhavatu.* The change of *ta* to *ya* in the optative suffix here may be contrasted with *anumovatu.*

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

By S. PARANAVITANA.
Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

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

[1] See Parker's *Ancient Ceylon* p. 530 and *Cey. Ant.*, vol. iii, p. 207.
[2] *Cey. Ant.*, vol. iii, p. 207.



Ruvanvälisaya Pillar Inscription
Scale about 1½ inches to a foot



Jaffna Road Pillar Inscription

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

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

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

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

TEXT.

Side A.

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

[1] The change of *u* into *i* is due to the influence of *i* in the second member of the compound. For this phonetic change see Geiger *L. S. S.* p. 34. This form of the word occurs in the *Dampiyā aṭuvā gäṭapada sannaya,* a work contemporary with this record. The form *suḷu piya* though standardized in the later language is an older form than *siḷipiya.*

[2] See my article on the Thūpārama slab-inscription of Gaja Bāhu I, above p. 115.

[3] See *A. S. C. Report for 1911–12,* p. 73.

[4] According to Dr. Hultzsch, see *J. R. A. S. for 1913,* p. 524.

11	-n havuru-	25	-hi put pe-
12	-duyehi Mä-	26	-min väḍu
13	-ndin sand	27	miti para
14	pere aḍa-	28	-puren ā
15	mas hi da-	29	siya tana-
16	-savak da-	30	-turehi pi-
17	-vas meku-	31	-hiṭi **Kasu-**
18	-n siḷipi-	32	**-b Mahāpa**
19	-ya yuvara-	33	**radāṇa-**[1]
20	-da **Mihind-**	34	**-n** pirimi-
21	**-yahu** daru	35	-n maḥalu
22	maha [Saṅg-	36	piḷiveḷa
23	-hā] rājna	37	no ikmä
24	tumā ure-	38	vaḷandanā

Sides B–D worn.

TRANSLATION.

On the tenth day of the first half of the lunar month of Mändin (February–March), in the second year after the umbrella of dominion was raised by the great king **Dāpuḷu Abahay,** descended from the lineage of King Okāvas[2] (Ikṣvāku) the pinnacle of the Kṣatriya race, **His Royal Highness**[3] **Kasub** (Kassapa) the son of the sub-king **Mihind** (Mahinda) the paternal uncle of this [King Dāpuḷu]; who was nurtured by the queen Maha (Saṅghā), with the same affection as for a son of her [own] bosom: who is established in his own office which has come down in succession from his grandfather .. .. which is being enjoyed by males not violating the order of seniority .. ..

COMMENTS.

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

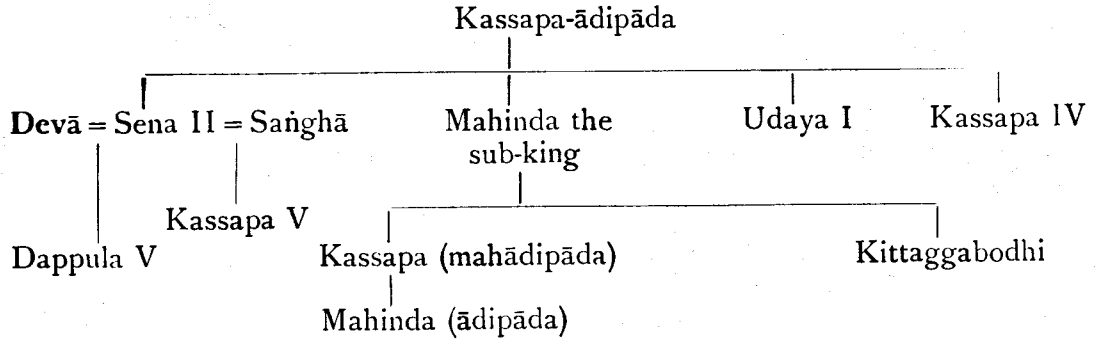
---

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

[2] *Okāvas* is here taken as equivalent to *Ikṣvāku* and not *Ikṣvākuvaṁsa* as in p. 237 of Vol. I. Compare *Okāvas putu Bānu Mandatu Pasēnadi Sudasun Bagīrata* in v. 9 of the *Pārakumbā sirita* where the name Okāvas is applied to the mythical emperor of that name and not to the race.

[3] For the interpretation of the word *mahāpa* see above p. 82.

a pedigree which may be compared with that given by Dr. Wickremasinghe in Volume II of this JOURNAL (facing page 59).



This record introduces us to an historical personage, whose identity, though recognized in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, has been confounded with that of other contemporary princes who bore the same name. Prince Kassapa of the present inscription was son of Mahinda the *yuva-rāja*, paternal uncle (*suḷu piya*) of Dappula V. We know from contemporary records [1] that Dappula V was a son of Sena II, by his second queen Devā; and, hence, there is no doubt as to the identity of Mahinda the sub-king. He was the younger brother of Sena II, mentioned by the same name in the chronicles. The *Mahāvaṁsa* tells us that Mahinda had four sons, all by his second queen Kitti. In Dr. Wickremasinghe's genealogical tree already mentioned, all these four places have been filled with different claimants; but no Prince Kassapa is found among them. Neither does Mr. John Still give his name as a son of Mahinda in the genealogical tree No. 4, appended to his *Index to the Mahāvaṁsa*. Therefore, it becomes necessary to examine that part of the *Mahāvaṁsa* dealing with this period in order to determine Kassapa's place in Ceylon history.

Verse 92 of the fifty-first chapter of the *Mahāvaṁsa* mentions a prince named Kassapa who was a son of an elder brother of Udaya I. Mr. Still, guided by Wijesinha's faulty rendering of Pāli *kaṇiṭṭhaṁ sakabhātaram* in the previous verse by 'his brother's youngest son', identifies him with Kassapa IV who succeeded Udaya I and was, in reality, his younger brother. Dr. Wickremasinghe takes this prince to be the same as Kassapa V, the son of Sena II, elder brother and predecessor of Udaya [2].

---

[1] See Vessagiriya Inscription, *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 25.

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

This is quite natural as the *Mahāvaṁsa* does not expressly mention a son named Kassapa, of Mahinda the other elder brother of Udaya. But Kassapa V is almost always referred to, in the chronicle as well as in the inscriptions, by the epithet of 'the son of the twice annointed'. (Sin. *debisev-dā*. Pāli *dvayābhisekā-saṁjāta*.) And with the present epigraph to guide us, it is reasonable to take the *yuvaraja* Kassapa, the nephew of Udaya I, as a son of Mahinda, the sub-king, and not of Sena II.

This *yuvarāja* Kassapa figures in the reign of Udaya I as sending his son, the young Mahinda, to quell a rebellion in Rohaṇa caused by Kittaggabodhi, another son of Mahinda the sub-king[1]. In the succeeding reign—that of Kassapa IV—he figures again, this time as a mediator between the king and his own son who had headed a successful rising in the same part of the island[2].

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

The grandfather of Kassapa mentioned in line 27 is no other than the *ādipāda* Kassapa, brother of Sena I who fought valiantly in the Pāṇḍyan invasion[3] and who was the ancestor of almost all of the royal personages figuring in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The *Mahāvaṁsa* informs us that when Dappuḷa V ascended the throne, he gave the office of heir-apparent to Udaya and the latter appears, from the Puḷiyaṅkuḷam inscription[4], to have held the office till the close of the reign and succeeded Dappuḷa as Udaya II[5]. He also figures in the same capacity in several of the pillar-inscriptions of Dappuḷa V ranging from the second to the twelfth year of his reign. But if we are to take it that the present record refers to Kassapa as enjoying the office of *mahāpa* (heir apparent) in the second year

---

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

[1] *Mv.* li, v. 94 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, lii, v. 4 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, l, v. 46 ff.

[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 186.

[5] Udā Mahayā is said to have been a son of Mihind Mahayā by the princess Kitti. Dr. Wickremasinghe identifies this Mihind Mahayā with Mahinda the brother of Sena II and the father of the Kassapa of our inscription. But a pillar-inscription from Giritaḷē which gives the pedigree of Udaya II (Siri Saṅgbo Udā) as son of Mihind Mahayā, son of Siri Saṅgbo, son of Abhā Salamevan by queen . . ., and a record from a place named Usgala which mentions a Mihind Mahayā as living in the reign of a king named Abhā Salamevan (probably Udaya I) seem to throw same doubt on this identification.

of Dappula, there seems to have been disturbance at this period. The *Mahāvaṁsa* tells us that when Dappula was contemplating an expedition to South India, there was a serious rising among the Sinhalese princes, and consequently he had to abandon the projected campaign. It is possible that this rising and the interruption in the heir-apparentship of Udaya, as evidenced by the present record, had some connexion with each other. The style of the inscription which gives unusual details about his parentage and the claims that he had for the office he held, points to a time when he was just asserting his rights. But his success was evidently shortlived, for we find Udaya holding the office of *mahapā* and sub-king from at least the fourth year of Dappula, and also succeeded him after his death.

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

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

ABOUT 200 yards to the east of the 'Green Path', at a distance of nearly a mile from the Sacred Bō-Tree at Anurādhapura and some 300 yards to the south of the ruined brick structure named the Gedigē, is to be seen one of those huge stone troughs popularly known as *käṅda oru* (gruel boats)[1]. Near by are the tall monoliths of a ruined shrine, identified by the late Mr. Ayrton[2] with the Temple of the Tooth, and a partly effaced slab-inscription of Mahinda IV[3]. The stone trough or canoe 'is put together with four upright slabs, pitched slightly outwards, the sides huge single stones, 23 ft. 10 in. in length, the ends 5 ft. 3 in., the bottom being formed of four slabs of which the centre two are half the width of the other'. 'The entire canoe gives an outside measurement of 27 ft. 6 in. by 5 ft. 3 in. and inside of 23 ft. 10 in. by 3 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 3 in. in depth. It lies lengthways N. and S.'[4] (See Plate 75 of *A. S. C. Memoirs*, vol. i.)

[1] Other examples of stone troughs in Anurādhapura are, one near the Alms-Hall close to the post office, two in the vicinity of the Abhayagiri (Northern) Dāgāba and a broken one near the Jetavana (Eastern) Dāgāba. There is also one at Mihintalē, about half way up the hill.

[2] *A. S. C. Memoirs*, Colombo, Govt. Printer, vol. i, p. 50.

[3] Edited by Dr. Wickremasinghe, *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 113 ff.

[4] H. C. P. Bell, *A. S. C. Annual Report for 1897* (Colombo, Govt. Printer), p. 3.

On the outer face of its north end (east side), there are fourteen lines of writing, which constitute two distinct records; one, No. 1 below, of eleven lines and the other, No. 2, comprising of only three. And, on the outer face of the east side, about 5 ft. distant from the two inscriptions already referred to, are three more lines of writing which will be referred to as inscription No. 3 in the sequel.

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

All the three inscriptions belong palaeographically to the same period, namely, to the last quarter of the **tenth century**; but they do not furnish us with any data enabling us to date them more closely. The following peculiarities of the **script** are worthy of note. The letter *ma* ම has its upper loop open and the lower one angular, thus approaching the twelfth century form. The central stroke of *sa* ස is carried higher than the other two arms of the letter. In *lu* ළු the medial vowel sign is attached in the same way as in the case of the other consonants and thus differs from the ordinary type of this letter ළු during this period which was the precursor of the modern type ළු. The letters *ra*, *a* and the medial vowel sign of *u* have open lower ends, thus: ර, ැ and ු[1].

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

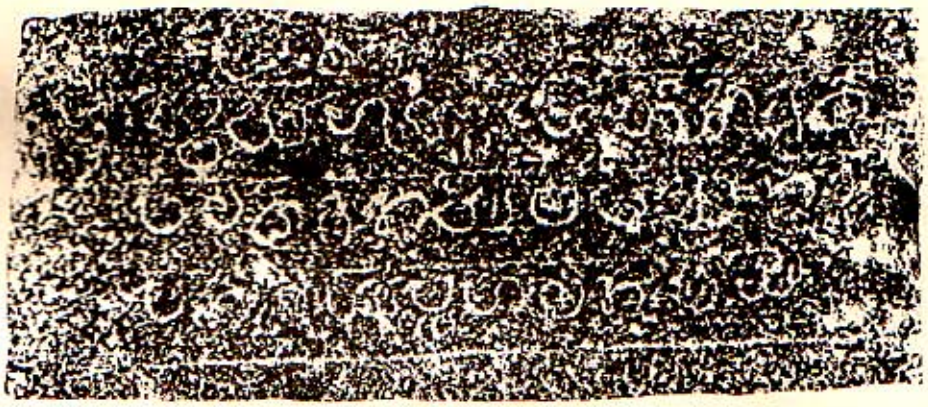
INSCRIPTION No. 1

TEXT.

1 Me **Ma[hapeḷä]** bat [ga]-
2 -nnā tāk denamo
3 a[pa] lada bat [ko]ṭa-
4 -s bat **Denā vehe[rä]**
5 dāgäbā karana [kam]
6 navāmaṭa dunmo [॥*] Me(ya)-
7 -ṭ ākula kaḷa kenek
8 raṭa vässan kaḷa a-
9 -kusal gattāha [॥*] Ma-
10 -havuṭiye eḷumaruvā ka-
11 -ḷa akusal gattāha [॥*]

[1] The same feature is noticed in the Kirigallāva piliar-inscription, *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 1 ff.





Anurādhapura, Stone Canoe Inscriptions

TRANSLATION.

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

INSCRIPTION No 2

TEXT.

1 Me **Mahapeḷaṭ** nuvara van goṇi
2 ekakin patak vi niya[mi]-
3 -n gannā kuli noma[gena] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

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

INSCRIPTION No. 3.

TEXT.

1 **Damsaṅguṇu-gehi** dā raka-
2 -val karana **Sala-va**[**ḍu** [1]]-**nā-**
3 **-van** kärävū gal nävayi. [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

The stone boat caused to be constructed by **Salavaḍunā** [2], who guards the relics [3] at the **Damsaṅguṇu-gē** (Dhammasaṅgaṇī House).

---

[1] Can be also read as *Salavasu-nā.*

[2] This seems to be the name of an office and not a personal name. It may mean 'the chief stone mason'.

[3] In this case not bodily relics. *Dhātu* or relics are of three classes, *sārīrika*, *pāribhogika*, and *uddesika.* According to this classification, the golden plates on which the Abhidhamma was written belong to the last category.

COMMENTS.

[Inscription No. 1, line 1] *Mahapeḷa.* This word is not completely preserved here ; but in the first line of the next record it is quite clear and the reading does not admit of any doubt. *Mahapeḷa* (Pāli *Mahāpāḷī*) means a refectory or kitchen ; but the word often refers to that alms-house founded by Devānāmpiya Tissa[1] in the vicinity of his palace, and maintained by his successors. This inscription and the one that follows are important, as they confirm Mr. Ayrton's hypothesis that this stone boat marks the site of the Mahāpāḷī[2]. Both these records contain the phrase *me Mahapeḷaṭ* 'to this Mahāpāḷī', and thus prove, beyond doubt, that this well-known institution was located here[3]. Mr. Ayrton has collected all the references in the *Mahāvaṁsa* to this building[4], and it may not be out of place here to give the account of it left by the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsiang. The former, who was the earlier of the two, and visited Anurādhapura himself, says of it: 'Besides these, the king supplies five or six thousand persons within the city with food in common. These persons, when they require, take their alms-bowls and go to the appointed place and according to the measures of the bowls fill them and return[5].' Hiuen Tsiang, though he did not visit Anurādhapura himself, but wrote according to the information given to him by the Sinhalese monks whom he met at Kāñci, is more explicit. Says he :—'By the side of the king's palace, there is built a large kitchen in which daily is measured out food for eight thousand priests. The meal-time having come, the priests arrive with their *pātras* to receive their allowance. Having received and eaten it, they return, all of them, to their several abodes. Ever since the teaching of Buddha reached this country, the king has established this charity and his successors have continued it down to our times. But during the last ten years or so the country has been in confusion, and there has been no established ruler to attend to this business[6].' The facts that confirm the identification of the Mahāpāḷī, also supply further proof, if any be necessary, for Mr. Ayrton's location of the Daḷadāgē.

---

[1] See *Mv.* xx, v. 23.

[2] *A. S. C. Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 50 f.

[3] The name Mahāpāḷī may be applied to an alms-hall attached to any monastery. See the Jetavanārāma slab-inscription of Kassapa V (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 228) where two Mahapeḷas are mentioned. But the proximity of it to the Daḷadā-gē, and hence also to the royal palace, would justify us in identifying the site of the present stone canoe as the Royal Mahāpāḷī.

[4] *A. S. C. Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 50.

[5] Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Boston, 1885, vol. i, p. lxxiv f.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 250.

[Lines 6–9] This is a novel imprecation [1].

[Lines 9–10] *Mahavuṭu* (probably derived from Mahāpaṭṭana) is another name for Mahātittha [2], the modern Tirukkētīśvaram near Mannār. This imprecation shows that it was considered, at this time, to be a place of unusual sanctity and a sin committed there very heinous. 'It seems to have been held as a sacred place, more by the Hindus than by the Buddhists. According to the *Dāṭhāvaṁsa* (Canto 5, v. 1) there was a Hindu shrine at this place during the reign of Śrī Meghavarṇa (352–379 A. D.). The Tamil saint Ñāṇasambandar, in the Tevāram hymns, sings the praises of Śiva who had his abode here.

[Line 10] *Eḷumaruvā.* This imprecation is also met with in the Alutväva pillar-inscription [3] and on a slab-inscription near the ancient hospital at the foot of the hill at Mihintalē [4]. The Vēvälkäṭiya inscription [5] lays down the rule that those who killed goats should be given the penalty of death. From these instances it becomes clear that the slaughter of goats was looked upon as a great offence.

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

[Inscription No. 2, line 1] *Goṇi*, Sanskrit *goṇī* used as a *tatsama* in modern Sinhalese. In all probability, the levying of a *pata* of paddy on a sack of that grain brought into the city represents a toll due levied at the gate. Sanskrit *goṇī* is also synonymous with a *droṇa*, and, as there were 16 *prasthas* to a *droṇa* [6], this would work out to be a rate of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., a rather excessive figure.

---

[1] Compare the imprecation occurring at the end of Tamil inscriptions: in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. iii. pp. 285–286.

[2] *Cey. Ant.*, vol. x. p. 94.

[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. II. p. 233.

[4] *A. S. C., Annual Report for 1910-11*, p. 20.

[5] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 245 *geri gon eḷuvan märuvan marā paṭvana koṭ isā.*

[6] See M. W. *Dict. s. v.*

[Line 3] *kuli* (Tamil *kūli*) 'wages' or 'fee'. Evidently what is meant by this last sentence is that when paddy was brought to the Mahāpālī, the expenses connected with bringing them there were to be borne by the person who was bound to give it as a due. Similar rules are laid down in the South Indian epigraphs. See *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. iv, p. 50.

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

[Line 1] *Dam-saṅguṇu-gē* (Pāli *Dhammasaṅgaṇī-geha*) was built by Kassapa V, 'born of the twice annointed', as a repositary of the book *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* [2] which he caused to be written on plates of gold. The *Mahāvaṁsa* says: 'And then he (i.e. Kassapa V) caused the Abhidhamma piṭaka to be written on plates of gold, and embellished the book Dhammasaṅgaṇī with divers jewels and built for it a house in the midst of the city and placed it there, and caused feasts to be held in honour thereof' ..... 'And the book Dhammasaṅgaṇī, he took in procession in great splendour to the richly decorated *vihāra* that he had built there and having placed it on a relic altar in the hall of the goodly relic house that was ornamented with divers jewels, he made offerings to it [3]'.

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

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

---

[1] *Mv.* liv, v. 45.

[2] The first book of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. For an account of it see Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, Band II, p. 136.

[3] *Mv.* lii, v. 50 ff. [4] See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 52. [5] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 228.

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

---

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 25.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 51; Vol. II, p. 25.
[3] See *A. S. C. Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 48 f.

No. 10. GIRITAḶĒ PILLAR INSCRIPTION. (*A. S. I.* No. 370.)

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

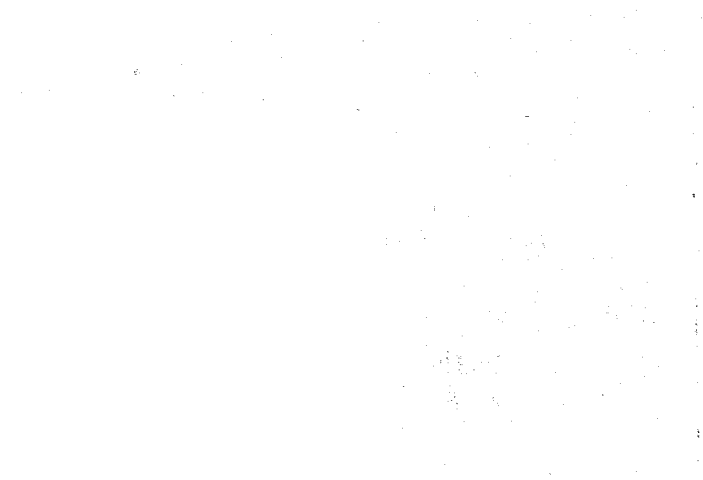
AMONG the inscribed stones lying in the premises of the Archaeological Commissioner at Anurādhapura, there is a broken pillar brought from Giritaḷē, a village seven miles to the north-west of Poḷonnaruva. The lower portion of the pillar is missing; and the fragment measures 9½ in. by 5½ in. by 4 ft. 7 in. The top has been rounded into a capital 6½ in. in height. The writing on sides B and D is almost completely obliterated and that on the other two sides is also very badly preserved. The inscription was noticed, for the first time, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in his *Annual Report for 1905*[1]. An eye-copy of the inscription, prepared under the direction of Mr. Bell, is also preserved among the records of the Archaeological Survey. I edit the epigraph from the original stone.

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

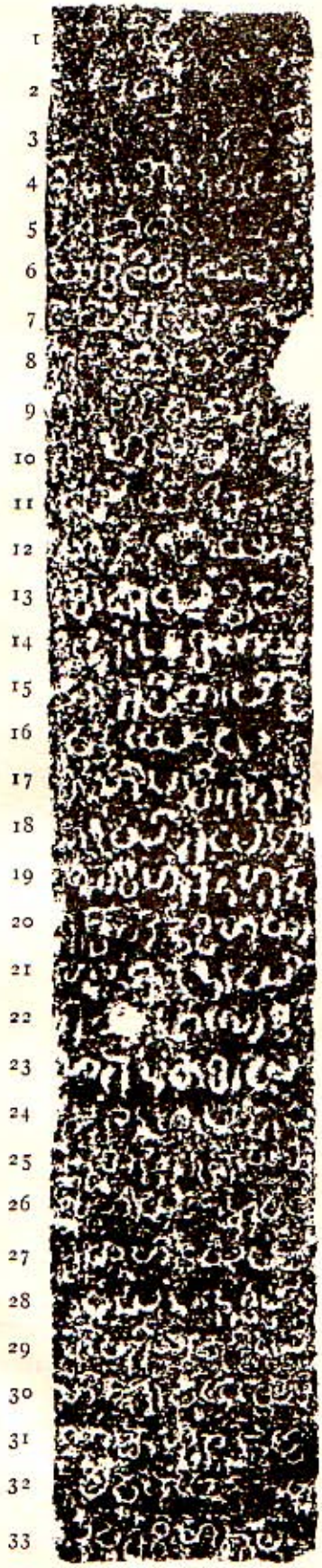
Like the majority of the pillar inscriptions of the tenth century, this record, too, is concerned with a grant of immunities to a certain land. The obscure technical terms with which we are familiar from other records of this class are met with here, too; and, though it is not yet possible to explain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

---

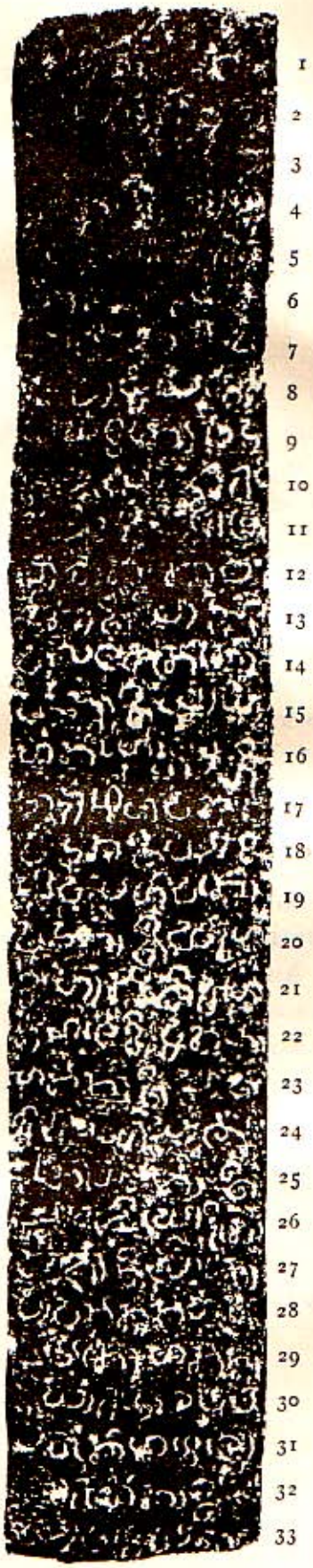
[1] Page 39, No. 8 in the list of Inscriptions examined between 1901 and 1905.



A



C



Giritaḷē Pillar Inscription

TEXT.

A.

1 Sirivat [api-]
2 [-riyat] gu[ṇa mu-]
3 [-ḷin] uturat [vä]
4 mu[ḷu] Dambadivhi
5 an kät [kula]
6 pā-mili kaḷa Okā-
7 vas rad parapu-
8 -[re]n baṭ **A[bā]**
9 **Salamevan** maha-
10 ra[d] haṭ emä ku-
11 -len sama **Nā(la)**
12 **Gon** biso tu-
13 **-mā kusä** ipä-
14 **-dä āpā mahayā**
15 -siri vindā piḷi-
16 -veḷa se dasa [a]-
17 -thi **pätirä rada**
18 kaḷa **Sirisaṅg-**
19 **bo** maharadhu da-
20 -ru **Mihid mahaya-**
21 -hu daru **Udā Si-**
22 **-risaṅgbo** ma-
23 -ha rad tumā sa-
24 -t läṅgu paḷa[mu] va-
25 -nu **havuruduyehi**
26 -Baga sand ava
27 mashi dasavak
28 davas pädum (pas)-
29 -hi **(Parisā) kuḷiye-**
30 -hi āvu de se-
31 -ṇāk hulu Deme-
32 -ḷaṭ väḷademin ā-
33 -vu **Purmigaṇaṭ**

.. ..

B.

Worn

C.

1 -van novadnā
2 isā deruvanä
3 de kamtän no
4 vadnā isā
5 melātti rad-
6 kol kāmiyan
7 novadnā isā
8 ulvāḍu perenā-
9 -ṭṭiyam novad-
10 -nā isā arä-
11 -kkan perelā-
12 -kkan nova-
13 -dnā isā dunu-
14 -vā balatun no-
15 vadnā isā ya-
16 -han govu ya mu-
17 -gur gatuvan no
18 vadnā isā ma-
19 -giva pegiva no
20 vadnā isā ga-
21 -m gon kir ge-
22 -ri gäl mīvun no
23 gannā isā vä-
24 -riyan väri sāl

25 no gannā i-
26 -sā tuḍi soḷi no-
27 vadnā isā ko-
28 -ṭā vannan gam
29 vädä no gannā
30 isā radolaṭ pi
31 -ṭatun gämä lā
32 no raknā i[sā]
33 Bayavä masna-
.. ..

D.

Worn

TRANSLATION.

A.

[Lines A 1–28] On the tenth day of the waning moon in the month of Baga[1] (March–April), in the first year after the raising of the umbrella by the great king **Udā Siri Saṅgbo** (P. Udaya Siri Saṅghabodhi) son of **Mihind Mahayā** (Mahinda, the heir apparent) son of the great king **Siri Saṅgbo** who reigned (with fame) wide spread in the ten regions after having enjoyed the dignities of (the ranks) *āṕā* and *mahayā*[2] and who was born in the womb of Queen **Nā**(la) **Gon** of equal race unto the great king **Abhā Salamevan** (P. Abhaya Silāmeghavaṇṇa) who was descended from the lineage of King Okāvas (Skt. *Ikṣvāku*) who abounded in a multitude of boundless illustrious qualities and who had reduced the other Kṣatriya families of the whole Dambadiv (P. Jambudvīpa) to the position of vassals[3].

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

---

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

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

[3] Pāmili = P. *pādamūlika*. This latter word which occurs in *Jātaka*, II, 300 has been rendered in the Sinhalese translation by *dukgat puruṣayek*. Compare the word *duggannā rāla* in Kandyan usage.

[4] *Trigonella foenum graecum*.

.. .. shall not enter. Officers of the two treasuries and the two departments (of revenue and expenditure?) shall not enter. The *melātti* and the officers of the royal household shall not enter. (The officers named) *ulvāḍu* and *pereṇāṭṭiyam* shall not enter. *Arākkan* and *pereläkkan* shall not enter. Archers and guards shall not enter. Officers in charge of the (royal) conveyances and bearers of iron clubs shall not enter. The *magiva* and *pegiva* shall not enter. Village cattle, milch-cows, carts, and buffaloes, shall not be taken. Labourers who serve by turns and rice given in rotation (by the villagers)[1] shall not be taken. *Tuḍi* and *soḷi* (drummers) shall not enter. (Royal officers) shall not enter this village and arrest those who have come in after committing assault. Traitors to the royal family shall not be admitted to the village and given protection. The fish in the Bayavä (tank) .. ..

COMMENTS.

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

King Abhā Salamevan (Abhaya Silāmeghavaṇṇa)
|
King Siri Saṅgbo (Siri Saṅghabodhi)
|
Mihind Mahayā (Mahinda, the heir apparent)
|
King Udā Siri Saṅgbo (Udaya Siri Saṅghabodhi).

This last named, Udaya, cannot be the same as the Siri Saṅgbo Udā of the Badulla pillar whose mother was an anointed queen, whereas the present Udaya's father was not a crowned king[2]. He may safely be identified with the Udaya who in the Puliyankulam slab is also mentioned as the son of Mahinda the heir apparent[3] and who himself held the office of heir apparent in the twelfth or last year of Dappula V. Dr. Wickremasinghe has rightly identified him with Udaya II who succeeded Dappula V[4].

As the sub-king Mahinda, the brother of Sena II, had married a princess Kittā[5] and Mahinda, the heir apparent, of the Puliyankulam inscription, was

---

[1] *Värisāl.* Mr. Codrington suggests 'rice supplied for the use of the *väriyan* (by the villagers).
[2] See above p. 84.
[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 187.
[4] *Mv.* liii, v. 13.
[5] *Ibid.*, l, v. 13.

also married to a princess Kittā, Dr. Wickremasinghe has naturally identified the two; but the sub-king Mahinda was the son of sub-king Kassapa[1] not of a paramount king like the Mahinda of this inscription. Further, Mahinda the sub-king predeceased Sena II; but a Mahinda, heir apparent, is mentioned in an inscription at Usgala[2] which, on palaeographical grounds, should be ascribed to a date later than Sena II. Mahinda the sub-king, and Mahinda the heir apparent, appear, therefore, to be two distinct persons whose wives bore the same name.

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

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

[Line A 29] *Kuḷiya* occurs in several records as a name denoting 'a territorial division', e. g. Amgam-kuḷiya in the Vēvälkäṭiya slab[6], Bidervatu-kuḷiya in the Mäḍirigiriya pillar[7], Loholuvila-kuḷiya in the Ayitigevāva pillar[8], and Mahademaṭa-kuḷiya in the Alutvāva pillar[9].

---

[1] *Ibid.*, I, vv. 48 and 60.

[2] See above, p. 130, *n.* 5.

[3] See *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 9.

[4] *Mv.* I, v. 48 and and *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 9.

[5] Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara's extract from the *Pūjāvaliya*, p. 28. On this statement, Dr. Wickremasinghe makes Dappula IV, the elder uterine brother of Dappula V. But *malu* does not necessarily mean one's own younger brother.

[6] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 249.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 33.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 35.

[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 232.

[Lines A 30–31] *Deseṇāk hulu*: The word *hulu* (in modern colloquial Sinhalese *uluvāhāl*) is the name of a variety of beans. It is apparent from the context that *seṇā* was a unit of land measurement. This word occurs in the same sense in the following records: (1) in the Mihintale tablets, *vaḍumaha ädurak haṭ Boṇḍ vchera seṇāya isä*[1]; (2) in an unpublished record from Brāhmaṇagama, *aṭ seṇāk hulu Haṇḍinnarugama*; (3) in an inscription on a pillar in the Colombo Museum, *satar seṇāk hulu Sennarugama*; (4) in the Itāva Pillar inscription, *tun seṇāk hulu Kāsavāgama*; (5) in a fragmentary pillar inscription from Sīgiriya *doḷos seṇā*. . . . It seems probable that *seṇā* is the same as the modern *sēṇa* or *hēṇa*[2] 'land used for dry cultivation', especially in view of the fact that in all the passages above quoted, except one, the word is used in connexion with *hulu*, a dry crop. The Pāli *khetta* in *Jātaka* VI, p. 336, is rendered *sēṇa* in the Sinhalese *Jātaka* of the fifteenth century *seṇā* or *sēṇa* would thus mean a field. But the word is here used in a technical sense as a unit of land assessment, in the same manner as *khet* still is in Nēpāl[3].

[Lines A 31–32] *Demeḷaṭ väḷademin ā.* With this phrase may be compared *Demeḷ Kiṇigam* in *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 52, *gämä Demeḷa käbälla* in a pillar inscription from Poḷonnaruva and *Demeḷa käbälla* in a pillar in the Colombo Museum. From a 'Tamil käbälla' there appears that there were lands set apart for the Tamils, probably those in the king's service. The last inscription also mentions a high official designated the Demeḷa Adhikāri. A Damiḷādhikāri figures in the history of Parākramabāhu I's reign[4].

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

---

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

[2] *Sehen* in the inscriptions of Niśśaṁka Malla, see *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 110.

[3] Sylvain Lévi, *Le Nepal, Étude Historique d'une Royaume Hindou*, vol. i, p. 300.

[4] *Mv.* xxvi, v. 39.

among the Sinhalese, points to the prevalence, in former days, of a compound *ratnāya* which probably meant 'treasury'[1].

In the Kōṭṭe period there was, in addition to the treasury within the capital, a royal store house or *bangasāla* at the place where the modern Bankshall Street is[2]. In Kandyan times, there were two treasuries known as the *uḍa gabaḍava* and the *mahagabaḍāva*[3]. The practice of having two treasuries dates from ancient times, for Kauṭilya enjoins the king to possess, in addition to the treasure house within the fort, another one at the extreme boundary of the kingdom[4]. Therefore it is probable that in the tenth century the kings of Anuradhapura had two treasuries known as *deruvana*.

The methods adopted in the administration of the estates belonging to the great monasteries were doubtless modelled on secular institutions. From the Abhayagiri inscription of Kassapa V[5] and the Mihintalē records of Mahinda IV[6], we know that the income and expenditure of these two establishments were divided into two branches; namely, the internal and external (*ätuḷ bähäri aya viya*). As regards the two royal treasuries, or store-houses, it may be surmised that one of them contained the funds for the king's private use—in modern terms, the Privy Purse—and the other those for the public services.

[Lines C 8–9] *Ulvāḍu perenāṭṭiyam*: These two terms are also generally found bracketed together. The word *uḷvāḍu* (spelt with a cerebral *ḷ*) occurs in the Badulla pillar inscription and, in my remarks on it, I suggested that it was the same as Tamil *uḷpāḍaṉ* which, from South Indian inscriptions, appear to have been the name of a temple official[7]. Though the word is here spelt with a dental *ḷ*, it was doubtless the same as *uḷvāḍu* of the Badulla pillar. This irregularity in spelling is a marked feature in words of Tamil origin. The *ulvāḍu* mentioned in grants of immunities must be, from the nature of the documents, royal officers and not temple servants. It is well known that in India, as well as in Ceylon, the ceremonial in the king's palace and in the temple were similar to each other, and therefore some of the temple officers must have had the same designation as those of the royal palace who had to perform similar functions.

---

[1] It was Mr. Codrington who first suggested to me this line of argument.
[2] P. E. Pieris, *Ceylon, The Portuguese Era*, vol. ii, p. 490.
[3] *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. iv, p. 81.
[4] Kauṭilya. Dr. Shama Sastry's translation, p. 61.
[5] *E.Z.*, Vol. I, p. 49. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 92. [7] See above p. 94.

The etymology of the word is obscure, but the first part *uḷ* means 'interior' or 'the inner apartments of a shrine or palace' and hence it may be assumed that *uḷvāḍu* had similar functions with the officers of the *antaraṅgadhura* said to have been instituted by Parākramabāhu I [1]. The word *perenāṭṭu* is sometimes interpreted as 'former inhabitants'; but it is evident from the inscriptions that they, too, were royal officers. The first part of the compound *pere* occurs in other words as *pereläki*, *perevässan*, *perevari*, and is probably the same as Tamil *puravu* (cf. *puravuvari*) meaning exterior and derived from the Sanskrit *puras*, Pāli *pure*. This derivation becomes more certain when it is considered that *perenāṭṭu* is very often bracketed together with a word having for its initial constituent the word *uḷ* 'interior'. The retinue of the king in ancient India was divided into two sections called the *antovaḷañja* 'the inner retinue' and *bahi vaḷañja*, 'the outer retinue' [2].

[Lines C 10–11] *Aräkkan* occurs in the Kukurumahandamana Pillar (*E. Z.* Vol. II, p. 25) and the Raja Māligāva Pillar (*E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 56) where also it is coupled with *pereläkkan*. It is the plural of *aräki* which could be derived from Skt. *ārakṣika*, P. *ārakkhika* [3] 'watcher' or 'guard'. It is not certain whether we have to understand by this term the village watcher mentioned in Sanskrit law books or to take *aräkkan* as subordinates of the dignitary designated *araksamaṇa* who, it appears, was entrusted with the care of the royal treasury. The modern word *āracci* is of the same derivation as *aräki* and from the etymology it seems that this village functionary had originally police duties to perform: though at present his duties are not confined to such.

[Lines C 11–12] *Pereläkkan*, the plural of *pereläki* occurs in many other records [4], both alone and in company with the *aräkkan*. If lines C 12–19 of the Timbirivāva pillar [5] inscription are correctly read, they must have visited villages to collect fines due to the king. *Läki*, I think, is derived from Skt. *lekhin*, 'a writer'. We have already dealt with the form *pere*. It seems possible that these officers had to supervise the collection, and record the dues appertaining to the royal treasury.

---

[1] *Mv.* lxix, vv. 33, 35.

[2] *Jātaka*, vol. i. p. 385. With *vaḷañja* may also be compared the name *Vaḷañjeyar* in Tamil inscriptions. See *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 251.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 29.

[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 8, 14, 25, 43, &c. [5] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 13.

[Lines C 15–16] *Yahangovu*, too, occurs in other unpublished inscriptions; for instance, in a pillar from Dorabāvila in the North-Western Province and in a fragmentary record from a place named Saṅgili Kanadarāva in the North-Central Province. In both records they are mentioned along with another class of officials named *kuḍasalā*. This word may be interpreted in two different ways. It may be taken as a derivative of Skt. *śayana gopaka* and rendered 'guardians of the bedchamber', or it may be equivalent to Skt. *yāna-gopaka* and translated 'officers in charge of conveyances'. I have adopted the latter alternative. Cf. *sakaṭa gopaka* in *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, iv. 60, where, however, this word is used in a derogatory sense.

[Lines C 16–17] *Yamugurugatuvan* 'bearers of iron clubs' appear to have belonged to a class in which were also included *kolpāṭṭi*[1] or *kolpātri*[2] 'holders of the sceptre' (T. *kol+paṛṛu*), *välgattan*[3] 'cane-bearers' (cf. Skt. *vetradhāra*) and *daṇḍu muraṇḍu*[4] (club-men). Officers of a similar nature, namely, *daṇḍika* and *daṇḍapāśika* are mentioned in copper-plate inscriptions of the Pāla kings[5]. Their duty was, presumably, to march in advance, when the king or other high nobles were travelling, in order to clear the road of wayfarers and other undesirable persons.

[Lines C 18–19] *Magiva, pegiva*: These also occur in the various forms of *maṅgdiv piyadiv* (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 169) *maṅg-giva piyagiva* (*ibid.*, p. 97), and *mang-div pediv* (*ibid.*, p. 205). Dr. Wickremasinghe derives these words from the hypothetical Sanskrit forms *mārggajīvin* and *pādajīvin* and renders them by 'tramps and vagrants'[6]. The occurrence, in the Iripinniyāna pillar inscription, of these two words along with *sorun* (thieves) and *koṭāvan* (those who come after committing assaults)[7] seems to support Dr. Wickremasinghe's interpretation. But in a pillar inscription from Mihintale (*A. I. C.* No. 115) the phrase *maṅgdiv pediv no vadnā isā* is followed by *sesu radkol kämiyan no vadnā isā* (not to be entered in by other royal officers). This may be taken as a proof that *maṅgdiv* and *pediv*, too, were royal officers.

[Lines C 26–27] *Tuḍi soḷi*: These two words occur very frequently in inscriptions of the period. Dr. Wickremasinghe leaves them untranslated.

---

[1] Ayitigevāva pillar. Dr. Wickremasinghe prefers the reading *kolpaṭṭi*.
[2] *A.I.C*, No. 110.
[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 38.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 56.
[5] *Ep. Ind.* vol. xvii, p. 325.
[6] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 5.
[7] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 169. *Maṅgdīv piyadīv sorun koṭāvan no gannā isā.*

Mr. Bell in his *Critical Notes on the Epigraphia Zeylanica*, (*Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. iv, p. 21 ff.). examines several passages in which these words occur and comes to the conclusion that they mean Toṇḍiyans and Cholians. But other relevant passages not quoted by Mr. Bell, and those noticed by him, when properly understood, make it difficult to accept his view. In the Saṅgili Kanadarāva inscription quoted by Mr. Bell, we have the phrase *tuḍi soḷi no gasanu isā* which, if translated according to the above interpretation, would read '*tuḍi* and *soḷi* should not beat'. But, then, it does not show what they should not beat; in other words there is no object to the transitive verb *nogasanu*. According to its grammatical construction, the translation of this phrase should be '*tuḍi* and *soḷi* should not be beaten'. In the Itāva record we have the phrase *tuḍi soḷi ber* '*tuḍi* and *soḷi* drums' which makes the passage in the Saṅgili-kanadarāva record intelligible. *Tuḍi* and *soḷi* were the names of particular kinds of drums which it was forbidden to beat within the limits of the village to which concessions were granted. This interpretation receives still further support from an unpublished fragmentary record from Pallēkāgama which has *soḷi bera tuḍigattan novadanu isā* 'bearers of *soḷi* drums and *tuḍi* shall not enter'. From Sinhalese literature, too, we get evidence to prove that *tuḍi* was a variety of drums. The *Daṁbadeṇi Asna*[1] includes this in a list of various kinds of musical instruments. In Tamil, too, *tuḍi* has the same meaning and occurs in poems attributed to the early centuries of the Christian era[2]. The word *soḷi*, as the name of a drum, has not been traced in Sinhalese literature, but the Pallēkāgama record quoted above proves that it was so. The Aṁbagamuva rock inscription of Vijayabāhu I (*E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 214) has *tuḍi nāḷā rajkolkämiyan*. If the word *nāḷā*, in this phrase, is the same as *naḷā* 'flute', it gives further support for the above interpretation of *tuḍi*.

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

[1] Edition of 1917, p. 5.

[2] See *Silappadikaram*, Canto VI, l. 51. In Tamil *tuḍi* was also the name of one among the eleven varieties of dances.

[3] *Jātaka*, i, p. 283.

reader. Similarly, in connexion with those temple lands to which immunities were granted in the middle ages, a like privilege seems to have been allowed.

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

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

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

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

[1] See *Mv.*, liii, vv. 14 ff.

No. 11. AN INSCRIPTION OF NIŚŚAṀKA MALLA FOUND NEAR THE *VĀN-ĀḶA*, POḶONNARUVA. (*A. S. I.*, No. 542.)

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

A MUTILATED pillar-slab, discovered near the spill (*vān-āla*) of the Tōpāvāva in Poḷonnaruva, is now preserved in the Archaeological Office in Anuradhapura. The upper part of it is missing; and the present fragment, which is irregular in shape, measures roughly (without taking into account that part which was buried underground) $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ ft. by 6 in. Side A contains sixteen lines of writing completely preserved, and portions of seven more lines more or less damaged. Possibly, there were twenty-seven lines in all on this side. Twenty-six lines of writing on side B are preserved; but, owing to the peeling of the stone, the first letter in each of the lines from 1–8 is missing. Side C which contains the concluding portion of the record shows traces of four lines of writing and some symbol used as a punctuation mark. Side D is blank.

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

The metre used here is an unusual one. It is not explained in the *Eḷu Saňdäs Lakuṇa* the only work dealing with Sinhalese prosody; nor do I know of its occurrence anywhere in Sinhalese literature. The third stanza, the only complete one preserved, consists of four lines each containing twenty-four *mātrās* with a caesura after the ninth and possibly after the seventeenth. The second quatrain, only three lines of which are preserved, has twenty-three *mātras* in the second line, while the third and the fourth lines are composed of twenty-two and twenty-four *mātras*, respectively. On the whole, there is a certain looseness in the observation of metrical rules. In examining the metre, an interesting fact regarding the phonology of the Sinhalese language in the

twelfth century comes to light. In the standard dialect of the Sinhalese language, the half-nasal in the consonantal groups *ṅg*, *ṇḍ*, *nd*, and *mb*, is scarcely audible in pronunciation and does not affect the quantity of the preceding vowel at all[1]. To all practical purposes, so far as prosody is concerned, it is as good as non-existent. But here, the nasal requires to be pronounced in full to scan, and the preceding vowel counts as long. This is the more remarkable as it is not observed in the stanza of Parākramabāhu's Padaviya inscription[2] and in the verse at the end of the Galpota of Niśśaṁka Malla[3] himself. Nor is it observed in the *Sasadāvata*, a Sinhalese poem composed in the reign of Līlāvatī only a few years after Niśśaṁka Malla's death.

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

---

[1] See Geiger, *L.S.S.* p. 42. *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 114.

[2] *A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report*, p. 63.

[3] Compare *Manu vii*, 20.

Yadi na praṇayed rājā daṇḍaṁ daṇḍyeṣ-vatandritaḥ
Śūle matsyān ivāpakṣyān durbbalān balavattarāḥ

Also No. 3942 of von Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*:

Paraspaṛāmiṣatayā jagatī bhinna vartmanaḥ.
Daṇḍābhāve paridhvaṁsī matsyo nyāyaḥ pravarttate.

In the inscriptions of the Pāla kings, the first of their dynasty is said to have been made king by the people in order to 'put an end to the practice of fishes' (*matsya nyāyam apohituṁ*, see *Ep. Ind.* vol. iv, p. 251). This and sundry other passages in the Galpota and the Citadel gate inscriptions show us that Niśśaṁka Malla, or rather the scribe who composed his epigraphs, had some acquaintance with the Hindu *dharmaśāstras*.



Niśśaṁka Malla's Inscription found near Vān Aḷa, Poḷonnaruva

of his successor matters grew still worse. Niśśaṁka tried his utmost to introduce salutary reforms; but was unequal to the task, for the country was plunged into an anarchical state immediately after his death and became an easy prey to hordes of adventurers from the neighbouring mainland. His own extravagant expenditure in ostentatious displays and the vast sums spent to satisfy his passion for building may have exhausted the exchequer and contributed to this end.

Text.

A[1].

1 .. .. sakä va ge .. .. ..
2 .. .. nā dänä vavu .. ..
3 .. .. [Ka]liṅgu nirindu
4 .. .. si mē diya setā (॥*).
5 .. .. navun ma äta pa
6 .. nhi dayäyi diya
7 .. ānā masun sē paravа-
8 -t genä noyädē perā-
9 -li karanā [।*] Novä pamā
10 aya väyä dänä lekа-
11 -m sakas karanā anu-
12 -n no eka vavu uvadesi
13 **Kaliṅgu -himi** nirindu nā [॥*].
14 Miṇi mutu nil marā pu-
15 -srā gomēda veraḷu vi-
16 -durā pabaḷu nan- ambara-
17 -ṇa saḷu suvanda mal bu-
18 -lat kapurā (।*) meyin ye-
19 -dī hunada aṅgara no la-
20 -da hē no manaharā batu-
21 -payā **Kaliṅgu nirundu** nu-
22 -vanin vindu isurā [॥*].

B.

* * * * *

1 .. .. bhaṇḍāra-
2 [po]tun bhaṇḍāra-
3 [-ya]ṭa säka ipä-
4 [-d]dū heyin u-
5 [-n] piṇisä kaḷa
6 [śi]lā lekha has-
7 [-na]yi [॥*] Bhaṇḍāra ra-
8 -[kṣā] vehi siṭi-
9 -[na] yammä kena-
10 -kun tamange va-
11 -rgga paramparā si-
12 -tā dīrggha- darśī
13 vä diga balā ta-
14 -mahaṭa vuvamanā
15 ratran ridī
16 masuran yaka-
17 -ḍa divel va-
18 -hal sarak
19 ādīvu yam-
20 -mä deyak ki-
21 -yā ilvā ge-
22 -nä e amutu [va]-
23 -ḷandat mut [āśā]-
24 -ven nokiyā
25 bhaṇḍāra genä
26 paścāttāpa

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

C.

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

TRANSCRIPT.

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

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

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

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

---

[1] No coherent translation of lines 1–5 is possible.

[2] *Karana*, if taken as a present participle, does not fit in with the construction of the sentence. I have taken it to be the imperative mood *karanu*, with the vowel changed so as to suit the metre. Such licences are sometimes resorted to by Sinhalese poets.

[3] *Anun* might here mean, 'enemies'.

[4] *Batupayā* = *bat-upayā* literally 'having earned (one's) bread'. *Bat* might also be derived from Skt. *bhriti* 'wages'.

No. 12. TWO ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF BHĀTIKA ABHAYA AND MAHĀNĀGA AT MŌLĀHIṬIYAVELĒGALA.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to Archaeological Commissioner.

IN his interesting article[1] *Diṁbulāgala, Its Caves Ruins and Inscriptions*, Mr. H. C. P. P. Bell has published several historically important records; and among them is included the subject of the present paper—two rock inscriptions from a place named Mōlāhiṭiyavelēgala, near Diṁbulāgala in the Tamankaḍuva District. Their description may best be given in Mr. Bell's own words:

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

To this, I have only to add that the letter *ḍa* in lines 1 and 2 of Inscription No. 1, is written facing left, a feature rather uncommon in the script of the early Christian centuries. Compare, however, the same character in the inscriptions of the Śaka satrap Usavadāta[3].

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

---

[1] *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, vol. iii, p. 1 ff. and p. 69 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 75–76.

[3] See Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel III.

[4] See Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, para. 361.

know of its occurrence anywhere after the second century, when a new dative form was being evolved by the addition of the particle *aṭa* after the genitive case.

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

INSCRIPTION No. 1.

TEXT.

1 Siddham[1] [॥*] Devanapiya **Tisa** maharajaha marumaṇaka **Kuḍa-**[2]
2 **kaṇa** rajaha jeṭa-pute Raja **Abaye** Ataragagahi **Gaṇa** .. **takaha**[3] aḍi[2].
3 **Pilipavata**[4] viharahi biku-sagaya sovaṇa-koturu(ni)[5] niyate [॥*].

TRANSLATION.

Hail! King **Abaya**,[6] eldest son[7] of King **Kuṭakaṇa**[8] and grandson of the great King Devanapiya **Tisa**,[9] dedicated[10] with the golden vase[11] (i. e. having poured water into the hands of the donee with a golden vase), the canal[12] of **Gaṇa** .. **ṭaka** in the Ataragaga (country) to the monks (residing) in the **Pilipavata** Monastery.

---

[1] B. reads *sidham*.

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

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

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

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

[6] Pāli *Abhaya*.

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

[8] Pāli *Kutakaṇṇa*.

[9] Pāli *Devānampiya Tissa*.

[10] *Niyate*: Compare *niyātitam* in Inscription No. 12 of Nāsik (*Ep. Ind.* vol. viii, p. 82).

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

[12] *Aḍi*; taken to be the precursor of the mediaeval Sinhalese *āḷi* and the modern *āḷa* (P. *āḷi* or *āli*). This word also occurs in an inscription from Koṭaveheragala (*Cey. Ant.*, vol. iii, p. 255).

INSCRIPTION No. 2.

TEXT.

Naka Maharaje dine sagasa [ll*]

TRANSLATION.

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

COMMENTS.

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

This identification rests mainly on the assumption that Kuḍakaṇa (or Kuṭakaṇa) is the same as Pāli Kūṭaghāṇa and this monarch the same as Vaṅkanāsika Tissa, the father of Gajabāhu I. The first equation is possible according to the laws of Sinhalese phonology; but Kuṭakaṇa is closer to Pāli Kuṭakaṇṇa than to Kūṭaghāṇa; and a king of this name is mentioned in the chronicles. Mahācūḷa Mahātissa's second son who deposed the infamous Anuḷā and had a prosperous reign of twenty-two years, was known as Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa[1] (16–38 A. D.) A rock inscription at Dunumaṇḍalagala in the N.C.P.[2] and the chronicle agree that Bhātiya was a son of King Kuṭakaṇa. Therefore, the Devanapiya Tisa, who was the father of Kuṭakaṇa, has to be identified with Mahātissa, surnamed Mahacūḷika (Sin. Mahasiḷu 'the Big Crested', *circa* 17–3 B.C.), and Abaya, the donor of the present grant, with Bhātika Abhaya

---

[1] In Turnour's translation of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, as well in Sumaṅgala and Baṭuvantuḍāve's edition, this name is spelt Kāḷakaṇṇi Tissa; but in Prof. Geiger's edition of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the correct reading has been adopted. The *Ṭīkā* also gives it as Kuṭakaṇṇa. Buddhaghosa, in his *Sāratthapakāsinī*, tells that the horse of Kuṭakaṇṇa was named Guḷavaṇṇa and once when he reached the Kaḷamba river on his way to Cetiyagiri (Mihintalē), the horse refused to enter the water. (*Kuṭakaṇṇa rañño Guḷavaṇṇasso viya. Rājā kira pācīna dvārena nikkhamitvā Cetiyapabbataṁ gamissāmīti Kaḷamba nadītīraṁ sampatto. Asso tīre ṭhatvā udakaṁ otarituṁ na icchati.*)

[2] No. 8 of the list of Inscriptions included in the *A. S. C. Annual Report* for 1892.

(38–66 A. D.), a monarch who, in his piety, tried to emulate the famous Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. The King Naka of the second record, which, on palaeographic and other considerations seem to have been not much later than the first, may be taken to be identical with Bhātika Abhaya's younger brother and successor, Mahānāga, surnamed Mahādāṭhika (Sinhalese Mahadäḷiyā, 'the Big Bearded').

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

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

---

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I. p. 58 ff.

[2] W. reads *puṭikaṇa*.

[3] As regards this rélationship, see my note in the *J. R. A. S. C. B.*, Vol. xxx, p. 452.

[4] In the spelling of this name, *ṭ* and *ḍ* as well as *k* and *p* seem to have been interchangeable. The former requires no comment; but the latter feature is noteworthy. With this compare the Pāli *Kakudha Kaccāna*, the name of one of the six heretical teachers contemporary with the Buddha, which is sometimes spelt as *Pakudha Kaccāna*. See *J. P. T. S*, for 1908, p. 108 for Trenckner's note on this phonetical change.

[5] The inscription runs as follows:

Devanapiya kulahi Macuḍikaha puta.
Puṭakana Abayaha aḍi

Translation: The canal of Puṭakana Abaya, son of Macuḍika of the family of Devanapiya.

Mahātissa surnamed Mahācūḷika (Macuḍika)

Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa (Kuḍakaṇa or Puḍakaṇa Gamiṇi Abaya)

Bhātika Abaya — Mahā Nāga.

As regards the place-names mentioned in the record, *Ataragaga* is equivalent to Pāli *Antaragaṅga* and means 'the land between two rivers'. The *Mahāvaṁsa* tells us that Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa, the father of the donor in the present record founded, in this region, a monastery named Pelagāma Vihāra and a canal named Vaṇṇaka[1]. The Pilipavata of our inscription is most probably identical with this Pelagāma[2]. As it is natural to expect that the record was set up near the monastery which was intended to be benefited by it, we may venture to suggest that the ruins at Mōlāhiṭiya-velēgala mark the site of the Pilipavata or Pelagāma monastery and that the tract of country named Antaragaṅga has to be sought for in that narrow strip of land between the Mahaväligaṅga and the Maduru Oya and not between the former and the Aṁbangaṅga as suggested by Prof. Geiger.[3]

Unfortunately, the name of the canal is partly obliterated; but it is not Vaṇṇaka[4] that which, as seen above, was founded by Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa.

---

[1] *Mv.* xxxiv, v. 32.

[2] In the two names Pelagāma and Pilipavata, the chief constituents are *Pela* and *Pili*. The words *gama* (P. *gāma*, village) and *pavata* (P. *pabbata*, rock) are added when it was meant to emphasize the village or the mountain, respectively, at the place.

[3] *Mahāvaṁsa*, translation, p. 240, *n.* 1.

[4] An inscription at Koṭaveḷeragala in the Tamankaḍuva District published by Mr. Bell in the same article (*Cey. Ant.* vol. iii, p. 255 and Plate XIX) mentions a canal named *Va . . ka aḍi*. The second letter is imperfectly preserved; but from the traces visible in the facsimile, it could very well have been *ṇa*. In that case, this is a mention of the canal constructed by Kuṭakaṇṇa.

No. 13. KUCCAVĒLI ROCK INSCRIPTION. (*A. S. I.*, No. 383.)

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

ON the sea-beach in front of the rest-house at Kuccavēli—a small fishing-village in Kaḍḍukkuḷam East, twenty-one miles to the north of Trincomali, there is a cluster of gneiss boulders among which are several rock caverns of various fantastic shapes. A few yards to the west of this main group of rocks, there is a small boulder sloping inwards; and two or three yards in front of it is a second boulder. Thus, the area between the two forms a hollow which is now partly filled with sand. On the sloping side of the first boulder, an area of about four feet square has been partitioned into sixteen compartments of equal proportions, within each of which is carved in low relief the representation of a *stūpa*. The inscription under discussion is engraved to the left of this sculpture. Dr. E. Müller has included this record as No. 108 of his *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*; but gives neither the text nor the translation [1].

The epigraph which consists of eight lines, covers an area of 11 in. by $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. The surface of the rock was cut smooth before the writing was executed; and the letters though shallow, are, thanks to the sheltered position of the rock, in a fairly good state of preservation. The letters are unusually small—the smallest about one-fourth of an inch in height and the largest less than an inch. Sufficient attention has been paid to calligraphy; and this record is one of the best executed among the hundreds of epigraphs in the island.

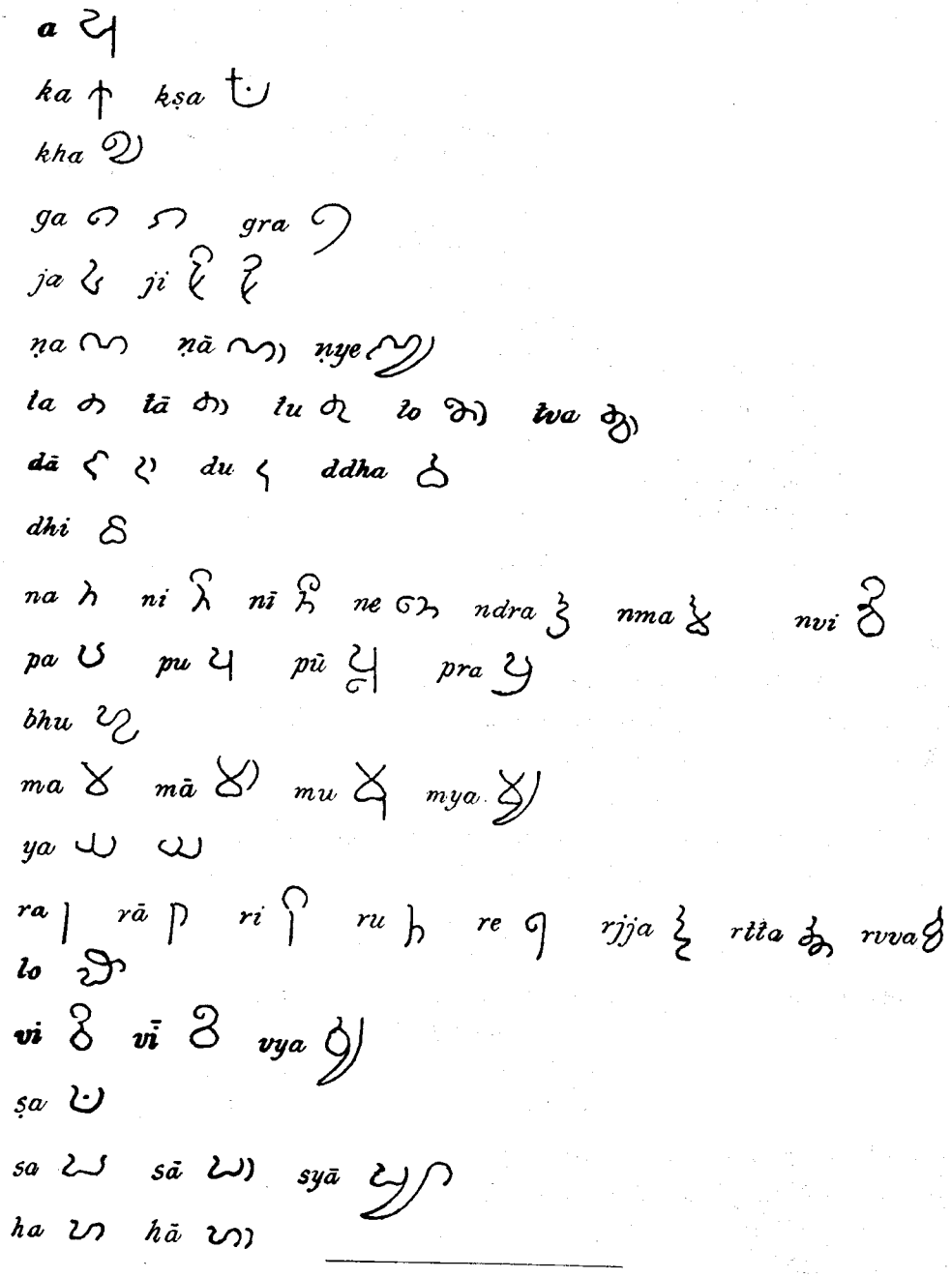
The characters used in this record belong to a script not known from any other document and call for special remarks. Some of them bear a close resemblance to the corresponding forms of the early Grantha alphabet of South India; but the script, as a whole, is by no means identical with any of the known South Indian alphabets. The earliest specimens of the Pallava Grantha, as shown in the inscriptions of the Dharmmarājaratha at Māmallapuram [2], show

---

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

[2] See Bühler's *Palaeographie*, Plate VII.

more developed and more florid forms than those of our record. The closest parallel to the script of the present inscription is found, so far as I know, in the votive inscriptions on the pavement slabs of the Yaṭāla *dāgāba* at Tissamahārāma[1]; I give below in tabular form all the characters occurring in this record.



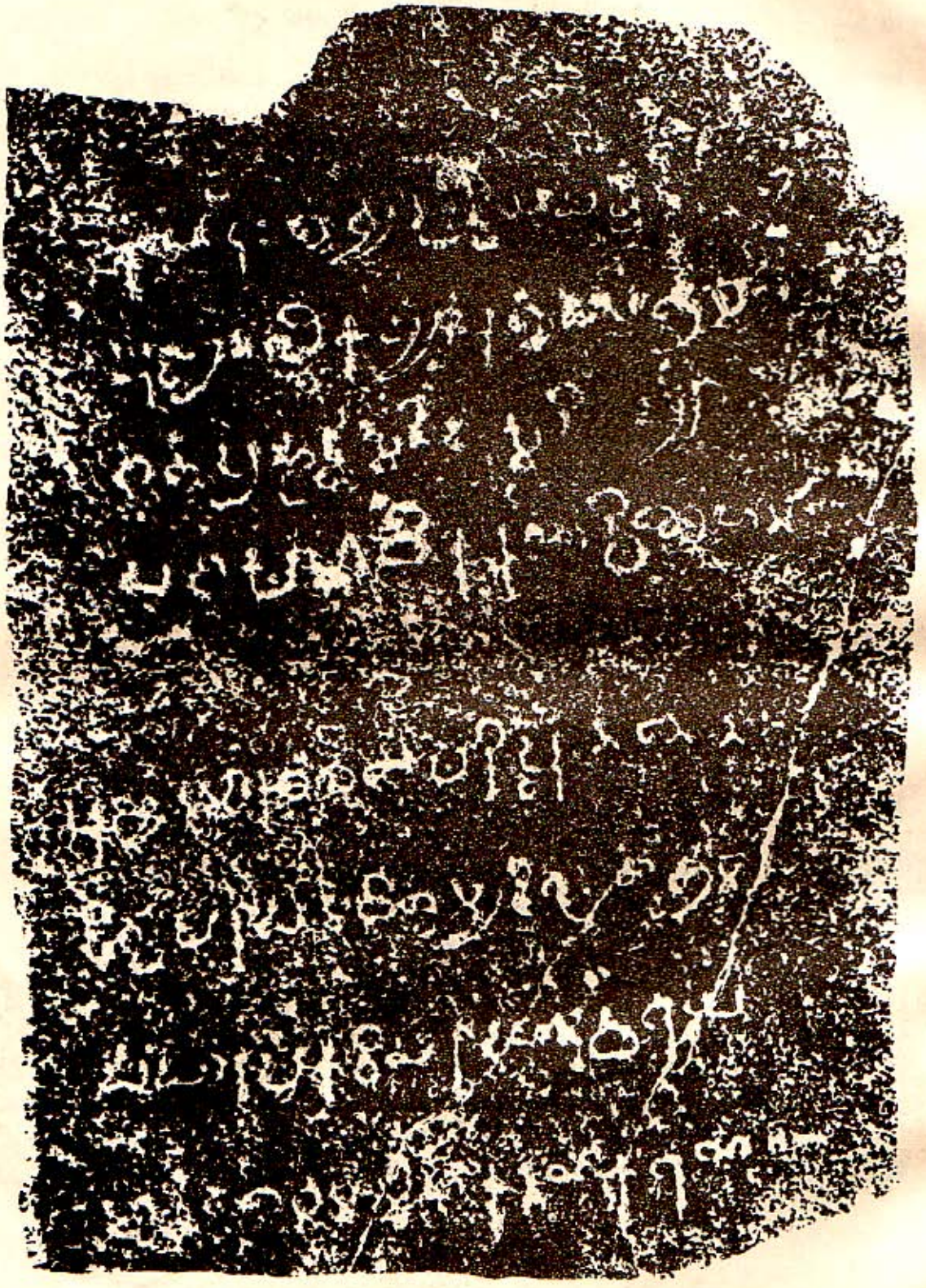
[1] *A S. I.* Nos. 394–396.

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

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

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

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



Kuccavēli Rock Inscription

TEXT.

1 Anena duḥkhaṁ vyapanīya sarvvaṁ
2 puṇyena lokasya sukhaṁ samagram (।*)
3 dātuṁ prabhur≠jjanmani janmani syāṁ
4 sadā kṣamāvī karuṇānvito' ham (॥*)[1]
5 Puṇyena mārao∪ doṣa ripūn anena
6 jitvā parāṁ samadhigamya jinendratāṁ tām (।*)
7 Saṁsāra-paṁka-visarād≠aham≠uddhareya-
8 -m≠ārttaṁ jagan≠mama mahā-karuṇā-kareṇa (॥*) [2]

TRANSLATION.

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

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

[1] Metre *Upajāti*.
[2] Metre *Vasantatilakā*.

No. 14. ROCK INSCRIPTION AT PAHALA KAYINĀṬṬAMA.

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

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

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

TEXT.[1]

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

TRANSLATION.

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

---

[1] See Plate No. 13, facing p. 165.

No. 15. TWO ROCK INSCRIPTIONS AT VIHĀREGALA.

(*A. S. I.*, Nos. 425–426.)

By S. Paranavitana.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

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

They have been examined by Dr. Müller and included in his *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon* as Nos. 11 and 11[b] [1]. They have also been noticed, under the name Mahakälägamahīnna, in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1893*, p. 7 [2].

INSCRIPTION No. 1.

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

---

[1] Wihāragala, 2½ miles west of Galenbindunuwaewa on the 20th mile of the eastern minor road where it joins the Sipukulama road. Two inscriptions, the first bears the name of King Wasabha, of which, curiously enough, the first syllable is omitted; the second that of Gajabāhu, with the usual genealogy. The tank mentioned in both inscriptions is the Uppaladoṇiya tank and there is also made allusion to Pabbatārāmaya wihāre (*A. I. C.*, p. 28).

[2] Mahakalegamahinna: Two miles from Galenbindunuveva. On the reach of flattish rock are clear signs of the former existence of a large monastery—'*Chakadaraka vihara*' a breached dagaba, pillars of a vihara and other sites of buildings. There is an inscription of eight lines (in reality two inscriptions) legible throughout. The inscriptions belong to '*Wasaba Raja*' and his son (*sic*) *Gamiṇi* ···*a* (Gajabāhu I).

Excepting for two or three letters, the epigraph is in an excellent state of preservation.

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

As regards **grammar,** the words *Satchi* in line 2, and *satchiya* in line 3 furnish us with two uncommon inflexional forms. It is doubtful whether the first form is completely preserved; it being possible that a *ya* has been worn away at the end of the word. In that case, it is identical with the form of the word occurring in line 3. If *satchi* is the correct reading—which is probable as it suits the syntax—it should be taken as the instrumental plural of the stem *sata* (cf. Vedic *śatebhiḥ*, Pāli *satchi*). The form *satchiya* points to the dative plural of the same stem (Skt. *śatebhyaḥ*). This case, in its new form made by adding the particle *aṭa* after the genitive, is used, in the mediaeval and modern Sinhalese, to express the price for which a thing is bought or sold and the expense of getting a task done[1]. Compare the phrase *Mihind aṭ kaḷaňdakaṭ maṭ vikiṇā tibu* ('which Mihind had sold to me for eight *kaḷaňdas*') occurring in a tenth-century inscription at Äppāvaḷa and such expressions as *kahavaṇu dahasaka ṭa gat saḷuva* ('the shawl bought for thousand *kahavaṇus*') and *rupiyal dahayaka ṭa karavū väḍaya* ('work done for ten rupees'). Therefore, it is likely that in the older synthetic stage of the language, too, the dative had this application. In the language of this period, the dative sense is commonly expressed by the analytical method above referred to; but the Sanskritic termination of the true dative is found in an inscription of Bhātika Abhaya at Mōlāhiṭiyavelē gala[2]. And this record now furnishes us with the plural form of the same case. It is noteworthy that this termination, though preserved in Sinhalese of the second century, had already disappeared from Pāli as well as in the Prakrits.

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

---

[1] This case can be used wherever the preposition 'for' is appropriate.

[2] See above p. 153.





Rock Inscriptions at Viharegala



Rock Inscription at Pahala Kayinattama

TEXT [1].

1 Sidha [2]: **Sabaraje Ekadorika** [3]-Viharahi poha-
2 -takara karavaya **Upaladoṇika**-vavi pacasate(hi) [4]
3 **kiṇiya** paca-satehiya pasu ovaya biku-sagah≈aṭaya
4 dine [5]

TRANSLATION [6].

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

INSCRIPTION No. 2.

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

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

---

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

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

[3] Müller reads this as *Cakadaraka*, and Bell, too, follows him. The first letter is clearly an *e*. It will be seen by comparing it with *ca* in ll. 2 and 3 that it is not that letter.

[4] A letter might have been worn away here.

[5] After *dine* there are three more symbols which appear to be *kaḍavi*, inverted and written from the opposite direction.

[6] Müller's translation reads: Hail! King Wasabha repaired the dilapidated buildings at the Cakkadhāraka wihāra and at the Uppaladoṇiya tank: five thousand karīshas and five hundred (he gave) to the priesthood.

Gajabāhu Gāmaṇī Abhaya: and his genealogy is given though not in the stereotyped phrase with which we are familiar from his other inscriptions. It tells us that the king re-granted the **Uppaladoṇika** tank, originally given by King Saba, to the **Ekadvāra** Monastery.

TEXT[1].

1 Sidha[ṃ] **Vahabarajaha** pute **Tisara[je]** Tisarajaha
2 pute **Gamiṇi Aba** raje **Saba** rajaha dinaka **Upala-**
3 **doṇika** vavi pohatakarahi jiṇa poḍavaya biku-sagah≈a-
4 -ṭaya paḍidine .. .. **Ekadoraya** Viharahi .. .. ..

TRANSLATION[2].

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

REMARKS.

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

---

[1] See Plate No. 13 facing p. 165. Müller's text reads:—Siddham. Wahabarajahi patagapara .... Tisarajaha: (2) puti Gamini Abaraji (Wa)saba rajaha dinaka Upala; (3) donika wawi papata kara jina pahawaya para sagaha ta padi dina.

[2] Müller translates as: Hail! (The grandson) of King Wasaba .... the son of King Tisa, King Gamini Abaya, repaired the Uppaladoniya tank which was bestowed (on the temple) by King Wasabha, and gave it to the priesthood.

syllable can be elided to get the form Saba occurring in this record. Therefore, it is clear that the donor of the present grant was not Vasabha. We learn from the second inscription that this grant was confirmed by Gajabāhu I; therefore, the King Saba of this epigraph must be one of the predecessors of the former ruler. Of these, the one who is known from the chronicles by a name almost identical in form to Saba, is Subha, the usurper who killed Yasalālaka-Tissa and reigned for six years till he, in his turn, was deposed by Vasabha[1]. The contents of the inscription also show that Saba, its author, and Subha of the *Mahāvaṁsa* are one and the same person. It records the construction, by this monarch, of the Sabbath Hall of the Ekadorika (P. *Ekadvārika*) Monastery and the grant, for its benefit, of a tank named Upaladoṇika (P. *Uppaladoṇika*, 'Lilydale'), and, we learn from the *Mahāvaṁsa*, that King Subha built the Ekadvāra Vihāra to the east of Anurādhapura[2]. As contemporary documents are more worthy of our credence than literary works written more than three hundred years later and corrupted by a succession of copyists for a period of nearly a millenium and a half, the correct form of this monarch's name should be taken as Sabha and not Subha[3].

[Line 1] *Ekadorika Vihāra*: As it is obvious that the inscription can only refer to the site on which it is, so the ruins at Vihāregala must be the remains of the ancient Ekadvārika Monastery founded or patronized by Sabha. It is stated in the *Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā* that this monastery was situated at the foot of the Ekadvārika hill to the east of Anurādhapura[4]. This description agrees quite well with the situation of Vihāregala. It is to the east of Anuradhapura; and, as has already been stated, the ruins are at the foot of a range of hills, about two miles in length and rising at its highest point to 1,011 feet above sea-level. This range of hills now called Puliyankulam, is, therefore, the ancient Ekadvārika Mountain. The *Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā* has an earlier reference to the Ekadvāra Mountain. Commenting on the fifth verse of the twenty-first chapter of the chronicle, where it is stated that King Sūratissa built a monastery named

---

[1] *Mv.* xxxv, v. 51 ff.

[2] *Mv.* xxxv, v. 58.

[3] For another instance of epigraphical evidence for the corruption that has crept into the spelling of a proper name in the MSS. of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 164, n. 8.

[4] *Anurādhapurato puratthima disābhāge Ekadvārika pabbata mūle Ekadvāra nāmakaṁ vihāraṁ ca kāresi.* (*Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā*, p. 472 of the printed edition; comments on *Mv.* xxxv, v. 58.)

Pācīnapabbata on a hill called Vaṅguttara-pabbata, the scholiast says that Vaṅguttara was on the foot-hills of the Ekadvārika range[1]. Therefore, it follows that the monastery named Pācīnapabbata—one of the earliest to be built in Ceylon—was not far from Vihāregala[2].

[Lines 1–2] *Pohatakara* is a word of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions of the early Christian centuries. It occurs in the Ruvanväli Slab of Gajabāhu I, (*A.I.C.*, No. 5); but has been wrongly read by Müller as *papatakara*. He appears to translate it by 'having strengthened the faith'. In the present record, he seems to translate the word by 'dilapidated buildings'. This word is also met with in an inscription of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa at Debalagala[3]. It has been read by Mr. Bell as *pahatakara* and considered identical with Pāli *uposatha kārikā*, a word found nowhere in the Pāli writings. *Pohatakara*, is a corruption of Pāli *uposathāgāra* (*Vinaya* I, 107, and *Dhammapada* Commentary II, 49) or *uposathaghara*. The change of an intervocalic *ga* or *gha* to *ka* is familiar enough in the dialect of the early inscriptions. Witness *Naka* for *Nāga* and *Sirimeka* for *Śrī Megha*. The phonetic changes noticed in *pohata* (for P. *posatha*) are too common to call for special remarks.

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

[Line 3] *Kiṇiya* = Skt. *kṛṇītvā* from the root *krī* 'to buy'. This root requires the suffix *tvā* to form the gerund; but the form *kiṇiya* points back to

---

[1] *Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā*, Colombo edition of 1894, p. 302.

[2] A rock inscription of a king named Gamiṇi Abaya (possibly Gajabāhu I) from Periyakaḍu vihāra in the Kurunāgala district mentions the donation of a tank to the Ekadorika Monastery.

[3] *A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report*, p. 50 and p. 51, n. 4.

an ungrammatical formation by adding the suffix *ya*, which appertains to a different class of roots. In the modern language, verbs formed from this root are only found with the prefix *vi* attached, e. g. *vikuṇayi*; *kiṇä* in *vikiṇä* is the modern representative of *kiṇiya* in this record.

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

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

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

[Line 4] *Paḍidine* = P. *paṭidinna*.

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

By S. PARANAVITANA.

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

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

1 Santi pa(ncā) śaya(va)nā[ḥ] santi pārā(tma) vañcanā | mātā

Svasti

2 pitā talikkhanti dātave (damayi) kka(maṁ) ||

He considers this to be in mixed Sanskrit and translates it as follows:—'Hail! The mother [and] the father are they who keep off the five desires; they are beyond having illusions regarding the self. They write this [with a view] to offering up (a course of mortification ?)'.

I read this inscription as :

1 Santi pakkhā apathanā,[1] santi pādā [a] vañcanā | mātā

Svasti

2 pitā [ca] nikkhanti [2], jātave [da pa] ṭikkama ||

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

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

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

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

[1] Should be *apatanā*. [2] Should be *nikkhantā*. [3] *Jātaka* i, p. 214.

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

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

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

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

'With wings that fly not, feet that walk not yet,
Forsaken by my parents, here I lie!
Wherefore I conjure thee, dread Lord of fire,
Primaeval Jātaveda, turn! go back!'[1]

---

[1] *Jātaka*, translation, vol. i, p. 90.

No. 17. TŌṆIGALA ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE THIRD YEAR OF ŚRĪMEGHAVARṆṆA.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

ABOUT half a mile to the north of the sixth mile post on the minor road from Vavuniyā to Horovupotāna, just by the boundary line between the Northern and North-Central Provinces, but included within the Kilakkumalai South division of the former province, there is a low flat hummock of gneiss known as Tōṇigala or Nāgaragala[1] on which are to be seen the ruins of a small *stūpa* built of rubble. This has been dug into, probably by treasure seekers, during recent times and now consists of nothing but a shapeless mass of debris. On this rock are two inscriptions; one, about eight feet to the south of the mound, is the record now under discussion, the other, some twenty-five feet to the east, is fragmentary or unfinished and contains only the name of the king, Śrīmeghavarṇṇa, son of Mahāsena[2].

This epigraph has been known to the antiquarians of Ceylon for a period of over four decades. Mr. Henry Parker, writing in 1886, refers to it as 'a fine and interesting rock inscription of Meghavaṇṇa Abhaya II (302–30 A.D.) near the Maniārkuḷam tank'[3]. In 1892, this inscription was copied by Dr. D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, then Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner; and the two records from this place are included as Nos. 34 and 35 in the list of inscriptions contained in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for that year[4]. A very accurate eye-copy, prepared under the supervision of

[1] Strictly speaking, the name Tōṇigala is applicable to a rock, within the Kuñcuṭṭu Kōraḷē of the North-Central Province, about one-eighth of a mile to the east of the site of the inscription. *Tōṇi* (T. தோணி P. *doṇi*) means 'a boat' or 'a trough'; and the name is given to this rock on account of some boat-shaped water-holes which are to be seen there. As such water-holes are very common on rocks in the dry regions of Ceylon, the word Tōṇigala is frequently met with as a place name. Besides the present instance there are three other Tōṇigalas where ancient inscriptions are found. Of these, the best known is the Tōṇigala in the Puttalam District (F 22/35), the Brāhmī inscriptions from which place have been published as No. 1 of Müller's *A. I. C.* The other two are in the North-Central Province, one in the Māminiyā Kōraḷē and the second in Tamankaḍuva. Mr. Bell, in his *Annual Report for 1892*, says that the site of the present inscription is in the Kuñcuṭṭu Kōraḷē; but the Raṭēmahatmayā of Kilakkumalai South informed me that it is within his district. The name Nāgaragala owes its origin to the inscription itself; ancient writings on rock being believed by the villagers to be in the Nāgarī script.

[2] This records reads: *Puvaya Mahasena Maharaja Abayaha puta Sarimekavaṇa Abaya Maharajaha*.....

[3] See Lewis's *Vanni Manual*, p. 313. Maniārkuḷam is a tank near Tōṇigala.

[4] *A. S. C. Annual Report for 1892*, pp. 6 and 8.

Mr. Bell in 1894, is also preserved among the records of the Archaeological Survey. But, beyond ascertaining that it belongs to the reign of Śrīmegha-varṇṇa, no attempt has been made by any of the above-mentioned scholars towards the proper interpretation of this document.

The rock surface has not been made smooth before the writing was executed; and, in consequence of this, the engraver has avoided such parts of the rock as are unsuitable for writing upon. Hence, the area occupied by the inscription is of irregular dimensions and the lines not of a uniform length. The longest lines, 1–4, are each 9½ ft. in length; lines 5–16 are on an average 7 ft. long; and line 17, consisting of only eight letters, 2 ft. The inscription from the first to the last line measures 10 ft. The letters are, on an average, 3 in. in height; but those in the first four or five lines are of a larger size than those in the rest of the record. The first twelve lines are in an excellent state of preservation; the last five lines are somewhat weatherworn; but with the exception of a few letters in line 13, the entire record can be read with certainty.

The script belongs to the latter half of the fourth century; but there are many points in which the present record shows deviations from the prevailing standard at that period. The letters used in Ceylon at that time were gradually assuming rounded forms; but in this inscription, they, as a general rule, are angular. In the vertical strokes of the letters *a*, *k*, *r* and the medial vowel sign for *u*, the upward curve which is universal in the second- and third-century script is not seen here. The vowel *i*, which is not a very common letter in the script of the early centuries of the Christian era, has undergone considerable development and is written here in more than one type (see ll. 5–6, and 8–14). Initial *u* is of an elongated form and is distinguishable from *ra* only by a slight curve towards the right. *E* differs from *va* only by the absence of the short horizontal bar at the top. Two forms of the letter *ga* are found; in the symbol for that letter occurring in line 3, the left arm curves inwards to the right; while the same letter occurring in line 1 and elsewhere ∩ has a short horizontal stroke at this point and is identical in form with the second-century symbol. The archaic angular *ja* is preserved in this record; whereas in other inscriptions of the period, it is curvilinear in form ϵ. So far as I know, this record furnishes the earliest instance of a *ḍha* ᘐ occurring in the writing of Ceylon. A short horizontal stroke extends to the left from the centre of the upright stroke of *ṇa*. This was evidently introduced to differentiate this letter from the dental *na* which, owing to its developing a horizontal stroke at the top, assumed a form which was hardly distinguishable from the former letter. In the script of the fifth and sixth centuries, this central

stroke has been extended to the right. This form of *ṇa*, which was the necessary evolution from the symbol noticed here, became obsolete after the seventh century or thereabouts; and the *ṇa* of the eighth and ninth centuries, which was the prototype of the modern symbol, can be traced back to the form of that letter occurring in the Ruvanvälisäya pillar inscription of the reign of Buddhadāsa[1]. In that record, the differentiation of *ṇa* from *na* has been effected by the curving down of the top bar to the right and left of the central upright stroke. The following illustrations will elucidate the development of this letter from the second century B.C. to the ninth century A.D. and the influence that *na* had on this development.

Pre-Christian script	*ṇa* *na*
First to third centuries A.D.	*ṇa*  *na* 
Tōṇigala inscription	*ṇa* *na*
Fifth and sixth centuries	*ṇa* *na*
Ruvanvälisäya inscription of Buddhadāsa	*ṇa*  *na*
Ṇa of the eighth and ninth centuries	

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

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

Phonology: Vowel Changes:

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

A followed by an *i* or the semivowel *y* in the next syllable changes to *e*, e. g. *legitaka* for Skt. *laṅghitaka*, *veḍha* for P. *vaḍḍhi* (Skt. *vṛddhi*), *peṇi* for P.

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 121.

phāṇita, geṇa for Pkt. *gaṇhiya, ameti* for Skt. *amātya.* In *visiya* for Skt. *viṁśati*, P. *vīsati*, the *a* in the second syllable has been changed to *i* owing to the influence of that vowel in the first syllable. *A* changes to *i* when followed by the semivowel *y*, e. g. *siya* for Skt. *svayaṁ*, P. *sayaṁ*, *miya* for Skt. *madhu* (through an intermediate form **mayu*). *A* followed by the semivowel *v* in the second syllable changes to *o*, e. g. *loṇa* for Skt. *lavana*, *koṭu* for P. *katvā* (Skt. *kṛtvā*). Elision of initial *a* is noticed in *kiṇiya* for *akiṇiya* (Skt. *akṣayanīya*). As examples of this phonetic change in the later language, the following examples may be cited: *nat* far *anat* (Skt. *ananta*), *ya* for Skt. *ayas* and *selu* for Skt. *acela.*

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

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

Intervocalic *g*, *t* and *dh* change to *y*, e. g. *niyama* for Skt. *nigama*, *pavaya* for Skt. *parvvata* and *miya* for Skt. *madhu.* Cerebralization of dentals, owing to the influence of an *ṛ* or *r* either preceding or following, is noticed in *vaṭavi* for Skt. *varttavāi* or *varttave*, *veḍa* for Skt. *vṛddhi*, *vaṭa* for Skt. *vṛtti*, *aṭa* for Skt. *artthaṁ* and *koṭu* for Skt. *kṛtvā.* In the cerebralization of *ṇa* in *loṇa* for Skt. *lavana*, the Sinhalese follows the Pāli.

Ṭ changes to *ḍ* in *pekaḍa* for P. *piṭaka.* The change of *sa* to *ha*, which is common in every stage of the Sinhalese language from the earliest times to the present day, is illustrated by several examples in the present record; for example, *hasa* for Skt. *śasya* and *palaha* for P. *palāsa.* In *ciṭavaya* (Mod. Sin. *siṭuvā*) the root *sthā* changes to *ciṭa.* With this compare the form *ciṭṭhāi* in the Prākrit dialects. (Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, p. 156.) *Ciraciṭati* for Skt. *cirasthiti* occurring in a second-century inscription from Mihintalē (*A. I. C.* No. 20) is an analogous instance. The elision of a whole syllable occurs in *vi* for Skt. *vrīhi* and *di* for Skt. *dadhi.* These two words are identical in form in the modern language and show that in the fourth century Sinhalese, phonetic decay had already made great advance. In the second example, we ought to postulate an intermediate

form *dayi* by the change of the intervocalic *dha* to *ya* to account for the change of the vowel *a* to *i*.

In *ameti* for Skt. *amātya* and *made* for Skt. *madhya*, we notice an example of *samprasāraṇa* of *ya* to *i*. In *akiṇiya* (P. *akkhayaṇīya*) the *ya* has been thus changed to *i* and the preceding vowel *a* has been elided. Metathesis of consonants is noticed in *pekaḍa* for P. *piṭaka*.

As regards **nominal forms**, we have examples of the crude form of the stem used as the accusative singular and the nominative singular of neuter nouns; the instrumental singular ending in *eni* in the word *akiṇiyeni*; the genitive in *ha*, and the locative singular in *hi*. In *devayaha*, the genitive singular does duty for the instrumental expressing the agent. In my article on the Ruvanälisäya pillar of Buddhadāsa, I have drawn attention to this function of the genitive case which is universal in the modern Sinhalese language. This feature is also found in the oldest Pāli[1]. In the phrase *viharahi dina*, the context shows that *viharahi* which is in the locative singular is used in a dative sense. The Pāli equivalent of this phrase would be *vihārassa dinnaṁ*; and it might be possible that the termination *hi* in this instance does not denote the locative; but is a corruption of the genitive suffix *sya* into *si* by *samprasāraṇa* and then to *hi* by the change of *sa* to *ha*. In the Pāli and the Prakrits the genitive does duty for the dative. In *divasa*, the crude form of the stem is used in a locative sense, a feature not uncommon in the modern language.

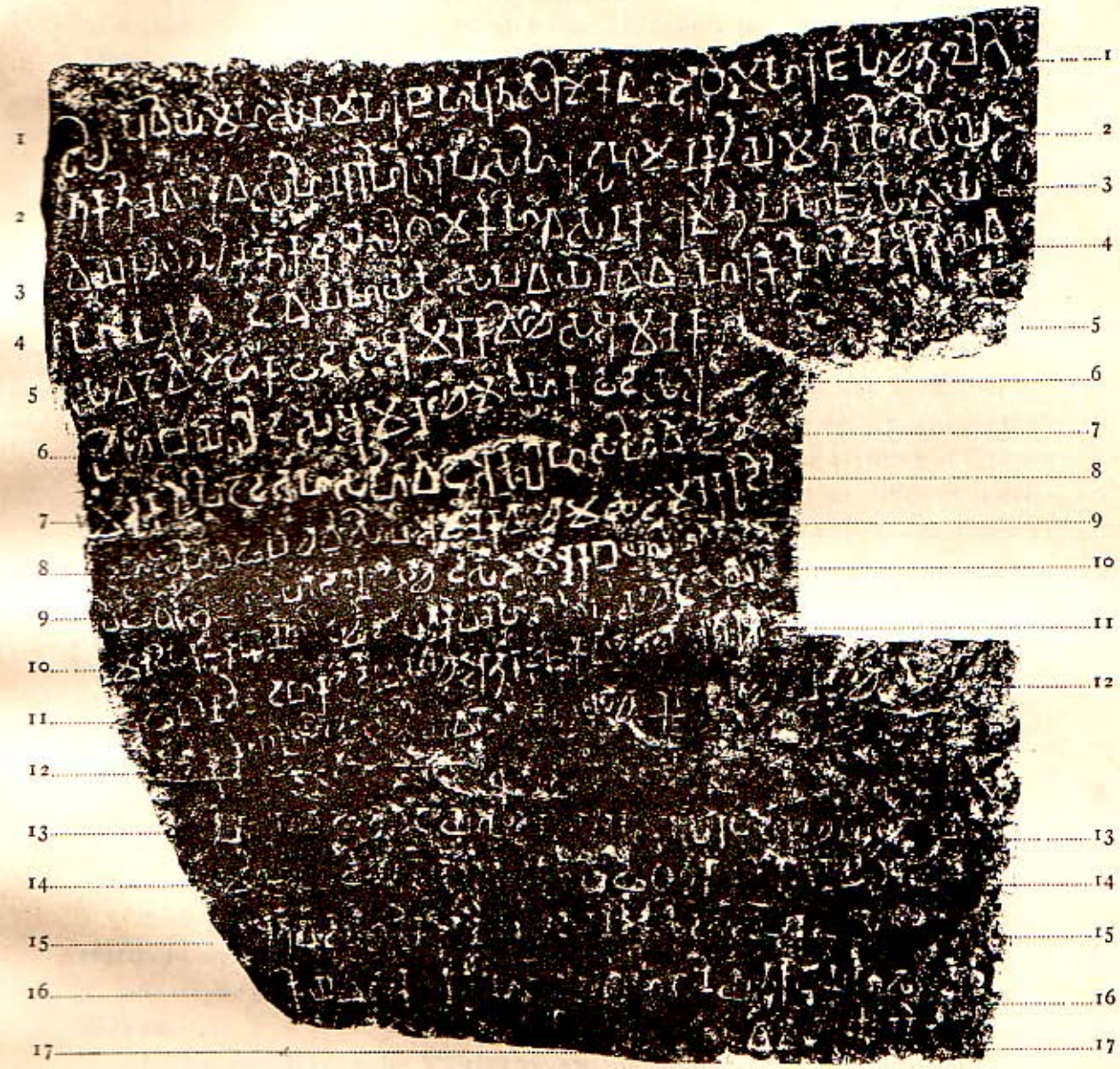
As in other records of the period, the **verbal forms** most frequent in this document are passive past participles, examples of which are *legita*, *nikata*, *dina*, etc. In *dini*, this form is used with the force of a finite verb. Examples of gerunds in this record are *ciṭavaya*, *gena* and *koṭu*.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

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

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

[1] Cf. *Mahāduggatassa dārūnam phāliṭakāle* in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, ii, p. 130; ***Rājassa mānito*** in the *Digha Nikāya*, i, p. 114, and *no puṭṭho* in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii, p. 176.

[2] See above, p. 102.



Tonigala Rock Inscription of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa

Scale about ½ inch to 1 foot

கொழும்பு தமிழ்ச் சங்கம்

நூலகம்

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

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

TEXT.

1. Si [॥*] Puviya **Mahasena**-maharajaha puta **Sarimekavaṇa-Aba**-maharajaha cata legi-
2. -taka tiṇavanaka-vasahi[॥*] Nakarahi utarapasahi **Kaḷahumanaka**-niya-**m**atanahi siya a-
3. -viya ≠ kiṇiyeni nikata **Kaḍubalagamakehi** vasanaka - Ameti-paheja-**Sivaya**-
4. **-ha** puta-**Devayaha Yahisapavaya**-nava-vaherakehi dina ariyava-
5. -sa vaṭavi de hakaḍa dasa amaṇaka vi ica sa amaṇaka
6. udi ica bayali dasa amaṇa ica [॥*] Me de hakaḍa dasa a-
7. -maṇaka vi piṭadaḍa-hasahi veḍa akala-hasahi veḍha ma-
8. -de-hasahi veḍha pacavisiya amaṇaka vi ica me sa amaṇaka udihi
9. veḍha eka amaṇa de pekaḍaka udi ica dasa amaṇaka bayalihi veḍha de a-

[1] *Journal Asiatique for 1900*, pp. 316 ff., 401 ff.

10. -maṇa de pekaḍaka bayali ica [॥*] Me vataka-vaṇahi gahe kiṇiya ciṭa-vaya ve-

11. -ḍha geṇa tiṇaḍa hakaṭa dana-vaṭa ica atarakajaka-vaṭa ica atarakaja-

12. (pari)kara-yapeni ica di[1] miya-vaṭa peṇi tila ica bunatela[2] ica loṇa ica

13. palaha-vaṭa ica veṭayala ica vahera . . ga sara pa . . pacanahi

14. miliya padiya ica [॥*] Meva [taka] veḍhavataka geṇa vanaya va[na]ya

15. atovasahi Nikamaniya-cada puṇamasa doḷasa-paka-divasa

16. [a]riyavasa karana maha-bikusagah≈aṭa niyata koṭu **Yahisapava[ta-**na]-

17. -va-vaherakahi dini [॥*]

TRANSLATION

[Lines 1–2] Hail! In the time of the third year after the raising of the umbrella by the great king **Sirimekavaṇa Aba**[3] son of the great king **Maha-sena**[4].

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

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

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

---

[1] These letters, though not clear enough in the ink-impression, are visible on the stone.

[2] There is a letter *ja* written between the letters *bu* and *na* below the line. If this is an omission supplied, the correct reading ought to be *bujanatela*.

[3] P. *Siri Meghavaṇṇa Abhaya*. [4] P. *Mahāsena*.

[5] For the interpretation of these terms of capacity see below, p. 183.

[6] Modern Sinhalese *uṅdu*, a species of flemingia.

butter (?), salt, green herbs, and turmeric should be given at the refectory of the monastery, . . .

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

REMARKS.

[Line 1] *Puviya.* This word occurs before the regnal date in many inscriptions of the third to fifth centuries. As it occurs immediately preceding the name of the king, it has been taken to be a royal epithet and has been rendered 'Elder' or 'Senior', deriving it from Skt. *pūrvīya* or *pūrvaja*[1]. According to this interpretation, if it is taken to mean seniority of birth, it is quite inappropriate to both the monarchs of whom it is supposed to have been a title. In the Tammannekanda inscription we read, *puvaya Maḷu-Tisa maharajaha cata lagita sata avanaka vasahi*[2]. In this phrase, *puvaya Maḷu-Tisa* has been translated 'Maḷu-Tisa the Senior'. But Maḷu-Tisa was the younger of the two sons of Mahallaka Nāga, and his very name contains the word *maḷu* (younger brother) indicative of this fact. The same objection applies, if *puviya* of the present record is taken as an epithet of Mahāsena, as he, too, was the younger of two brothers. As has already been stated, *puvaya* occurs immediately before the enumeration of the details of dates; and as dates, in the early inscriptions, are invariably in regnal years, this word precedes the king's name, thereby making it appear as a royal title. The word is never found before the name of a king when it is not introduced for the purposes of dating[3]. The Prākrit words *puvāya* and *puvāya* or their Sanskrit equivalent *pūrvvāyāṁ*, are found similarly used in the early inscriptions of India; but with this difference that, whereas, in Ceylon inscriptions, the word in question comes before the details of the date, in Indian records it is used after and is introduced by the pronoun *etaya* or *etasyāṁ*. For instance, inscription No. 15 from Nāsik has *Ābhīrasy=Eśvara-senasya saṁvatsare navame . . . mhapakhe chothe 4 divasa trayadasa 13 . . . ya puvaya.* 'In the ninth year of

[1] *A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report*, pp. 48 and 55. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[3] For purposes of comparison, I give extracts from other inscriptions containing the word *puvaya* in addition to those quoted above: An inscription at Kāraṁbagala reads: *puvaya Mapurumaka Mahasena Maharaja puta Sarimekavaṇa . . . raja apayaha . . . visita vanaka vasahi Bagu cada puṇa masa, etc.* The Habarana inscription (*A.I.C.*, No. 61) has *puvaya sa avanaka vasahi* without mentioning a king's name. An inscription at Ätinnavätunagaḷa reads: *puvaya Mahasena maha . . . legitaka dasa avanaka vasahi Vesaka cada puṇamasa dasapaka divasa.*

king Īśvarasena, the Ābhira . . . on the thirteenth—13th—day of the fourth—4th—fortnight of summer, on the above'[1]. In inscription No. 25 from the same place, we read, *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa sāmi Siri-Pulumāisa saṁvachhare 2 hemanta pakhe 4 divase . . . etiya puvāya*, etc. 'On the 6th (or 8th) day of the 4th fortnight of winter, in the year 2 of the king, the lord Siri Pulumāi, son of Vāsiṭhi, on the above. . .'[2]. Inscription No. 14 of Kārlē contains the phrase *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Sāmisiripulumāyisa savachhare satame 7 gimha pakhe pachame 5 divase pathame 1 etaya puvāya.* 'In the seventh—7th—year of the king lord Siri Puḷumāyi, son of Vāsiṭhi, in the fifth—5th—fortnight of summer, on the first—1st—day, on the above. . .'[3]. In a Sārnāth inscription of Kaṇishka, the date is given as *Mahārajasya Kaṇishkasya Saṁ 3 be 3 di 22 etaye pūrvaye.* 'In the 3rd year of Mahārāja Kaṇishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above'[4]. Different variations of the word are found in the Jain inscription from Mathurā published in *Ep. Ind.* vol. ii, p. 195 ff. The words *etaya puvaye*, its Prākrit variants and its Sanskrit equivalent *etasyāṁ pūrvāyāṁ*, occurring in the extracts quoted and in various other published inscriptions have been rendered 'this above' and the word 'date' understood. This mode of interpretation is quite natural as, in the Indian inscriptions, the word *puvaya* and its variants always follow the date. But, since the Ceylon inscriptions invariably place the word *puvaya* or *puviya* before the words expressing the date, the above interpretation does not seem to be tenable. Some of the Jain inscriptions from Mathurā substitute the phrase *asma kṣuṇe* in the place where other inscriptions would have *etasya puvaya*[5]. An inscription on an image pedestal from Mathurā has *asmiṁ divase* in the corresponding position[6]. A part of an inscription from Nagarī in Rajputana, quoted by Prof. D. R. Bhandakar, reads: *Kṛtesu caturṣu varṣa-śateṣu ekāśīty-uttareṣv-asyām Mālava-pūrvvāyāṁ 400 80 1 Kārttika-śukla-pañcamyāṁ*[7]. In this inscription, the word *purvvāyāṁ* occurs after the enumeration of the years in words but before the other details of the date, thus proving that the rendering of that word by 'above' is not valid. The substitution, in some inscriptions, of *kṣuṇa* 'moment' and *divasa* 'day' for *puvaya* shows that the latter word, too, must be of kindred meaning. If we interpret the word as 'date' or 'time', it suits all the different contexts in which it occurs. By analogy with the Indian records, it ought to be considered that *puviya* in our

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, pp. 88–9. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. viii, pp. 94–5. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 61.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. viii, p. 176. [5] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 202–3. [6] *Ibid.*, vol. xix, p. 97.
[7] *Bhandarkar Memorial Volume*, p. 192. Prof. Bhandarkar's interpretation of *pūrvvā* is different from that adopted here.

record is in the genitive or locative case and that the stem is *puvi* or *puvā*. Though its meaning is beyond doubt, it is difficult to suggest an etymology of the word. In my opinion, it has no connexion with Skt. *pūrvva*, meaning 'before'. Perhaps *puvā* or *puvi* was a Prākrit form of the Skt. word *parvvan* (period) and was later Sanskritized into *pūrvvā*.

[Line 2] *Tiṇavanaka*. Modern Sinhalese *tunvana*. *Vanaka* occurs in earlier records as *avanaka*. Mudaliyar B. Gunasekera takes this to be a derivative of Skt. *āpanna*[1].

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

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

[Line 3] *Aviyakiṇiyeni*, the instrumental singular of *aviya-akiṇiya* (Skt.

[1] *A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report*, p. 48, n. 9.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[3] Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 122.

avyaya akṣayaṇīya). Compare the term *akṣayanīvī* in Indian inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.* vol. xv, p. 131 n. 8).

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

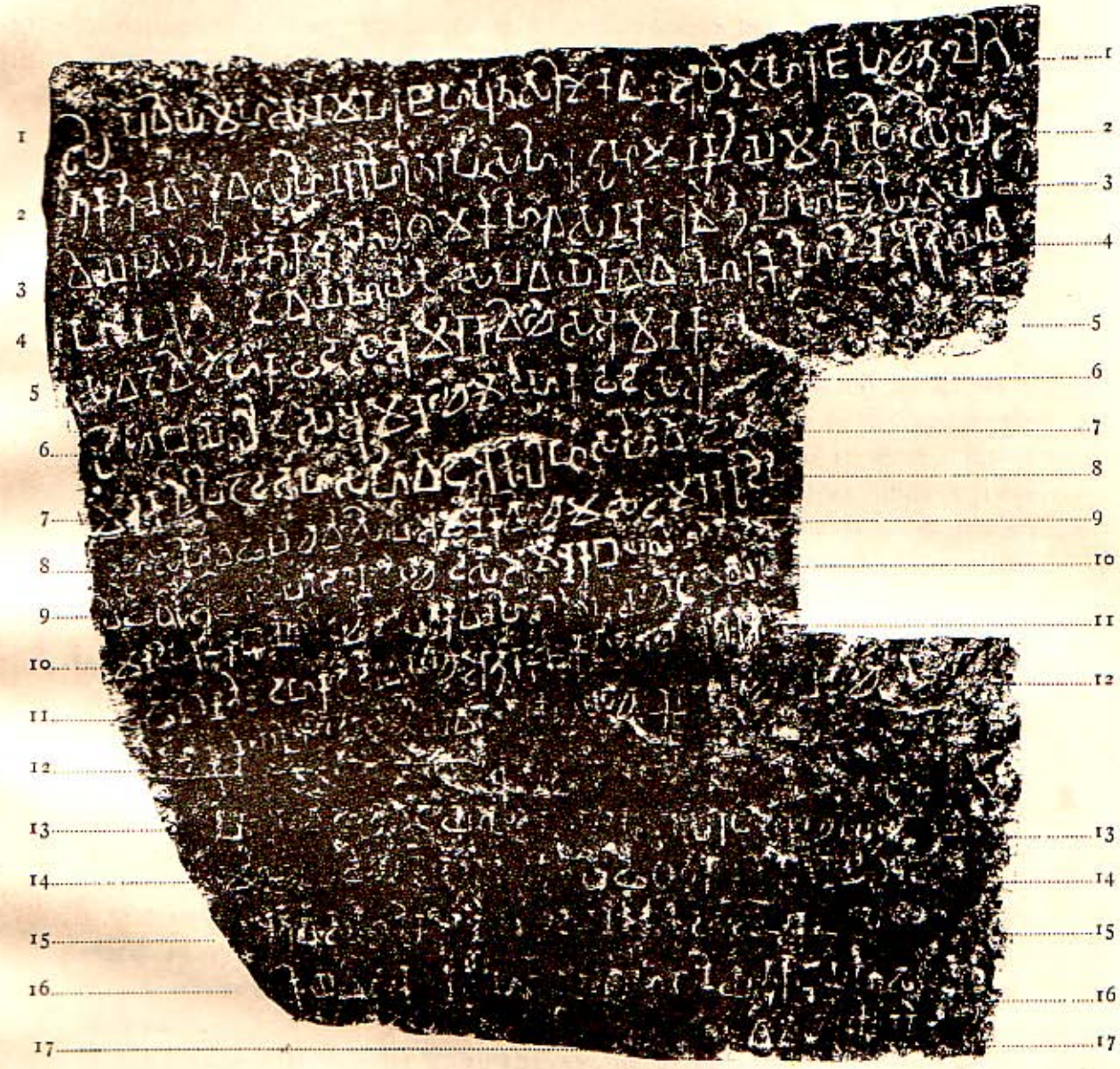
[Line 3] *Paheja*. This appears to be a title rather than a proper name. In a fragmentary inscription at Puvarasankuḷam near Mihintaḷē we read of two persons named Saga Paheja and Paheja Sivaya. *Paheja* is probably a corruption of Skt. *pārṣadya* (P. *pārisajja*) through a Prākrit form ***pāsajja***.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

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

Ariyavasa may be derived from P. *ariyavāsa*, *ariyavaṁsa*, or *ariyavassa*. The first of these means 'holy dwelling' and this meaning is scarcely suitable in the context in which it is used in the present record. The word *ariyavaṁsa* occurs in the 38th verse of the 36th chapter of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, *Ariyavaṁsakathāṭhāne Laṁkādīpe 'khile pi ca dānavaṭṭaṁ paṭṭhapesi saddhamme gāravena so*. 'For the occasions when the Ariyavaṁsa was read he decreed over the whole island a regular giving of alms, from reverence to the true doctrine.' Prof. Geiger thinks that the *ariyavaṁsa* mentioned in this stanza was a book containing the life-histories of men eminent in the Buddhist Church[1]. The *Rasavāhinī* also testifies to the fact that a sermon called the *ariyavaṁsa* was delivered once a year in some monasteries of Ceylon. In the third story of the second part of that book, we read: *Sihaladīpe Mahāgāme aneka-bhikkhu-satāvāso Mahāvāpivihāro nāma ahosi. Tāsmiṁ kāle tattha anusaṁvaccharaṁ ariyavaṁsadhammadesanā pavattati*[2]. ('In Mahāgāma in the island of Ceylon, there was a monastery, named Mahāvāpi, which was the dwelling-place of many hundreds of

[1] *Mahāvaṁsa*, Geiger's translation, p. 258, n. 6.

[2] *Rasavāhinī*, Colombo edition of 1899, p. 4.



Tonigala Rock Inscription of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa

Scale about ½ inch to 1 foot

கொழும்பு தமிழ்ச் சங்கம்

நூலகம்

monks. At that time, the religious discourse named the Ariyavaṁsa[1] was delivered there every year'.) According to this statement, the Ariyavaṁsa was publicly read once every year; and our inscription also tells us that the *ariyavasa* ceremony was performed at the Yahisapavata monastery once every year during the rainy season. The verb *vaṭavi* occurring after *ariyavsa* in line 4 is in agreement with *pavattati* used in this connexion in the *Rasavāhinī*. But in line 16, the verb *karana* occurring after *ariyavasa* is inappropriate if the public recital of a sacred text is meant. Besides, it is mentioned in the same place that the *ariyavasa* ceremony was performed by the whole congregation; whereas the recital of the sacred text would necessarily have been done by one single monk. We have now to consider the third proposed derivation from *ariyavassa*. In Pāli, the word *vassa* means rain, and is very often used in a secondary sense connoting the annual retreat of the monks during the rainy season. If *vasa* in *ariyavasa* is considered a derivative of Pāli *vassa* used in this sense, the word would mean 'the holy *vassa* (retreat)'. It is probably in this sense that *ariyavasa* is used here, though the verb *karana* that follows it does not seem to be quite appropriate.

[Line 5] *Hakaḍa*. This word is derived from P. *sakaṭa* which originally meant 'a cart'; but also has the secondary meaning of a measure of capacity, i. e. as much as would be contained in one cartload. *Sakaṭa* is the same as the Sinhalese *yahaḷa* or *yāḷa*; for, the phrase *sakaṭa sahassa mattaṁ* occurring in the *Jātaka* I, 467 has been rendered *dāsak yāḷa* in the fourteenth-century Sinhalese translation of that work[2]. Not only in meaning, but etymologically, too, the two words are identical. By the change of intervocalic *k* to *y* and by the metathesis of the two consonants *h* and *y*, *hakaḍa* changes to *yahaḍa*, a form found in the Burutankanda inscription of about the fifth or sixth century. The form *yahaḷa*, a further corruption of *yahaḍa*, is found in the tenth-century inscription from Äppāvala given below. *Vāha* is another word which has the same significance as *sakaṭa*. It may be convenient to deal here with the other terms of capacity occurring in this inscription. *Sakaṭa* was the highest term in this system of measurement with which we are familiar from Pāli writings. It was divided into

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

[2] Sinhalese *Jātaka*, Colombo, 1924, p. 275.

twenty *ammaṇas*, a word occurring in Tamil as *ammaṇam*, in modern Sinhalese as *amuṇa* and in the present record as *amaṇa* (l. 5). The Pāli word *ammaṇa* has also the meaning of 'a trough' and it may be presumed that an *ammaṇa* measure was originally as much as could be held in a wooden trough used for storing grains, &c. According to the modern and mediaeval usage in Ceylon, an *amuṇa* is subdivided into four *pāḷas*. The word equivalent to *pāḷa* in our inscription is *pekaḍa* (l. 9). This seems to have been derived from the Pāli *piṭaka* which is used in the *Petavatthuaṭṭhakathā* as the name of a measure of capacity [1]. The metathesis of consonants noticed in the change of *piṭaka* to *pekaḍa* was doubtless caused by the analogy of *hakaḍa* with which this term must have been constantly associated. The modern word *pāḷa* is derived from *pekaḍa* through an intermediate form **peyaḷa*. The phonetic changes by which *pekaḍa* is transformed to *pāḷa*; namely, the change of *ka* to *ya*, *ḍa* to *ḷa* and *e* to *ä* are familiar enough in the Sinhalese language [2]. The original meaning of the word *piṭaka* was 'basket'; and this term, therefore, must have had its origin in a 'basketful' just as *sakaṭa* originally meant a 'cartload' and *ammana* 'a troughful'. These three terms are instructive as to the way in which the measures of capacity used in ancient India and Ceylon had their origin. In primitive times commodities like grain were bought and sold in such natural terms of measurement as a 'cartload', a 'basketful', a 'handful', &c. These, of course, could not have had the precise value at every place and occasion in which they were used, and a considerable amount of uncertainty must have prevailed in the transaction of business. When the organization of society was more developed, and with the increase of trade, the precise values of these primitive terms of measurement were standardized and the relation which each of them bore to the other was fixed.

[Line 5] *Vi* = Skt. *vrīhi*, P. *vīhi*, modern Sinhalese *vī* 'paddy'.

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

[Line 6] *Bayali* occurs in the classical Sinhalese literature in the form of *biyali*, both alone and in conjunction with *muṅgu* (Skt. *mudga*) in the word *muṅbiyali*. It also occurs in the Eppāvala inscription [3]. I take it as a derivative of P.

---

[1] P. T. S. edition, p. 254. *doṇehi piṭakehi mānabhājanehi matāni viya.* The word *pīṭhaka* was used as a term of grain measurement in ancient India. An inscription of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena IV describes a field as *vrihi dvi pīṭhaka vāpa* (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xv, p. 340).

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

[3] See below, p. 193.

bidala which occurs in the *Jātaka* (IV. 352) and is explained by the commentator as *mudga*.

[Lines 7–8] *Piṭadaḍa hasa, akala hasa, made hasa.* In these three words, *hasa* stands for Pāli *sassa* (Skt. *śasya*) and means 'harvest' or 'crop'. From these terms, it becomes apparent that in ancient Ceylon there were three crops of paddy during the year, just as there are to-day in the villages of the North-Central Province where fields are irrigated by means of tanks and do not depend on the uncertain rainfall. Of the names of the three crops occurring in this inscription, two can be identified with their modern equivalents. *Akala* (from Skt. *akāla*, 'out of season')[1] is the crop now known as *yala*. The modern name is derived from its fourth-century prototype by the change of *ka* to *ya* and the elision of the initial vowel *a*. The *yala* crop is sown at the time of the south-west monsoon which, for these parts of Ceylon, brings only a small quantity of rain. The principal harvest of the year in all parts of Ceylon is now known as *māha*, a word which is a contraction of **maha-hasa* ; and is sown during the north-east monsoon. The name corresponding to this in the present inscription is *piṭadaḍa*. There is no doubt that the word stands for *māha* as its being first mentioned points to it as the principal harvest of the year. I am unable to explain the origin of this word ; and, so far as I have been able to observe, it does not seem to have left any trace in the language of the modern agriculturist in Ceylon. The third crop called *made* in this inscription is still known as *mäda* ('middle' from Skt. *madhya*) and is so called because it intervenes between the two major harvests. It is the least important of the three ; and, in many a year when the tanks are not full, is altogether neglected. This crop is not known in many districts of Ceylon, including the greater part of the low country, where the cultivation of paddy depends entirely on the rainfall.

[Line 7] *Veḍha* or *veḍa*, is derived from Skt. *vṛddhi*, (P. *vaḍḍhi*) and means 'interest'. The word occurs in several other records of this period as well as in earlier ones ; for instance, in the Labuäṭabäṅdigala inscription quoted above and in a record from Koṭaveheragala published by Mr. Bell in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. iii, p. 206. In these two instances, the word is used in connexion with the interest on money. The word *vaṭṭam*, now used at times in the same sense, is derived from the same source through Tamil. The word now in ordinary use

[1] Mr. Codrington informs me that in Jaffna the principal harvest is known as *kāla pōkam* whereas the one corresponding to the Sinhalese *yala* is known as *sirupōkam*.

to denote interest is *polī* which comes from the Tamil root *poli* 'to increase'. The interest on two *hakaḍas* and ten *amaṇas* i. e. fifty *amaṇas* of paddy was twenty-five *amaṇas*. Therefore, in the fifth century, the rate of interest on paddy was fifty per cent. per annum; the amount being collected during the three crops of the year. Whether it was equally distributed at all the three crops or a greater proportion was collected at the more important harvest and whether any remission was made in the case of the failure of a crop are points that cannot be settled. Even to-day, among the villagers, the rate of interest on paddy continues to be the same. The interest on beans works out to be twenty-five per cent. per annum.

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

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

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

[Line 11] *Geṇa* occurs in the same form in the modern language. It is the past participle of the root corresponding to Skt. *gṛh* 'to receive'. Cf. Pkt. *gaṇhiya.*

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

[Line 11] *Dana-vaṭa* = P. *dāna-vaṭṭaṁ* 'alms'. Here the word is used to mean not 'alms' in general, as the different constituents of the alms given to the monks are given in detail. The context shows that the word is used to denote 'boiled rice'. A faint trace of the medial vowel sign for *o* is noticeable above *d.* If this is not a natural crack on the stone the correct reading ought to be *dona-vaṭa* which would be the Sinhalese form of the Pāli *odana-vaṭṭaṁ* 'boiled rice'. In Pāli *vaṭṭa* is used in conjunction with *dāna* only; But in this inscription it is used after such words as *atarakajaka, miya, palaha,* &c. With the statement in this record that $2\frac{1}{2}$ *hakaṭas* of boiled rice should be given to the monks, compare the *Mahāvaṁsa*, ch. xlviii, v. 34 where it is said that a certain king gave ten *ammaṇas* of alms at the Mahāpāḷī.

[Line 11] *Atarakajaka* is equivalent phonetically to P. *antarakhajjaka.* This word is not given in the dictionaries, but is found in the *Sutta Nipāta*

Commentary (P.T.S. edition, p. 104)[1]. From the context in which the word occurs, it becomes clear that the *antarakhajjaka* was a meal taken before noon and after the morning gruel. The word also occurs in the *Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā* (p. 375) and the *Jātaka* I, 395. In the last named instance, the printed text has *antare khajjakaṁ*.

[Lines 11–12] *Atarakaja-parikara-yapeni*. The reading *parikara* is doubtful. If the present reading is acceptable, *parikara* may be derived from P. *parikkhāra* 'requisite'. For this word which occurs in the *Dīgha Nikāya* I, 128, *parivāra* is substituted in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (I, 297) showing that the two words are synonymous. In the *Vimānavatthu* Commentary *parivāra* denotes dishes taken with gruel[2]. Therefore, *parikara* in the present record seems to have the same connotation. *Yapeni* is phonetically equivalent to P. *yāpanī*. There is no such form given in the dictionaries, but *yāpana* means 'sustenance'. *Yapeni*, therefore, may be interpreted as 'food', 'dishes' or 'meals'. The whole compound *atarakaja-parikara-yapeni* would then mean 'subsidiary dishes taken at *atarakaja*'.

[Line 12] *Di* = Skt. *dadhi*; Mod. Sin. *dī*. *Miya* = Skt. *madhu*; Mod. Sin. *mī*. *Peṇi* = P. *phāṇita*; Mod. Sin. *päṇi*. *Bunatela* is difficult to explain. I have taken it to be an earlier form of the word *duntel* used in the modern language; assuming that the change of the initial labial to the corresponding dental has been due to the following dentals. *Loṇa* = Skt. *lavana*.

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

[1] *Yāguṁ pāyetvā antarakhajjakādiṁ ca khādāpetvā yāva majjhantikasamayaṁ tena saddhiṁ samullāpitvā nagaraṁ pavisati.*

[2] *Yāgum sampādetvā tassa parivāra bhāvena annañ ca bhojanaṁ paṭiyādetva* (P. T. S. edition, p. 185).

roots (of the colour) of yellow sanders'. According to this derivation, the form of the word found in the *Saddharmmaratnāvalī* (*circa* thirteenth century) is of a distinctly more archaic nature than *veṭayala* of the present record.

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

[Line 15] *Atovasa* = Pāli *antovassa*. Classical Sinhalese *ätavasa*.[1]

Nikamaniya = Mod. Sin. *Nikinni*. The word *cada* (Skt. *candra*) in the inscriptions of this period means month. Compare, for example, *Baṣa cada*, *Biḍaracada*, &c. Its ninth-century form is *sand*; Cf. *Nikinni Sand*, *Mädin Sand*, &c.

Puṇa masa = P. *puṇṇa māsa*.

No. 18. TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM EPPĀVAḶA.

By S. PARANAVITANA

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

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

[1] *Dharmmapradīpikā*, Colombo edition of 1915, p. 192.

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

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

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

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

[1] Colombo edition of 1925, p. 149.

dāmuṇak by the author of the *Saddharmmaratnāvalī*[1]. According to this, half a *karīsa* (*kiri*) is two *amuṇas*, therefore one *kiri* is the same as four *amuṇas*. Thus a *paya*, which is one-fourth of a *kiri*, is shown to be equivalent to an *amuṇa* (sowing extent) according to the present day usage. The English equivalent of an *amuṇa* of paddy field cannot be exactly ascertained; but Clough gives it as from two to two and a half acres[2]. The price paid, in the tenth century, for this extent of rice field was eight *kaḷaňdas* of gold. A *kaḷaňda*, according to Mr. Codrington, is a weight equivalent to 70–72 grains of Troy[3].

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

TEXT.

1 . . . . . .
2 . . . . . havu-
3 -ruduyehi Nikimniyä pura ti-
4 -yaväkä **Ukuṇuhusu Kottämi Ve-**
5 **-latme Mihindu** aṭ kaḷandakaṭ maṭ vi
6 -kiṇä tibū **Galamburu käräyehi** e-
7 -k payak isā mā atin vi poliya-
8 -ṭ dun de kaḷandak ätuḷuvä dasa ka-
9 -ḷandak ran **Pa(ma)gulu** arämä piḷima-ge-
10 -hi [ma]haboyä davaspatā gähum no-
11 -van de patak sāle bat pudā me
12 bat vas-aturu no illā vasag vi ma-
13 . . veḷin povanu koṭ isā me bataṭ
14 dihiyaṭ mipak isā pud-asene viya-
15 -naṭ divelaṭ koṭ vi-poliyaṭ dun ran
16 de kaḷandak isā meknaṭ mal pud-asane ba-
17 -da . . . . . koṭ me kusal bambadesen
18 saṅgun vāpārayan pavatvanu koṭ i-
19 -sā me no ilvā väradavuva tiratnaye
20 käḷal kaḷāha [॥*] Maha-Mete budurädayehi
21 nūpadanāhayi [॥*]

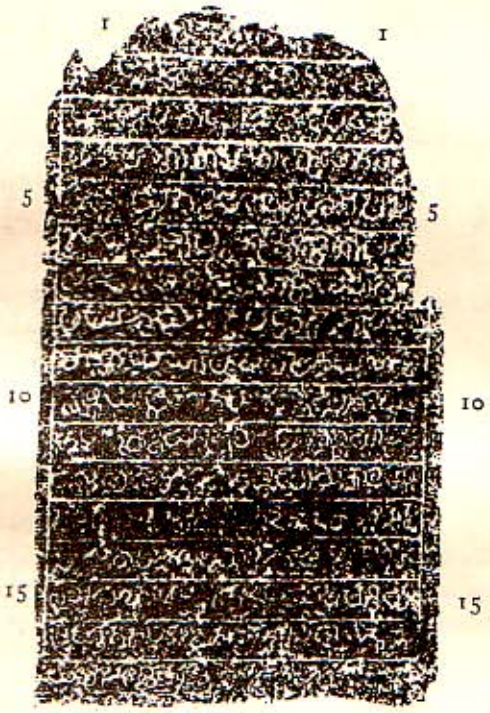
---

[1] Colombo edition of 1925, p. 791.
[2] Mr. Codrington informs me that it is equivalent to one acre in the Uva Province.
[3] *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 9.



Inscription No. 120

A



B



Inscription No. 107

Eppāvala Inscriptions

Scale about 1⅓ inches to 1 foot

TRANSLATION.

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

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

---

[1] In this, *Kottā* (possibly equivalent to Sanskrit *Ketu*) is the personal name, and Ukuṇuhusu the name of a village. As regards the first personal termination, see above p. 189.

[2] *Paya*, Skt. *pāda* 'one-fourth', see above, p. 189.

[3] This evidently is the name of a tract of paddy fields. With the word *käräyehi*, compare *käräkumbur* in the Mihintalē Slab Inscription (*E. Z.*, I, p. 93). The word *kärä*, I think, is identical with Skt. *kārya*, P. *kāriya* and means 'service'. Thus *kärä* fields would be those held under the service tenure system.

[4] ***Mā atin***, literally means 'from my hand'.

[5] ***Gähum no van***, literally 'not cracked'. Rice is of three kinds; namely, that in which the grains are not broken in the process of pounding (*mulsāl*); that broken into larger pieces (*kaḍasāl*) and that broken into small fragments (*sunsāl*). The first variety is the best and that intended here. (See *Jātaka*, vi, p. 366, where the terms used are: *mūla taṇḍūla*, *majjhima taṇḍūla* and *kaṇikā*.) Compare the phrase *akhaṇḍa pariśuddhānāṁ vā taṇḍūlānām prastham*. (*Arthaśāstra*, Jolly's edition, p. 57.)

[6] This may also mean 'examined or investigated'. For this meaning of the word *illanu* or *ilvanu*, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 251, n. 6.

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

[8] ***Mipak***, Skt. *madhuparka*.

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

[10] *Pudasana*, Skt. *pūjāsana*.

[11] The text here is defective and it is not possible to determine the meaning of this sentence.

[12] *Bambadesa*, Skt. *brahmadeya*, Pāli *brahmadeyya*. The Pāli form occurs in the *Dīgha Nikāya*,

and by the merchants[1]. [Those concerned] who, not demanding this [at the proper time], cause hindrance are [like unto] those causing stain[2] to the three Jewels. They will also not be born in the kingdom of the Great Maitreya the Buddha[3].

INSCRIPTION No. 107.

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

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

---

i. 87, where it means 'a most excellent gift', 'land granted by the king with full powers'. In Indian inscriptions of a later period, it meant gifts of lands made to Brāhmaṇas. In South Indian inscriptions, it sometimes assumes the form of *brahmadesa* with which our form is connected. In the *Amāvatura*, chap. iv (p. 81 of Richard de Silva's edition), this word, though found in all manuscripts consulted by the editor in the form of *baṁbadesa*, has been changed into *baṁbadeya*. The present inscription and the form *brahmadesa* which was current in South India show that the manuscripts, in this case, were not corrupt. The etymologically more correct form of *bambadeya* is found in an inscription of the ninth century from Vāṅduruppē Vihāra. In all the other known examples, *brahmadeya* is associated with a gift of land and not to a money gift as in the present case.

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

[2] *Kāḷal* used in the modern language in the same sense. What it is derived from, I am not certain.

[3] The hope of meeting the future Buddha Maitreya is the ultimate aim of all Buddhists in Ceylon. Failure to be born in the dispensation of Maitreya is a great spiritual calamity. Hence this imprecation here. A similar imprecation is found in an inscription from Kaḷupokuṇa in the Mātaḷē District where it is said that any one acting so as to cause harm to the charity in question will not raise his hands in adoration even were the Great Buddha Maitreya to pass by his door. (*Mahamete Sammā Sambudun dǫrin yat at nonägiya henu koṭ.*)

a long vowel being shortened and an *h* introduced after it for compensation[1]. But the reading, as well as the interpretation, is open to doubt here.

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

TEXT.

A.

1 .....
2 .....
3 -yä ava tiyavak davas
4 ..... nā privenä vä-
5 -ḍä vasana mahasaṅgun vaha-
6 -nse kere pähädä me avasä
7 bad Sāgama (sihimāyehi) väḍä
8 vasana saṅgnaṭ Mahid Agbo-
9 -hi dun sasara(pä)ḍi vi ek yahaḷa-
10 -k isā luṇu de pāḷak isā biyali
11 de pāḷak isā und ek pāḷak isā puva-
12 -k bulat de akak isā satalaye-
13 -n miris de aki sunu paddak ätuḷu
14 vä me tuvāk dā saṅg sämäṅgin
15 balā genä havurudde väsä Vap masä
16 pavārannaṭ vaḍanā peraṭ mehi vusū
17 saṅgun me siyatin ma

B.

Lines 1–7 worn away.
8 ..... kaḍakaṭ no
9 himivanu isā
10 Mūlāvāsaye-
11 -hi saṅgun
12 me siyatin ka-
13 -ranu koṭ isā
14 no kaḷa ratnatra-
15 -ye käḷäl kaḷa ve-
16 -t [॥*] Me se saṅg
17 sämäginyä [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

[Lines A 1–3]. On the third day of the dark half of [the month]. . . .

[Line A 4–13]. Mahid Agbohi[2], having been pleased with the great congregation [of monks] residing at the ..... pirivena[3], gave to the congregation residing within the boundary[4] of Sāgama connected with this residence, one

[1] As other examples for this phonetic change may be cited *kehel* for *kēl*, (plantains) Skt. *kadalī* and *keheli* for Skt. *ketu*. This may also be an example of false restoration.

[2] P. *Mahinda Aggabodhi*. [3] The name of the *pirivena* is almost completely obliterated.

[4] *Sihimāyehi*. The reading is doubtful.

yahaḷa[1] of *sasarapāḍi*[2] paddy; two *pāḷas*[3] of salt, two *pāḷas* of pulse[4]; one *pāla* of *undu*[5], two *akas*[6] of areca and betel nuts two *akas* of sesame and chillies[7]; and one *padda*[8] of chunam.

[Lines A 14–17]. The aforesaid things should be taken care of[9] by the congregation [acting] in unison[10]; and, [every] year, before starting for the *pavāraṇa*[11] ceremony in the month of Vap after the expiry of the retreat (*vassa*), the members of the congregation who had spent their retreat here should (receive?[12]) this with their own hands.

.. ..

[Lines B 8–17]. Should not be the possessor of a cloth[13]. The congregation of the Principal Residence (*Mūlāvāsa*) should do this with their own hands. 'Should they not do so, they will cause blemish to the three Jewels[14].

The congregation in unity [has laid down] thus[15].

---

[1] A measure of capacity, P. *sakaṭa*, modern *yāḷa*, see above p. 183.

[2] I am unable to explain this word. Perhaps it was the name of a particular variety of paddy.

[3] A measure of capacity still in current use in the villages. From P. *piṭaka*, *pekaḍa* in the Tōṇigala record. See above p. 184.

[4] *Biyali* from Pāli *bidala*.

[5] *Undu*, a species of flemingia, is a crop which is still grown in some villages in Ceylon. In the early days it seems to have been regularly cultivated. The etymology of the word is doubtful.

[6] A weight equal to two and a half *māsakas*. See Rhys Davids, *Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 14, and *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, v. 479.

[7] *Sa talayen miris*: I take this phrase to be equivalent to Pāli *satilena maricam* 'chillies with sesame'. It is doubtful whether a mixture of the two stuffs are intended here.

[8] A measure of capacity, Skt. *prastha*.

[9] *Balāgenā* lit. 'having seen and taken'.

[10] *Saṅg sāmāgin* = P. *Saṁghena samaggena*. Any act of the Order without having concord among them is not valid.

[11] The ceremony at the end of the *vassa* retreat. For rules concerning it, see *Mahāvagga*, chap. iv, *Pavāraṇā Khaṇḍhakam* (Oldenberg's *Vinaya Texts*, vol. i, pp. 157–178).

[12] The text here is defective.

[13] Owing to the fragmentary nature of the text, the sense of the sentence is not quite clear. Possibly it is concerned with an imprecation. *Kaḍa* means a 'cloth'. See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 29, n. 5.

[14] Buddha, Dhamma and the Saṅgha. Compare the imprecation at the end of the preceding record.

[15] Literally, 'Thus, it is, by the *saṅgha* in unison'. This record is an example of a *saṁghakamma* which to be valid should be performed by the congregation without any discord.

No. 19. GĀRAṆḌIGALA ROCK INSCRIPTION OF KASSAPA III.

(*A. S. I.* No. 451)

By S. PARANAVITANA

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

Dr. Müller, in his *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, mentions the records from Gāraṇḍigala, but gives neither their text nor translation. His description of the site and the inscriptions runs: 'Gaeraendigala, ½ mile from Gabigalpota, a village seven miles from Dambulla on the Kurunaegala Road. There are three inscriptions, two of them close by each other at the bottom of a mass of rocks, and the third about 400 yards from this in a cave bricked up on three sides and containing six ledges apparently for beds scraped in the rock; it is only approachable by a cleft between two rocks. All three inscriptions are in characters which already somewhat resemble the round form of the pillar inscriptions of the tenth century;

they are all fragments and only a few words are legible of each, so that we cannot even ascertain anything about the contents'[1].

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

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

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

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

[2] No facsimiles of any inscriptions of these two monarchs have yet been published in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, though two inscriptions of Sena I and several of his successor are known.

seven places and in the remaining twenty-four no sign of the *virāma* is noticed at all. From the above discussion it will become clear that this inscription shows a type of writing anterior to the time of Sena I. In my opinion, a century will not be too long a period to allow for the evolution in the script between the date of this record and the reign of Sena I. The results at which we have thus arrived by a study of the palaeography will be confirmed by the identification of the king named **Sirisaṁbo,** in the **third year** of whose reign this record is **dated.**

Sirisaṁbo is only a *viruda* title; but the distinguishing epithet of *Dambdiv dunu* helps us to identify this ruler by the name given to him in the chronicles. This phrase can be rendered either as 'who conquered Dambdiv (India)' or 'who was born in Dambdiv'. In the eighth and ninth centuries, to which this inscription can be assigned on palaeographical grounds, there was only one monarch of Ceylon who could boast of a 'conquest of India'; he was Sena II. But we know from epigraphical testimony that his expedition to South India, which would have entitled him to such a claim, was undertaken in the ninth year of his reign[1]; whereas the present inscription is dated in the third regnal year. Therefore, the Siri Saṁbo of this inscription cannot be Sena II; and the phrase *Dambdiv dunu* has to be interpreted as 'who was born in India'.

During the same period, there were three rulers who, according to the chronicles, were born in India. They were, Aggabodhi V, Kassapa III, and Mahinda I, the sons of Mānavamma who spent his youth at the court of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarmman I of Kāñci. The *Mahāvaṁsa* mentions that four sons and four daughters were born to him during his sojourn in India[2]; and it is quite certain that they included his three sons who succeeded him on the Sinhalese throne.

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

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

---

[1] See the Bilibāva pillar inscription, *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 42.

[2] *Mv.*, ch. xlvii, *v.* 8.

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

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

TEXT.

A.

1 Dam[b]div[1]- dunu **Siri Saṁbo** mapu-
2 -[r]mukā tunvanne **Mihid** mahapā-
3 -ṇan .... **gombiy**en pahaṇ hi-
4 -ndvā dun kiriyak kumbur isā **Bud Ma-**
5 -**hamal**un **Mahabodeṇiy**en paha-
6 -ṇ hindvā dun depayak kumbur isā ....
7 **Mahamal**un **Mihinnariy**en pahaṇ hi-
8 -[nd] vā dun [kumbur] depayak isā

B.

1 me leṇa (senasana) bändä deva [॥*] Siddhim [॥*] Dā-
2 -napatin sigā me leṇaṭ bahālu
3 kumburaṭ avul kaḷa kenek budenā ba-
4 -t no läbet para danmaye balu ka-
5 -vuḍu vetvay [॥*] Kapakale senasuna
6 bävin [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

A. In the third year of **Siri Saṁbo** who was born in Dambdiv[2]. One *kiriya*[3] of fields from . . . **gombiya** given by the heir-apparent (*mahapā*) **Mihid**[4] by setting up [boundary] stones[5]; **two** *payas*[6] from **Mahabodeṇiya**

---

[1] In the transcript, I have restored the *virāma* sign, even though it is not marked in the original, according to the pronunciation of the ninth-century language.

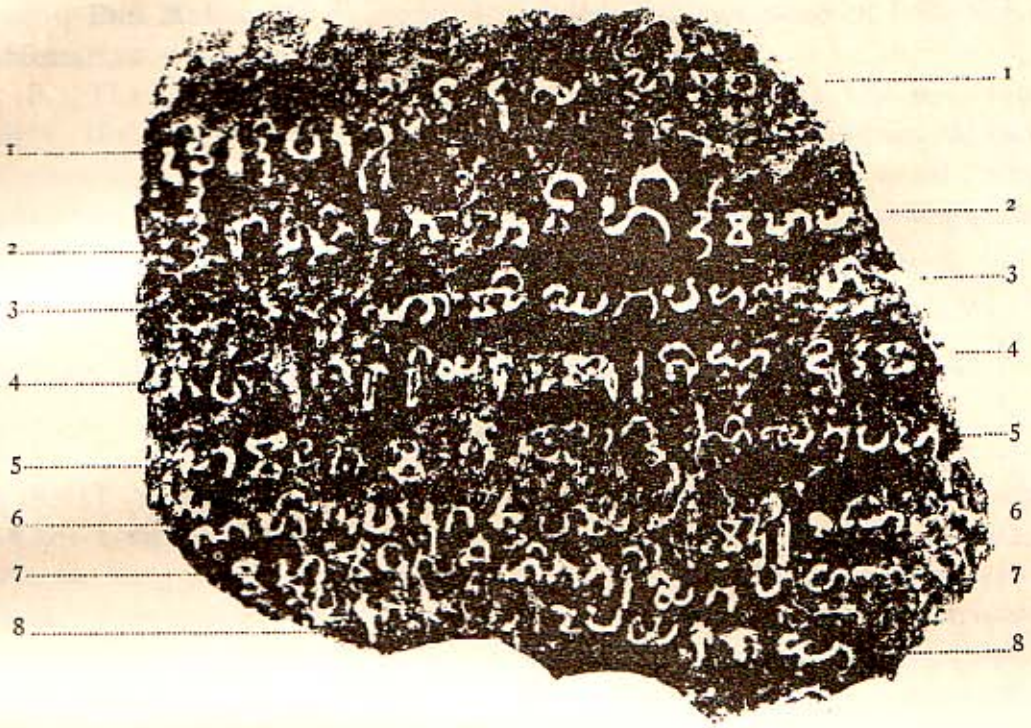
[2] *Dambdiv* = P. *Jambudvīpa* i. e. India.

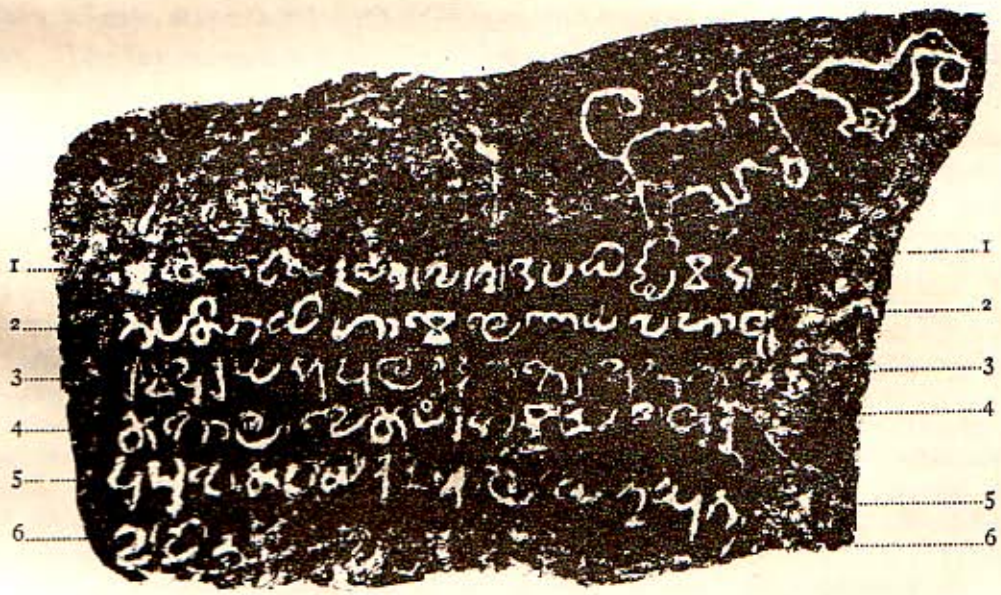
[3] A land measure equal to four *amuṇas'* sowing extent. P. *karīsa*.

[4] Pāli *Mahinda*.

[5] *Pahaṇ hindvā dun*. In granting lands to religious institutions, it was customary, in ancient Ceylon, to set up stones, sometimes inscribed, to mark the boundaries as well as to serve as a proclamation of the gift.

[6] *Paya* = Skt. *pāda*. A quarter of a *kiriya*.





Gāraṇḍigala Rock Inscription

Scale about 1 *inch to* 1 *foot*

given by **Bud Mahamal** [1] by setting up stones; and two *payas* of fields from **Mihinnariya** given by . . . **Mahamal** by setting up stones.

B. The above were given [2] to the (monks' dwelling-place) [3] at this cave. Hail! [4] If there be any who shall create disturbance to the fields subscribed for [5] and given to this cave by (its) patrons [6], may they not receive food to eat; may they be born as dogs and crows in their next birth. As this is a dwelling-place [standing] for an aeon's time [7].

No. 20. IŇDIKAṬUSĀYA COPPER PLAQUES [8].

By S. PARANAVITANA

ABOUT 300 yards to the west from the foot of the Mihintaḷē hill—famous in the history of Ceylon Buddhism as the scene of the first meeting between Tissa, the King of Ceylon and Mahinda the apostle sent by Aśoka to preach the religion of Śākyamuni in this island—there are the ruins of an extensive medieval monastery. Its outer wall, built of large blocks of roughly dressed stones, measures 113 yards east to west by 193 yards north to south; and within this spacious enclosure are to be seen the remains of several monastic buildings, shrines, a large stone-faced bath (*pokuṇa*), and a *stūpa* now known as Iňdikaṭusāya [9]. The last named monument which is the most important, architecturally,

---

[1] Buddha Mahāmalla. In this name, Mahāmalla is a *viruda*. A minister called Mahāmalla figures in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, ch. liv, *v.* 60. The *Pūjāvaliya* refers to the same minister by *Mahamalun*. Probably this title was imitated by the Sinhalese of this period from the Pallavas. The best known person who had this title was the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I in whose court Mānavamma, the father of the king mentioned in this record, spent his youth.

[2] *Deva* is perhaps an earlier form of *devi* = P. *dāpayī*.

[3] The reading *senasana* is doubtful. Hence, the translation is tentative.

[4] The auspicious word *Siddhiṁ* shows that the original record ends here, and that the rest is an after-thought.

[5] *Sigā*, literally 'begged'.

[6] According to Buddhaghosa (*Paramatthajotikā*, p. 413), one who gives one's own belongings is termed *dānapati*; whereas one who acts as the agent in distributing somebody else's gift is called a *dāyaka*. In the present-day language, the word *dāyaka* has the meaning attached to *dānapati*.

[7] *Kapakalē*. I have taken this to be a corruption of Pāli *kappakālika*; but I am rather diffident about the correctness of this interpretation.

[8] A preliminary notice of these plaques appeared in the *Ceylon Journal of Science* (Section G), vol. i, p. 171. They have also been discussed in my article, 'Mahāyānism in Ceylon', *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 35 ff.

[9] For a description of the Iňdikaṭusāya, see *A. S. C. Annual Report for 1911–12*, pp. 45–6. Mr. Bell identifies the Iňdikaṭusāya with Katu Mahasāya mentioned in the slab inscription of Mahinda IV at Mihintaḷē (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 103) and the Kaṇṭaka Cetiya said to have been built by

of all the ruins in this area, was conserved by the Archaeological Department in 1923. During the progress of this work, it was found necessary to dismantle the brick work of the dome and build it anew. In doing this, ninety-one inscribed copper votive tablets were found scattered among the loose bricks. They were, presumably, deposited in the relic chamber; and were scattered about when this *stūpa* was opened by treasure-seekers, for some Dutch stivers were also found with them.

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

The facsimiles of the plaques reproduced on plates XVII–XIX will give an idea as to their shape and size. They are about $\frac{1}{32}$ of an inch in thickness and are inscribed on one side only. Some of the plaques bear traces of gilding. The letters are boldly engraved and are in a good state of preservation. Plaques numbered 9, 24, 30, 36–8, 41, 44, 78, 80, 82–4, and 87–91 are fragmentary; and the corners have been chipped off Nos. 12, 34, 58, 62, and 76. The rest are completely preserved.

The script belongs to the eighth or ninth century; and is palaeographically interesting as one of the very few instances, so far known, in which the Sinhalese letters then current were used for writing Sanskrit[1]. Hence, many examples of conjoint consonants not forthcoming in the Sinhalese inscriptions of the period

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

[1] The only other instance of Sanskrit written in Sinhalese characters of this period is that of the copper plaques found at the Vijayārāma Monastery, see *A. S. C. Annual Report for 1891*, pp. 12–15.

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

The inscriptions on the plaques contain **fragments from a Sanskrit Buddhist text** of a Mahāyāna character. In the preliminary notice of these plaques, given in the epigraphical summary for 1926, I conjectured that these extracts may be from a recension of the *Prajñāpāramitā*; but was not then in a position to identify them in that text. The texts of twenty of these inscriptions were included in my article on Mahāyānism in Ceylon, published in the *Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G*, vol. ii, p. 35 ff. Dr. N. Dutt, who read that article, wrote to me that some of these texts can be traced in the *Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* which is being edited by him. He also very kindly sent me the proof pages containing those passages. With the help of these, I have been able to trace to their originals, forty-six out of the ninety-one fragments inscribed on our tablets. While the majority of our inscriptions agree, in every detail, with the corresponding passages in the *Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, there are some in which we find slight differences. But these are nothing more than the differences that we may find in variant readings of two manuscripts of the same work. To those who are acquainted with the great divergences occurring in Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts, these slight variations

will cause no surprise. Allowances also have to be made on account of the obvious clerical errors committed, or copied, by the engraver.

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

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

Extract No. 1. Tad≠yathā, Bhadrapālena ca Bodhisattvena mahāsattvena Ratnākareṇa ca *Sārthavāhena ca Naradatte*na ca Varuṇadattena ca *Śubhaguptena ca Indradatt*ena ca Uttaramatinā ca Viśeṣamatinā ca Varddhamāṇamatinā ca Amoghadarśśinā ca Susaṁprasthitena ca Suvikrāntavi*krāmiṇā ca Nityodyu*ktena ca . . . . . Maitreyeṇa ca Bodhisattvena mahāsattvena. Evam≠pramukhair≠anekair≠Bodhisattva-koṭi-ni*yuta-śata-saha*sraiḥ[1] sārddham (p. 5, ll. 5–13). Cf. *Śatasāhasrikā* (Bibliotheca Indica edition) pp. 6–7.

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

Extract No. 2. Atha khalu Bhagavān svayam≠eva siṁhāsanaṁ prajñapya nyaṣīdat paryyaṁkaṁ baddhvā ṛjukāyaṁ *praṇidhāya abhimukīṁ* smṛtim≠upasthāya (p. 5, ll. 14–15). Cf. *Śatasāhasrikā*, p. 7, ll. 11–13.

Extract No. 3. *Ye ca sattvās≠tena* mahatā *raśmya≠*vabhāsena sphuṭā≠avabhāsitās≠te sarvve niyatā≠abhūvan anuttarāyāṁ samyaksambodhau (p. 6, ll. 15–17). Cf. *Śatasāhasrikā*, p. 9, ll. 10–11.

Extract No. 4. Atha khalu Bhagavāṁs≠tasyāṁ velāyāṁ jihvendriyaṁ nirṇāmayāmāsa, yen≠emaṁ trisāhasra-mahāsāhasraṁ lokadhātuṁ *jihvendriyenā≠cchādayāmāsa* (p. 7, ll. 12–13). Cf. *Śatasāhasrikā*, p. 11, ll. 12–13.

Extract No. 5. Atha khalu te devās≠te ca manuṣyās≠tābhir≠divyābhiḥ puṣpa-*dhūpa-gandha-mālya-vilepana-cūrṇṇa*-cīvara≠cchatra-dhvaja-patākā-vaijayantībhis≠taiś≠ca sthala*ja-jalaja*iḥ puṣpais≠*Tathā*gata-kāyam≠*avakiranti sma, abhyavakira*nti sma (p. 11, ll. 10–12).

Extract No. 6. Atha khalu Bhagavāṁs≠tasmin≠neva *siṁhāsane niṣaṇṇaḥ punar≠eva smitam≠akarot, yena smi*tāvabhāsen≠āyaṁ trisāhasra-mahāsāhasro lokadhātuḥ sphuṭo≠bhūt (p. 12, ll. 5–6).

Extract No. 7. Evaṁ dakṣiṇasyāṁ diśi . . . . . *paścim≠ottarasyām≠*adha≠ūrddhvaṁ dig≠bhāgaṁ Gāṅgā-nadī-vālukopameṣu lokadhātusu Buddhān Bhagavataḥ paśyanti sma (p. 12, ll. 12–14).

Extract No. 8. Teṣu ca Gaṅgā-nadī-vālukopameṣu lokadhātuṣu ye sattvās≠te sarve imāṁ sahā-lokadhātuṁ paśyanti sma, Śākyamuniñ≠ca Tathāgataṁ *sārddhaṁ bhikṣusaṁghena. A*tha khalu pūrvasyāṁ diśi Gaṅgā-nadī-vālukopamān lokadhātūn≠atikramya tebhyo≠yaḥ sarvvāvasāniko≠lokadhātū≠Ratnāvatī nāma ta*tra Ratnākaro≠nāma Tathāga*to≠rhan samyaksambuddhas≠tiṣṭhati dhriyate yāpayati. Sa≠imām≠eva prajñāpāramitāṁ bodhisattvānāṁ dharmmaṁ deśayati. Atha tatra lokadhātau Samantaraśmir≠nāma Bodhisattvo≠mahāsattvas≠taṁ mahāntam≠avabhāsaṁ dṛṣṭvā . . . . . yena Bhagavān Ratnākaras≠Tathāgato≠rhan samyaksambuddhas≠ten≠o*pasaṁkrāmad≠upasaṁkramya* tasya Bhagavataḥ pādāv≠abhivandya taṁ *Tathāgataṁ Ratnākaram≠etad≠avo*cat. *Ko Bhagavan hetuḥ* kaḥ pratyayo≠sya mahato≠vabhāsasya loke prādurbhāvāya, asya ca mahataḥ pṛthvīcālasya asya ca Tathāgatsy≠āsecanak≠ātmabhāvasya sandarśśa*nāya. Evam≠ukte Ratnākaras≠*Tathāgataḥ Samanta*raśmiṁ Bodhisattvam etad≠a*vocat. Asti kulaputra itaḥ paścimāyāṁ diśi . . . . . Sahā nāma lokadhātus≠*tatra Śākyamunir≠nāma Ta*thāgato≠rhan samyaksambuddhas≠*tiṣṭhati dhriyate yā*payati. Sa *Bodhisattvānāṁ* mahāsattvānāṁ *prajñāpāramitāṁ samprakāśayati, tas*y≠eyam≠īdṛśo≠nubhāvaḥ. Atha khalu Samantaraśmir≠Bodhisattvo *Ratnākaraṁ Tathāgatam≠*etad≠avocat. Gamiṣyāmy≠ahaṁ Bhaga-

vaṁs≠tāṁ sahāṁ lokadhātuṁ tañ≠ca *Śākyamuniṁ* Tathāgataṁ *darśśanāya* vandanāya *paryyupāsanāya tāṁś≠ca bodhisattvān mahāsattvān* ..... Bhagavān āha, gaccha tvaṁ kulaput*ra yasy≠edānīṁ kālaṁ manyase.* Atha *khalu Ratnākaras≠Tathā*gato nānāratnamayāni suvarṇṇāvabhāsāni sahasrapatrāṇi padmāni Samantaraśmaye *Bodhisattvāya prādāt, etais≠*tvaṁ kulaputra padmais≠taṁ Śākyamuniṁ Tathāgatam≠abhyavakireḥ. Evañ≠ca vadeḥ Ratnākaro Bhagavan *Bhagavantam≠alpābā*dhatām paripṛcchaty≠alpātaṁkatāṁ laghūtthānatāṁ yātrāṁ balaṁ su*khasparśśavihāratāṁ* paripṛcchati..... ..... Sampra*jānakārī ca tvaṁ kulaputra* Buddhakṣetre bhūyāḥ

* * * * * * * *

Ekānte sthitaś≠ca Samantaraśmir≠Bodhisatvo Bhagavantaṁ Śākyamunim≠etad≠avocat. Ratnākaro Bhagavan Bha*gavantam≠alpābādhatāṁ* paripṛcchaty≠alpātaṁkatāṁ laghūtthānatāṁ yātrāṁ balaṁ sukha*sparśśavihāratāṁ ca pa*ripṛcchati. Imāni ca tena Bhagavatā Ratnākarena Tathāgatena nānāratnamayāni *suvarṇṇanirbhāsāni* sahasrapatrāṇi padmāṇi preṣitāni bhagavataḥ. Atha khalu Bhagavān Śākyamunis≠Tathāgatas≠tāni padmāni gṛhītvā yena te pūrvasyāṁ diśi Gaṅgānadī-vālukopamā≠lokadhātavas≠tena prākṣipat. *Taiś≠ca padmais≠te lo*kadhātavaḥ sphuṭā≠abhūvan .....

Atha khalu te Bodhisattvās≠te ca gṛhasthās≠te ca pravrajitās≠te ca dārakās≠*tās≠ca dārikās≠ta*to Ratnāvatyā lokadhātoḥ Samantaraśminā Bodhisattvena mahāsattvena sārddham≠āgatāḥ svakasvakaiḥ kuśala*mūlair≠Bhagavantaṁ* Śākyamuniṁ *satkṛ*tya *gu*rūkṛtya sammānya sampūjya *ekānte nyaṣīdan* (p. 12, l. 14 to p. 14, l. 23). Cf. *Śatasāhasrikā*, pp. 29–31.

The above passages are next repeated, with the substitution of *dakṣiṇasyāṁ* for *pūrvasyāṁ*; *Sarvaśokāpagato* for *Ratnāvatī*; *Aśokaśrī* for *Ratnākara* and *Vigataśoka* for *Samantaraśmi.* Inscriptions on plaques 42 to 46 are extracts from this passage.

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

These plaques prove that in the ninth century, the *Prajñāpāramitā* was not only known in Ceylon; but was held in such high veneration by one sect of the Buddhists in the island, that extracts from it were inscribed on copper and enshrined in *stūpas* in place of, or in addition to, the corporeal relics of the Buddha.

I have elsewhere[1] suggested that such small copper tablets may be the same as the *dhammadhātu* mentioned in the Sinhalese religious treatise named *Saddharmmaratnākara*. This practice of substituting *dhammadhātu* for bodily relics (*sārīrikadhātu*) is quite in keeping with the teaching expounded in the *Prajñāpāramitā* itself where, in a dialogue between the Buddha and Śakra, the king of heaven, it is agreed that one gains more merit by honouring the written word of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, than by paying reverence to the corporeal remains of the Master, inasmuch as the Buddahood attained by him is due to his training in the *Prajñāpāramitā*[2].

The plaques also confirm the hypothesis put forward, on architectural grounds, by Mr. A. M. Hocart, the Archaeological Commissioner, that the Iṅdikaṭusāya was a *stūpa* of the Mahāyānists[3].

TEXTS[4].

No. 1.

1 Pratthavāhe-[5] 2 -na ca Naradatte

No. 2.

1 Guhagupte- 2 -na ca Indrade

No. 3.

1 krāmāṇi[6] ca 2 Nittyodyu

No. 4.

1 yuta śa- 2 -tasaha

No. 5.

1 praṇidhāya 2 abhimukhī[ṁ*]

No. 6.

1 Ye ca sattv[ā*]- 2 -s≠tena[7] rasmy[a][8]

No. 7.

1 jihvendri[yen≠ā*]- 2 -cchādayāmā[sa*]

---

[1] *C. J. Sc.* (*G*). vol. ii, p. 44.

[2] *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, chap. 3.

[3] *C. J. Sc.* (*G*), vol. i, p. 91.

[4] In numbering plaques 1–46, I have been guided by the order in which the texts occur in the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

[5] Read *Sārtthavāhena*.

[6] Read °*krāmiṇā*.

[7] According to the *Prajñāpāramitā* text, the word *mahatā* has been omitted after *tena*.

[8] Read *raśmyā*.

No. 8.

1 [ga*]ndha-mālya-vile- 2 -pana-dhūpa[1] cū[rṇṇa*]

No. 9.

1 ja-jala .. .. 2 -s≠Tath[ā*]

No. 10.

1 ma≠vakiranti 2 smā≠bhiprakira[2]

No. 11.

1 sigghāsane[3] 2 niṣaṇṇaḥ punar-[e*]

No. 12.

1 va smitam≠aka- 2 -rod≠yena smi

No. 13.

1 ś[i*][4] paścima- 2 -m≠uttarasyāṁ[5] d[i*]

No. 14.

1 [rddhaṁ] bhikṣu-sa[ṁ*]- 2 ghena a[6]

No. 15.

1 tra Rannākaro[7] 2 nāma Tathāga

No. 16.

1 pasaṁkrāma[d*]≠upa- 2 -saṁkramya evam≠e[8]

No. 17.

1 Rannākara[7]-Tathā- 2 -gatam[9]≠etad≠avo

No. 18.

1 ko bhaga- 2 -vaṁ hetu[ḥ[10]]

---

[1] In the text of the *Pañca. Prajñā.*, the word *dhūpa* occurs before *gandha.*

[2] *Pañca. Prajñā.* has *abhyavakiranti.* [3] Read *siṁhāsane.*

[4] The word *diśi* seems to have been repeated after the name of each direction, in the manuscript from which the extracts have been copied. It is not so in the printed text.

[5] Read *paścimottarasyāṁ.*

[6] The three vertical strokes after *a* seem to indicate the three syllables *tha kha lu* omitted for brevity's sake. [7] Read *Ratnā°.*

[8] After *upasaṁkramya* the word *evaṁ* does not occur in the passage quoted above. If this is not a clerical error, this fragment must have been from some other place. This is a phrase occurring very frequently. [9] *Pañca. Prajñā.* has *Tathāgalaṁ Ratnākaraṁ.*

[10] The symbol after *tu* appears to be a *jihvāmūlīya.*



Iṅdikaṭusāya Copper Plaques

Scale four-sevenths

கொழும்பு தமிழ்ச் சங்கம்
நூலகம்

No. 19.

1 nāya evam≠u- 2 -kte Rannākara [1]

No. 20.

1 raśmi[ṁ*]Bodhi- 2 -satvam≠etad≠a

No. 21.

1 tatra Śākyamu- 2 -nirn≠nāma Ta

No. 22.

1 gata [2][s*]≠tiṣṭha- 2 -ti dhritiy [3]

No. 23.

1 Bodhisatve- 2 -bhya[ḥ*][4] prajñāpāra[mitāṁ] [5]

No. 24.

1 [sa*]mprakāśa- 2 -yati ta

No. 25.

1 s≠taṁ [6] Rannā-[1] 2 -kara[ṁ*] Tathā.

No. 26.

1 Śākyamunirn≠nā- 2 -man [7]≠darśśanāya

No. 27.

1 ya paryyupā- 2 -sanāya t[ā]ṁś≠ca

No. 28.

1 satvān ma- 2 -hāsatvān [8]

No. 29.

1 tri [9] yasy≠edānī- 2 -ṁ≠kālam≠manyase

No. 30.

1 khalu Rannā [1] ..... 2 s≠Taśā [10]

No. 31.

1 Bodhisatvā- 2 -ya prādād≠eti [11]

---

[1] Read *Ratnā°*. [2] The phrase *arhan samyaksambuddhaḥ* is omitted after *Tathāgataḥ*.

[3] Read *dhriyate*. [4] See above p. 201.

[5] These two symbols are indicated by two strokes.

[6] *Taṁ* is omitted in the *Pañca. Prajñā.* before *Ratnākaraṁ*.

[7] Instead of *nāmaṁ*, found in our text, the passage quoted above has *Tathāgataṁ*.

[8] This phrase occurs so frequently in the text that it is difficult to say what particular place it is taken from.

[9] Read *tra*. [10] Read *Tathā*. [11] Read *etaṁ[s]*.

No. 32.

1 Bhagavantam≠a- 2 -lpābākṣi [1]

No. 33.

1 kha-sparśśa- 2 viharatāñ [2]≠ca [3]

No. 34.

1 jānakārī ca 2 [tvaṁ] kulaputra ta

No. 35.

1 gavann [4]≠alpā- 2 -batatā[m*] [5] la

No. 36.

1 sparśśa vi- 2 -haratīñca [6] pa

No. 37.

1 suvarṇṇa- 2 nirbhāsā[ni]

No. 38.

1 taiś≠ca padma- 2 -yis [7] t[e*] lo

No. 39.

1 s≠tāś≠ca 2 dārikās≠ta

No. 40.

1 mūlair≠Bhagava- 2 -nta[ṁ] [8] satkṛ[tya*] gu

No. 41.

1 [jya] ekānte 2 nyaṣīdat [9]

No. 42.

1 [Vi]gataśokoya[m*] [10] 2 Bodhisattva

No. 43.

1 [Aśo]kaśriyas [11]≠Ta- 2 -thāgatam≠e

No. 44.

1 nāva [12] ta- 2 -tra Śākya- 3 munirn≠nā

---

[1] *kṣi* seems to have been due to a clerical error. The original reads *alpābādhatāṁ*.
[2] Read *vihāratāṁ*.
[3] The last letter read as *ñca* is doubtful.
[4] Read [*Bha*]*gavantam*.
[5] Read °*bādhatāṁ*. The last syllable is evidently a clerical error.
[6] Read *vihāratāñ ca*.
[7] Read *padmais*.
[8] The passage quoted above has *Śākyamuniṁ* after *Bhagavantaṁ*.
[9] Read *nyaṣīdan*.
[10] This should be corrected to *Vigataśoko nāma*.
[11] Should be °*śriyam*.
[12] Read *nāma*.



Iṅdikaṭusäya Copper Plaques

Scale four-sevenths

No. 45.

1 bādhatān [1] 2 pariprāccha [2]

No. 46.

1 .... nyaṣī .. 2 atha kha.

No. 47.

1 ti tat≠kim ma- 2 -nyase Kā-

No. 48.

1 -śyapa kaś≠ci[t*]ka- 2 -d≠eva [3] puruṣa-śa[ta*]

No. 49.

1 [pu*] ruṣo māyā- 2 kṛtam ahi[ṁ*] ni ..[4]

No. 50.

1 dharmmān≠asvabhā- 2 -vān karoti dha ..

No. 51.

1 vā strata [5] jñāna[ṁ*] 2 draṣṭavyaṁ tad≠yathā

No. 52.

1 ti aṣṭānā- 2 -m bhīkṣuśata

No. 53.

1 ṣeṇa sārddha[ṁ*] 2 vipratipadyo

No. 54.

1 mitaṁ sarvvam≠eka- 2 rasam≠bhavati yad≠u[ta]

No. 55.

1 pamā [6] Buddha- 2 kṣetro [7]

No. 56.

1 [e*]va[ṁ] hetuka- 2 pratyaye

No. 57.

1 rśśā [8] abhāsam≠ā- 2 -gacchanti te [9]

No. 58.

1 nā avatūrṇṇa[ḥ*] 2 śrāma[10]-nagara

---

[1] Read °*bādhatām.* [2] Read *paripṛcchati.* [3] Read *kadaiva.* [4] *nirmmāya?*
[5] This seems to be a clerical error.
[6] To be restored as *Gaṅgānadīvālukopamā.* [7] Read *kṣetrā.* [8] An evident clerical error.
[9] Compare the phrase *cakṣuṣa ābhāsam āgacchanti teṣām,* &c., in the *Sukhāvatīvyūha,* chapter 32.
[10] Read *grāma.*

No. 59.

1 śa[1]-manas≠ka- 2 -rmma-pariśuddhi

No. 60.

1 to Bodhi- 2 -satva ni ..[2] ti

No. 61.

1 tvā namas-kartta- 2 -vyā na thāta[3]

No. 62.

1 kta-yuktatā- 2 -yāṁ viharanti

No. 63.

1 pariśuddhi- 2 -pratilasya[4]

No. 64.

1 d≠abhūvan mava[5] Ta- 2 -thāgata-pura[6]

No. 65.

1 [sa*]hasra[ṁ*]Bhaga- 2 -vatā≠kare

No. 66.

1 ya mātsyā- 2 -yamādha[7]

No. 67.

1 vanayaḥ gupto≠ 2 sthitaḥ sa[t*] kāyadṛ[ṣṭi]

No. 68.

1 niṣṭe .... 2 ... ṣa niṣpu

No. 69.

1 [Tathā*] gatena 2 Sākyamuninā

No. 70.

1 [Bo*] dhisatvam≠eta- 2 -d≠avoca[t*] putra

No. 71.

1 varṇṇa[ṁ*] bhava- 2 -ti prabhā[ṁ*] bhavati

No. 72.

1 [pratī*] tya samutpādaḥ 2 sarvva-dṛṣṭi-kra[meṇa*]

---

[1] *dasa-manas-karmma?*

[2] This symbol is unintelligible to me.

[3] Read *tathā.*

[4] Evidently a clerical error.

[5] The two letters are quite clear, though they make no sense.

[6] There are two vertical strokes after *ra.* Read *purastāt?*

[7] This seems to be full of clerical errors.



Iṅdikaṭusāya Copper Plaques

Scale four-sevenths

No. 73.

1 sarvva-lokadhā- 2 -tu-cāturdvīpā . .

No. 74.

1 Naimākara- 2 -Bodhisatva

No. 75.

1 grāhataḥ ha utti 2 gataḥ parāṣmābhi [1]

No. 76.

1 vattaratai[2] 2 Bodhisattva

No. 77.

1 Indradeva bhu- 2 -vaddeva na

No. 78.

1 [Bo*]dhisatve- 2 -[bhya*]s≠Tathā[gato] [3]

No. 79.

1 iti Kāśyapa 2 ārya-sro[ta≠āpanna ?]

[4] No. 80.

1 ..... saśra .. 2 ... bodhi .....

No. 81.

1 abhūvan mā .. 2 pana Tathāgata [5]

No. 82.

1 .... tañ≠ca bha .. 2 .. Tathāga[ta*]

No. 83.

1 ... loke 2 .. loka ...

No. 84.

1 cara sama ... 2 mātreṣ≠va

No. 85.

1 ... bhaḥ amṛta 2 .... si ....

---

[1] Though all the letters in this plaque are clear, no single word can be made out satisfactorily.

[2] This and the following plaque are full of errors.

[3] Instead of these two letters we have two vertical strokes.

[4] The inscriptions on plaques numbered 80 to 91 are very fragmentary. I give the letters appearing on them; but hardly any word can be made out

[5] Cf. plaque No. 54.

No. 86.

1 .... tatra .... 2 .... tā la ....

No. 87.

1 .... rvva 2 ..... sya

No. 88.

1 ..... d≠avoca 2 ..... lo śrī

No. 89.

1 .... tavyam ... 2 ... m≠eka

No. 90.

1 .... tvasya ... 2 .. na dakṣi ....

No. 91.

1 .... syā ..... 2 ... darśśanāya ....

No. 21. KATARAGAMA INSCRIPTIONS

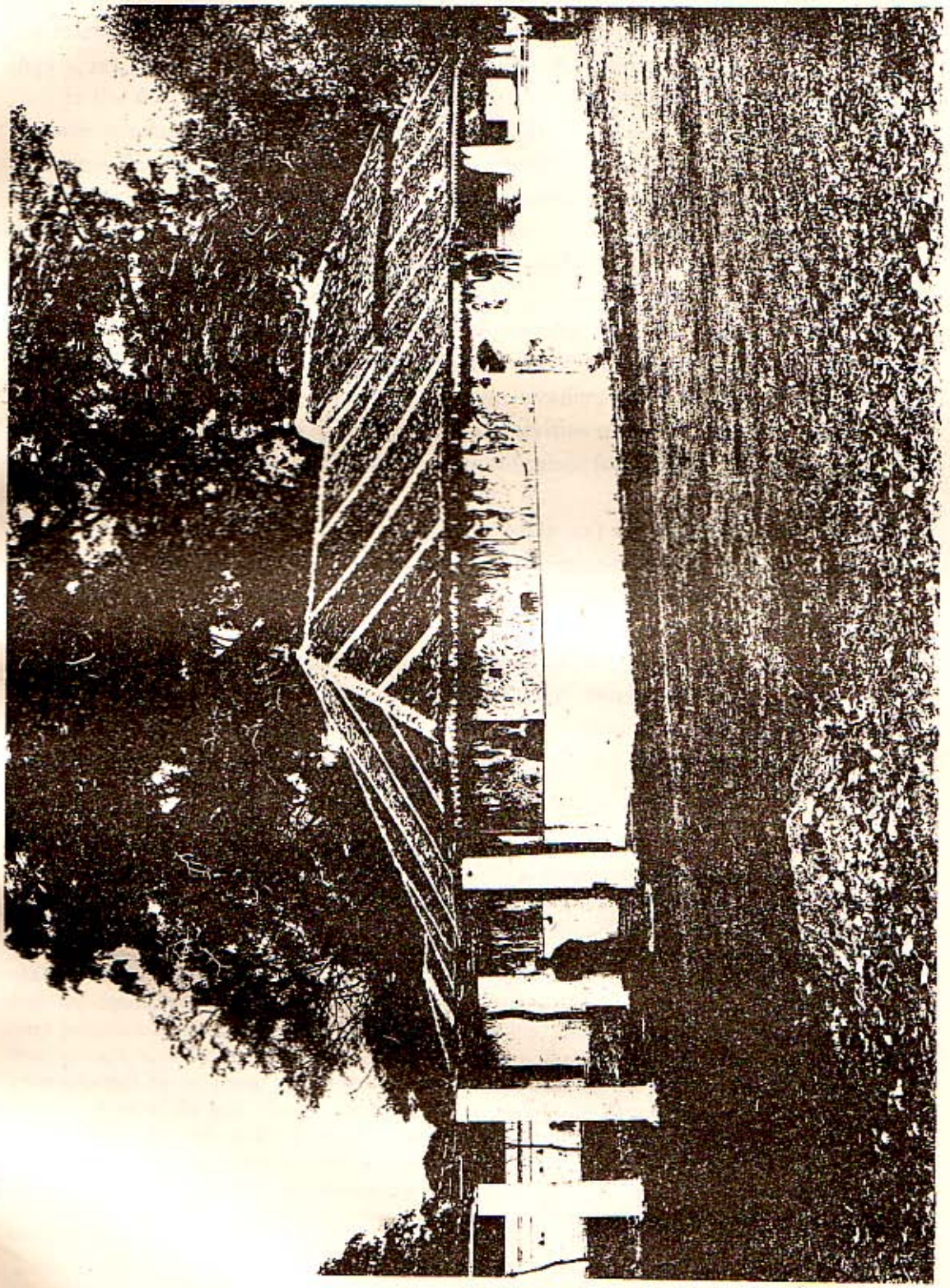
By S. PARANAVITANA

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

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

[1] The temple of Kataragama has been often described. For a good account of the place, giving references to previous writers, see *Manual for Uva Province* by Herbert White, Colombo, 1893, pp. 35–53. See also *The Worship of Muruka* by the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam in the *J. R. A. S., C. B.*, No 77, p. 234 ff.

[2] *Mahāvaṁsa*, ch. xix, v. 54. [3] *Ibid.*, v. 62.



Kataragama Shrine, view from the S.E.

the rulers of Rohaṇa, who had also a brief tenure of authority at Anurādhapura (642 A. D.), is said to have founded a monastery at Kataragama [1].

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

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

[1] See *Mahāvaṁsa*, ch. xlv, v. 45.

[2] *Mahāvaṁsa*, ch. lvii, *vv.* 2, 67, 68, 70, 74, ch. lviii, *v.* 5.

[3] According to tradition, a shrine of Skanda was built at Kataragama by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī in the first century B.C. in fulfilment of a vow made by him to that deity when he started on his memorable campaign against the Tamil usurper Elāḷa who was ruling at Anurādhapura. The literature, both Sinhalese and Tamil, connecting Skanda with Kataragama, is of recent origin; and there are, at the place, no vestiges whatever of the prevalence of a Hindu cult in early days. Therefore, this tradition may well be doubted; especially in view of the fact that there is a tendency among the Sinhalese villagers to ascribe every possible religious foundation to the munificience of that pious monarch. The shrine has always been, and still is, under the supervision of Sinhalese priests (*kapurālas*); and, in the annual festival, I was informed by the priest the ceremonies connected with the Bo-tree and the *dāgāba* take precedence to those of the god. Some of the legends associated with Kataragamadeviyo are not known in India about Skanda; and the prevailing belief among the Sinhalese is that he is one of the four guardian deities of Ceylon and is destined to become a Buddha in the future. Therefore, we may be justified in concluding that Kataragamadeviyo was originally one of the local deities or Bodhisattvas of the Sinhalese Buddhists; and in process of time was identified with the Purāṇic deity Skanda, some centuries ago.

in front of the image house. A number of ancient stones are lying about the place; but these have all been brought here, a few years ago, from the grounds of the Kirivehera.

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

KIRIVEHERA SLAB INSCRIPTION OF *CIRCA* SECOND CENTURY A.D.

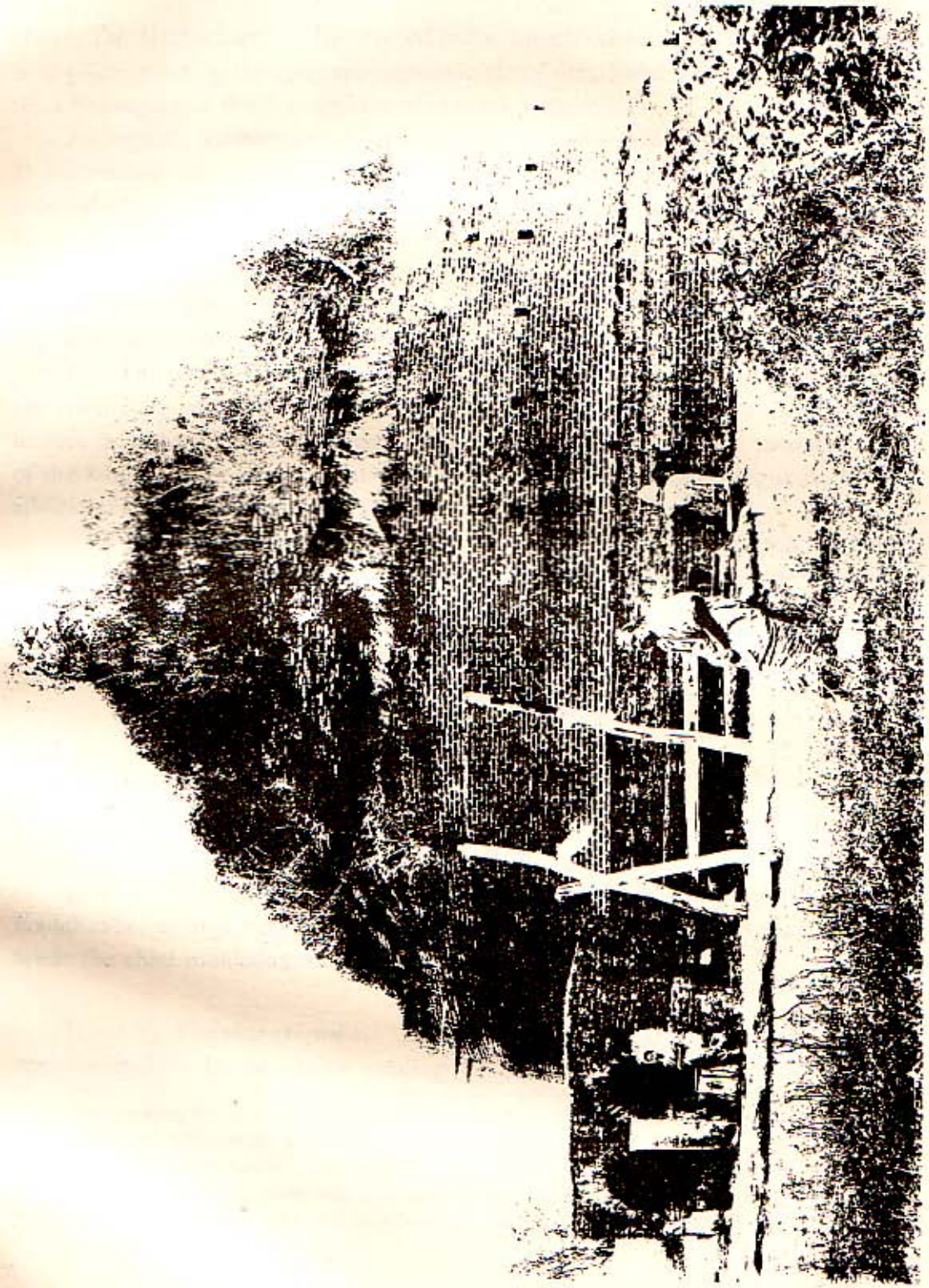
(*A. S. I.* No. 488)

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

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

[1] As regards this statement, see the next paragraph.

[2] As will be seen from the text and translation which follow, the three syllables *vahana* form part of a place-name and, therefore, there is no allusion to Skanda.



Kataragama. Kiri Vehera. View from the E.

above, Dr. Müller ascribes this record to the fourth century; but the **script,** our only guide in dating the epigraph, agrees in every detail with that of dated inscriptions belonging to the first or second century A. D.

As regards **grammar,** the change of *ca* to *ja* is noticed in *bikujarana* for P. *bhikkhu-ācariyān.* In the form *vadita* (Skt. *varddhita*), the cerebralization of a dental when preceded or followed by an *r*, a feature almost universal in Sinhalese, is not observed. The modern equivalent of this word *väḍi* goes back to a form **vaḍita* where the dental had been cerebralized. An instance of *sandhi* (euphonic combination of letters) is seen in the form *bikujarana* which also supplies us with the only known example of an accusative plural termination in a document of this period. The two past passive participle verbal forms *vadita* (l. 3) and *ataḍi* (l. 5) are used here in an active sense. This is not the only instance in which this feature is noticed in old Sinhalese; and, in the medieval and the modern forms of the language, the past indicative of the active voice is formed regularly by the addition of the personal suffixes to the p. p. p. form [1].

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

TEXT.

1 (Si ı) [2] Kaḍaha(va)p[i]- gama Daka-
2 -vahanaka-vasiya-**Nada-**
3 **tere** ceta vadita [॥*] Akuju(ka)-
4 bikujarana samatavaya catara-
5 doṛahi patagaḍa ataḍi [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Hail)! The elder **Nada** [3], residing at Dakavahanaka in the village Kaḍahavapi enlarged the *cetiya*; [and] laid the steps at the four entrances having made the chief monks at Akujuka acquiesce [therein].

REMARKS.

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

[1] For instance, the verb *keḷē* (he did) is formed by the addition of the third person singular suffix *ē* to the form *kaḷa* which is the p. p. p. of the root *kar* 'to do'.

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

[3] P. *Nanda.*

Pāli *Kaṭāhavāpīgāma* which in modern Sinhalese would take the form of *Kaṭavāgama*. Possibly, the place is identical with Kaṭagamuva, a village five miles south-east of Kataragama.

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

[Line 2] *Vasiya* = P. *vāsika*; mod. Sin. *väsi*.

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

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

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

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

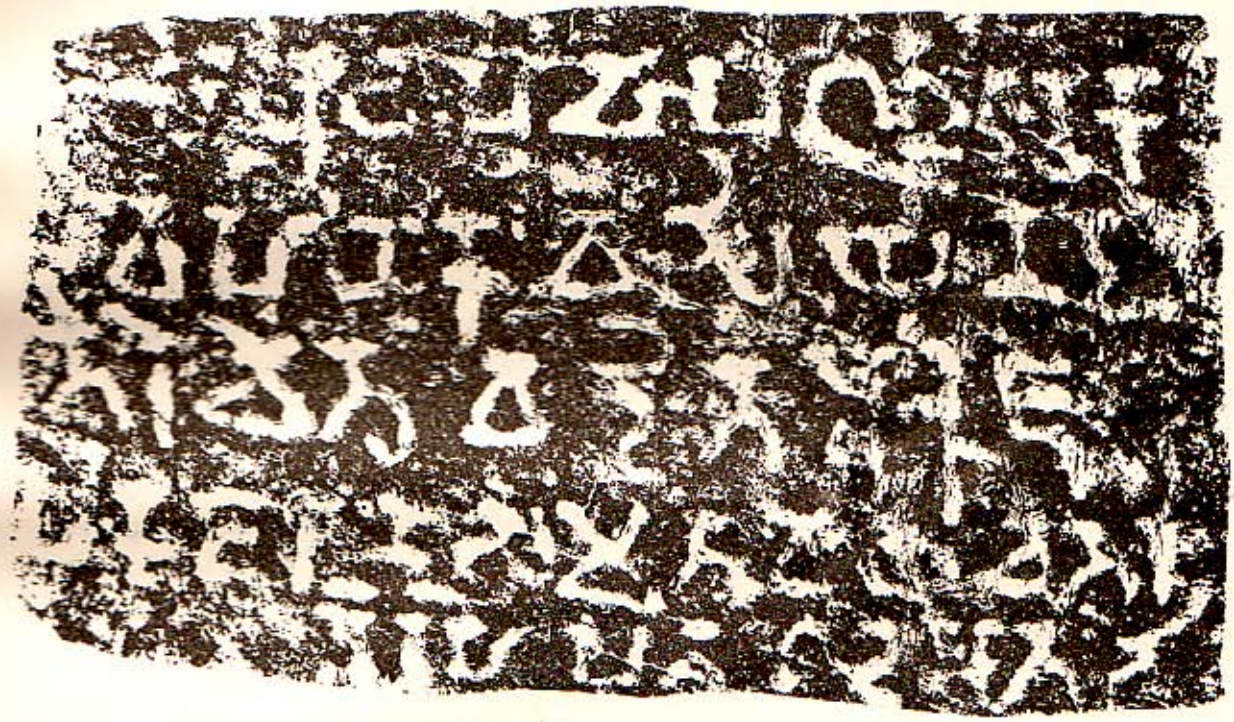
[Line 5] *Dorahi*. The locative singular of *dora* (Mod. Sin. *dora*, P. and Skt. *dvāra*) 'door'.

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

[Line 5] *Ataḍi*. Skt. *āstṛta*, P. *atthaṭa*, Mod. Sin. *ätirī*.

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

This slab has been broken into four fragments, one of which is missing. The other three are lying on the pavement of the Kirivehera. When intact, the slab measured 5 ft. by 2 ft. 2 in. and the inscription in 13 lines covered an area of 3 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. The letters vary in size from 1½ to 3 inches. The stone is considerably weathered; but the writing is tolerably clear, and all the letters on



Kiri Vehera Slab No. 1

Scale about 1¼ inches to 1 foot

the preserved fragments can be made out with certainty. The slab seems to have been damaged recently, for an eye-copy of the inscription made by Mr. J. W. Robertson contains the letters on the missing fragment. But a comparison of the letters on the preserved fragments with the corresponding ones of this eye-copy convinces us that it is inadvisable to attempt a restoration of the missing portions of the record with this help.

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

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

The inscription is not **dated**. The donor is **Mahadaḷi Mahana raja** (King Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga) son of **Sarataraya** (Siridhara Ayya). A king of Ceylon named Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga is mentioned in the chronicles[1]; but he lived in the first century A. D. and his father was not named Siridhara. Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga of our inscription must, therefore, have been a local ruler of Rohaṇa who assumed the title *raja*. Perhaps he flourished in that unsettled period which followed the death of Mahānāman and was ended by the accession of Dhātusena, when the northern part of the island was under Tamil domination and provincial governors of the south had opportunity to proclaim themselves independent. It may also be interesting to note that *Tirītara*,[2] the name of one of the five Tamil chieftains with whom Dhātusena had to fight, is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit name Śrīdhara of which the name of Mahadaḷi Mahana's father is also a corruption.

[1] *Mahāvaṁsa*, ch. xxxiv, vv. 38 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, ch. xxxviii, v. 32.

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

TEXT.

1 Siddham ı **Saratarayaha**
2 puta **Mahadaḷi-maha-**
3 **-na**-rajemi **Kajaragama** ra-
4 -ji-maha-vaherahi **Ma-**
5 **-gala-maha-ceya** .. .. ..
6 jiṇa-paṭisa .. ..
7 ama-padana koṭu .. ..
8 tela-mula koṭu ca .. ..
9 hapi-vaṭeha ca .. ..
10 payutu karanaka .. ..
11 **-ṭugami** aṭadaha [sa] .. ..
12 -hakasalayite .. ..
13 **vaṭitani ama** .. ..

TRANSLATION.

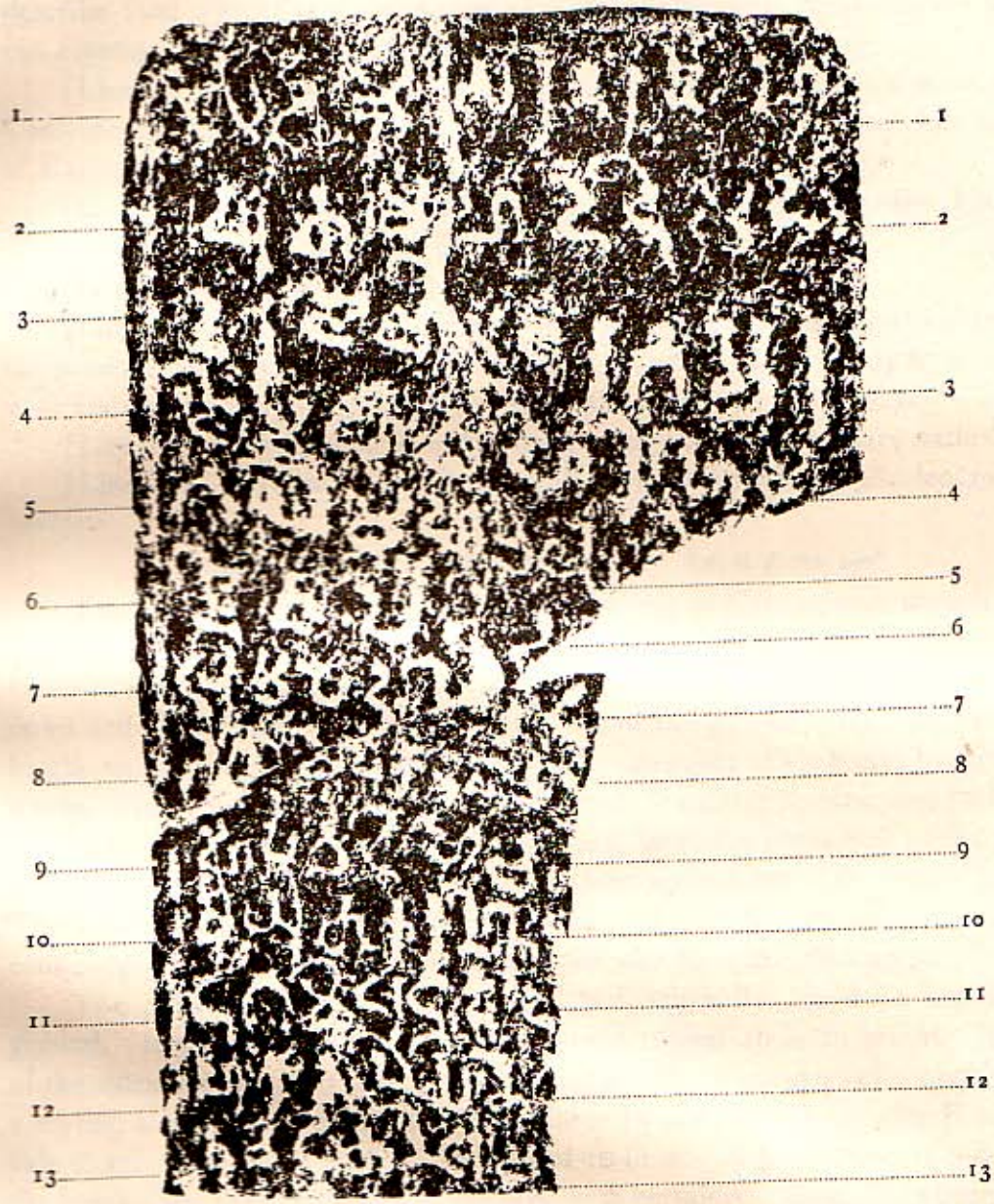
Hail! I, **King Mahadaḷi Mahana,** son of Prince[1] **Saratara** .... at the great auspicious *cetiya* in the royal monastery of **Kajaragama** .... for the repair of dilapidated buildings ..... for the offerings of sacred food ..... for defraying the expenses of oil ..... **for** lamps of clarified butter ..... so that (it may be used for)..... eight thousand ..... in .... **ṭugama** ..... from what has accrued ..... sacred food .....

REMARKS.

[Line 6] *Jinapaṭisa. . . .* Most probably this has to be completed as *jina-paṭisatarana koṭu*, a phrase occurring frequently in inscriptions from the second to fifth centuries. For its explanation, see *E. Z.* vol. I, p. 71.

[Line 7] *Ama-padana* has been taken as equivalent to P. *amata-padāna*. *Amata* means 'ambrosia', the food of celestial beings. In the Tamil inscriptions of South India, the food offered to the deity in temples is called *amudu* (Skt. *amṛta*, 'ambrosia'); and it is probable that the same usage prevailed in the

[1] *Aya* = Skt. *āryya*, see above, p. 82.



Kiri Vehera Slab No. 2

Scale about 2 inches to 1 foot

கொழும்பு தமிழ்ச் சங்கம்

நூலகம்

Buddhist shrines of Ceylon. The word *muḷu*, used in Sinhalese literature to describe food offered in temples, and also for the victuals served to the king, can etymologically be identical with *amṛta*.

[Line 8]. *Tela-mula koṭu.* P. *tela-mūlaṁ katvā*, Mod Sin. *tel mila koṭa.* Compare the phrase *tela ca huta ca mula koṭu* in the 'Jetavanārama' inscription of Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa (*E. Z.* vol. I, p. 257).

[Line 9] *Hapi-vaṭeha. Hapi* is equivalent to P. *sappi* 'clarified butter'. *Vaṭe* is the same as P. *vatti* and Skt. *vartti*, Mod Sin. *väṭa* 'lamp'.

[Line 10] *Payutu.* P. *payutta*; Skt. *prayukta.*

[Line 11] .... *ṭu gami.* The name of the village which was the object of the present grant may, perhaps, be restored as *Jeṭugami.* If so, it may be identical with Deṭagamuva, a village about a mile to the south of Kataragama.

[Line 12] This cannot be understood owing to its fragmentary nature.

[Line 13] *Vaṭitani.* The instrumental singular of *vaṭita* equivalent to Skt. *varttita.*

PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF DAPPULA V (*A. S. I.* No. 490)

THIS inscribed pillar does not actually belong to Kataragama though it is, at present, to be seen within the temple enclosure. Originally, it stood in the forest at Deṭagamuva about a mile to the south of Kataragama. It had fallen down and was broken into two fragments one of which, measuring 1 ft. 10 in. in length, was removed by the ex-headman of Kataragama to his house to serve as a step. The incumbent priest of the Buddhist temple at Kataragama had this fragment removed to the temple in 1916; and, later, the lower half of the pillar was also brought to the same place and was set up in front of the image house. The smaller piece, which is now lying uncared for on the ground, has suffered considerable damage at the hands of pilgrims who burn camphor on it.

The pillar measures 11½ in. by 12 in. and, originally, stood six feet above ground. It was surmounted by a vase-shaped capital 10 in. in height. Three of the sides are inscribed and the fourth contains the engravings of a monk's fan, a scythe, a crow, and a dog. Side A contains 18 lines of writing, side B 26 and side C 21. One letter each of lines 9 and 10 in side A has been lost owing to the break; but they can easily be restored with certainty. Side C has been very much affected by exposure to sun and rain; line 6 being completely, and lines 5, 15 and 16 partly, illegible. The rest of the record is well preserved. The letters, which vary in size from an inch to an inch and a half, are inscribed between lines which are three inches apart on side A and two inches on sides B and C.

The script is of the tenth century and agrees, on the whole, with that of

other epigraphs of the same period. The **language** of the record, particularly in the introductory part, is highly ornate in style and abounds with metaphor within metaphor which can hardly be rendered into English, literally. The **syntax** is very much involved; and the arrangement of the various clauses in the two long sentences which form ll. A. 1 to C. 7 of the record is rather clumsy. Lucidity of expression would have been gained had the long string of adjectival clauses ending with *visikaḷa* (l. B 10) been immediately followed by *Sähäkulaṭa ek talāṭik vä siṭi Lämäni Mihindāhu visiu.* Similarly, we would have preferred to place *Kapugampirivenaṭ* (ll. C 4–5) just after its qualifying clause beginning with *tunsiya tesäṭ* and ending with *terhi* (ll. B 19–25). The following words occurring in the record deserve mention for their peculiar grammatical or orthographical features. *Väḷä* (l. A 1) is the equivalent of *väla* occurring in Sinhalese literature. It is here the second element of a compound of three words and hence is not an inflected form; and as such the termination *ä* is noteworthy. The lingual *ḷ* is also unusual; and is etymologically inadmissible if the *word* is derived from Sanskrit *āvalī*, as it is usually supposed to be. Perhaps the form *väḷä* goes back to Skt. *āvartti. Raḷi* (l. A 2) represents an earlier stage of development of the literary form *räḷa.* It is, most probably, derived from Sanskrit *laharī* by metathesis and the elision of *ha*; the cerebralization of the *l* being undoubtedly, owing to the influence of the preceding *ra. Diyul* (l. A 4) is a variant form of *duhul* (Skt. *dukūla*)with which we are familiar from classical Sinhalese poetical works. The form *diyul* occurs in *Dampiyā-aṭuvā-gäṭapada-sannaya*[1], a work only a decade earlier than the present record. The occurrence of the lingual *ḷ* in the second syllable of *leḷa* (l. A 6) shows that this word goes back, not to Sanskrit *lola* as is generally assumed[2], but to the root *luṭ.* The word *hat*[3] (l. A 7) is an instance of false restoration. The correct form of the word, as it is derived from Skt. *asta*, should be, and occurs in literature as, *at*; but as the initial *ha* is very often elided in the Sinhalese language, those who wish to pose as learned restore this letter; and, in doing so, they sometimes introduce it in places where, originally, the *ha* was absent. *Koḍu* [*lu*] (ll. A. 9–10) is derived from Skt. *kuṇḍala*; and occurs in later literature as *koṇḍol.* It is noteworthy that in this word, as well as in *Paḍu Abhā* (ll. A 17–18) *maḍulu*, (l. B 9) and *subuḷu* (l. A 13), the nasal has disappeared; whilst in *numba* (Skt. *nabhas*)

[1] I am indebted to the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka for this information.

[2] See Geiger, *E. S.*, p. 76.

[3] This form of the word is not at all considered erroneous. It occurs in *Sidat Saṅgarā. Kalavan biṅgu mahatvana hiru hat vata.*

a nasal has been introduced where originally there was none. *Evhu* (l. B, 3) is interesting as the prototype of the now frequently used pronominal form *oṁu* ('his'). In *vikmayen* (ll. B 6–7) we find the pleonastic *ya* introduced between a stem ending in *a* and the case termination. This feature, though very common in the later stages of the Sinhalese language, is rarely met with in the tenth-century dialect. As regards *verat*, (l. B 22) contracted from *veherat*, see the Badulla Pillar Inscription (*ante* p. 73). *Ḷäṅgu* (ll. B 26–C 1) is here written with a lingual *ḷ* whereas in all the other instances where the word occurs, it is written with a dental *l*[1]. *Mihi* (l. C 17) the locative singular of *me* 'this' (P. *ima*), is the prototype of the modern *mī* found in such words as *mī laṅga*, &c. *Pā* in l. C 20 stands for *pav* (Skt. *pāpa*).

The inscription is dated in the sixth year[2] of King Dāpuḷu who, on palaeographic and other considerations, is identified with the fifth of that name. As Dappula V ascended the throne in or about 918 A.D., this inscription must have been set up in 924 A.D. or thereabouts.

The object of the record is the registration of immunities granted to a religious establishment named Kapugam-pirivena on the southern bank of the Kapikandur river in the principality of Rohaṇa, by a prince named Lämäni Mihind, son of Udā (Udaya), the heir-apparent. From the inscription, we learn that this prince had conquered the southern and central parts of the island; and, when this grant was issued, he was governing the Rohaṇa country. Udā Mahayā, Mahinda's father, was the same prince who, after the death of Dappula V, ascended the throne as Udaya II[3]. We also learn, for the first time, from this document that Udaya II's queen was named Dev Gon.

The Rambāva Slab Inscription (*E. Z.* vol. II, p. 67), says that King Sirisaṅgbo, the donor of that grant who has been identified with Mahinda IV, was the son of King Sirisaṅgbo and Queen Dev Gon. Another record attributed to that king, namely the 'Jetavanārāma' Slab Inscription (*E. Z.* I, p. 221) has the same statement. The Rambāva slab furthermore states, in words somewhat resembling those used for Prince Mahinda in the present record[4], that Sirisaṅgbo (Mahinda IV) conquered Rohaṇa. As Udā Mahayā, after his accession to the throne, had the *biruda* title of Sirisaṅgbo, his son Mahinda may perhaps be identified with Sirisaṅgbo, son of Sirisaṅgbo and Dev Gon (Mahinda IV). It

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, Index *s.v.*

[2] See below, p. 223 n. 1.

[3] See the Puḷiyankuḷam Slab Inscription (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 282 ff.). This inscription mentions another son of Udaya named Kitagbō (Kittaggabodhi).

[4] *Siya vikmen dänä gat Ruhuṇu danavyehi.* With this compare, ll. B 6–10 of this inscription.

may also be noted that Mahinda IV, in his 'Buddhist Railing' slab inscription[1] emphasizes his descent from Paṇḍukābhaya, in the same manner as Prince Mahinda of this record does. On the other hand, several other inscriptions, such as the well-known Mihintale tablets (*E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 9 ff.) which can reasonably be attributed to Mahinda IV, give the names of the parents of Sirisaṅgbo as Abhā Salamevan and Dev Gon. Dr. Wickremasinghe's identification of the *ābā* Mahinda of the Mayilagastoṭa pillar inscription with Mahinda IV is, in my opinion, untenable as the name of that prince's mother is given there as Saṅg Gon, whereas in all the records attributed to Mahinda IV that monarch's mother is called Dev Gon.

As to the geographical names mentioned in the record, Mahavehera is the monastery named Tissamahārāma at Māgama and the river Kapikandur is the modern Māṇik Gaṅga. Kapugam-pirivena was most probably situated at the place where the inscription was found, Deṭagamuva, where some stone pillars marking the site of an ancient religious foundation can still be seen.

TEXT.

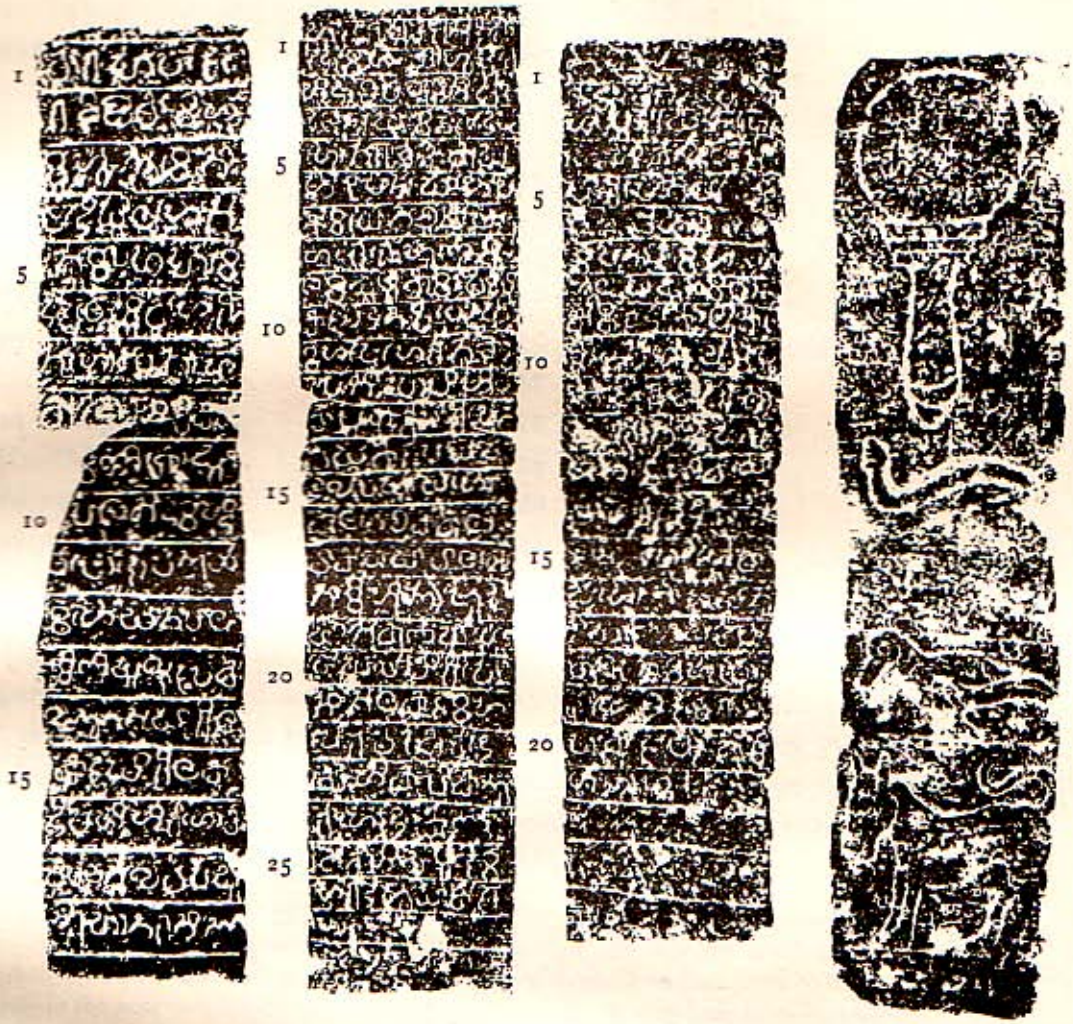
A.

1 Taraṅga-väḷä-
2 raḷi ot maha-
3 muhund me ni-
4 -l-diyul han
5 numba-gaṅga me
6 daḷa-leḷa-mut-hari-
7 -n hobnā Ha-
8 -t-Udā-giri-ku-[ḷu]
9 [me] miṇi-koḍu-
10 -[lu] palan Dambadi-
11 -v-poḷov-ag-
12 mehesna pala-
13 -n miṇi-subuḷuvak
14 bandu nan-siri-la-
15 -kaḷa **Siri Lak-**
16 **-divhi** Hir-got-
17 kulen baṭ **Paḍu-**
18 **Abhā naranind-**

B.

1 -hu paraparen ā
2 **Udā Mahayāhu** ure-
3 -hidā evhu me ku-
4 -len samadā **Dev-**
5 **Gon-** räjna kus-
6 hi upan sāha vi-
7 -kmayen ek pä-
8 -härä Ruhuṇu Ma-
9 -la-maḍulu tumā visi
10 kaḷa e danaviyehi
11 Mahaveher-nakā
12 uvanisā pihiṭi
13 Kapugam-pirivena-
14 -ṭ satar-pas su-
15 -laba vas Sähä-
16 -kulaṭ ek-talā-

[1] See below, p. 226.



Kataragama Pillar Inscription

Scale about 1⅛ *inches to* 1 *foot*

17 -ṭik vä siṭi **Lämä-**
18 **-ni Mihindāhu** vi-
19 -sin tunsiya
20 tesäṭ pirive-
21 -nin lakaḷa **maha-**
22 veraṭ utur-de-
23 -sehi **Kapikandu-**
24 **-r**-ho dakuṇ-
25 terhi **Dāpuḷ** ma-
26 -harad-hu sat ḷä-

C.

1 -ṅgu sa[1] [vana havu]-
2 -ruduyehi [Vesa]-
3 -gä pun-sand-po-
4 -hohi Kapugam
5 pirivenaṭ ....
6 .....
7 -m vadāḷamha [॥*]
8 Hulvāḍu melā-
9 -tti rad-kol-kä-
10 -miyan gäl mivu-
11 -n väriyan no
12 gannā isā
13 me gamhi kuḍi-
14 -n no gannā
15 isā ..... geta-
16 -ḍ ge ..... no gannā
17 isā mihi samva-
18 -tā buna Mahavo-
19 -ṭiye eḷa maru-
20 -vā kaḷa pā kam
21 gatāha[॥*]

TRANSLATION.

[Lines A 1–16] The island of **Siri Lak**[2], adorned with varied splendour, is comparable to a jewelled wreath[3] worn by the Chief Queen[4], the land of Dambdiv[5], the blue robe worn by whom is the great ocean containing rows of billows as if they were folds[6]; who is resplendent with the celestial river[7] oscillating on the braided hair[8] as if it were a string of pearls and the jewel ear-rings worn by whom are the mountain peaks Hat[9] and Udā[10].

[1] The regnal year is not completely preserved. The numeral seems to have been one beginning with *sa* as that letter is faintly visible after *ḷäṅgu* in line C 1. As this line could not have contained more than six letters and as the symbols for *vana havu* should have been there to be read along with *ruduyehi* in the next line, I have restored the date as *savana*. It may have been *satvana*, too.

[2] Skt. *Śrī Laṁkā*, i.e. Ceylon.

[3] *Subuḷu* = P *cumbaṭaka*.

[4] *Ag-mehesna* = Skt. *agra-mahiṣī*. This inscription gives conclusive evidence to prove that *mehesna* is to be translated 'queens' and not 'lords' as done by Dr. Wickremasinghe (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 26, n. 10).

[5] Skt. *Jambudvīpa*, i.e. India.

[6] *Raḷi*. For the etymology of this word, see above, p. 220. The original meaning of the word was 'waves'. Here, it is used in the secondary sense of 'folds'. Mod. Sin. *räḷi*.

[7] *Numba-ganga* = Skt. *Nabho-Gaṅgā*, i.e. the Ganges.

[8] *Daḷa* is taken as derived from Skt. *jaṭā* though I am doubtful whether this meaning is appropriate here. If the cerebral *ḷ* is a mistake for the dental *l*, the phrase *Numbagaṅga me daḷa leḷa mut-harin hobnā* may be translated as 'who is resplendent with the celestial river as it were a bright and oscillating string of pearls'.

[9] Skt. *Asta*, a mythical mountain in the West.

[10] Skt. *Udaya*, a mythical mountain in the East.

[Lines A 16–B 19] [Enacted] in order to make the four requisites[1] easy for the **Kapugampirivena**[2] situated in the vicinity[3] of the monastery[4] of Mahaveher[5] in the province [of Rohaṇa] by **Lämäni**[6] **Mihind**[7], the incomparable ornament[8] of the Sähä (Śākya) race; who is the son of **Udā Mahayā**[9] descended from the lineage of King **Paḍu Abhā**[10] who [in his turn] was descended from the family of the solar race in the island of Ceylon[11]; who was born in the womb of Princess[12] **Dev Gon** of equal birth unto that [Udā Mahayā]; and who, by his daring prowess, subjugated, in one stroke, the provinces of Ruhuṇ[13] and Mala[14].

[Lines B 19–C 7] On the full moon day of the month of Vesaga[15] in the [sixth] year of the raising of the umbrella of dominion by the great king **Dāpuḷ**[16], we ordered ..... [17] to the Kapugampirivena which is situated

---

[1] *Satarapasa* = P. *catupaccaya*. See Pāli Dictionary, *s.v.*

[2] P. *Kappāsagāma*. A parivena of this name is mentioned in the *Mhv.* ch. liv, v. 51.

[3] *Uvanisā*, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 35, n. 8.

[4] *Nakā* = P. *nikāya*, the original meaning of which is 'an assemblage'. In Sinhalese *nakā*, very often, is used in the secondary sense of 'a monastery'.

[5] P. *Mahāvihāra*, presumably the Tissa Mahāvihāra at Māgama.

[6] *Lämäni* or *Lämäṇi* occurs in the *Pärakumbā Sirita* as well as in other works of the Daṁbadeṇiya and Kōṭṭē periods as the name of the Sinhalese royal clan which originated from Bodhigupta, the Maurya prince who came with the Bo-tree to Ceylon in the reign of Devānampiya Tissa and was appointed by that monarch as the guardian of the sacred tree. The word *Lämäni* is considered to be derived from *Lambakaṇṇa* another name by which Bodhigupta's progeny is designated. But in the present inscription, Mihind (Mahinda) who is styled 'Lämäni' is said to have been a descendant, not of Bodhigupta, but of Paṇḍukābhaya. Therefore, the accepted etymology and interpretation of this word may well be doubted.

[7] P. *Mahinda*.

[8] *Talāṭik*, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 34, no. 6.

[9] *Udaya Mahādipāda*. For the interpretation of the title 'Mahayā', see above p. 82 f.

[10] P. *Paṇḍuka Abhaya*, the grandfather of Devānampiya Tissa and the founder of Anurādhapura. It was through this monarch that the Sinhalese kings traced their descent to the Śākya clan to which the Buddha belonged. I know of only one other inscription which mentions this early and half-mythical king. It is a fragmentary slab inscription (see below pp. 226–229) found near the 'Buddhist Railing' at Anurādhapura.

[11] The translation of ll. 1–16 should come here as an adjectival clause. I have detached it and treated it as a separate sentence in order to make the translation less cumbersome.

[12] *Räjna* = Skt. *rājñī*, the title by which royal ladies other than the chief consort of the king are designated in inscriptions of this period.

[13] P. *Rohaṇa*, the south-eastern part of Ceylon.

[14] P. *Malaya* (cf. T. *malai*) the name by which the mountainous districts in the centre of the island were known in olden times.

[15] Skt. *Vaiśākha* (April–May).

[16] This name is given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* as Dappula. Dāpuḷ or Dāpuḷu is a true vernacular form and is made up of *dā* 'relic' and *puḷu* (of uncertain derivation) 'born'. The Pāli rendering ought to be *Dhātuppabhūti*.

[17] The missing portion perhaps contained a word or words meaning 'immunities'.

to the north of the Great Monastery (*mahaver*) adorned with three hundred and sixty-three cells[1], and on the south bank of the river Kapikandur[2].

[Lines C 7–C 21] The *hulvāḍu*[3], *melātti*[4] and other officers of the royal household[5] shall not levy carts, buffaloes and workmen[6]. The householders[7] in this village shall not be impressed for service. *Getaḍ*[8] should not be levied. Should this command be infringed by any, they shall take upon themselves the sins committed by a killer of cows[9] at Mahavoṭi[10].

---

[1] *Piriven* = P. *parivena*, see Pāli Dictionary *s.v.* Later, this word assumed the meaning of 'a monastic dwelling' and is at present used, in Ceylon, to denote 'a seat of learning'.

[2] The *Kappakandara nadi* of the *Mahāvaṁsa*. The Sinhalese form appearing in the record would suggest that the correct reading of the Pāli name is *Kapikandara*. As Kapugampirivena is said to have been situated to the north of the Mahāvihāra (Tissamahārāma of Māgama) and on the south bank of the Kapikandur Hoya, the latter cannot be any other river but the Māṇik Gaṅga. Therefore, Prof. Geiger's identification of Kappakandara with the Kuṁbukkan Oya (*Mahāvaṁsa*, translation, p. 165, n. 5) cannot be accepted.

[3] Same as *ulvāḍu* occurring in other inscriptions. For the meaning of the word, see above, p. 94.

[4] See above, p. 110.

[5] The phrase *hulvāḍu melātti radkol-kāmiyan* can also be translated as 'the officers of the royal household such as *hulvāḍu* and *melātti*.'

[6] *Variyan*, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 53, n. 7.

[7] *Kuḍi*. See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 105, n. 11. The following passage from the *Milindapañhā* (p. 147) will throw some light on the status of *kuḍi* in ancient India:—*Iti so mahārāja gāma sāmiko kuṭipurise sannipātento sabbe gāmike āṇāpeti, te ca āṇattā na sabbe sannipatanti; kuṭipurisā yeva sannipatanti ettakā yeva me gāmikā 'ti gāma sāmiko ca tathā sampaṭicchati aññe bahutarā anāgatā, itthipurisā dāsi dāsā bhatakā kammakarā gāmikā gilānā go mahisā aj-eḷakā supāṇā, ye anāgatā sabbe te agaṇitā kuṭipurise yeva upādāya āṇāpitattā.* 'Now when the lord, O King, is thus summoning all the heads of houses, he issues his order to all the villagers, but it is not they who assemble in obedience to the order, it is the heads of houses. And the lord is satisfied therewith, knowing that such is the number of his villagers. There are many others who do not come—women and men, slave girls and slaves, hired workmen, servants, peasantry, sick people, oxen, buffaloes, sheep and goats, and dogs—but all these do not count. It was with reference to the heads of houses that the order was issued' (Rhys Davids' translation, *S. B. E.* vol. xxv, pp. 208–9). The *kuḍi* mentioned in the inscriptions, like the *kuṭipurisā* in the above passage, seem to have been heads of houses directly responsible to the lord of a village.

[8] This is probably a variant form of *gedaḍ*, for which see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 250, n. 5.

[9] *Eḷa maruvā*. This phrase was translated by me as 'a killer of goats' (see above p. 133). But it is not quite clear why the killing of goats should have been singled out as a specially heinous sin. The goat was not considered a sacred animal either in Ceylon or in India. The word *eḷa* may mean 'cattle' or 'cow' and is used as such in compound words in the modern Sinhalese language. For instance, *eḷa kiri* means 'cows' milk' in contrast to *mīkiri* 'buffaloes' milk'. *Eḷa harak* differentiates cows and bulls from buffaloes (*mīharak*). The cow was considered a sacred animal by the Sinhalese in olden days just as it is still in India. The above interpretation of the phrase, therefore, is more appropriate than that which has hitherto been followed.

[10] *Mahātittha*, see above p. 135.

No. 22. A FRAGMENTARY SLAB-INSCRIPTION FOUND AT THE BUDDHIST RAILING NEAR THE EASTERN DĀGĀBA, ANURĀDHAPURA (*A. S. I.* No. 119).

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THE upper half of an inscribed slab[1], found at the building called 'the Buddhist Railing' near the Eastern (Jetavana) *dāgāba* at Anurādhapura, is preserved in the premises of the Archaeological Survey. The fragment measures 2 ft. 1 in. by 1ft. 11 in.; the two corners at the top have been damaged. Nineteen lines of writing are preserved, and a few letters at the end of the twentieth line can also be made out. It is not possible to say how many lines are lost.

The **letters** are about an inch in size and belong to the tenth century. As regards the **language,** the following words are noteworthy. *Mahal* (l. 12) 'the floor of a house' occurs here for the first time. Prof. Geiger derives it from the Pāli *mahālaya* 'a great mansion' (see *E. S., s. v.*). *Hāra* (l. 13) which, from the context, appears to signify some sort of structure in which water-pots are kept, is of obscure origin and has not been found eleswere. *Uparaṇa* in l. 16 is, most probably, a clerical error for *upakaraṇa* (l. 15); but it can also be taken as the prototype of *uvāraṇa* which occurs in the *Sidat Saňgarā*[2].

The record is **dated** in the seventh year of **Sirisaṅgbo Mahind (Mahinda IV).** It is interesting to note that the monarch is here referred to by his personal name in addition to his *viruda.* Among the numerous epigraphs of this ruler, there is only one other inscription[3] **which mentions him** by his name, all the rest using only the title of Sirisaṅgbo.

The **object** of the record was to proclaim certain rules concerning a 'Water Pavilion' (*pän maḍiya*) at the **Ratnamāpirivena**[4] **in the** Jetavana monastery. If

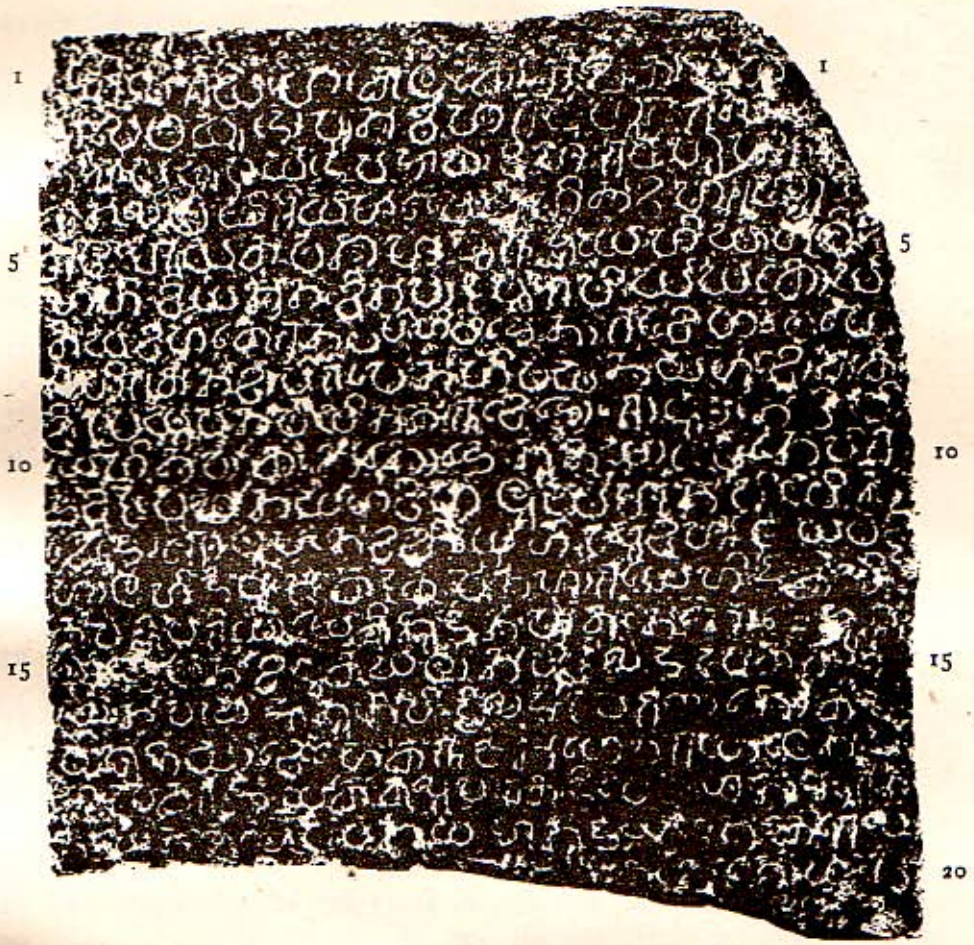
---

[1] No. 4 of the List of Inscriptions in the *Annual Report of the A. S. C.* for the year 1892, p. 9.

[2] *Väḍi nam mat väḍi. Äs äl äp uvāraṇa navām malavalasalasihilēhi ăgī* (*Sidat Saňgarā*, ch, i).

[3] Vessagiriya Slab Inscription, *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 33.

[4] An edifice called 'Ratnaprāsāda' was situated in the Abhayagiri area. This has been identified by the late Mr. Ayrton with the building popularly known as 'the Elephant Stables'. (See *A. S. C. Memoirs,* vol. i, p. 1 ff.). The Mahāvihāra, too, possessed a building of the same name, ***Ruvanpahā*** in Sinhalese (see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 228). 'Ratamāpirivena' of the Jetavana monastery is but a variation



'Buddhist Railing' Slab Inscription

Scale about 2¼ inches to 1 foot

ERRATUM

PLATE 25. *For* 'Buddhist Railing' Slab-Inscription *read* Anurādhapura 'Buddhist Railing' Slab-Inscription.

'Ratnamāpirivena' refers to the building near which the inscription was found, it must have been the ancient name of 'the Buddhist Railing'. This inscription furnishes us with further evidence to show that the 'Abhayagiri Vihāra' of to-day is actually the Jetavana Vihāra.

TEXT.

1 Siribar-Sāhā-kula-kot Okāvas- [parapure]-
2 -n baṭ Sudovun-maharaj-hu anva [ye]-
3 -n ā **Paḍuvasdev-Abhā**-maharaj-hu parapu-
4 -ren baṭ **Sirisaṅgbo-Mahind**-maharaj-hu sa-
5 -t läṅgu satvana havuruduyehi Sāguli[1]-ma-
6 -ha-himiyan nämin pāḷavu apis-satos-
7 **Tis**-maha-teranaṭ pihiṭi **Denā**-raja-maha-vehe-
8 -rhi **Ratnamāpirivenhi** vasana sag-mok-kā-
9 -mi uvasuvan visin käru me doroṭu-pän-maḍi-
10 -yehi navātän no denu isā **Senevira-**
11 **-d-muḷä** vū vana sag-mahalu-saṅgun visin
12 me doroṭu-pän-maḍiyehi uḍu-mahāl yaṭa-ma-
13 -hālhid pän-kaḷa tabana hārayehid kisi
14 kavaru pariyāyekinud navātän no denu i-
15 -sā me pän-maḍu-kusalān piḷibada upakaraṇa-
16 -yen väḍi anun piḷibada uparaṇa[2] no taba-
17 -vanu isā mehekaruvange varayālen vä-
18 -ḍi upakaraṇayak tubuva atä divel genä nernā
19 isā nakayä vū vana saṅgunud saṅgun kere ba-
20 .. .. navātän nogan-
.. ..

of the same name; and, therefore, it seems that a building called 'Ratna' house or dwelling was an essential feature of every important monastery. In the great monastery at Sāñci in India, there was also a building called Ratnagṛha (Jewel House). See *C. I. I.* vol. iii, p. 262. Perhaps, it was a building set apart for the worship of the 'Three Jewels' (*Ratanattaya*).

[1] The *Nikāya Saṅgraha* has the form *Sāgali*.

[2] May be corrected to *upakaraṇa*.

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1–5] In the seventh year after the raising of the umbrella of dominion by the great King **Sirisaṅgbo Mahind**[1], the pinnacle of the illustrious Sähä[2] race, who is descended from the lineage of Okāvas[3], who has come down in the succession of the great King Sudovun[4] and who is descended from the lineage of the great king **Paḍuvasdev Abhā**[5].

[Lines 5–10] Lodgings[6] shall not be given in this 'Water Pavilion at the Gate'[7] constructed by the devotees[8], desirous of heavenly bliss and final emancipation, who reside at the **Ratnamāpirivena**[9] in the great royal monastery of **Denā**[10] established [of yore] for the benefit of the great elder **Tis**[11] who was

---

[1] P. *Sirisaṁghabodhi Mahinda.*

[2] P. *Sākya.*

[3] Skt. *Ikṣvāku*, P. *Okkāka.*

[4] P. *Suddhodana*, the name of Buddha's father.

[5] Paṇḍu Vāsudeva Abhaya, the same as Paṇḍukābhaya, the first king of Ceylon who belonged to the Śākya race. He is almost everywhere referred to by the shorter name of Paṇḍukābhaya; but his full name ought to have been Paṇḍu Vāsudeva Abhaya, as the *Mahāvaṁsa* (ix. 27) tells us that it was a compound of the name of his grandfather (Paṇḍu Vāsudeva) and that of his uncle (Abhaya).

[6] *Navātān*, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 54, n. 7. This prohibition doubtless refers to royal officers who seem to have, rather too frequently, made use of the monastic buildings as temporary residences. The Vinaya rules enjoin the Buddhist monks to give shelter, in their dwellings, to strangers in need.

[7] *Doraṭu-pän-maḍiya* seems to have been a building near the entrance to a large mansion, where water was kept for persons coming in to perform ablutions. The term has not been noticed elsewhere.

[8] *Uvasu* = P. *upāsaka.* Originally, this word meant any lay adherent of the Buddhist creed in contrast to a *bhikkhu*, one who had adopted the life of a religious recluse. In the tenth-century inscriptions, the terms *upāsaka* and *uvasu* are applied to laymen who resided in the monasteries to attend to temple ritual or to the needs of the monks. In South Indian Tamil Inscriptions we read of a class of temple attendants called *upāsakas* (see *Bhandarkar Memorial Volume*, p. 229).

[9] P. *Ratnamahāparivena.*

[10] P. *Jetavana.*

[11] *Tis* = P. *Tissa.* This was the name of a *thera* who lived, in the reign of Mahāsena, at the monastery of Dakkhiṇagiri in Anurādhapura. It was for him that Mahāsena built the Jetavana monastery, encroaching on the grounds of the Mahāvihāra. (See *Mv.*, ch. xxxvii, vv. 32–9, and the *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, Wickremasinghe's edition, p. 15.) He held views on religion opposed to those of the Mahāvihāra brethren and was publicly charged for a grave offence and excommunicated by the orthodox monks. In remarkable contrast to the flattering language applied to him in this inscription, the chroniclers of the Mahāvihāra delight in heaping opprobrious epithets whenever they refer to Tissa. The *Mahāvaṁsa* calls him 'a hypocrite, a plotter, the lawless' and 'evil friend' (ch. xxxvii, v. 32). The later Sinhalese chronicles, the *Pūjāvalī* and *Nikāya Saṁgraha*, invariably attach to his name the sobriquet of *kohon* (P. *kuhana*) 'the hypocrite'. Perhaps, Tissa was not so black as he was painted by the orthodox chroniclers; and there is no doubt that he suffered on account of the sectarian bigotry of his opponents.

moderate in his desires, was content, and was known by the name of the great lord **Sāguli**[1].

[Lines 10–15] Lodgings shall not be given, on any pretext whatsoever, in the upper story as well as in the lower story of this 'Water Pavilion at the Gate' and also in the *hāra* where pots of water are kept, by the monks, young and old, who are[2], or will be[3], residing at the college of **Senevirad**.

[Lines 15–17] Any utensils belonging to others and in excess of the utensils belonging to the endowments[4] of this 'Water Pavilion at the Gate' shall not be kept here.

[Lines 17–20] If any utensil in excess of (or other than) the *varayāla*[5] of the servants be placed there, [the servant responsible] shall be turned out after taking back the maintenance [lands] that are in his possession[6]. The monks who are, or will be, residing at the monastery[7] and . . . . . connected with the monks . . . . . **shall not take** lodgings.

---

[1] *Sāguli*, *Sāgali*, or *Sāgala* was the name of a *thera* who was the leader of a separatist movement from the Dhammaruci sect which had its head-quarters at the Abhayagiri Vihāra. He flourished in the reign of Goṭhaka Abhaya and after his secession from the Dhammarucikas, he took up his abode at the Dakkhiṇagiri Vihāra. His followers, known as the Sāgaliyas, formed one of the three contending parties of the Buddhist Church in Ceylon during the Anurādhapura period. The *Mahāthera* Sāgaliya is spoken of with respect by the author of the *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, perhaps owing to the opposition that he showed towards the Dhammarucikas; but when his followers began to exert an independent influence, founded a rival monastery and gained royal patronage, they were equally obnoxious to the monks of the Mahāvihāra as the Dhammarucikas. For an account of the *Mahāthera* Sāgali and his sect, see *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, English translation, p. 13.

[2] *Vū*, p.p.p. of the Sinhalese root equivalent to Skt. *bhū*.

[3] *Vana*, future participle of the same root. The interpretation of *vū vana* is open to doubt.

[4] *Kusalān*, see above p. 95.

[5] *Varayālen* is an obscure word. I am unable to suggest anything as to its meaning or etymology.

[6] Literally, 'that are in his hands'.

[7] *Nakayā*, see above, p. 224.

No. 23. THE KEVULGAMA INSCRIPTION.

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

THE slab pillar on which this inscription is cut originally stood in Kandē-vatta or Kandē Disānāyaka Mudiyansēlāgē-vatta situated in Pamunētänna, a hamlet of **Kevulgama** village in Gampaha Kōralē West of Uḍa Dumbara in Kandy District. Some thirty years ago the pillar was blasted in search of hidden treasure by the then owner shortly after the death of his father, who, it is said, regarded the record as of great value and actually slept by its side on a rock-hewn bed. The upper and main part of the pillar was then removed to the local vihārē by the priest and built into the inner doorway of the temple. In this position, wherein three lines of the inscription at the top and two at the bottom were concealed by the masonry, it was copied by the Archeological Survey in 1909; it then measured 2 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. Recently the writer induced the priest to consent to the excavation of the record; the remaining part also was brought by the priest from its original site to the pansala below the temple.

The inscription consists of eighteen lines on the front of the pillar and is continued in nine lines on the right-hand side under a crescent moon; on the left-hand side is the figure of the sun. The fragments of some five *akṣaras* on the lower portion of the pillar form the continuation of line 18; thus by a lucky chance the blasting operation has done no irreparable damage. The letters on the front cover a space of 3 ft. 1½ in. in length; they vary from 1¾ to 1¼ in. in height.

The record is dated in the first year of King **Siri Saṅgabo Kāliṅga Vijaya Bāhu**. There were three rulers of the name Kāliṅga Vijaya Bāhu. In *E. Z.*, Vol. II, No. 36, pp. 219 ff., Sāhasa Malla is so styled with the prefix Siri Saṅgabo, precisely as in the present document. According to the *Nikāya Saṅgrahava*, Māgha also bore the name; his throne name is not recorded. Last of all Vijaya Bāhu III appears in the *Rājaratnākaraya* under the name; he was a descendant of Siri Saṅgabo. The script suits any of these princes. There is no definite proof that Vijaya Bāhu III ever held Uḍa Dumbara, which is described as being in Pihiṭi or the King's Country. Māgha was a Kāliṅga invader and oppressed the Sinhalese. There remains Sāhasa Malla. If the attribution is correct, the date of the inscription is October 10, A.D. 1200.

The document is of interest in that it records a grant to one **Gulpiṭi** or **Gulhiṭi But Pām̆bul-lē-daruvan** for loyalty to His Majesty even to the receiving of wounds in his service. The occasion may have been when the two ministers, who put Sāhasa Malla on the throne, 'in the course of two years subdued the evil ministers who were causing obstruction with the object of gaining personal power for themselves and so were not desiring to have kings that would be powerful enough both for (granting) rewards and (for inflicting) punishments and that would protect the people and the religion' (*E. Z.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 228). The personal name of the grantee represents either Buddha or Bhūta (cf. *Mv.* lv, 26, lxxii, 196). The fact that there is a hamlet Galahiṭiyāva in Kevulgama suggests that the word preceding the personal name should be read as Galhiṭi. But the first *akṣara* clearly is ගු; the third is පි or possibly ඟි; the fourth can only be ටි or ඊ.

The title **Pām̆bul-lē-daruvan** may be compared with *Deva pādamūla-dāraka* in *Mahavaṁsa*, lxvi, 66. Geiger renders this by 'the son of a royal servant' and states that *pādamūla* in the sense of servant appears frequently in the Jātakas. The word *pāmul* or *pām̆bul* is still used in the expression *pāmul-* or *pām̆bul-peṭṭiya*, a box or chest which, as containing objects of the greatest value, is kept 'at the feet', that is in the innermost room of the house. *Pām̆bul-lē* here, therefore, may mean 'trusty', or 'confidential secretary'. In literature *pāmul-peṭṭiya* occurs in an obscure passage of the *Daḷadā Sirita* (ed. E. S. Rajasekhara, Kandy, 1920, p. 58) dealing with the replacing of the Tooth Relic in its shrine at the end of the procession in which it had been carried; it apparently refers to the chest in which the Relic Casket or the jewellery belonging to it was kept. In the *Dam̆badeni Aśna*, however, is found: *pāmul peṭṭiyen paḍi kā siṭina Siṁhaḷa senan̆gin sū-visi lakṣa pas-visi dahasak hā mesē-ma paḍi kā siṭina Demaḷa senan̆gin doḷos dahasak hā*, 'Twenty-four lacs twenty-five thousand men of the Sinhalese host drawing pay from the *pāmul* chest and twelve thousand of the Tamil host drawing pay in like manner'. The office held by the grantee thus may have been analogous to that of Keeper of the Privy Purse. The *Nikāya Saṅgrahava* attributes to Parākrama Bāhu I the institution or reorganization of the Four Treasuries (*sataramudala*). With *lē-daruvan* is to be compared *kamtän le-daruvak* in the Mihintalē Tablets (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 111, n. 9). Our inscription suggests that Deva in the passage of the *Mahāvaṁsa* is a personal name and that *dāraka* is an honorific.

A, lines 12–14. *Me vanu mut-hasa paṭan.* So the Vaharakgoḍa inscription, line 19 (Bell, *Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 82 and plate), as checked by me

from the rock. Taking *mut-hasa* as the equivalent of *mudu-hasa*, I tentatively translate thus: 'from the time of sealing with the signet (the document) similar to this', that is the original of the grant recorded on the stone.

A, lines 14–16. *Pihiṭi rajaye bada Mändiväk Saṁvälle.* In the fourteenth century *Maha Kaḍa-im pota* Dumbara was reckoned as in Māyā raṭa, the country of the Mahayā or Heir Apparent. But this was not the case in the twelfth century, for in Parākrama Bāhu's campaign against Gaja Bāhu Majjhimavagga or Mädivaka was under the direct government of the king (*Mv.* lxx. 21); the present inscription is conclusive on this point against Geiger's note 1 in *Cūlavaṁsa*, p. 289. The village of Mädivaka lies some four miles to the north-east of Kevlugama. It is said to have been of much greater extent in ancient times than at present; in the eighteenth century it gave its name to Gampaha Kōraḷē, which was known as Mädivak Gampaha. A village called Haṁvälla is situated in Gandekē Kōraḷē at a greater distance from Kevulgama than Mädivaka and in a separate valley. It is possible that our Saṁvälla may refer to land at the 'junction' of the Gangoḍa Oya with the Maha Oya, the main stream running through the valley in which Kevulgama lies. As to the word itself, it may be noted that in Badulla there are five *goḍa-val* or stretches of high land, five *mulu*[1] or tongues of paddy fields running up into the high land, and five *väli* or low-lying sandy land on the banks of the river, and that of the last named one, at the junction of two streams, is called Haṁvälla[2]. The name of the field Välimaḍa ('sandy mud land') itself lends some support to this theory. But the Haṁvälla in Gandekē Kōraḷē possessed a royal granary under the Kandyan government; if Mädivaka with Haṁvälla was a royal village in 1200 A.D., the land given in our inscription may well have been an appurtenance thereof.

A, line 17. *Liyatda*, the modern *liyadda*, now a small division of a paddy field bounded by ridges for the purpose of retaining water. Here, however, it appears to be identical with 'field' (B, lines 2, 3).

A, line 18. The restoration within brackets is almost certain.

B, lines 3, 4. *Mi(nisu)n.* There are traces of the two *akṣaras* within brackets on the stone. This word occurs in the grant of the third year of Vikrama Bāhu III, rehearsed at length in the Laṁkātilaka copper plates: *Rabbegamuva hā mehi bada gama mudal*[3] *gasa kola valpiṭa minisun ätulu-vū siyallat.* The corresponding sentence in the grant of Rājādhirājasiṁha in the same plates is: *Rabbēgamuva*

[1] In Kandy District, *aňga.*

[2] For *saňgvälla*, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, Index.

[3] Read *gam mudala.*

yana gama goḍa maḍa ge-vatu gaha kola parivāra-janayat ätuḷu-vū siyallama minisun at the date of our inscription perhaps is rendered better by 'serfs' than by 'tenants'; it may also be taken as being in the genitive case, the clause being translated 'the plantations of the serfs'.

B, lines 5, 6. *Val piṭi.* These words have been rendered tentatively 'the wood land and the grass land', that is jungle and open land. At present *val-piṭṭaniya* is in use with the meaning of 'natural grass land', *val* being any wild growth of the size of grass and upwards. But in the fifteenth century *valpiṭa* or *val* was identical with *ratmāsara* and must be the 'waste' land used for chena cultivation. In the twelfth century *val* has this meaning, as well as that of 'waste' or jungle as opposed to the cultivated *gama*, and this last meaning is found also in the thirteenth century [1]. *Piṭi-bim* at a date earlier than that of our inscription appear as appurtenances (cf. *E. Z.*, Vol. I, No. 16; Vol. II, Nos. 12 and 37), and may still have been so in 1200 A.D.

B, lines 6, 7. *Pamuṇu*, the highest form of holding by persons or bodies. The memory of the present grant survives in the name of the hamlet Pamunē-tänna, where the slab pillar inscription once stood.

This grant to a private individual with its rehearsal of his act of valour may be compared with the Ihala Puliyaṅkulama pillar containing the *stuti* of an officer of Parākrama Bāhu I [2].

TEXT.

A.

1 සිරිසඟ
බො කාලිඟ
විජය බාහු
චක්‍රවර්තිනි ස
5 වාමින්වහන්
සෙට පළමු
වන් හිලැ පුර
පැළවියැ [3] ගුල්පි [4]
(වි) [5] බුන් පාඹුල්ලේද

[1] The *Maḍavaḷa Rock Inscription*, *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 235; *ibid.* Vol. II, No. 15, val koṭā gat ket-aya; *ibid.* Nos. 23, 24, sehen koṭā gat tenaṭa; *ibid.* No. 20, raṭ-bim härä val vadanavun; the *Purāṇa Vinaya Sannaya* on *pārājikā* has *gam* = *gāma* and *val* = *arañña*.

[2] *J. R. A. S., Ceylon Branch*, xxx, 1926.

[3] Or පැළ්වියැ. [4] Or perhaps ගුල්හි. [5] Or වි.

10 රැවත් රාජපක්‍ෂපා
නවැ ශස්ත්‍රප්‍රහාර ල
දින් කළ දස්කම්ව ෙ
වනු මුත්හස පට
න් පිහිටි රජයෙ බද
15 **මැඳිවැන් සංවැල්**
ෙල ඇවූ වැලිමඩ
ලිඝත්ද ඇවූ නැනැ
සිටිවූ (ගල්වැං ස)

B.

1 නරව ඇතු
ළන් කුඹු
ර හා ම්(නිසු)
න් ගස ෙකා
5 ළ හා වල් පි
ටි හා පමු
ණු කොට ලි
යා දුන් නියා
සි

TRANSLITERATION.

A.

1 **Siri Saṅga-**
bo Kāliṅga
Vijaya Bāhu
cakravartti-s-
5 vāmin-vahan-
se-ṭa paḷamu-
van Hilä pura
päḷaviyä [1] **Gulpi-** [2]
(ṭi) [3] **But** pāṁbul-lē-da-
10 ruvan rājapakṣapā-
ta-vä śastra-prahāra-la-
din kaḷa daskama-ṭa me
vanu mut-hasa paṭa-
n Pihiṭi rajaye bada

[1] Or *paḷviyä*.

[2] Or perhaps *Gulhi-*.

[3] Or *vi*.

A

B



The Kevulgama Inscription

15 **Mändivāk Saṁväl-**
le ā-vū Välimaḍa
liyatda ā-vū tänä
siṭi-vū (gal-ṭäṁ sa-)

B.

1 tara-ṭa ätu-
ḷat kuṁbu-
ra hā mi(nisu-)
n gasa ko-
5 ḷa hā val pi-
ṭi hā pamu-
ṇu koṭa li-
yā dun niyā-
yi

TRANSLATION.

On the first day of the waxing moon of Hila in the first year of His Majesty the Sovereign Lord **Siri Saṅgabo Kāliṅga Vijaya Bāhu,** for valour shown by the most trusty secretary **Gulpi(ṭi) But,** (even) for the wounds which he got in loyalty to the king from the weapons (of the king's enemies), there was given (to him), having been made a *pamuṇu* holding and enrolled, from the time of sealing with the signet the counterpart of this, (all) within the four pillars set up on the land appurtenant to Välimaḍa liyatda in **Mändivāk Saṁvälla** of the Pihiṭi kingdom (to wit) the field, the serfs and the plantations, the wood land and the grass land.

On (this) manner was (the grant made).

No. 24. THE MAḌAVAḶA ROCK-INSCRIPTION.

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

THIS inscription has once been published in Sinhalese[1]. But the splendid condition of the record, its historical interest, and the absence of any specimen of the script of the period from *Epigraphia Zeylanica* are sufficient reasons for its appearance here. It is cut in bold letters on a rock in the village of

[1] Viśva Brāhmaṇa vaṁśa viniścaya, pp. 81, 82.

Maḍavaḷa in the Pāta Dumbara division of Kandy District. It is enclosed on three sides by a rectangular frame; outside of this at the top are the sun and moon, a hammer and an anvil, while on the left side are a hammer, an anvil and a pair of pincers in the upper half, and a crow and a dog in the lower.

The inscription records a grant of land made to a silversmith **Paramaṇāyā** of **Siddāvulla** and his son **Suriyā** by King **Siri Saṅgabō Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI** in the year following the forty-sixth of his reign in the presence of **Dantoṭa-vature Devan** and **Divāṇavatte Laṁkā Adhikārin**. The signatures of these dignitaries are reproduced in the left-hand upper corner of the record as *Äpaṇa* and *Joti Siṭāṇa*. The last named in all probability is the ruler of the hill country, whose rebellion is thus described in the *Rājāvaliya* (ed. B. Gunasekara, 1900, p. 69):—

'King Śrī Parākrama Bāhu had reigned as a crowned monarch for fifty-two years, when the Siṭu king Sōjāta (සොජාත සිටු රජ), who was reigning in the hill-country, ceased supplying labourers, neglected payment of his yearly tribute, and rebelled. The king, on hearing of this, raised a large army and committed it to the young prince who was at Ambulugala, giving him permission to conquer the hill-country.

'Accordingly the prince of Ambulugala attacked the hill-country and conquered it; took captive several relations of the king of the hill-country, and sent them down to Kōṭṭē. The hill-country was entrusted to the royal prince of the Solar race, descendant of the Gampola dynasty, and to his ministers, and tribute was recovered.'

The poem *Pärakumbā Sirita*, vv. 48–50, gives the following account of these events:—

Verse 48. When the ray of the fourfold host of Parākrama the lord of day like unto the solar king was shining, the thick darkness called **Jōtiya Siṭu**, ruler of men, fled in fear to the confines of the other world.

Verse 49. The swan king, the Âpā, rubbed in the pollen of the very red lotus, to wit the sacred feet of king Parākrama, the pride of poets, in fame the king of the gods, descended from the race of the Sun, extinguished the sorrow of his mind.

Verse 50. The Gampola prince quenched his heat, immersed in the precious river of the rays of light from the nails of the sacred feet of this king, who is of the colour of the moon, pure, having a flood of fame, splendid as the sun, pleasing [1].

[1] Ed. D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1922.

The evidence of this contemporary work proves that Gunasekara's text is corrupt, and that the name of the rebel chief should be read as Jōtiya and not as Sōjāta; indeed in Valentyn's version of the *Rājāvaliya* it appears as 'Jottia Sitti'. Our inscription shows that this ruler held the rank of Laṁkā Adhikārin and came from Divāṇavatta, now Jivāṇavatta, a village in Hārispattuva; the title *Siṭu raju* is represented here by *Siṭāṇa*. It seems possible that the Åpā, Dantoṭa-vature Devan, is the Gampola prince, whom Parākrama Bāhu VI put in charge of the hill-country on the defeat of Jōti Siṭāṇa. If so, at the time of our inscription the effective government of the country may have been in the hands of the Laṁkā Adhikārin nominal precedence being accorded to the Åpā, a member of the royal family. Danturē in Yaṭinuvara appears in the *Nam-pota* under the name Dantoṭa-vatura. A prince of this place, Danturē Tuṇaya Baṇḍāra, is mentioned in the *Siduruvānā-raṭa Baṇḍāravaliya*.

The accession of Parākrama Bāhu VI took place on the full moon day of Vesak, 1955 A.B. (1412 A.D.) or shortly afterwards. Accordingly **the date of the grant,** the full moon of Vesak in his forty-seventh year, fell in April, 1458 A.D., or in April, 1459 A.D. For the chronology of the reign, see pp. 52, and 53, of this volume.

The **script** is that of the period. The form of ම in line 8, of ළ in lines 9 and 18 and of ෟ in lines 12 and 13 may be noticed.

The **orthography** is not free from errors. These will be recorded in the footnotes. The form *kubura* still occurs in Kandyan usage.

The expression *gam säläsma* is found in the following documents of the Kōṭṭē period:—

(i) Päpiliyāna (*Journal, Ceylon Branch, R.A.S.*, vii (3), 1882). *Beligal nuvara bada bulat-gam säläsmen Piṭṭāgama.*

(ii) Kurunāgala District, registered number 653. *Bat-gam säläsmē pävata ā Daṁbadeni kōraḷaya bada Mädagoḍa yana gama.*

(iii) Ōpāta Mārāvaḷa copper plate. *Vaḷallāviṭi kōraḷaya bada gam säläsmen paḷamu paṭan mesē-ma meku-ṭa praveṇi-va pävata ena Opāta Mārāvaḷayayi yana gama-ṭa him.*

(iv) Oruvaḷa (p. 66 of this volume). *Amutu-va venin gam säläsmak niyama kara.*

Säläsma is 'making', 'arrangement', 'settlement', 'allocation', 'plan', 'lay-out', 'area'; its meaning is somewhat vague. I have rendered the *gam säläsmen* of our grant by 'from the village land', namely the area set apart for the villages. But its precise meaning is not clear. It may indicate village land

as opposed to waste, *gama* as against *val*; or, perhaps with more probability, in view of (i) and (ii), the later *gam-vasam* land, the villages remaining over after the allotment to the military and other departments, as opposed e.g. to the *bulat-gam* and *bat-gam*, the modern *gabaḍā-gam* or *vidāna-gam*. It is possible that the use of the word *säläsma* implies some such process as entry in the *lēkam-miṭiya* or land-register of the province or district.

Val-piṭa regularly occurs in the grants of the period often coupled with *vil-piṭa*. The termination seems to have little or no significance at this time, both words being replaced by *val* and *vil*; it is still used in *hīnnē-piṭa* and survives in such village names as Valpiṭa and Hēnpiṭa. In the stone-inscription at Päpiliyāna of the forty-fourth year of Parākrama Bāhu VI touching Deṇavaka Vihārē we find: *Mirisagala-kandē val-piṭa hā.* Its counterpart in another document of the same year, surviving only in manuscript, is: *ratmāsara-vä Mudalī-vaḍuvā-ṭā siṭī Mi[ri]sagala-kandē val-piṭa hā. Val-piṭa*, therefore, is the equivalent of *ratmāsara*, the later *ratmahära*, the jungle land in which chena cultivation was practised. A possible etymology for this last word is *rāja-mahā-sāra*, 'the king's great wood'. *Goḍa-val-piṭa bim* are mentioned in the *Sabaragamu Disā Lēkam-miṭiya* in the village Nāhalvatura in Aṭakaḷan Kōraḷē, and *goḍa-val-piṭi-kārayō* in Ōpalla in the same division[1].

Who the ten **Aghampaḍis** of Dumbara were is not clear. But from the use of the word in the *Nikāya Saṁgrahava* and in the Niyangampāya inscription of Vikrama Bāhu III there can be no doubt that they were military persons.

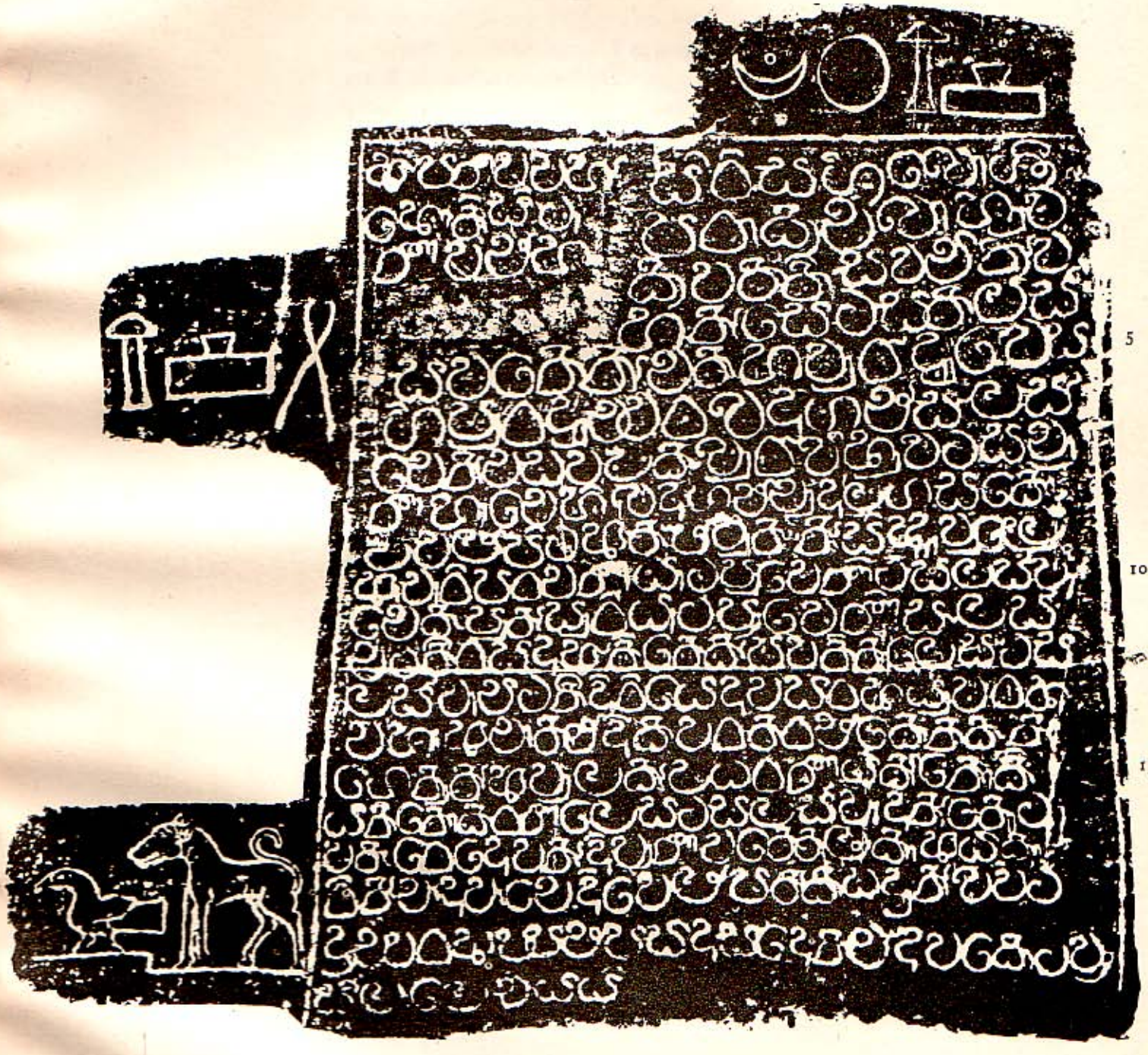
TRANSCRIPT.

1 අපණ[2] වමහැ සිරි සඟබො ශ්‍රී
ජෙනි සිමා පරාක්‍රම බාහු ච
ණ වම්හ කුවනීතිසවම්[3]න්ව
හන්සෙට සතලිස්
5 සවනෙන්[4] මතු හවුරුදු වෙස
ග පුර දුම්ව[5]ර බද ගම්සැලැස්

---

[1] Since writing the above I have seen the Välivița copper plate of Śaka 1727. In this document the land granted to the elder brother of the Saṁgharāja is divided into (1) *maňḍa*, 'mud land' or paddy fields, (2) *goḍa-val-piṭa*, or chenas, and (3) gardens, the names of the plots being given under each heading. There is therefore no doubt that *val-piṭa* is better rendered by 'chena land' than by 'jungle' without qualification.

[2] Read අපා·ණ. [3] Read සවාමී. [4] Read සවන්නෙන්. [5] Or ඔව.



Maḍavaḷa Rock-Inscription

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

தொழும்பு தமிழ்ச் சங்கம்

நூலகம்

මෙන් මඩවළ කුබුරු බිජුවට ස[1]මු
ණ හා මෙහි බද ගම්මුදල ගස කො
ළ වල්පිට ඇතුළුවු[2] තැන් **සිද්දවුලෙ**
ආචාරි පරමණයාට ප්‍රවෙණිට[3] සලස්වා
මෙකු පුත් සුරියාට ප්‍රවෙණි සැලස්
මට ඉර සද[4] ඇති තෙක් පවතිනා ලෙසට ස
ලස්වා මි[5]ට ඉදිරියෙ දවස රජ යුවරජ
මහා අමාත්ත්දි[6] කවර තරම් කෙනකුන්
ගෙනුත් අවුලක් උඩරණයක්[7] නො කි
යන නො කරණ ලෙසට සලස්වා **දන්නොට**
වතුරෙ දෙවන් දිවාණවත්තෙ ලංකා අධිකා
රින් මැදවැ මෙ දිවෙල්පත්කඩ දුන් බවට
දුම්ව[8]ර අසම්පඩි දසදෙන මැදව කෙටවු[2]
සිලාලෙඛයයි[9]

TRANSLITERATION.

Äpaṇa[10] vamhä **Siri Saňgabo Śrī**
Joti siṭā- **Parākrama Bāhu** ca-
ṇa vamha kravartti-svamin[11]-va-
hanse-ṭa satalis-
savanen[12] matu havurudu Vesa-
ňga pura Dumv[13]ara bada gam-säläs-
men **Maḍavaḷa** kuburu bijuva-ṭa sa[14]mu-
ṇa hā mehi bada gam-mudala gasa ko-
ḷa val-piṭa ätuḷu-vu[15] tän **Siddāvulle**
ācāri Paramaṇāyā-ṭa praveṇi-ṭa[16] salasvā
meku put **Suriyā**-ṭa praveṇi sälas-
ma-ṭa ira sada[17] äti tek pavatinā lesa-ṭa sa-
lasvā mi[18]-ṭa iḍiriye davasa raja yuvaraja
mahā amātth[19]di kavara taram kenakun-

---

[1] **Read** සා. [2] Read වූ. [3] Read ශට. [4] Read ද.
[5] Read මී. [6] Read තත්‍රදි. [7] Read උඩරණයක්. [8] Or මඛ.
[9] Read ශිලාලෙඛ්‍යයයි. [10] Read *Apāṇa*. [11] Read *svāmīn*. [12] Read *savannen*.
[13] Or *mba*. [14] Read *sā*. [15] Read *vū*. [16] *ya-ṭa*. [17] Read *ňda*.
[18] Read *mī*. [19] Read *tyādi*.

genut avulak udharaṇayak[1] no ki-
yana no karaṇa lesa-ṭa salasvā **Dantoṭa**
vature Devan Divāṇavatte Laṁkā adhikā-
rin māda-vä me divel-patkaḍa dun bava-ṭa
Dumva[2]ra aghampaḍi dasa-dena māda-va keṭa-vu[3]
silā-lekhayayi[4]

TRANSLATION.

I am the **Āpā.**
I am **Joti Siṭāṇa.**

On the full moon day of Vesak in the year following the forty-sixth of His Majesty the Sovereign lord **Siri Saṅgabo Śrī Parākrama Bāhu** in the presence of **Dantoṭa-vature Devan** and **Divāṇavatte Laṁkā Adhikārin** this document (granting) maintenance-land was given, whereby out of the village land belonging to Dumbara the fields in **Maḍavaḷa,** of six amunams sowing extent, and the places appertaining thereto including the village revenue, plantations and jungle were granted as an inheritance to the smith **Paramaṇāyā** of **Siddāvulla,** it being provided that they should remain so long as the sun and moon exist as an heritable possession for his son **Suriyā,** and (further) it being laid down that at no time to come should any king, sub-king, great officer, and the like, or any one of any degree whatsoever, cause trouble or disturbance by word or deed. To which effect (this) is the stone record cut in the presence of the ten Aghampaḍis of Dumbara.

No. 25. THE PALKUṂBURA SANNASA.

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

THE copper plate described below is in the possession of the **Palkuṁbura Vihārē** in Hārispattuva of the Kandy District. In its present fragmentary condition it measures $9\frac{1}{5}$ by $3\frac{1}{5}$ inches. It obviously has suffered badly from the action of fire. On the left-hand side of the obverse are two double rectangular frames; the upper encloses the sun, while in the lower doubtless was the moon. On the reverse the sole remaining symbol is a chank shell, the emblem of Viṣṇu. The royal signature is illegible.

[1] Read *uddharaṇayak.* [2] Or *mba.* [3] Read *vū.* [4] Read *śilālekhyayayi.*

The history of the succession at this Vihārē is given in the fine copper plate granted by the last king of Kandy Śrī Vikrama Rājsaiṁha, on Monday the seventh of the waxing moon of Durutu in the Śaka year 1726. It is there rehearsed that while Bhuvanaika Bāhu was reigning in Kōṭṭē he had one of his brothers admitted to the priesthood. This Thero, also known as Bhuvanaika Bāhu, resided at the capital, but on the death of the king migrated to the hill country with several of his brothers and settled down at Urulāvatta in Uḍunuvara. During the sojourn of the priest there **Vikrama Bāhu,** the founder of Senkaḍagala [1] or Kandy died and was succeeded by his son, **Jayavīra Āsthāna,** who summoned the priest to the city, bade him transcribe the Visuddhimargga and as a reward therefor gave him the village of Palkuṁbura. The priest was succeeded by his nephew, also known as Bhuvanaika Bāhu Thero. This nephew, however, during the persecution of Buddhism by Rājasiṁha I of Sītāvaka disrobed himself but continued to possess Palkuṁbura under the name of Bhuvanaika Bāhu Paṇḍita Mudiyansē and secured the favour of king Senarat, whose tutor he was. His successor was his nephew, Bhuvanaika Bāhu Thero, who built a new vihārē. Further details of the succession are not given, but under Śrī Vikrama the priest in charge of the vihārē showed the king 'the *sanhasa* which from old was at the Palkuṁbura Vihārē and which was charred and half burnt with fire' and obtained a fresh dedication together with a new copper plate.

The identity of the king Bhuvanaika Bāhu of Kōṭṭē mentioned in the copper plate of Śaka 1726 is certain. The nephew of the original grantee of Palkuṁbura disrobed himself under Rājasiṁha I, who was in possession of Kandy from about 1579 to 1591, and became the tutor of Senarat (1604–35 A.D.). The king of Kōṭṭē, therefore, must be Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII.

In the penultimate portion of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, cap. xcii, compiled in the reign of Kīrttiśrī, it is stated that Vīra Vikkama of the race of Siri Saṁghabodhi became king in Seṅkhaṇḍasela Sirivaḍḍhanapura in the Buddhist year 2085 expired (1542–3 A.D.), and that he was a contemporary of Māyādunnē and a zealous Buddhist; it was he who built the Pōya Maluva in Kandy. This account is an abbreviation of that given in the *Rājaratnākaraya.* In that work, however, the name of the king is not given; from the allusive epithets employed

---

[1] වික්‍රම බාහු මහාරාජෝත්තමයානන්වහන්සේ විසින් අභිනව කරවනලද සෙණ්බඩශෛලාභිධාන ශ්‍රී වර්ධනපුරප්‍රවරයෙහි.

it may have been Vīra Vikrama or Vikrama Bāhu. Tradition attested by eighteenth-century documents ascribes the foundation of Kandy as the capital to Vikrama Bāhu; the Daṁbulla Vihārē *tuḍapata* assigns this event to the Buddhist year 2085. Tradition likewise identifies the builder of the Pōya Maluva with the founder of Asgiri Vihārē, the Vikrama Bāhu who made Kandy his capital. This Vikrama Bāhu is sometimes confused with his namesake of Gampola in the fourteenth century.

In Kandy there seem to have been two kings of the name; one, Siri Saṅgabō Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu, the other, the father of Jayavīra and grandfather of Dona Catharina, the princess who married Vimala Dharma Sūryya I in 1594. Inscriptions of the first Vikrama Bāhu exist at Alutnuvara and at Gaḍalāḍeṇiya; the Kobbākaḍuva Vihārē *sannasa* is dated in his thirty-seventh year, and the Galgānē Vihārē grant of no regnal year on the eighth of the waxing moon of Vesak, 2052 A.B. (1510 A.D.). The last two documents exist only in copies. The Gaḍalāḍeṇiya record is immediately followed by one written in the time of 'our great king Jaya[vī]ra' on the first of the waning moon of Nikini in 2054 A.B. (1511 A.D.). Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu thus seems to have reigned at least from 1473–4 to 1510. As the Galgānē grant was given in the Sirivardhana Palace of Seṅkhaṇḍapura, it is to be presumed that it was this king who founded Kandy as the capital.

The identity of the 'Vikrama Bāhu', said in the Palkuṁbura copper plate to have died after the murder of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII in 1551, and of his son and successor 'Jayavīra Āsthāna' is not clear. It seems, however, fairly certain that this Vikrama Bāhu did not make Kandy the capital, in spite of the statement to that effect in the copper plate just mentioned, for this town already was the seat of government in 1510. There is, therefore, a confusion between two kings of the same name. As to Jayavīra Āsthāna it will be convenient to bear in mind what the *Rājāvaliya* has to say about the only ruler of Kandy so designated therein. From this chronicle (ed. B. Gunasekara) we learn that, when Vijaya Bāhu VII of Kōṭṭē proposed to disinherit his sons, one of them, Māyādunnē, went to the hill country to get help from Jayavīra Baṇḍāra, this ruler's wife being related to Māyādunnē as an 'elder sister', and that with the troops so obtained he and his brothers dethroned and murdered their father (pp. 74–6). This event took place in 1521. Later on Jayavīra Baṇḍāra offended his soṇ, Karalliyaddē Kumāra Baṇḍāra, by his second marriage; he was expelled from his kingdom, took refuge with Māyādunnē, and is no more heard of (p. 82). Karalliyaddē in his turn was dethroned by Rājasiṁha of Sītāvaka and died shortly

afterwards, leaving as his heir his infant daughter, Dona Catharina (pp. 89, 97). The seizure of the Kandyan kingdom by Rājasiṁha took place about 1579.

The *Rājāvaliya* account of Jayavīra Baṇḍāra is borne out by the contemporary documents recently published by Schurhammer (*Ceylon*, Documents 29, 79, 121). One and the same king of Kandy was reigning as early as July 1542 and was still on the throne in January 1551. In 1546 he was 60 years old and his son 20. The king's name is nowhere mentioned, but from the pedigree given in Document 79 there can be little doubt that he is identical with the Jayavīra of the Sinhalese chronicle. We also know from the Kandy Nātha Dēvālē inscription that Śrī Jayavīra Mahā väḍa-vun-täna was on the throne in the month of Bak at the end of the Buddhist year 2085 (1543 A.D.).

The *Rajasiha Sirita*, written in the reign of Rājasiṁha II, son of Dona Catharina, states that this monarch was the 'grandson' (*muṇuburu*) of King Jayavīra, who was the son of King Vikrama Bāhu. If we adhere to the *Rājāvaliya* pedigree and take the word *muṇuburu* in its primary sense of 'grandson' and not in that of 'descendant', we can only conclude that the Jayavīra of 1543 was also known as Vikrama Bāhu. There is no evidence for this; yet Kandyan tradition consistently places Vikrama Bāhu, described as the founder of Kandy, in the middle of the sixteenth century and as often as not attaches to him the date 2085 A.B., which, as we have seen, appears in the Nātha Dēvālē inscription. The problem at present is unsolved, but there is some slight indication that there were two kings, and not one, after Jayavīra, and that it was the second of these who was dethroned by Rājasiṁha I. If this prove to have been the case, Karalliyaddē may have taken the name of Vikrama Bāhu on his accession to the throne, and his successor that of Jayavīra. If, on the other hand, the received pedigree is correct, Rājasiṁha II must have been *muṇuburu* of the Jayavīra of 1543 in the word's not uncommon sense of 'descendant'.

We do not know, however, the relationship between Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu and this Jayavīra or whether the last named prince is identical with Vikrama Bāhu's successor, the Jayavīra of 1511. It seems possible that he is not identical. According to the *Rājāvaliya* (p. 72) the king of Kōṭṭē, Dharma Parākrama Bāhu IX, having heard that the king ruling the hill country had ascended the throne and refused tribute, sent the prince Śrī Rājasiṁha to reduce him to subjection. The Kandyan ruler was forced to sue for peace and gave his daughter to wife to Kīravällē Rālahāmī, Śrī Rājasiṁha's brother-in-law and general. It was the daughter of this princess who married the Jayavīra of 1543. Kīravällē's campaign is placed by the chronicler some time before the murder of

Vijaya Bāhu VII. This took place in 1521, and, as Parākrama Bāhu IX came to the throne in 1509, it seems likely that the new Kandyan king who refused tribute, is the Jayavīra who succeeded Vikrama Bāhu at some date between Vesak of 1510 and Nikini of 1511. If so, he cannot be the same as the Jayavīra of 1543, who married his granddaughter. Even if the text of the *Rājāvaliya*[1] can be interpreted as indicating the rebellion of a vassal king already on the throne and not the accession of a new ruler, it can hardly refer to Vikrama Bāhu, as he always speaks of himself as *Cakravartti*. To sum up, of one fact only is there certainty; in no case can the date 2085 A.B. fit in with the accession of any Vikrama Bāhu. The Nātha Dēvālē record is decisive on this point. This temple is commonly attributed to Vikrama Bāhu, the founder of Kandy, and the date, 2085 A.B., so often ascribed to him, may well have been taken from the inscription itself.

The charred plate according to the Kandyan documents was the '*sanhasa* which from old was at the Palkum̆bura Vihārē'. It manifestly was not the copper plate grant of that Vihārē, as it refers to a temple or to land situated at **Divigoḍa** in the Gālu Kōraḷaya in the present Southern Province; a village Dīgoḍa exists in the Talpē Pattuva.

The **script** of this copper plate is that employed at Kōṭṭē in the sixteenth century and closely resembles that of the Nākolaganē inscription of 2101 A.B., reproduced in Plate 4 of this volume. It is dated in the reign of **Siri Saṅgabō Śrī Bhuvanaika Bāhu,** the seventh of the name, and records a grant of land, subject to a payment to Viṣṇu, to the Mahā Thero of the **Senevirat-muḷa** establishment. The *Vṛtta mālā* of the reign of Parākrama Bāhu V mentions Senāpati-mūḷa Thero; Laṁkā Senevirat Piruvan Terasāmin, pupil of Vilgammula Saṁgharāja, was the author of the *Vimukti Saṁgraha* under Vikrama Bāhu III. The name of the **attesting authority** may have been Nayināru; Sivattā Nayināru was the corresponding official of Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu of Kandy.

TRANSCRIPT.

Obverse.

1 [සවසනි ශ්‍රී වෛ]වස්වත (ම)නු සංඛ්‍යාත මහා සම්මත පරම්පරා[නුයාත සූර්‍යවංශොත්]

---

[1] එකලට උඩරට රජකරන රජසිංහාසන පැනනැගී අණබෙර ගස්වමින් අංගම් පොර අරවමින් අයබදුනොදී.

2 හූ[න සුම්](තු) [රාජ](පුත්‍ර) පෞත්‍ර[1] ශොත්‍රාභිජාන ත්‍රි සිහළාධිශ්වර නාව[රත් නාධිපති ශ්‍රීම]

3 (ත්)[2] [ඹිදි ස](හ)[බො] ශ්‍රී හුවනෙක බාහු චක්‍රවර්තිසාමිත්වහන්සෙ [ම .. ..]

4 ම්[තු] හවූ(රෑ)දු [ඹි]ළ (පු)ර (නව)[3]වකෑ ගාලූ කෝරළය බද දිවිගොඩ හ .. ..

5 ස .. .. රහි .. ..

6 .. .. (කු)ඹු(රෑ) .. ..

2 bhū[ta Sumi](tra) [rāja] (putra) pautra[1] gotrāḅhijāta Tri Siṁhaḷādhīśvara nava[ratnādhipati **Śrīma-**]

3 (t)[2][**Siri Sa**](ňga)[**bo**] **Śrī Bhuvanaika Bāhu** cakravartti-svāmīn-vahanse-[ṭa .. ..]

4 ma[tu] havu(ru)du [Hi]ḷa (pu)ra (nava)[3]vakä Gālu kōraḷaya bada **Divigoḍa** ha .. ..

5 s .. .. rahi .. ..

6 .. .. (ku)ṁbu(ru) .. .. **ka** .. ..

7 .. .. [Upulva]n devi-ra(jjuru-sāmī) .. (-va[4]) .. .. **(kaka)** .. ..

8 .. .. [viňdi]nā niyāyen m(e)ma .. .. mä(va[2]) .. ..

Reverse.

1 .. .. **n(e)virat-muḷa** maha (t)e(ra-)[sā]mīn-(va) .. ..

2 se(gē ku[5]) .. .. .. [daru-]muṇuburu śāsana bandhu para[mpa](rā)va-ṭa ā ca[ndrārkka sthāyīva svas-]

3 thira-vä pavatinā pa[ṇa]ta-ṭa salasvā taṁba pata liyā [de]nnēyayi [**Jayavardhana Kōṭṭa-**]

4 **yē** Māli(g)āve si(ṁ)hāsanayē väḍa hida mudaliva(ru)[n mä]da-vä vadā(ḷa) [mehevarin]

5 mē sanhas tāmbra patraya liyā dun bava-ṭa **Sanhas Tiruvaraňgan Nay** .. ..

6 Dāna-pālanayor-mmaddhye dānācchreyonupālanam‖dānāt (s)[varggama vāpno-]

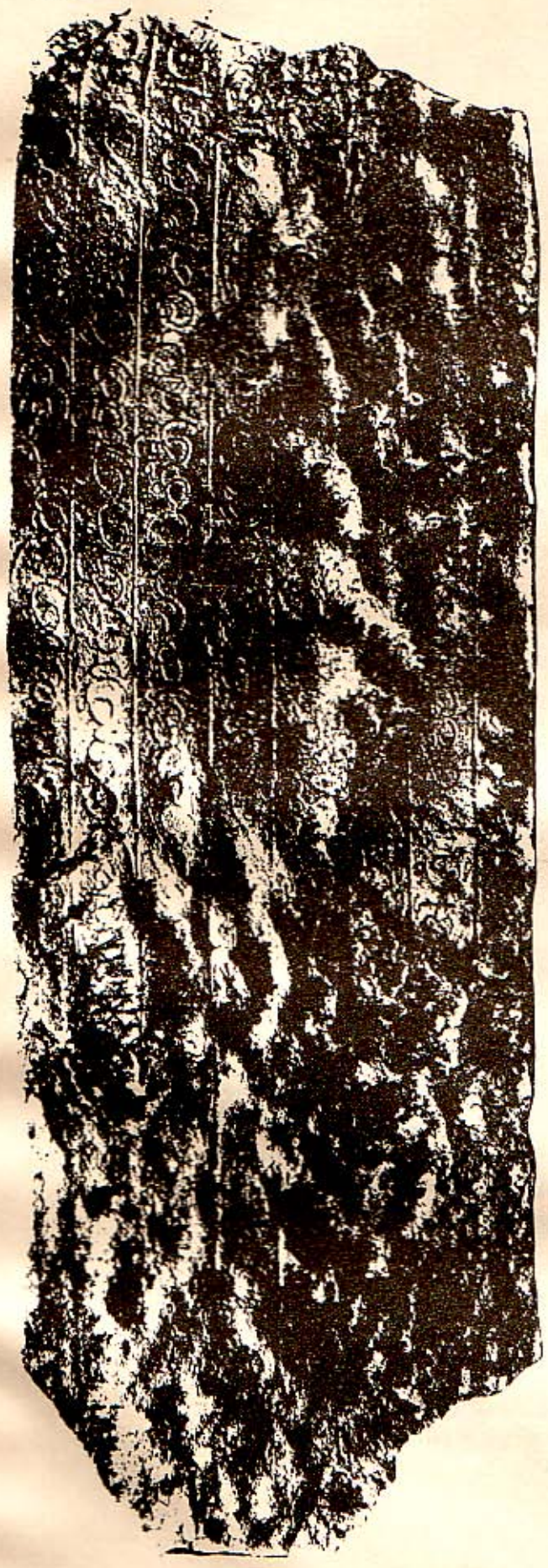
7 ti pālanād-a(cyu)tampadam  Siddhi

TRANSLATION.

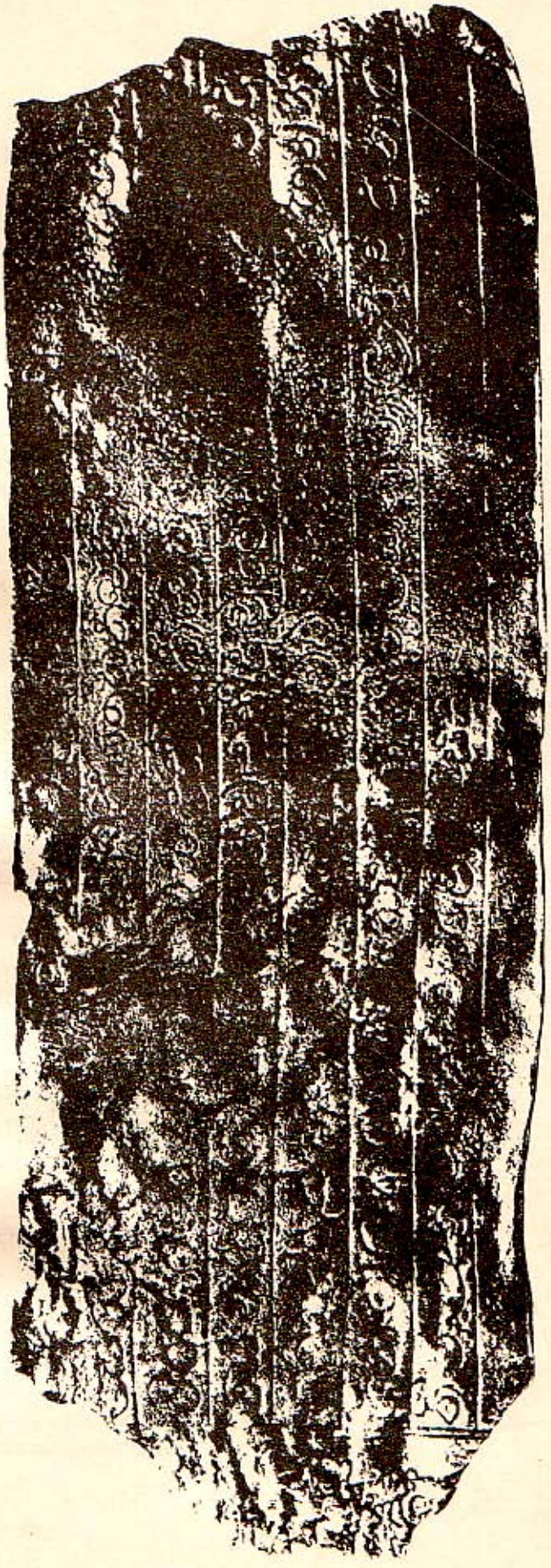
Hail! Prosperity! On the ninth[6] of the waxing moon of Hiḷa in the year following the . . . of His Majesty the Sovereign Lord (**Śrīmat Siri Saňgabo**) **Śri Bhuvanaika Bāhu,** born of the spotless clan of Prince Sumitra, sprung

---

[1] For *pavitra*. [2] Doubtful. [3] Possibly *tiya*. Or *ṭa*. [5] *ku* doubtful.
[6] Or, third.



Obverse



Reverse

Palkuṁbura Sannasa

from the race of the Sun in lineal descent from Mahā Sammata named Vaivasvata Manu, sovereign lord of Tri Siṁhaḷa and lord of the nine gems, (His Majesty), having provided for the order that **Divigoḍa** . . . . in the Gālu **Kōraḷaya** . . . . . fields . . . . . should be enjoyed . . . . the lotus-coloured divine king [Viṣṇu], and be possessed so long as sun and moon endure by the Mahā Thero of the **Senevirat-muḷa** establishment and continue permanently in the religious descent of his children and grandchildren, was pleased to command in the midst of the Mudaliyārs, whilst seated on the lion throne in the palace of [**Jayavardhana-Kōṭṭē**] that the (requisite) copper plate should be written and given. I, **Sanhas Tiruvaraṅgan Nay**...., (certify) that this *sanhas* copper plate has been written and given in obedience thereto.

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

No. 26. TWO ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS FROM LABUÄṬABÄṄDIGALA.

(*A. S. I.* Nos. 449 and 450.)

By S. PARANAVITANA.

LABUÄṬABÄṄDIGALA[1] is a rock situated about one and a half miles to the north-east of Moraväva, a village in the Kalpē Kōraḷē of the North-Central Province. On this rock there is a ruined *stūpa*, a few yards to the south of which the two epigraphs dealt with in this paper are incised.

Inscription No. 449 covers an area of about 6 ft. by 1 ft. 10 in., and consists of five lines of writing of which the last has only five letters preserved. The auspicious word *siddham* is written to the left somewhat apart from the main

---

[1] This place was visited by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in 1892. In his Annual Report for that year (p. 7) he gives the following brief note about the site:—'Labuetagala:—A flat rock reach, 1½ miles from Moraveẉa on the *pinpāra* to Mahakapugolléva. Two inscriptions, a good deal worn. The name of the king is not given; but the name of the ancient rock temple "*Chevagiri Vihārē*" (*sic*) occurs in both.' Eye copies of the two inscriptions have also been prepared under Mr. Bell's direction; and they have been included as Nos. 26 and 27 of the list of inscriptions copied in 1892.

inscription. About six letters of the first line and three of the second are completely effaced and some letters seem to be missing at the end of the last line. The rest of the record is fairly well preserved. The letters are boldly engraved, but the rock has not been smoothed before the writing was executed. They are, on an average, three inches in height, excepting the last sixteen of the fourth line and those of the fifth which are about two inches in height.

The document is not **dated**; and there is nothing in its contents that enables us to fix its probable date. A study of its paleography, however, makes it possible to ascribe it to the **fifth century** or thereabouts. The **script** shows a later stage of development than that of the Tōṇigalā rock inscription[1] of the third year of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa (*circa* 362–389 A.D.) as will be evident when **the following letters** occurring in the two epigraphs are placed side by side.

	a	*ka*	*ga*	*pa*	*ha*
Tōṇigala :—					
Labuāṭabāṅdigala :—					

Further examples can be shown to the same effect; but, on the other hand, the letters *ṇa* and *na* in the Tōṇigala record seem to represent a more evolved type than those occurring in this inscription. In my article on the Tōṇigala inscription, I have shown that that record is not altogether representative of the style of writing prevailing at the time. More developed forms are noticed in records of the same reign and those of the reigns of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa's immediate successors. Therefore, the difference in the script should not be taken as indicating a long interval between the reign of Śrīmeghavaraṇṇa and the date of this inscription. The Tissamahārāma slab of the reign of Mahānāman[2], on the other hand, shows a script further developed than that of this record as will be seen on a comparison of the facsimile in Pl. XXIX with plate No. 67 of Müller's *A. I. C.* Therefore, the present record ought to be ascribed to a date somewhere between the reigns of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa and Mahānāman.

The script, on the whole, has a tendency towards curved instead of angular forms; and a large number of the letters slant leftwards. The letter *ga* has developed a short horizontal bar at the top. The letter *u*, in line 3, very closely resembles an *o*; and it is written jostling together with the following letter *va*. *E* at the beginning of the fourth line supplies us with an intermediate form

---

[1] See above pp. 172 ff.

[2] *A. I. C.* No. 67.

between the angular symbol for that letter found in the second- and third-century script and the curvilinear form of the eighth and ninth centuries. The same line, however, has an *e* which is more archaic in form. The horizontal cross bar at the top of the letter *na* has its two ends curved downwards.

The two symbols ⊞ and [illegible] call for a few remarks. The first has been noticed in the Pālu Mäkiccāva rock inscription of Gajabāhu I [1]. Mr. Bell has suggested that 'it may denote the standard by which the value or weight of the *karshapaṇa* was reckoned, i.e. by *pādās* or quarters' [2]. Dr. Wickremasinghe, though not quite confident about the significance of this symbol, seems to endorse Mr. Bell's theory. The same symbol is found in several other inscriptions dating from the early centuries of the present era; for instance, in a rock inscription of a king styled Gamiṇi Abaya from Vilēväva in the Kalpē Kōraḷē of the Anurādhapura District [3], in a rock inscription near the Kiribat-Vehera at Mihintaḷē and in the Ruvanvälisāya pavement inscription of Meghavarṇṇa Abhaya. Invariably, the symbol follows the mention of *kahāpaṇas*; and in the present record, as well as in the Vilēväva and Mihintaḷē epigraphs mentioned above, it is followed by symbols which most probably are numerical. I think there is hardly any doubt that the symbol in question indicates the *kahāpaṇa* coin itself and the figures following it are the numerals expressed already in words. In Indian inscriptions, there are numerous instances in which numbers already expressed in words are given again in symbols.

The second symbol is a combination of the letters *sa* and *ka*. We may reasonably assume that it expresses the number already given in words, i.e. 100; but it bears a very close resemblance to the symbol for 400 occurring in the Gupta inscriptions [4]. We are not quite certain whether the same system of numerical symbols that was in vogue in North India, during the early centuries of the Christian Era, prevailed in this island also. I think it is a reasonable explanation to take *sa* as the initial of the word *sata* 'hundred' and the *ka* joined to it as indicating 'one' as it is the first consonant [5].

The **language** of this inscription has many points in common with the Tōṇigala inscription already referred to. The **contents** tell us that a certain

---

[1] *E.Z.*, Vol. I, pp. 208 ff.

[2] *A. S. C. Seventh Progress Report*, p. 44, n. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 58, n. 5.

[4] See Bühler's *Paläographie*, Tafel IX.

[5] This letter is found similarly used in masons' marks of the twelfth century, and in manuscripts of modern times.

individual named **Sirinakayi** deposited one hundred *kahāpaṇas*, the interest accruing from which was to be given to the monks of the **Devagiri** monastery for defraying the expenses connected with the *vassa* festival. Devagiri Vihāra was evidently the name of the monastery which existed on this rock during ancient times. So far as I am aware, it is not mentioned in the chronicles.

TEXT.

1 Siddha[m][॥*] (Nakarahi pa)[1]jina-pasahi **Mahatabaka**-niyama-ta-
2 -(nahi **De**)[2]**vagariya**-maha-viharahi ameti-**Sagayaha**
3 puta **S[i]rinakayi** uvanikeva koṭu ariyavasa vaṭaṭaya
4 eka-sataka-kahavaṇa dini ⊞ ५ Me eka-sataka-kahavaṇehi ve-
5 -ḍa geṇeye .. ..

TRANSLATION.

Hail! **Sirinakayi,** the son of the minister **Sagaya,** having deposited one hundred *kahapaṇas* with the guild of **Mahatabaka,** in the (Eastern) quarter (of the city), gave [the same] to the great monastery of **Devagiri** for the purpose of conducting the sacred *vassa* festival. (*100 kahavaṇas, in symbols.*) Having taken the interest on these one hundred *kahavaṇas* . . . . . .

REMARKS.

[Line 1] *Pajina* = Skt. *prācīna*, P. *pācīna* 'eastern'. The change of *c* to *j* observed in this word is a common feature in the Sinhalese language. Compare Sin. *ājara* for P. *ācariya*. The classical Sinhalese form of the word *pajina* is *pädum*. With the expression *nakarahi pajina-pasahi*, compare *nakarahi utara-pasahi* in the Tōṇigala inscription. For the interpretation of the word *niyama-tanahi*, see above p. 180. It is also possible that *niyamatana* is a term denoting a territorial division, in which case Devagiri Vihāra was situated in the district of Mahatabaka. The objection to this interpretation of the word is the occurrence of *nakarahi* immediately preceding. A territorial division which included

---

[1] The missing letter before *ji* can be restored with absolute certainty as *pa*, for no other letter added to the two syllables *jina* results in a word expressing a direction. *Nakarahi* is restored on the analogy of the Tōṇigala inscription, see above p. 177.

[2] The restoration of the syllable *De* is quite certain, as in the next inscription the name Devagiriya is well preserved. For the restoration of the word *niyamatanahi*, see the Tōṇigala inscription.



A.S.I. No. 449



A.S.I. No. 450

Labuāṭabāndigala Rock-Inscriptions

Scale, about 1½ inches to a foot

Devagiri Vihāra could not have been 'in the city'. If we adopt this interpretation of the word, we have to take that the *kahāpaṇas* in question were deposited with the monks of the *vihāra* and not with a mercantile guild.

[Line 2] *Ameti* = Skt. *amātya*.

[Line 3] *Sirinakayi* = P. *Sirināga*. The vowel *i* at the end of this word finds a parallel in the name Sivayi in the next inscription. *Uvanikeva koṭu* = P. *upanikkhepaṁ katvā*. In this word, we have an instance of the consonant *p* changing to *v*. Cf. Sin. *pav* for Skt. *pāpa*. With the phrase *uvanikeva koṭu*, we may compare *nikita* in the Tōṇigala inscription, above, p. 181. For the interpretation of *ariyavasa*, see above pp. 181–2. *Vaṭaṭaya* is equivalent to Skt. *vṛttyarttthāya*.

[Line 4] *Kahavaṇa* = P. *kahāpaṇa*, Skt. *karṣāpaṇa*. In a pre-Christian Brāhmī inscription at Māmpiṭa in the Kāgalla District, the word occurs as *kaśapaṇe* and *kahapaṇe*. For the value of this coin, see Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 9.

[Line 5] *Veḍa* = Skt. *vṛddhi*, see above p. 185.

Geṇeya = Pkt. *gaṇhiya*. In the Tōṇigala inscription, the word occurs in the form of *geṇe*, see above, p. 186.

INSCRIPTION No. 450.

THIS record is engraved immediately below No. 449. The rock surface covered by it measures 6 ft. in length by 1 ft. 6 in. in breadth. The inscription is in a bad state of preservation; more than half of the letters in the third line being partly worn and at least one line at the end completely obliterated. The letters, not taking into account the medial vowel signs for *i* and *u* and the tails of such *akṣaras* as *a* and *ka*, are, on an average, three inches in height. The script is of the same type as that of the foregoing inscription and both records may, therefore, belong to the same period. The contents tell us that a person named **Niṭalaviṭiya Sivayi**, son of **Raṭiya Sumanaya**, deposited twenty *kahāpaṇas* for the benefit of the **Devagiri** vihāra.

TEXT.

1 Siddham [॥*] **Ra(ṭi)ya S[u]manayaha** puta **Niṭalaviṭiya**
2 **Sivayi** visiya kahavaṇa **Devagiriya** v[i]harahi
3 **uvanikeva** ko[ṭa]vaya (dine) [॥*] Ana havajarana ariya[1] .. .. ..
4 .. ..

[1] On the analogy of other inscriptions (see above, p. 182), the missing letters after *ariya* may be restored as *vasa-vaṭa koṭu*.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! **Niṭalaviṭiya Sivayi,** the son of **Raṭiya Sumanaya,** caused to be deposited and gave twenty *kahavaṇas* to the monastery of **Devagiri** (for the purpose of conducting) the sacred (*vassa* festival) during the coming years . . .

REMARKS.

[Line 1] *Raṭiya*:—This word occurs in other records of about the same period; for instance, an inscription at Käbällāleṇa, in the Dēvamädi Hatpattu of the Kuruṇāgala District, mentions a Raṭika named Naka[1] and an unpublished rock inscription at a place named Burutankanda in the Hambantoṭa District has the words, *Raṭiya Makayaha puta Raṭiya Sivayaha.* The word *raṭiya* is derived from the *P. raṭṭhika* (Skt. *rāṣṭrika*) which occurs in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[2] in a list of high dignitaries of the state. The later Sinhalese equivalent of the word was *räṭi. Maha-räṭi-nā* (the great chief of the *räṭi*) was one of the highest officials of the government in the twelfth century[3]. A *räṭiyā* was, evidently, the officer in charge of a district called *raṭa* and may have been of equal status to the *raṭ-laddā* of the mediaeval inscriptions. The term is still preserved in the official title *Raṭēmahattayā.* In India, corresponding officials were called *rāṣṭra-kūṭas*; and one of the best known dynasties of the Deccan in mediaeval times was known by this name. Indian caste-names such as *Reḍḍi* have their origin in this word and it is interesting to note that in Ceylon, too, a derivative of *raṭiya*, the modern word *raṭē*, is a caste designation[4].

[Line 1] *Niṭalaviṭiya* is evidently a village name.

[Line 2] *Sivayi*:—Compare, for the suffix *i*, the name *Sirinakayi* in the previous inscription.

[Line 2] *Visiya* = P. *vīsati*, Skt. *viṁśati. Kahavaṇa*, see above p. 251.

[Line 3] *Koṭavaya* is probably the causative form of the gerund *koṭu* (Skt. *kṛtvā*).

[Line 3] *Ana havajarana*:—This is the first time that this expression has been met with. It is a compound of *ana* and *havajara* and is here in the geni-

---

[1] Inscription No. 528. See *C. J. Sc.* (§ G), p. 126.

[2] Vol. III, p. 76. *Raṭṭhiki pettanika senāya senāpatika.*

[3] See *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, English translation, p. 20.

[4] D'Oyly, *Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom*, Colombo, 1929, pp. 48–52.

tive case plural. *Havajara* is derived from the Pāli *saṁvacchara* (Skt. *saṁvatsara*), by the elision of the *anusvāra*, the assimilation of the double consonants, the change of the initial *s* to *h* and *c* to *j*—all phonetic changes common in the Sinhalese language. Later forms of the word *havajara* are *havurudu* in the mediaeval and classical stages of the language and *avurudu* which is a very common word at the present day. The form preserved in the present record is of considerable etymological value in that it enables us to connect the modern Sinhalese word *avurudda* with the Vedic *saṁvatsara*. The interpretation of *ana* is doubtful. I have taken it to be equivalent to Skt. *anya* (Mod. Sin. *an*) 'other', used in a secondary sense denoting futurity. With the expression *ana havajarana* in the present record, we may compare *ane havijiriya* in the Burutankanda rock inscription mentioned above, *ana havdjariyi veḍa koṭaya* and *havajara ana kalahi* in two fragmentary records from a place named Baḍagiriya in the Hambantoṭa District.

No. 27. KALUDIYAPOKUṆA INSCRIPTIONS.
(*A.S.I.* Nos. 429–431).

By S. PARANAVITANA.

KALUPOKUṆA or Kaludiyapokuṇa[1] is the site of an extensive ruined monastery situated, on the slopes of a range of hills known as Eravalagala, about a mile and a half to the south-east of Kuṁbukkaṅdanvaḷa, in the Vagapaṇaha Pallēsiya Pattu of the Mātaḷē District. The principal buildings of the monastery, which included a moderate sized *stūpa* and a structure supported by massive but roughly hewn stone pillars, were arranged on several terraces on the hillside and seem to have been surrounded by a moat. As one ascends the hill, passing the terraced sites, the ground to the south and the east becomes rocky and among the huge granite boulders, there are twelve caves, partly artificial, used in ancient days as dwelling-places by Buddhist hermits. About 750 feet to the south-west of the *stūpa*, there is a rubble-faced *pokuṇa*, the muddy water which it is now filled with gives to the whole site its modern name[2].

---

[1] For a brief description of this site, see *C. J. Sc.* (§ G) vol. ii, pp. 87–8.

[2] *Kaludiyapokuṇa* is a Sinhalese compound word meaning 'Black Water Pool'.

Three inscriptions have been discovered at this place. Of these, the earliest (No. 431), belonging to about the seventh century A. D., is inscribed on a plain guardstone of the flight of steps at the southern entrance to the court-yard of the *stūpa*. Only a few letters of this epigraph are legible and we are, therefore, unable to say what its contents were.

The second inscription in point of date (No. 429) is engraved on the rock wall of a cave situated about 400 ft. to the south-west of the *stūpa*. It is divided into five columns of unequal dimensions. The first column, containing eighteen lines, measures 6 ft. by 1 ft. 4 in.; the second of seventeen lines measures 5 ft. by 1 ft. 5 in., and the third, 6 ft. by 1 ft. 1 in., contains twenty-one lines. The fourth column measuring 1 ft. 4 in. by 8 in. contains only six short lines of which the second line consists of one letter, the third of two, and the rest of three each. The fifth column is engraved in the intervening space between the third and the fourth and contains five lines of writing of which the second consists of only one letter and the rest of two each. It measures 1 ft. 3 in. by 5 in. The whole rock surface covered by the inscription measures, roughly, 6 ft. by 6 ft.

The **letters**, too, are not of a uniform size; those in the last eight lines of the third column being smaller than the others. The average size is about two inches in height. The engraving of the record is done in a somewhat careless manner; the letters being quite shallow and, in many instances, badly formed. But, owing to its sheltered position, the record is in a good state of preservation.

The **script** is that of the ninth century; but is more cursive in form than in any of the published epigraphs datable within this period[1]. Some letters are written in more than one type; for instance, the letter *i* assumes various shapes in lines A 12, A 18, B 2, B 7, C 8, C 13, C 16, C 18, C 21, and E 5. The letter *gha* (line B 8) is found here for the first time in a Sinhalese document of the ninth century; in form it closely resembles the symbol for *dha*. It is difficult to distinguish *ha* and *ga* from each other owing to the absence, in the former, of the hook in its left arm.

As regards **orthography**, the mode of writing the two words *vibangha* and *sammā-sambudu* may be noted. In the former word, which stands for the Skt. *vibhaṅga*, the aspirate is transferred from the second to the third syllable,

---

[1] Compare, for example, *E Z.*, Vol. I, plates 20 and 26, Vol. II, plates 3 and 5 and Vol. III, plate 6.

and the dental *n* has been substituted for the *anusvāra*. In the latter word, which is a corruption of P. *sammā sambuddha*, the use of the conjoint consonants is noteworthy. Attention may also be drawn to the fact that, in this document, the particle *yi* is added after the finite verb just as the same particle or its variant *ya* is added in the modern language. This particle is, in my opinion, a corruption of the Skt. and P. *iti* which, in the latter language, is often used to indicate the close of a sentence. In the long sentence beginning with line A 1 and ending in line B 14 which has several parenthetical clauses, the subject, *Daḷanāmi*, occurs twice. The first personal termination *mi* is added not only to the finite verb (*dinmi*), but also to the subject *Daḷanā* as well.

Among the unusual words occurring in this record, *mahabundnen* in lines A 10–11, *mutpanin pere bundnen* in lines A 12–14, *māḍabi* in line C 11 and *äg* in line C 14 call for some remarks here. The word *bundna* is obscure both in its meaning and in its etymology. It may, however, be conjectured that it is the prototype of ***mudala***[1], meaning 'storehouse' or 'treasury'. If we adopt this hypothesis, ***mahabundna***, would mean 'the great storehouse'. In dealing with the Giritaḷē pillar[2] inscription, I have suggested that *pere* occurring in technical terms of the tenth-century inscriptions may mean 'outer'. If this meaning is adopted, *perebundna* would mean 'the outer treasury or storehouse'. The context in which the word *bundna* occurs seems to support this conjecture. A person deposited some money for the daily supply of certain quantities of rice and curd to the inmates of a *vihāra*. It is reasonable to think that the investment was done with the persons who had the management of the storehouses of the monastery who undertook to supply, in payment of the interest on the invested capital, the commodities as requested by the donor. As regards the term 'outer storehouse' it may be useful to point out that in the monastery of Mihintaḷē, the income and expenditure were divided into two departments 'the interior' and 'the exterior'[3]. The outer storehouse mentioned here was probably connected with the exterior revenue and expenditure (*bähäri aya väya*). *Mutpanin* may be a place name; if so it should be qualifying *perebundna* and as such, the case ending is noteworthy. Compare, also, the expression *mut-hasa*,

---

[1] This word is of frequent occurrence in documents of about the fifteenth century. The compound word *gam-mudala* occurring in the Oruvala Sannasa is translated by Mr. Codrington as 'village revenue'. In the compound ***ara-mudala*** the word distinctly signifies 'storehouse' or 'treasury'.

[2] Above p. 145.

[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 101.

which itself is obscure in meaning, occurring in the Kevulgama and Vaharakgoḍa inscriptions (see above, p. 231).

Māḍabi, in line C 11, is a part of a personal name and is evidently a title. This word is found, similarly used, in several other documents of the period. The Timbirivāva pillar inscription[1] mentions a *pirivena* named after a Māḍabi whose proper name is not preserved. An inscription on a stone basin at the ruined monastery of Pankuliya at Anurādhapura says that the object was a gift of a person named Senal Māḍabi[2]. One of the persons who scribbled verses on the gallery wall at Sīgiriya was styled 'Nakka Māḍambiyā, the Superintendent of the slaves of the Pāṇḍyan king'[3]. An officer called *māḍabiyā* is also mentioned in the Abhayavāva pillar inscription (*A. I. C.*, No. 11) of Sirisaṅgboy (Sena II); but the passage being mutilated, we are not quite certain about the reason of his being mentioned there[4]. Lastly, a fragmentary inscription found at Parapē in the Kāgalla District seems to record a transaction between some merchants and an officer called Nakkan Vadur Māḍabi.[5] None of these references helps us to determine the exact connotation of this official title of *māḍabi* or *māḍambi*. The word seems to be identical with *māḍambiya* which occurs in Jain Prākrit. The *Uvāsagadasāo*, one of the canonical books of the Jainas, includes *māḍambiya* in a list of high officials.[6] Dr. Hoernle has translated the word, in this text, as 'governor'. In an old Kanarese inscription found at a place named Tērdal[7], *maḍamba* is used as a territorial term denoting a group of villages. If *māḍambiya* is a derivative of *maḍamba*, the word may mean the governor of a territorial district called by that name. The editor of the *Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo* has adopted this explanation. On the other hand, in an extract from a Jaina text quoted by Dr. Pran Nath in his *Economic Conditions of*

---

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 12.

[2] This short record is yet unpublished. It reads '*Senal Māḍabiyan kārāvū pādōṇi* 'The wash-basin caused to be made by Senal Māḍabi'.

[3] This graffito reads:—*Pāṇḍira[ju]n dāśa-adhikāra Nakka Māḍambiyā liyū kavi* 'The verse written by Nakka Mādambi, the Superintendent of the slaves of the Pāṇḍyan king.

[4] Dr. Müller's reading of this part of the inscription is not correct. The officer *māḍabi* in this instance, seems to have had something to do with *vihāras*.

[5] Bell's *Report on the Kāgalla District*, p, 72 and plate facing that page. Mr. Bell's reading is somewhat different.

[6] *Rāisara-talavara-māḍambiya-koḍumbiya-seṭṭhi-satthavāhappabhiīyā: Uvāsagadasāo* edited by A. F. R. Hoernle, p. 8, translation p. 10.

[7] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xiv, pp. 19–25.

Ancient India (p. 55, foot-note 2), a commentator explains *māḍambiya* as a customs officer (*maṇḍapādhipa*). The term *māḍabinu*, occurring in the Hiraḥaḍagalli copper-plate grant of the Pallava King Śivaskandavarmman, seems to be a word of cognate origin. Dr. Bühler has suggested its correction to *māṇḍabika* and translates it as 'customs house officer'[1]. *Äg* in line C 14 seems to correspond to the word *givisä* (consented) occurring in the previous sentences. Therefore, we may take it to be of the same meaning. Perhaps, it has some connexion with the Skt. *aṅgī* in such compounds as *aṅgīkṛta*.

The inscription is dated on the fifth day of the bright half of the lunar month Poson in the eighth year of King **Sirisaṅgbo**. It is not possible to settle definitely the identity of this monarch; but, on palaeographical grounds, this inscription may be ascribed to the reign of either **Sena II** (*circa* 846–80) or **Kassapa IV** (*circa* 891–908); more probably to that of the earlier of the two.

The **contents** tell us of the gifts made by different individuals for providing food to the inmates of the **Dakiṇigiri** monastery. The major part of the record is concerned with the gift of a person named **Daḷanā** (P. *Dāṭhānāga*) who invested twenty-three *kaḷaňdas* of gold for the daily supply of two *aḍmanā* of rice and one *aḍmanā* of curd. The stipulation made by the donor that the rice should not be given uncooked does not throw much credit on the inmates of the monastery. It is also laid down that in case of dissension among the inmates of the monastery, the food intended for them should be thrown to crows and dogs. Evidently, Daḷanā was of opinion that if the members of the *saṅgha* quarrelled amongst themselves, they were less worthy of the offerings of the pious than such animals.

From this inscription we learn that the ancient name of the monastery at Kaludiyapokuṇa was Dakiṇigiri (P. *Dakkhiṇa-* or *Dakkhiṇāgiri*). A monastery called Dakkhiṇāgiri was, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa* (xxxiii, 7), founded by Saddhātissa. The name appears again in a list of eighteen *vihāras* built by Dhātusena[2]. Aggabodhi I erected a hall for the Uposatha festival at Dakkhiṇāgiri vihāra[3] and Kassapa V granted a village to it[4]. Professor Geiger has

---

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, pp. 5–7. Dr. Bühler remarks, 'I consider the correction *māṇḍabika* as certain and take the word *maṇḍaba* or *maṇḍapa*, from which it has been derived, in the sense of the modern *māṇḍavī* "custom house"'.

[2] *Mv.* xxxviii, v. 46. [3] *Ibid.*, xlii, v. 27. [4] *Ibid.*, lii, v. 60.

suggested the identification of the Dakkhiṇāgiri Vihāra mentioned in the chronicle with Mulgirigala in the Southern Province[1]; but a twelfth-century inscription found at the latter place refers to it as Muhundgiri (P. *Sumuddagiri*)[2].

TEXT.

A.

1 **Sirisaṅgbo-**
2 **-y** mapurmukā [do-
3 -ḷo]s-vanne Po-
4 -sonā pura visenī da-
5 -vas **Daḷanāmi Daki-**
6 **-ṇigiri-veherä** ma-
7 -ha-saṅgnaṭ la-
8 -hā-bataṭ tevisi
9 kaḷandak ran dī da-
10 -vas patā maha-bund-
11 -nen de≠[ya]ḍmanāk
12 sāle bat isā mu-
13 -tpanin pere-bund-
14 -nen ek≠aḍ manāk
15 dihi ätuḷ ko-
16 -ṭ hir-sand ä-
17 -ti tāk sändä pava-
18 -tnā isā sāl

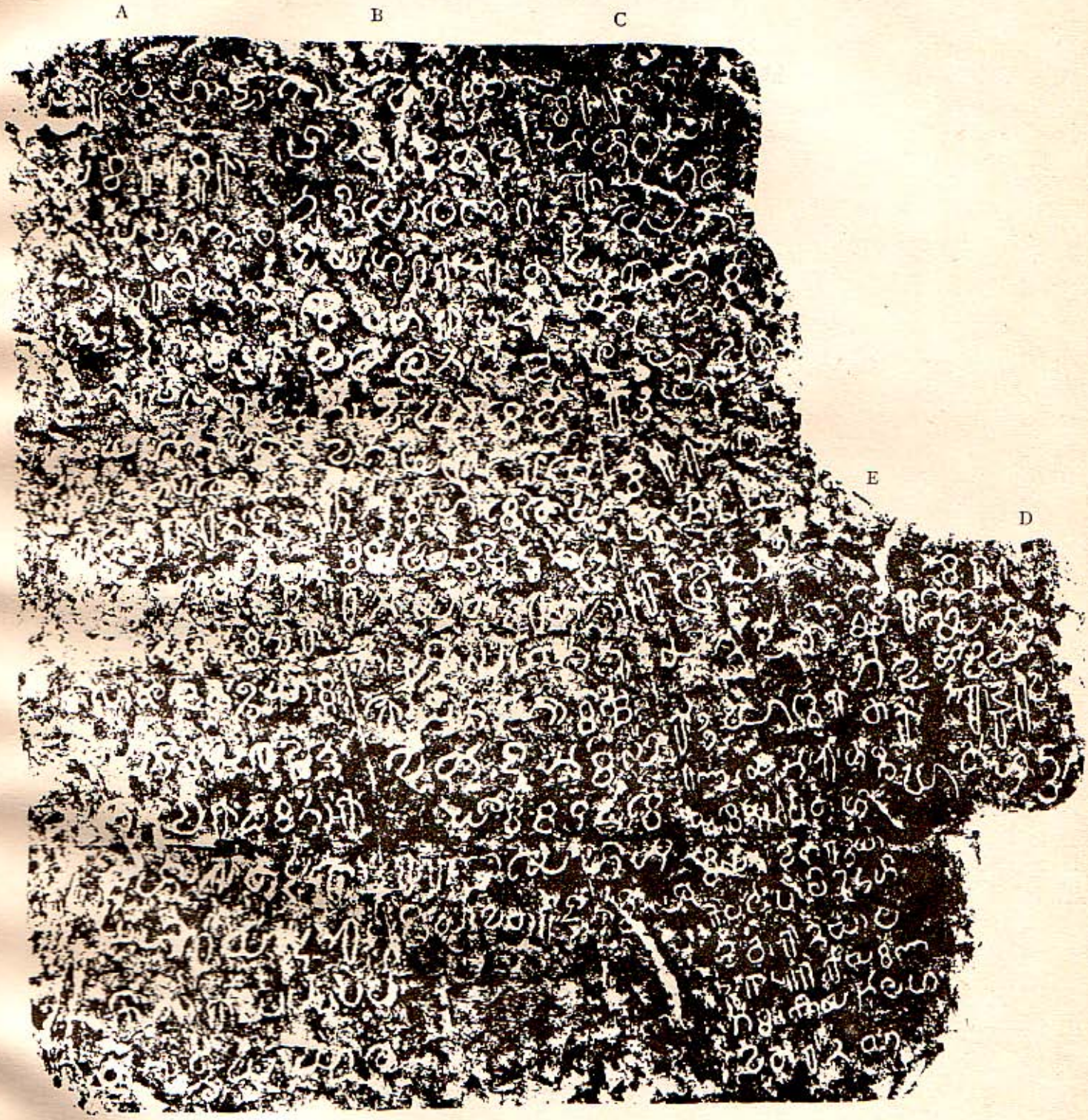
B.

1 nodī batge
2 pisä bat de-
3 -nu isā veherä
4 viyagurak äta
5 me bat kavuḍu-
6 ballanaṭ o-
7 -nā isā me vi-
8 -bangha kaḷa kene-
9 -kun Maha-mete-sa-
10 -mmā-Sambudun do-
11 -rin yat at no
12 näṅgiya henu
13 koṭ Daḷanāmi me
14 bat dinmiyi [‖*]
15 [3]**Sīmi** mamad me
16 karaṇayehi gi-
17 visä batak dinmiyi [‖*]

C.

1 Me karaṇaye-
2 -hi givisä
3 **Koṭgam**
4 **S(ī)sen**
5 vat-himi-
6 -yange
7 lahā-bata-
8 -k isā [‖*]
9 Me karaṇaye-
10 -hi givisä

[1] The *Cūḷavaṁsa*, English translation, part I, p. 33, n. 3.
[2] *C. J. Sc.* (§ *G*), *Vol. II*, p. 122, *A. S. I.* No. 508.
[3] There is space for one *akṣara* before *si*; but no traces of any letter are visible.



Kaludiyapokuṇa Cave-Inscription

Scale, about 1¼ inches to 1 foot

11 **Kaḷi Māḍabi-**
12 **-yan** bata-
13 -k isā [‖*] Me ka-
14 -raṇayen äg
15 **Sumeyur** vat-hi-
16 -miyan batak isā
17 **Kalalväli Udahi**[1]
18 batak isā [‖*] **Va-**
19 **-durā Araksamaṇa-**
20 -n māṇiyan lahā-
21 batak isā [‖*]

D.

1 Me kara-
2 -ṇa-
3 -yehi
4 givisä
5 **Ädur** va-
6 t-himi

E.

1 (me ka[2])
2 -ya-
3 -n **ba-**
4 -tak
5 isā [‖*]

TRANSLATION[3].

[Lines A 1–18] On the fifth day of the waxing moon of [the month of] Poson[4] in the twelfth [year] of His Majesty **Sirisaṅgboy**[5], I, **Daḷanā**[6] gave twenty-three *kaḷandas*[7] of gold for 'ticket-meals'[8] to the great community of monks at the **Dakiṇigiri**[9] monastery so that meals cooked of two *aḍmanā*[10] of

---

[1] Can be read as *Udagi*, also. [2] Evidently, these two syllables are due to a clerical error.

[3] Lines A 1–B 14 consist of a single sentence of which the syntax is very much involved. For the sake of clearness, I have translated some of the adverbial clauses as independent sentences treating past participles as finite verbs. It is hardly possible to preserve the syntax of the original Sinhalese sentence in an English translation.

[4] The third lunar month equivalent to Skt. *Jyeṣṭha*, May–June.

[5] P. *Sirisaṅghabodhi*.

[6] P. *Dāṭhānāga*.

[7] A weight equivalent to about 70–72 grains of Troy. See Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 9.

[8] *Lahābat*=P. *salākabhatta*. See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 28, n. 4.

[9] P. *Dakkhiṇagiri* or *Dakkhiṇāgiri*.

[10] For *aḍmanā*, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 108, n. 3. *Aḍmanā* appears to be derived from P. *aḍḍhamāna*, a term of capacity occurring in the *Jātaka* (I, 468) and explained by the commentator as equivalent to four *nāḷi* (Sin. *näḷi*). A *māna* therefore, is eight *nāḷi*; but in modern usage in Ceylon a *näḷiya* (P. *nāḷi*) is of greater capacity than *manā* which is phonetically identical with P. *māna*. It is also possible that *aḍ* in the expressions *deyaḍmanā* and *ekaḍmanā* is a part of the numerical term preceding it. *Deyaḍ*, in that case, would be equivalent to P. *diyaḍḍha* 'one and a half'; and *ekaḍ* may mean 'one half'. There is also the possibility that *aḍ* represents Skt. *āḍhaka*, a measure of capacity equivalent to four *prasthas* (Sin. *pata*).

rice from *Mahabundna*[1] and one *aḍmanā* of curd from *Mutpanin pere bundna*[1] shall continue to be supplied till the sun and moon last.

[Lines A 18–B 14] Raw rice shall not be given; but meals shall be given having had (the same) cooked in the kitchen[2]. If there be any dissension[3] in the monastery, this food shall be thrown to crows and dogs. Any one who shall discontinue this [charity] may not be able to raise his hands [in adoration] even if the Perfect Buddha, the Great Mete[4], were to pass by [his] door. I, Daḷanā, gave these meals (as stated above).

[Lines B 15–E 5] I, **Sī**[5], too, having acquiesced in this matter, gave one meal. And one 'ticket meal' [was given] by **Koṭgam Sīsen** Vathimi[6] who acquiesced in this matter[7]. And one meal [was given] by **Kaḷi Māḍabi**[8] who acquiesced in this matter. And one meal [was given] by **Sumeyur** Vathimi who acquiesced in this matter. And one meal [was given] by **Kalavāli Udahi**[9]. And one ticket meal [was given] by the mother of **Vadurā Araksamaṇa**[10]. And one meal [was given] by **Ädur Vathimi** who acquiesced in this matter.

INSCRIPTION No. 430.

THE third inscription at Kaludiyapokuṇa is engraved on a slab standing near a ruined structure at a distance of about 250 feet to the south of the *stūpa*. The upper part of it which was exposed to the sun and rain has been very badly

---

[1] For these two words, which I leave untranslated as their exact significance is doubtful, see above.

[2] *Baṭge*:—Lit. 'food-house'.

[3] *Viyagura*:—For the meaning of this word, see *Ruvanmala*, v. 259. It is derived from Skt. *vyagra* (P. *vagga*), the opposite of Skt. *samagra* (P. *samagga*) 'united'.

[4] *Mete* is the Sinhalese form of P. *Metteyya*, Skt. *Maitreya*, the name of the next Buddha.

[5] *Sī*=P. *Sīha*, Skt. *Siṁha*.

[6] *Vat-himi* is an honorific term often used in referring to the king and to the members, of whatever status, of the Buddhist Church. Its etymology is doubtful (see above p. 85). In this instance, it is applied to a private individual, possibly of high rank or aristocratic birth. I leave the term untranslated though it may be rendered, with some justification, as 'His Lordship'. *Sīsen*=P. *Sīhasena*.

[7] In this and the following sentences, *mekaraṇayehi givisä* is an adverbial phrase; though in the translation it is treated as an adjectival phrase for the sake of clearness. The literal translation of the sentence as it stands in the orignal should be 'And having acquiesced in this matter, one ticket meal of Koṭagāma Sīsen Vathimi'.

[8] *Māḍabi*, a title, for meaning of which, see above p. 256.

[9] *Udahi* is probably the same as *Udaya*.

[10] *Vadurā*, represents P. *Vajira*, *Araksamaṇa* is an official title often found in inscriptions, see above pp. 99.

worn; but the lower portion, buried in the debris, is fairly well preserved. The slab, excluding that part which is buried below ground, measures 6 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. and contains forty-six lines of writing of which a continuous text can be made out from the twenty-ninth line. Of the rest, only a few words are legible here and there.

The letters are, on the average, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in height. The script belongs to the tenth century and is uniform with that of the Vessagiriya Slab-Inscription of Mahinda IV[1]. As regards the language, the words *membe* (line 37), *samändin* (line 36), *kīṇa* (line 39), *metuvā* (line 45), and *vā* (line 46) are noteworthy. *Membe* is the prototype of *moba* found in classical Sinhalese writings. It appears to be a compound of *me* 'this' and *be*, the locative singular of *bā* (Skt. *bhāga*) 'side', with a nasal introduced between the two words. *Samändin* is of doubtful meaning; it may be taken as a variant form of *sabadin* or *sambadin* (Skt. *sambandhena*) 'in connexion with'. The etymology and the meaning of *kīṇa* are alike doubtful; I have taken it as derived from P. *khīṇa*, Skt. *kṣīṇa*. *Metuvā* occurs in other places as *metuvāk*. The use of the particle *vā*, in the same sense in which it is found used in Pāli and Sanskrit, is also met with in later Sinhalese writings[2].

Had this inscription been completely preserved, it would have been one of the most important records of the tenth century. Even in its present fragmentary condition, it is not without some historical interest, for the name of the king who issued this edict can be read in line 9, with a reasonable degree of certainty, as Mahasen Maharaj. His mother's name Vidurārājna, is quite clear; and the name of his father may be read, though not with absolute certainty, as Udā Maharaj. It is hardly necessary to mention here that the monarch styled Mahasen is not the great Mahāsena who reigned in the fourth century. *Maha* ('Great') is here used merely as an epithet and does not form an integral part of the name; and therefore, on palaeographical grounds, the monarch who issued this edict must be one of the three Sena's who held the sceptre in the tenth century. Sena V was a son of Mahinda IV[3]; therefore, he cannot be identical with Mahasen, the son of Udāmaharaj, of this inscription. Consequently, this epigraph must belong to Sena III or Sena IV. But, as the reigns of these two monarchs were separated by an interval of only eight years, palaeography cannot decide as to which of them this record must be assigned.

---

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, pp. 29–38. Plate 9.

[2] Compare the phrase *miyem vā rākem vā*, Sinhalese *Jātaka*, Colombo edition of 1928, p. 1578.

[3] *Mhv.* liv, v. 57.

The *Mahāvaṁsa* does not give the parentage of either of these rulers. The *Pūjāvalī*, on the other hand, states that Sena III was a brother of Udaya II[1] who was a son of Mihind Mahayā and the princess Kitā[2]. The mother of King Sena of our inscription was Vidurārājna and, therefore, he cannot be identified with Sena III. We have, consequently, no other alternative but to identify him with Sena IV. The next point to be considered is the identity of Udāmaharaj and Vidurārājna, the parents of Sena IV. Of the three kings, named Udā (Udaya)[3], figuring in the list of Ceylon's kings, the first of that name died, probably at a fairly advanced age, fifty-seven years before the accession of Sena IV; and, therefore, it is most unlikely that he was the latter's father. The second and third monarchs of that name both reigned within twenty years of Sena IV's accession and it is one of these two monarchs who has to be identified with Udāmaharaj, the father of Sena IV and the husband of Vidurā.

The *Mahāvaṁsa*, (Chap. liii, v. 50) tells us that Udaya III, the predecessor of Sena IV, had a wife called Vidurā[4]. She was, presumably, not Udaya's chief consort as, in the chronicle, she is given the epithet *orodhā* (inmate of the harem); and this is in accord with the title *rājna*[5] by which she is referred to in our inscription. If, then, we take Vidurā, wife of Udaya III, mentioned in the chronicle, as identical with the princess Vidurā, the wife of Udāmaharaj according to this record, the last named has to be identified with Udaya III.

This conclusion receives further support from the *Pūjāvalī* which tells us that Sena who preceded Mahinda IV and who, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, was the fourth of that name, was a son of his predecessor. But the matter is complicated by the fact that the *Pūjāvalī*[6] and, following it, the other Sinhalese

---

[1] Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara, *A Contribution to the History of Ceylon translated from the 'Pujavaliya'* Colombo, 1895, p. 32.

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 183.

[3] According to Prof. Geiger's list (*Cūḷavaṁsa*, translation, part II, pp. xii–xiii) there were four kings named Udaya. He has shown that the king named Dappula II in the lists of Wijesinha and Wickremasinghe should, in reality, be Udaya I (*Cūḷavaṁsa*, English translation, part I, p. 126, footnote 1). This would necessitate a change in the enumeration of the many Udayas and Dappulas who flourished in mediaeval times. To adopt this enumeration would cause a considerable amount of confusion in references to previous numbers of the *E. Z.*, and I have, therefore, adhered to the older usage though it may not be quite correct.

[4] *Orodhā Vidurā tassa pādajālena pūjayi*
maṇīhi pajjalantena paṭimaṁ taṁ silāmayaṁ.

[5] See above, p. 224, footnote 12.

[6] Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

historical writings, place two kings, both named Sena, between Udaya III and Mahinda IV[1]. As Udaya III and Mahinda IV had both the *viruda* title of Sirisaṅgbo[2] which was borne alternately by the kings of Ceylon during this period[3], these two monarchs could not have been separated from each other by two reigns. Therefore, we have to conclude that the order of succession of the kings from Udaya III to Mahinda IV given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* is to be upheld against that of the *Pūjāvalī*.

There is also reason to believe that the insertion, in the *Pūjāvalī*, of two Senas between Udaya III and Mahinda IV is due to a copyist's error. The passage in question reads:—'His younger brother, king Sen, reigned nine years. After him king Udā reigned eight years. Afterwards the great king Sen reigned nine years. His son, the great king Sen, reigned three years'[4]. In this passage, the number of regnal years attributed to the additional Sena who follows Udaya III is the same as that given of Sena III who preceded him and the phraseology used is also similar. In view of the impossibility, that we have shown above, of accomodating two kings between Udaya III and Mahinda IV, it is, I think, not unreasonable to asume that after the account of Udaya III, the scribe repeated, by mistake, the remarks that he had already given of Sena III before writing down the account of the reign of Sena IV. If, then, we delete the sentence 'Afterwards, the great king Sen reigned nine years' as spurious, the word 'his' (*ohu*) in the next sentence ought to refer to Udaya III; and the *Pūjāvalī* can thus be understood as stating that Sena IV was a son of Udaya III—the conclusion that we have arrived at by the data furnished in the present epigraph and in the *Mahāvaṁsa*.

Dr. Wickremasinghe, in the genealogical tree facing p. 59 of *E. Z.*, Vol. II, has placed Sena IV as a son of Kassapa V. This is due to his assumption that Sena IV was an elder brother of Mahinda IV and that the latter was a son of Kassapa V. The reasons that he has given for the former assumption (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 214) are not conclusive, and I have shown in my article on the Kataragama inscriptions[5] that Mahinda IV could not have been a son of Kassapa V.

---

[1] See also Prof. Geiger's note on this subject. *Cūḷavaṁsa*, English translation, part I, p. 178.

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 30 and Vol. III, p. 84. [3] See *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 9.

[4] *Ohu mal Sen nam raja nava havuruddak rājyaya keḷēya. Ohu ikbiti Udāraja aṭa avuruddak raja keḷēya. Pasuva Sen nam maharaja nava avuruddak raja keḷēya. Ohu pit Sen nam maharaja tun havuruddak raja keḷēya.*

[5] See above, p. 222.

Therefore, Dr. Wickremasinghe's hypothesis regarding the parentage of Sena IV cannot be taken as evidence against the conclusion that we have now arrived at.

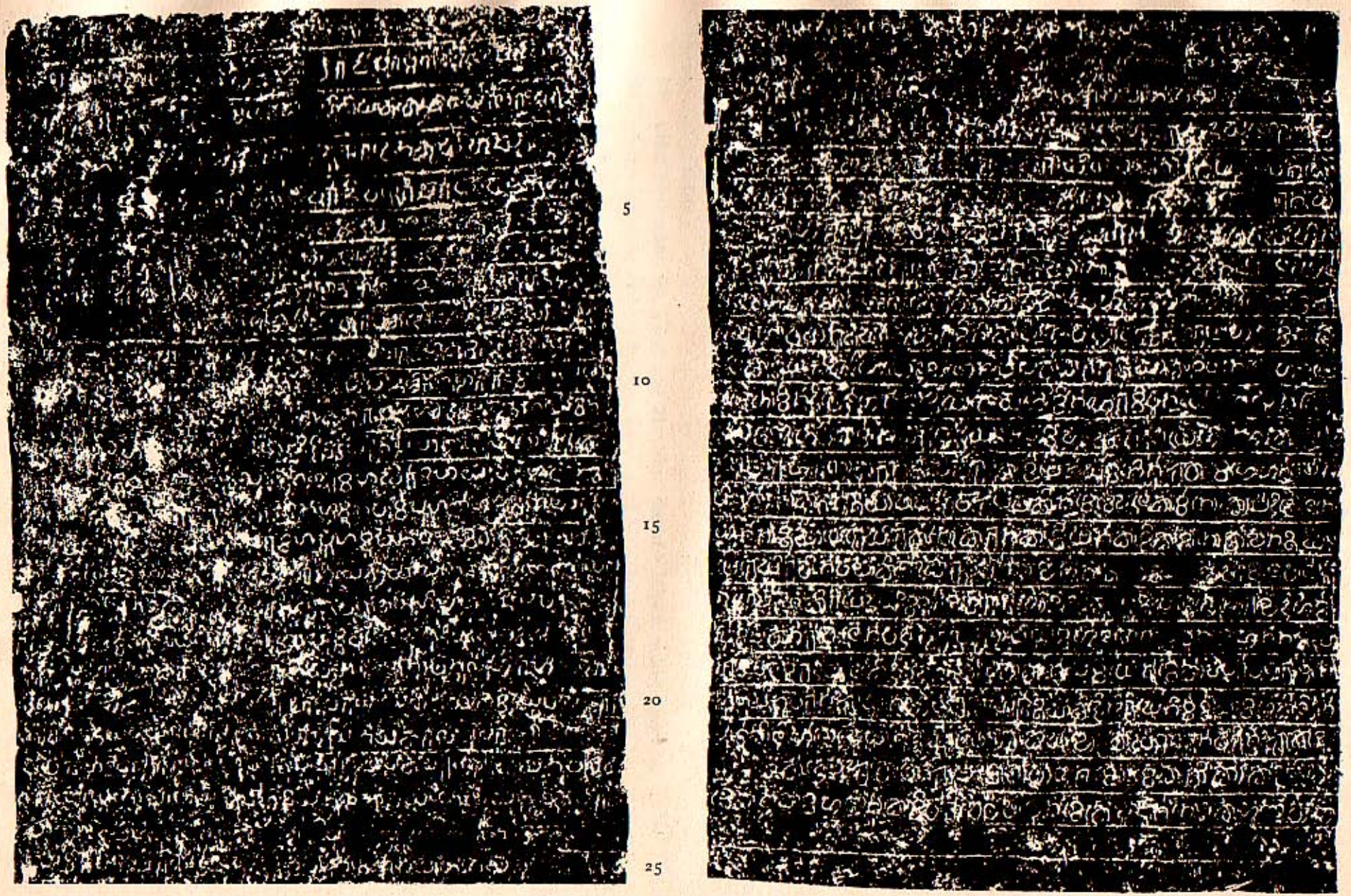
Sena IV, according to Dr. Wickremasinghe's chronological table, reigned from 950 to 953 A.D. Though he had a reign of only three years, he is described by the chronicler as a very beneficent ruler; and had the reputation of being a poet.[1]

Our record is a *katikā*, or a set of regulations agreed upon by common consent. It seems to have consisted of three sections; namely, rules for the guidance of the monks, those dealing with the temple officials and regulations to be observed by the royal officers in their dealings with the monastery. Of these three sections, only the second and the third are preserved. This inscription confirms the previous one as regards the old name of the monastery.

TEXT.

1 .. .. [Okāvas] raj-parapure [n baṭ] .. ..
2 .. .. **(Udā)maharaj-hu** piṇisā käta-kula-sarā-ambur-[hi]
3 .. .. **Vidurā-rājna** kus-hi dänä .. ..
4 .. .. vur divayur-parapure .. ..
5–8 [*Illegible*]
9 .. .. **Maha-Sen** maharaj-hu tumā sat [lä] ṅgu .. ..
10 .. .. [bim] hi pihiṭi **Dakiṇigiri**-raj-maha-veher
11 .. .. tunu-ruvanhi kaḷa .. .. .. ha .. m(i)n ..
12 .. .. piḷima-gehi pahaṇ .. .. vā tubū ka .. ..
13 .. .. mahasir mahasaṅg helbi me[n]
14 .. .. ngamu Navāmpahaṇgama .. ..
15 .. .. r magavūgama **Panagama** [ätuḷ] **metuvāk** .. ..
16 [*Illegible*]
17 .. .. metuvāk tänhi .. .. .. diya van [kumbu]-
18 -r ukas pamaṇu .. .. (ha)muvä .. .. nokiyā ..
19 .. .. novanu bähär hindä .. ..
20 .. .. kavara pariyāyekin .. .. veher
21 .. .. (tun) masin satar baṇavar .. ..
22 [*Illegible*]

[1] *Mhv.* liv, vv. 1–6.



Kaludiyapokuṇa Slab-Inscription

Scale about 2 inches to 1 foot

23 .. .. vat-himiyan me avasä no vasanuvat piri ..
24 [*Illegible*]
25 .. .. me avasä novasanu [vat] .. .. ..
26 .. .. ranu ma .. baṇa hadārana dasa heraṇ-va-
27 -[t]-himi .. .. (kara) siyen ternaṭ vasana se-
28 -nasunhi .. .. kak denu isā mehi baṇa hadārana he-
29 -[raṇ]-vat-himiyan mahaṇ karannaṭ maha-[saṅgun] givisvā vasägin
30 mahaṇ karanu isā unu no .. .. .. nu isā nokam b[ä]ḷa-dasnaṭ [nimi] divel
31 [valahana] vat-himiyanud metuvāk katikāyehi varad vat-himiyanud me a-
32 -vasä novasanu isā bähärä mini koṭā no väddä denu isā raṭä hindä mini ke-
33 [-ṭu] va kämiyan unge gedaḍ genä piṭat karanu isā kämiyan Boga-miye-
34 -n Magämin divel gannā isā tesu gämin geri mīvun das minisun uka-
35 -s pamaṇu govikam no karanu isā pas-mahā-sāvaddäyehi pahaḷa kämiya-
36 -n dā-pärähär no karanu isā varad-kämiyan samändin atä mehe genä raṭin
37 piṭat no karanu isā Väpä ava aṭavakin membe lēkam nokoṭ divel no-
38 gannā isa pere sirit no karana kämiyan kämi-kamä no tabanu isā
39 pere siritin vaḍā kīṇa karavuvara no bandanā isā Mahamaṇḍ Vaḷamāla Välipu-
40 -ngonu sakiriyad [Sī]mbur-bamärād lahā-bat karanu isā me veherä bad gam-
41 bimaṭ tun-radolen vädä väri perenāṭṭiyam gäl-gon mīvun nogannā isā
42 Äseḷä pura dasavak davas vadāḷa ektän-samiyen Mekāppar-vädārum **Sa-**
43 **-ṅgsenu** varin ā **Sunaṅga(lu) Raksem** isā **Kilindiri Senim** isā Mahakiliṅg-
44 gam **Kiliṅg Lokeyim** isā Vaṭrak **Kasbā Raksamaṇan** varin ā **Kuḍa-**
45 **salā Kitdevu** ätuḷu äpä metuvā[1] denamo me katikā kaḷamha [‖*]
46 Me katikā mahaṇ vā kämi vā radol vā buna Mete-budun no däkä huṇavāha [‖*]

[1] This may be a mistake for *metuvāk*.

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-28 [1]] . . . . . descended from the lineage of king Okāvas [2] . . . . . unto the great king (**Udā**) [3] . . . . . in the autumnal sky of the *kṣatriya* race . . . . . having been born in the womb of Queen **Vidurā** [4] . . . . . in the lineage of the Sun . . . . . of the raising of the umbrella [of dominion] by the great king **Mahasen** [5] . . . . . the great royal monastery of **Dakiṇigiri** situated in the . . . . district . . . . . created in the Three Jewels [6] . . . . . the lamps in the image house . . . . . by being dependent on the great congregation of monks . . . . . (the villages of) . . . . . ngamu, Navāmpahangama . . . . . **rmagavūgama**, Panagama . . . . . all these including . . . . . in all these places, the fields to which the water of . . . . reach . . . . mortgage and freehold . . . . . having met . . . . . not saying . . . . . should not happen; from outside . . . . . in whatever manner . . . . . the monastery . . . . . the four lessons of religious discourses in three months . . . . . their lordships [7] . . . . . should not reside in this dwelling-place . . . . . their lordships, the ten novices who study religious discourses here . . . . . to the elders, in the dwelling-place wherein (they) live . . . . . should be given . . . . . .

[Lines 28–32] The great congregation should be asked for their assent to ordain, as religieux, their lordships the novices who study religious discourses here, and they should be ordained as religieux by the end of the year [8] . . . . . [9]

---

[1] I only give the meanings of such words as are preserved in these lines, which are extremely fragmentary, without attempting to arrange them according to syntax.

[2] P. *Okkāka*, Skt. *Ikṣvāku*. [3] P. and Skt. *Udaya*. [4] P. *Vajirā*, Skt. *Vajrā*.

[5] P. and Skt. *Mahāsena*. [6] The Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha.

[7] *Vathimiyan*:—In this place used for the monks. See above pp. 85–6.

[8] The word which has been translated 'by the end of the year' is *vasägin*. It has been taken as equivalent to P. *vassagga*. As an alternative translation 'by the end of the *vassa* retreat' may be suggested. The word can also be derived from P. *vāsagga* 'dwelling-house'; but I do not think that this meaning would suit the context.

[9] *Unu no . . . . ṇanu isā*:—As this phrase is fragmentary, it is difficult to find out what it means. Compare, however, the phrase *unupovā mahaṇ no karanu isā*, which in itself is obscure, in the 'Jetavanārāma' Slab inscription of Kassapa V. *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 49.

Their lordships who, without reason, deprive [1] the hired labourers and serfs of their *nimi* [2] and maintenance lands (*divel*) and their lordships who transgress these aforesaid regulations [3] are not to live in this dwelling-place.

[Lines 32–35] [Those who come] after committing homicide outside are not to be given admission. Should [tenants] commit homicide in the district [4], the employees should take their *gedaḍ* [5] and send them away. The employees are to take their maintenance lands (*divel*) from (the villages) Bogamiya and Magama; neat cattle and buffaloes, serfs and men, shall not cultivate *ukas* and *pamaṇu* [6] lands from other villages.

[Lines 35–40] Employees who are known [to have been implicated] in the five great crimes [7] are not to perform [their duties in] the procession of

---

[1] ***Valahana***, literally 'hide'.

[2] See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 240, n. 1. Dr. Wickremasinghe takes *nimi* to be a term of land tenure. The context here would demand its interpretation either as a term of land tenure or as meaning 'wages' or 'payment'. The word *nimi* may be derived from Skt. *nīvī* which means 'capital' or 'stock' and could also have denoted money in general. The modern use of the word *mudal* affords us a parallel. Etymologically it means 'capital' but almost always it denotes money. In popular parlance, 'wages' are very often expressed by a term which means 'money'.

[3] ***Katikā*** is the term now used for a set of regulations agreed by the *saṅgha* for the guidance of its members. The word appears to be formed by the addition of the feminine or diminutive form of the suffix *ka* after the verbal form *kata*, and therefore would signify 'an Act'. Originally it seems to have been the term by which a decision of an assembly, whether political or ecclesiastical, was technically known. The decisions of the village councils in Malabar are referred to in inscriptions by the cognate term *kacca* (Skt. *kṛtya*). In the early Pāli writings, the word denotes 'agreement', 'contract' or 'pact'. In the tenth-century Sinhalese, the word had not yet assumed an exclusively ecclesiastical significance as proved by the use of the word in the Vessagiriya Slab No. 1 (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 25).

[4] ***Raṭä***:—What is meant is, evidently, outside the temple lands.

[5] ***Gedaḍ***, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 250, n. 5. The exact significance of this term is still not clear.

[6] For the terms ***ukas*** and ***pamaṇu***, see Codrington's *Short History of Ceylon*, p. 46.

[7] ***Pas-mahā-sāvadda***, cf. the 'Jetavanārāma', Slab. The five most heinous crimes, according to Buddhist doctrine are (i) patricide, (ii) matricide, (iii) killing a saint, (iv) causing bodily hurt to the Buddha, (v) causing schism in the ***saṅgha***. According to Hindu law books, the five great crimes are (i) killing a Brāhmaṇa, (ii) drinking intoxicating liquors, (iii) theft, (iv) committing adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher and (v) associating with any one guilty of these crimes. In Nepal where the ancient Indian institutions are still in practice, the five great crimes (*pañcāparādha*) are (i) killing a Brāhmaṇa, (ii) killing a cow, (iii) killing a woman, (iv) killing a child and (v) acts resulting in loss of caste (see Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal*, vol. i, pp. 295 ff.). It is impossible to determine how the five great crimes were enumerated in mediaeval Ceylon.

relics [1]. The employees who have committed any misdemeanour are not to be sent out of the district after taking any service [that they may have] in hand [2]. Maintenance lands are not to be taken without showing accounts [3] before the eighth day of the waning moon in the month of Vap [4]. The employees who do not observe the former customs are not to be kept in their offices. Taxes in excess of, or less than [5], [what is due according to] former practice are not to be levied. The six *kiriya* [6] [of fields] at Mahamaṇḍ, Vaḷamāla, and Välipungonu and [the land named] Sīmburbamarā are to be set apart [7] for 'ticket meals' [8].

---

[1] *Dāpārāhār* = P. *dhāluparihāra*. In Sinhalese inscriptions of this period, the word *pārāhār* and its variant forms are used, excepting in this place, in its original meaning of 'privileges'. In the modern language, the word *perahära*, identical in origin, means a procession, usually religious. The change of meaning in this word as well as the origin of religious processions of the sort that we witness to-day in Ceylon seem to be due to the periodical exhibition of the privileges, such as the use of umbrellas, music, elephants, horses, &c., granted by ancient Sinhalese kings to various religious institutions. This is the only instance in which the word is used in this sense in an inscription of this period.

[2] The translation offered of this clause is very tentative. It is based on the interpretation of the word *samändin* as identical in meaning with Skt. *sambandhena* and *atä mehe* as 'service in hand'. Compare *atä divel* in the 'Buddhist railing' Slab-inscription of Mahinda IV (above p. 227). This is the only way in which these two crucial words can be interpreted with the aid at present available; but the translation does not seem to give much of a sense. On the other hand, if we delete the word 'not' in the phrase 'not to be sent out of the district', the injunction becomes intelligible. Perhaps the negative particle *no* before *karanu* in line 37 is due to a clerical error.

[3] *Lēkam nokoṭ* literally means 'not having done the act of writing'.

[4] The statement that the employees were to submit their accounts before the *ava* eighth of the month of Vap (Skt. *Aśvina*) is interesting. Presumably, this was the end of the financial year of the monastery. It may be mentioned here that the *amāvāsya* day of this lunar month is the day of the Hindu festival of Dīpāvalī on which date, it is the custom among the native merchants in India to close their yearly accounts. (Underhill, *The Hindu Religious Year*, p. 59.) Possibly, the same custom was prevailing in mediaeval Ceylon and the monastic practice was but a reflection of the secular one. The fact that the employees were requested to submit their accounts seven days before the closing of the financial year can be explained by the necessity to have them checked before they were submitted for ratification to the high dignitaries of the church assembled together.

[5] *Kīṇa karavuvara*:—For *karavuvara*, *see E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 131. *Kīṇa* has been taken to be derived from Skt. *kṣīṇa*, P. *khīṇa* 'diminished'. *Nobandanā*, in this sentence, is also difficult to explain. I have taken it to be a verbal form of the root from which the Sinhalese word *badu* 'tax' is derived. With this phrase, it may be useful to compare *nobada karavuvara* (*E. Z.*, I, p. 130), *nobada aya* (*E. Z.*, II, p. 88) and *abaddha kara* (*Mhv.*, Chap. lxxiii, v. 3). Sinhalese *bada* and Pāli *baddha* occurring in these phrases seem to mean 'fixed' or 'settled'. It is also possible that *kīṇa-karavuvara* was the name of a particular tax.

[6] *Kiriyā* = P. *karīsa*, a land measure, see above p. 189.

[7] *Lahābat karanu*:—Literally 'be made into ticket meals'.

[8] For *lahābat*, see above, p. 259. n. 8.

[Lines 40-41] [Officers] are not to come from the three royal households[1] to the estates and lands belonging to this monastery and levy workmen[2], *perenāṭṭiyam*[3], carts, oxen and buffaloes.

[Lines 42–45] I[4], **Sumaṅga(lu) Raksa**[5], I, **Kiḷindiri Sen**[6], and I, **Kiliṅg Loke of** Mahakiliṅggam[7] who have come by the orders of **Saṅgsenu**[8], the Commander of the Body-Guard; and **Kuḍasalā Kitdevu**[9], who has come by the orders of **Vaṭrak Kasbā**, the Raksamaṇa,[10],—We all of us, including the aforesaid persons—instituted these regulations in accordance with the unanimous decree[11] delivered on the tenth day of the waxing moon in the month of Äseḷa[12].

[Line 46] Should any persons, whether they be monks or employees) of the monastery), or officers of the royal household, transgress these regulations, may they not be able to see Mete **Budu.**[13]

***Tunradola*:**—This is the only place where the expression *tunradola* 'three royal households' occurs in tenth-century documents. Of the three royal households the principal one is, of course, that of the supreme king (*mahārāja*). In an unpublished pillar inscription from a place named Galnāva in the Nāgampaha Kōraḷē of the Anurādhapura District, we come across the term *mahayāge* (*vū*) *radagē* (the palace of *mahayā*). We may, therefore, take the second royal household to have been that of the *mahayā* (the heir-apparent). We are not quite certain about the third royal household. It may have been the establishment of the chief queen, (the *rāṇīvāsala* or the *pallē vāhala* of later times) or that of the *āpā*, the heir-presumptive. With *tun-radola* of our inscription, it may be interesting to compare the expression *deradge niyamavarun* (the functionaries of the two royal establishments) occurring in an unpublished fragmentary record found at Nāccadūva in the Anuradhapura District.

[2] See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 53, n. 7. [3] See above, p. 145.

[4] In personal names such as Raksem, Senim, &c., the suffixes *em* and *im* are taken as the first personal termination. Dr. Wickremasinghe takes the *im* occurring in similar names as a corruption of Skt. *svāmin*.

[5] ***Sumaṅgalu*** is a place name; *Raksa* is equivalent to Skt. *Rākṣasa*.

[6] ***Kiḷindiri*** is a place name; *Sen* = Skt. *Sena*.

[7] P. *Mahā-Kaliṅga-gāma*. [8] P. *Saṅgha-sena*.

[9] ***Kuḍasalā*** is an official title. *Kitdevu* = P. *Kittideva*.

[10] Raksamaṇa is an official title, see above, p. 99; *Vaṭrak* appears to be a place name and *Kasbā* is equivalent to P. *Kassapa*.

[11] ***Ek-tän-samiya*:**—For the explanation of this word given tentatively, see above, p. 107.

[12] Skt. *Āṣāḍha*, June–July.

[13] P. *Mettayya Buddha*, Skt. *Maitreya Buddha*, see above, p. 192, n. 3.

No. 28. COLOMBO MUSEUM PILLAR-INSCRIPTION OF KASSAPA IV.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

WHEN this inscribed pillar was brought to the Colombo Museum—from where, it is not recorded—it was already broken into two pieces. These, being kept apart from each other, were treated as two distinct epigraphs by the Archaeological Survey when eye-copies and estampages of the inscribed stones in the Colombo Museum were prepared in 1907 and 1924. The upper part has, since then, been further broken into two fragments. All the three pieces have now been joined together and the complete pillar set up in the stone gallery.

The pillar is eight inches square and stood seven feet above ground. All the four sides are inscribed; A and B contains thirty-two lines each; C thirty-three lines and D twelve lines and the figures of a scythe, a monk's fan, a crow and a dog. The letters are engraved between ruled lines two inches apart from one another; and are, on an average, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. The mutilation of the stone has not done much damage to the inscription which is in a fair state of preservation. Excepting certain *akṣaras* in lines B 21–24 and C 1–4, the complete text of the epigraph can be made out with certainty.

The **script** does not differ, in any material points, from that of the other published epigraphs of Kassapa IV [1], the only noteworthy feature being the occurrence of the symbol for *jña* in line A 8. Several clerical errors are noticed, namely, *hiṭi* for *pihiṭi* in lines A 3, *Karasub* for *Kasub* in lines A 14–15, the repetition of the two *akṣaras*, *eka* in lines A 17–18, *nākan* for *nāvan* [2] in lines A 23–24, *nodanā* for *novadanā* in line D 6 and the two superfluous letters *vanā* in line D 8.

The **language** and **style** are the same as in similar documents of the period; the only difference to be noted is the more marked tendency to favour Sanskrit words instead of genuine vernacular forms. Witness, for example, *ekājñā* for *eka ānnā* [3], *Udaya Abhaya* for *Udā Abhay* [3] and *āya* for *ā* [4].

The inscription is **dated** on the tenth day of the first half of the month of

---

[1] See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, plates 20 and 26, Vol. II, plates 3 and 5, and Vol. III, plate, 6.

[2] It is also possible that *nāka* is a variant form and not a clerical error. This word as well as *nā* are both derived from the Skt. *nāyaka*.

[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 204.

[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 4.

Mändindina (February–March) in the eleventh year of **Kasub Sirisaṅgbo**, i.e., **Kassapa IV** (*circa* 891–908 A.D.). The same epithets are applied to this monarch in the present epigraph as in the Moragoḍa pillar inscription of the sixteenth year of that king.[1]

The **object** of the record is the grant of immunities to an estate which was an endowment of a lying-in-home founded by the **Chief Secretary Senal** (Sena). In the reign of Kassapa IV, there flourished a Chief Secretary of the name of Sena (*Seno nāma mahālekho, Mv.* Ch. lii, v. 33) who was the founder of a religious institution at the Mahāvihāra of Anurādhapura. The Mahakälättäva pillar inscription of the fifteenth regnal year of Sirisaṅgboy (Kassapa IV)[2] mentions the Chief Secretary Sena (*Sen Mahalāṇan*) as the founder of a nunnery, called Nälaram in honour of his mother. Possibly, the Chief Secretary Sena of our inscription is identical with the official mentioned in the chronicle and in the Mahakälättäva record. The details of the immunities given do not contain anything not known from other grants of a similar nature.

Six minor officials—*dūtakas*, as they may be styled—were instrumental in promulgating this edict. Of these, the first two were members of the king's body-guard and came under the orders of Kahäva Radsivu, the Commander of the body-guard. The third and the fourth were from the *sabhā* itself and came during the term of office of Dāpuḷā Pirittirad, the *Sabhāpati* (President of the Council). The fifth represented the Chief Secretary, Vadurā Raksamaṇa, and the sixth came at the instance of Utur Pāṇḍirad who held the office of *Demeḷä Adhikāra*. Of the higher officials, mentioned above, who had a status corresponding to that of the *äjñapti* in Indian grants[3], two, namely, the *Sabhāpati* and the *Demeḷä Adhikāra* are noticed here for the first time in a Sinhalese document.

The *sabhāpati* is also mentioned in two other unpublished fragmentary inscriptions of the tenth century; one from a place named Doṁbavaḷagama in the Vilacciya Kōraḷē of the North-Central Province[4] and the other, belonging to the reign of Kassapa IV, from a village called Kuñcikuḷama in the Kuñcuṭṭu Kōraḷē of the same province[5]. A *sabhāpati* or *sabhānāyaka* named Kuṭhāra is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa*[6]. He was sent, in the company of a high dignitary

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 204. [2] Müller, *A I. C.* No. 110. [3] See above, p. 108.

[4] *Sabhāpati Pritivudeva Udāṇan davasä sabhāyen ā*, &c.

[5] *Vadāḷa ekän-samiyen sabhāpati Dāpuḷā Pirittirad.* . . . .

[6] *Mv.* lxvii, vv. 61, 64, 67 and 70. The compound *Kuṭhārādisabhānāyaka*, occurring in v. 61, has been rendered by Prof. Geiger as 'the head of the Kuṭhārasabhā'. (The *Cūḷavaṁsa*. English translation, p. 272).

of the Buddhist church, by Kittisirimegha, the ruler of the Dakkhiṇadesa, to escort the young prince Parākrama back to Puṅkhagāma after the latter's escapade in the King's Country. These references do not help us to determine the exact nature of the office in question. *Sabhapatina* was one of the highest functionaries in the administration of the government as organized by Parākramabāhu I [1]. The office of *sabhāpati* goes back to a great antiquity as it is mentioned in the Vedic literature [2]. His function, it is obvious from the name, was to preside over the meetings of the Council of State (*sabhā*). Our inscription, in mentioning the *sabhāpati* of a particular day, seems to indicate that there was more than one officer who held this office at the same time. Possibly, there were two of them who functioned by turns [3]. The name *Pirittirad*, too, is evidently a title. In the extract from the Doṁbavaḷagama record given above, the *Sabhāpati* has the similar title of *Pritivudeva* which seems to be a mispronunciation of the Skt. *Pṛthvīdeva* 'god of the earth' while *Pirittirad* is the same as the Skt. *Pṛthvīrāja* 'king of the earth'. In the Bilibāva inscription,[4] mention is made of an official called Sand Pirittirad. He is not called the *sabhāpati* in that document; but, as in our inscription, some messengers are said to have come, for the purpose of proclaiming an edict, from the Council, on the day of his presidency. He may, therefore, be taken as a holder of the office of *sabhāpati*.

So far as I know, the office of *Demeḷā adhikāri* has not been mentioned in any other Sinhalese inscription. In the chronicles, this office is mentioned but once, i.e., in the reign of Parākramabāhu I [5]. The expedition sent by that monarch to chastise the king of Rāmañña was led by a general named Ādicca who held the office of *Damiḷādhikari*. Presumably, the *Demeḷā adhikari* figures in this edict because the land affected by it contained a *Demeḷakābälla* (Tamil allotment). In my article on the Giritaḷē pillar inscription [6], I have given references to other documents in which this term occurs. On a comparison of these, it becomes clear that a *Demeḷakābälla* was an allotment of land in a village, set apart for the Tamils. The slab inscription near the Stone-Canoe in the

---

[1] *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, English translation, p. 20.

[2] N.N. Law, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 25.

[3] In connexion with the old Sinhalese practice of having two persons holding the same office at the same time see Mr. A. M. Hocart's article 'Duplication of Office in the Indian State', in the *C.J. Sc.* (§ *G*), vol. i, pp. 205 ff.

[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, pp. 38 ff.

[5] *Mv.* lxxvi, v. 39 et seq.

[6] See above, p. 143.

Citadel of Anurādhapura has the expression *Demeḷ gambim* 'Tamil villages and lands' [1]. The present record, as well as the Giritaḷē pillar-inscription referred to above, shows that Demeḷa lands were gifted by the king; therefore, they seem to have been set apart for the maintenance of the Tamil soldiers in the king's service and must have been administered by the royal officers. The *Demeḷä adhikāri* of this inscription had the personal name of Utur Pāṇḍirad. In this name, *Pāṇḍirad* (the Pāṇḍya king) is evidently a *viruda* title. The same *viruda* was held by Dāpuḷā, the Commander of the body-guard, who figures in several pillar edicts of the reign of Kassapa IV [2]. The holders of this *viruda* need not necessarily have been connected with the Pāṇḍyan royal family. The *Mahāvaṁsa* tells us that another minister of Kassapa IV was known by the title of *Coḷarāja* (King of Coḷa) [3]. The Coḷa and Pāṇḍya inscriptions of South India furnish us with many instances where feudatory nobles had *virudas* such as *Kāliṅgarāyar* (King of Kāliṅga) and Īḷattaraiyar (King of Īḷam, i.e., Ceylon) when these countries were in no way politically subject to the Tamil kings.

TEXT.

A.

1 Svasti [॥*]
2 Siri Lak-
3 [di]v hiṭi[4] si-
4 -ripiṇḍ yasa
5 isirä Ruhu-
6 -ṇ-danavu Ma-
7 -la-maḍulu e-
8 -kājñā ko-
9 -ṭ tamaha-
10 -ṭ piribho-
11 -ga kaḷa **Udaya**
12 **Abhaya** ma-
13 -harad-hu so-
14 -hovar **Kara**
15 **-sub**[5] **Siri-**
16 **saṅgbo** ma-
17 -purmukā e-
18 -ko eka[6] ḷos-
19 vanne Mändi-
20 -ndi [nä] pura da-
21 -savak dava-
22 -s mahāle
23 **Senalnāka-**
24 **-n**[7] kärävū ti-

---

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 118.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 159, Vol. II, pp. 7, 30 and 33, and Vol. III, p. 109.
[3] *Mv.* lii, v. 34.
[4] Read *divhi piṭiṭi.*
[5] Read *Kasub.*
[6] These two syllables are superfluous.
[7] Read *nāvan.*

25 -mbirigeṭ
26 mekun tamā
27 dun utur pa-
28 -sä **Valviṭ-**
29 hi āya vū
30 **Gaṇagami-**
31 -yehi pama-
32 -ṇu käbäl-

B.

1 -la(d) ra[d]-
2 kole-
3 -n bahā
4 lū demeḷä
5 käbälla
6 ätuḷuv[ä]
7 pere maha-
8 himaṭ ä-
9 -tuḷä vū me
10 gamaṭ a-
11 -ttāṇi-pa-
12 -rähär den-
13 -naṭ vadāḷe-
14 -yin ektä-
15 -n-samiye-
16 -n ā Mekā-
17 -ppar-vädā-
18 -rum **Kahāva**
19 **Radsivu** va-
20 -rä van Mey-
21 kāppar **Be-**
22 **-ndvā (Ve)ḷak-**
23 **-kā** isā .. .. ..
24 -lvä .. ..
25 -ki isā sa-
26 -bhāpati **Dā-**
27 **-puḷā Pirit-**
28 **-tiradun** dava-
29 -sä sabhā-
30 -yen ān-
31 -(nä) yen ā ..
32 **Senu** isā

C.

1 **Nilavasä**
2 **(Mä)diyā** i-
3 -sā Mahāle
4 **[Va]durā Rak-**
5 **samaṇan**
6 varin ā **Ku-**
7 **-ḍasalā Devu**
8 isā Deme-
9 -ḷä adhikā-
10 -r[i] **Utur Pa-**
11 **-ṇḍiradun** va-
12 -dārmen ā
13 **Kolvä Si-**
14 **-hi** ätuḷ [vu]
15 äp me tuv[ā]-
16 -k radakol-
17 samdaruva-
18 -mo ekse-
19 -vä me pärahe-
20 -ra denu ladi [॥*] Me
21 gamaṭ raṭla-
22 -d pasladda-
23 -n novadanā ko-
24 -ṭ isā deru-
25 -vanä dekam tä-
26 -n novadnā



Colombo Museum Pillar-Inscription of Kassapa IV

Scale about 1½ inches to 1 foot

27 koṭ isā pi-
28 -yo-vadāran-
29 -nan novadnā
30 koṭ isā
31 gäl mīvun
32 väriyan no
33 gannā ko-

D.

1 ṭ kirge-
2 -ri gamgo-
3 -n nogannā
4 koṭ dunu-
5 -vā-balatun
6 nova[1]danā koṭ
7 perenāṭṭu
8 novanā[2] [no] vad
9 nā isā ani
10 yā käbäli
11 no gannā i-
12 -sā perä ku-
13 -salān piṭa-
14 -t koṭ me
15 gamaṭ me
16 pärähär
17 dunmo [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

[Lines A 1–22] Hail! On the tenth day of the waxing moon of [the month of] Mändindina[3] in the eleventh [year] of His Majesty **Kasub Sirisaṅgbo**[4] brother of the great King **Udaya Abhaya** who, having brought under one rule the Ruhuṇ[5] Province and the Mala District[5], secured for himself the enjoyment of the combined wealth, glory and prosperity that prevailed in the beautiful island of Laṅkā[6].

---

[1] The syllable *va* is written below the line.

[2] The three *akṣaras*, *novanā*, are presumably due to a clerical error.

[3] The Sinhalese lunar month equivalent to Skt. *Phalguṇa*, (February–March).

[4] P. *Kassapa Sirisaṅghabodhi*.

[5] P. *Rohaṇa* and *Malaya*. See above, p. 224, notes 13 and 14.

[6] In the translation of *Sirilak*, ... *piribhoga kaḷa*, I have adopted Dr. Wickremasinghe's rendering of the identical clause occurring in the Moragoḍa pillar inscription. (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 205). He has taken the compound *Siripiṇḍ-yasa-isirā* as the object of *kaḷa* and treated the intervening *Ruhuṇḍanavu Malamaḍulu ekājjhā koṭ* as a parenthetical clause. This is somewhat forced, and is not quite in keeping with the rules of syntax as observed in Sinhalese according to which the object immediately precedes the predicate. Consequently, it would be more natural to take that *Ruhuṇḍanavu Malamaḍulu* is qualified by *Sirilak divhi pihiṭi siripiṇḍ yasa isirā* and that the former compound is the object of both *koṭ* and *kaḷa*. If this analysis of the clause is correct, the translation should be 'who made the Ruhuṇ Province and the Mala District which are situated in the island of Sirilak and which [possess] accumulated wealth, fame and power, subject to one rule [and made them] his possessions'

[Lines A 22–C 20] Whereas it was ordered that *attāṇi* immunities shall be given to this estate[1]—within its main boundaries as of old—which consists of the allotment[2] of *pamaṇu*[3] land given to the lying-in-home established by **Senalnāka,**[4] the Chief Secretary, by the said (Senal) from his own (property) and the allotment of Demeḷa [land][5] set aside from the royal household [both of] which are in **Gaṇagami** a revenue [village][6] of **Valviṭi** in the Northern Province, we, who have come in accordance with the decree of unanimous assent[7], [namely] **Bendvā Veḷakkā,** and . . . . . **lva** . . . . . **ki,** members of the

---

[1] The word *gama* (Skt. *grāma*) has hitherto been translated, in almost every place, as 'village'. In the present record, the *gama* in question is said to have consisted of two allotments of land in a village named Gaṇagamiya; and, therefore it is clear that the term, in this instance, does not connote the idea of 'village' in the ordinary sense of that word. Dr. Pran Nath has proved that in Indian documents the word *grāma* has frequently the meaning of 'estate' or 'the area that constituted the territorial unit for the purpose of revenue assessment' (*A Study in the Economic Conditions of Ancient India*, pp. 26–33). This is in keeping with the meaning attached to the word *gama* in Kandyan times. D'Oyly, in his *Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom* (Colombo, 1929, p. 53) says 'The Singalese word *gama* properly signifies 'village'; but, in the Kandyan country is also frequently applied to a single estate or a single field, the latter is often called *paṅguva* or share'. In colloquial usage, this meaning is still attached to the word. In many of the edicts of the ninth and tenth centuries, the word *gama* has to be similarly understood.

[2] *Käbälla*, see below, p. 277 note 9.

[3] *Pamaṇu* or *pamuṇu* is the same as the modern *paraveṇi* (P. *paveṇi*). See *E. Z.* Vol. II, p. 19, note 3. The expression *pamaṇu käbälla* has not been met with in any other document. It seems to correspond to the modern *paraveṇi paṅguva*. The slab-inscription near the Stone Canoe at Anurādhapura, already referred to, mentions two classes of land-holders *pamaṇuladuvan* and *käbäli-laduvan*.

[4] *Senal*=P. and Skt. *Sena*. The usual tenth-century Sinhalese form of the name is *Sen*; the suffix *l* or *al* seems to have had an honorific significance. In the proper names *Saṅgal* (P. *Sangha*, see *E.Z.*, Vol. I, p. 42) *Kasabal* (P. *Kassapa*, *C.J. Sc. G.* vol. ii, p. 117) and *Mihindal* (*P. Mahinda*, *C.J. Sc. G.*, vol. ii, p. 117), we find the same suffix used precisely in the same manner. In the modern language, the suffix *la* is used as an honorific and *lā*, which appears to be identical in origin, denotes the plural number. With this it is interesting to compare the Telugu plural suffix *lu* which is also added to proper names as an honorific.

[5] *Demeḷä käbälla*, see above p. 143.

[6] *Valviṭhi āya vū Gaṇagamiya*:—With this expression we may compare *Mahademeṭikuḷiyehi aya vu Hopiṭiya* in the Alutväva pillar inscription (*E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 233), and *Amgamkuḷiyehi ā vu Iṭnarugama* in the Kirigalläva pillar inscription (*E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 4). The words *aya* and *ā* occurring in the two extracts quoted above have been treated as if they were derived from Skt. *āgata*; but the occurrence of the Sanskrit form *āya* in the present inscription shows that they have to be taken as derivatives of the latter and translated 'revenue'. On a comparison of these and other similar passages, it seems that villages in mediaeval Ceylon were classified according to the head-quarters at which they paid their revenue. In this instance, Valviṭ, appears to have been the head-quarters of a group of villages in which Gaṇagami was also included.

[7] *E'k-lān-samiya*:—For tentative explanation of this word, see above, p. 107.

body-guard who are in the service of **Kahāva Radsivu**, the Commander of the body-guard; . . . . **Senu** and **Nilavasa [Mā]diyā**[1] who came according to the order of the Council on the day of **Dāpuḷā Piritirad,** the President of the Council; **Kuḍasalā Devu** who came by the order of **Vadurā Raksamaṇa**, the Chief Secretary, and **Kolvä Sihi** who came by the command of **Utur Pāṇḍirad,** the Superintendent of Tamil [lands]—We, all of us, inclusive of all the aforesaid persons, gentlemen[2] (in the service) of the royal household, having come together, this edict of immunity has been granted.

[Lines C 20–D 17] Having excluded the previous religious gifts[3], we gave this [decree of] immunity to this estate so that this estate is not to be entered by district officers[4] and provincial officers[4], not to be entered by [the officers] of the two treasuries[5], and [those of] the two departments of administration[6], not to be entered by the *piyovadārannan*[7], so that carts, buffaloes and workmen should not be impressed, so that milk cows, and village oxen should not be impressed, so that [this estate] is not to be entered by archers and guardsmen, not to be entered by *perenāṭṭu*[8], and that illegal allotments[9] should not be taken[10].

---

[1] This officer figures in the Ayitigevāva pillar inscription as a *dūtaka* coming from the *sabhā*.

[2] *Samdaru*:—For the interpretation of this word, see above p. 88.

[3] *Kusalān*, see above, p. 95.

[4] For the interpretation of the terms *raṭṭadu* and *pasladu*, see above p. 111.

[5] *Deruvanä*, see above p. 143.

[6] *Dekamṭän*, see above, p. 143.

[7] See above, p. 110.

[8] See above, p. 144.

[9] The word *käbäli* is of frequent occurrence in the mediaeval inscriptions of Ceylon; see above, p. 113, n. 3. It is sometimes spelt with a cerebral *ḷ*, for instance in the slab-inscription in the citadel at Anurādhapura. This irregularity in spelling is no doubt due to the fact that Skt. *kabala*, from which it is derived, has the variant form of *kabaḍa*. The original meaning of the word is 'mouthful'; but in the Sinhalese language it is now used in the secondary sense of a 'share' or 'portion'. In the present inscription the word seems to have been used in two different meanings. In the compounds *pamaṇu-käbälla* and *Demeḷä-käballa* it evidently means 'share' or 'allotment' and seems to correspond to the modern word *paṁgu*. In l. D 10, as well as in many other inscriptions, the word indicates some kind of impost levied on land-holders by the king. Perhaps, what is meant by the term is the resumption, by the overlord, of a share of an estate.

[10] From l. C 20 to the end of the record, there is only one finite verb and therefore, only one sentence. In translations of similar records, adverbial phrases which are separated from each other by the conjunction *isā* have been treated as independent sentences. In the translation given above, I have treated the whole sentence to be more in keeping with the construction of the original.

No. 29. DĀDIGAMA SLAB-INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANEKA-BĀHU VI.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THE sub-joined inscription is engraved on a slab, measuring 1 ft. 7 in. by 5 ft., now set up near the Bo-tree in the Buddhist temple at Dādigama[1] in the Beligal Kōraḷē of the Kāgalla District. The stone has been broken into two fragments which are now joined together. The inscription is engraved on both faces of the slab; side A contains seventeen lines of writing and occupies an area of 4 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 5 in. and the inscribed space in side B measures 3 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 5 in. and contains twenty-one lines. The letters, engraved between lines about two inches apart from one another, are, on an average, one inch in height, excepting those of the first line in side A, which are somewhat larger.

The script which differs very little from the modern, calls for no remarks in particular. The language is Sinhalese and, in accordance with the style in vogue during the period, contains a good number of Sanskrit *tatsmas* in the writing of which, however, the rules of Sanskrit orthography are not strictly adhered to. Witness, for example, *vaṁśotbhūta* and *dik-vijaya* which would, in Sanskrit, be correctly written as *vaṁśodbhūta* and *dig-vijaya*.

The inscription is dated on the thirteenth day of the waxing moon in the month of Poson in the ninth year of **Bhuvanekabāhu** (the sixth) whose initial regnal year, according to Dr. Wickremasinghe's Chronological table, was

---

[1] Dādigama was of some political importance during the middle of the fourteenth century, for Parākramabāhu V, the prince who exercised joint authority with Bhuvanekabāhu IV of Gampola, resided there (*E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 30) The Pāli poem *Vuttamālā* and the Sinhalese *Tisara Sandesa* have conventional descriptions of Dādigama when this town was the capital of a king named Parākramabāhu who, in all probability, was **Parākramabāhu V.** Some scholars are of opinion that Parākramabāhu of Dādigama mentioned in these two works was the prince named Parākrama Āpā who had a brief tenure of authority just before the accession of Parākramabāhu VI of Kōṭṭē (See *Ca.* vol. i, pp. 48 ff.). Dādigama seems to have been of some note before this period, too; as there is, at the place, a large ruined *dāgāba* now known as Koṭavehera. Mr. Codrington proposes to identify this *dāgāba* with the Sūtīghara Cetiya built at Puṁkhagāma by Parākramabāhu the Great to mark the site of his birth place (see *C. J. Sc.* § G, vol. ii, p. 135). The antiquity of Dādigama is carried still further back by the fragment of a tenth-century pillar-inscription recently brought to notice (*A. S. I.* No. 57). For descriptions of the remains at Dādigama, see Mr. Bell's *Report on the Kāgalla District*, p. 29 and *C. J. Sc.* § G, vol. ii, pp. 84–5.

1469 A.D.[1] The chronology of this period, however, has not yet been settled beyond doubt.

The object of the record was to proclaim a grant of amnesty, by the king, to the inhabitants of the Four Kōraḷas who had recently rebelled against their sovereign and had just then been reduced to subjection.

This inscription has already been published, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, in his *Report on the Kāgalla District* (pp. 83–5 and plate facing p. 80); but, as Mr. Bell himself admits, the text given there is far from being accurate; and, in consequence, his translation is at places faulty. The eye-copy that he has reproduced to illustrate the text is also not quite faithful to the original. Therefore, a new edition of this important inscription with a facsimile of a mechanical estampage will not, I think, be considered superfluous.

TEXT.

A.

1 Svasti [॥ *] Śrī-Mahāsa-
2 mmata-paramparānu-
3 yāta Sūryya[2]-vaṁśo-
4 -tbhūta **Śrī-Parākra-**
5 **-mabāhu**-mahārājādhirāja-
6 nandana Tri-Siṁhalādhīśva-
7 -ra navaratnādhipati śrīma-
8 -t **Sirisaṅgabo Śrī Bhuva-**
9 **nekabāhu**-cakravartti-
10 svāmīnvahanseṭa aṭa-
11 vannen matu avurudu
12 Poson pura teḷesva-
13 -[ka] Bhuvanekabāhu-mahara-
14 -jjuruvan-vahanse pra-
15 -tyanta[3]-janapada-vāsīn vi-
16 -ruddhava pavatinā nisā **Jayava-**
17 **-rddhana-pura**yen nikma dik-
18 vijaya koṭa Beligal[4]

[1] *E. Z.* Vol. III, p. 40.
[2] Bell transliterates *sūrya* though his Sinhalese text has සූරිය.
[3] Bt. *jātyanta*.
[4] Bt. *Beligala*.

19 Kōraḷaya bada **Dātigam-**[1]
20 **puraya**ṭa pämiṇa Satara Kō-
21 -raḷayat samanvā gattāṭa pa-
22 -su śaraṇānveṣī[2] vū janapa-
23 -da-vāsin visin Uḍaraṭa k[ā]-
24 -riyat[3] tänpat vū kala giya da-
25 -vasa tama taman kaḷā vū akrama-
26 -ya[4] mul koṭa nigraha pämi-
27 -ṇet ya **yana säkaya duruvana**

B.

1 piṇisa vaśaguva[5] pavati-
2 -nā[6] yamma kenakun ṭa Si [ṁ]-
3 -haḷa-saṁgēdī maṭa ekun[7]
4 kaḷa[8] aparādha mūlaka va[9] a-
5 -rttha-hāni aṅga-hāni[10] jīvita-
6 hāni no karanu no karava-
7 -nuvat maḷāra ekin bhāga hi-
8 -miyanṭa arinuvat[11] gamak[12]
9 anikakuṭa dena kala gama-
10 himiyan ṭa mul gevatta-
11 -t[13] bijuvaṭa amuṇakut a-
12 -rinuvat da[14] tunaruvangē
13 ajñāya daḷadā-pātra-dhātūn[15]
14 vahansē gē ājñāya
15 lokapāla-deviyangē[16] ā-
16 -jñāya yi[17] givisa Bhuvanekabā-
17 -hu-maharajāṇan vahan vaha[18]

---

[1] Bt. *Ñatigama.* The letter *dā* is beyond **doubt.** The crack in the stone going across this letter has probably misled Mr. Bell to take it as *ña.*

[2] Bt. (*śrī rajun me shiṭa*). [3] Bt. *karasat.* [4] Bt. *akravisa.*

[5] Bt. *uḍaṅguva.* Read *vaśagava.* [6] Bt. *pavatina.* [7] Bt. *sihala saṅge damaṭa ek kı.*

[8] Bt. *kala.* [9] Bt. *aparādhamadhikava.* [10] Bt. *ājñāhāni.*

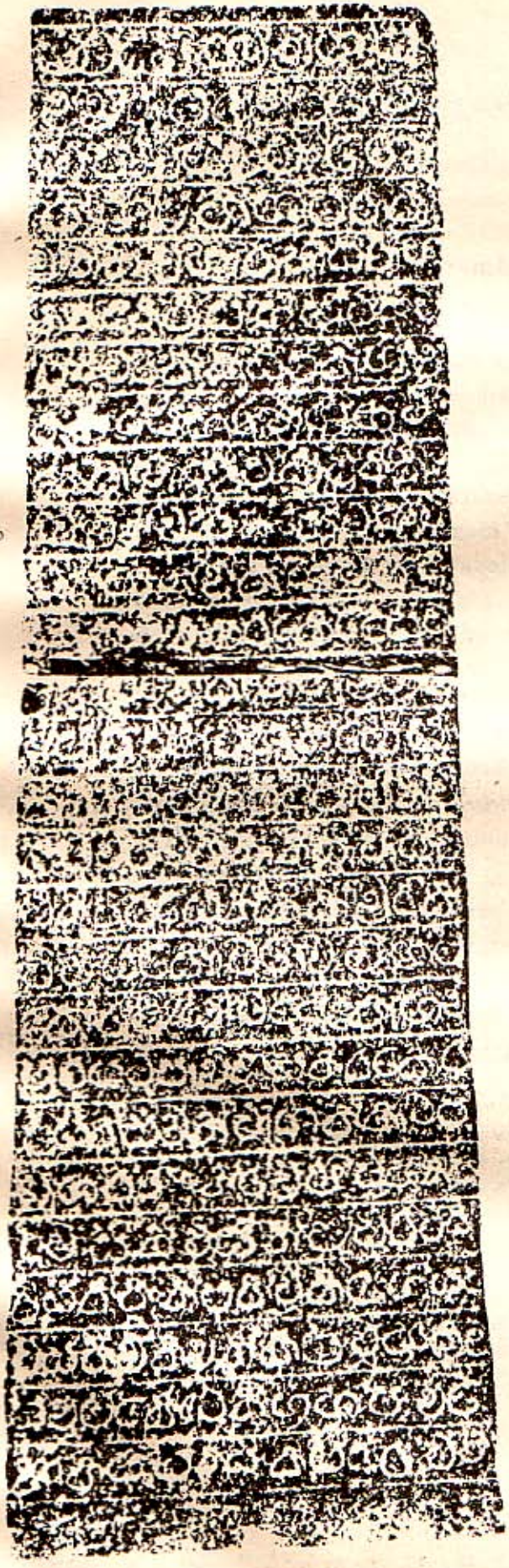
[11] From the fourth letter of 1. B. 7 to the ninth letter of the next line Bell's reading is: *paramita bhoga himiyan ṭa ärı tavat.*

[12] Bt. *gamaka.* [13] Bt. *gevatut* [*dı*]. [14] Bt. *arinuvatma.* [15] Bt. *dhātun.*

[16] Bt. *deviyan ge.* [17] Bt. *yeyi.*

[18] The last two *akṣaras* in this line are superfluous.

A



B



Dädigama Slab-Inscription

Scale about 2 inches to 1 foot

18 -se vadāḷa mehevarin mē[1] a-
19 -bhaya-dāna-śilā-lekhyaya[2] lī ba-
20 -vaṭa Sanhas Tiruvaraṅgan[3]
21 **Vikramasiṁha adhikāra**[4] vamha [॥*]

TRANSLATION[5].

[Lines A 1–13] Hail! On the thirteenth day of the waxing moon in [the month of] Poson[6] in the year after the eighth of His Majesty the illustrious emperor **Sirisaṅgabo Śrī Bhuvanekabāhu,** the overlord of the Three Siṁhalas, the possessor of the Nine Gems, the son of **Śrī Parākramabāhu,** the great overlord of kings, born in the race of the Sun and descended in regular succession from the glorious Mahāsammata[7].

[Lines 13–22] As the inhabitants of the border provinces are acting in a hostile manner, His Majesty, the great king Bhuvanekabāhu started from **Jayavardhanapura**[8] and, having performed the conquest of the (enemies in various) directions, arrived at the city of **Dätigama** in the Beligal Kōraḷa and brought the Four Kōraḷas, too, under [his] authority.

[Lines A 22–B 1] Thereafter, in order to remove the suspicion entertained by the inhabitants of the provinces, who are seeking protection, that, when the affair in the Uḍa-raṭa[9] has also been settled, punishments will follow on account of the acts of lawlessness committed, in times past, by each and every one, (this decree is proclaimed).

[Lines B 1–12] To any one who is [now] behaving in submission neither loss of property, nor loss of limb, nor loss of life shall be inflicted or caused to be inflicted on account of the crimes that he has committed against me in the Siṁhaḷa rebellion (*Siṁhaḷa saṅgē*)[10]. Of one *maḷāra*[11], half shall be left to the

---

[1] Bt. *me.* [2] Bt. *lekhanaya.* [3] Bt. *Tiruvarahan.* [4] Bt. *adhikāramha.*

[5] The whole inscription forms one sentence from beginning to end. For obvious reasons, I have taken the liberty to divide it into five parts by treating some of the gerunds as finite verbs. For Mr. Bell's translation, see *Report on the Kāgalla District*, p. 85. I have not considered it necessary to draw attention here to all the places where, due to different readings in the text, my translation differs from that of Mr. Bell.

[6] May–June.

[7] The first mythical king, see Childer's *Pāli Dictionary, s.v.*

[8] Kōṭṭe, the seat of Sinhalese royalty in the fifteenth century.

[9] The Up-Country, the ancient Malaya District.

[10] See below p. 284. [11] See below p. 285.

owner. When an estate[1] is being given to another, the principal house and garden and the sowing (extent) of an *amuṇa*[2] of seed shall be left to the [original] owner of the estate.

[Lines B 12–21] I, Sanhas Tiruvarañgan **Vikramasiṁha Adhikāra**[3] [certify] that this stone inscription, granting amnesty, was written by the order delivered by His Majesty, the great king Bhuvanekabāhu, after he had vouchsafed that it is [in accordance with] the command of the Three Gems[4], the command of their Lordships the Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic and the command of the gods who rule the world.

COMMENTS.

[Lines A 4–6] *Śrī-Parākramabāhu-Mahārājādhirāja-nandana.* According to this statement, Bhuvanekabāhu VI was a son (*nandana*) of Parākramabāhu (the Sixth). This is corroborated by the Kalyāṇī inscription of Dhammaceti[5] where there is a passage in which Bhuvanekabāhu refers to Parākramabāhu as 'my father'. Upham's translation of the *Rājāvalī* also contains the statement that Sapumal Kumāra—as Bhuvanekabāhu was called before he ascended the throne—and the prince of Ambulugala were the children of Parākramabāhu by a princess from Kīravälla[6]. But the text of the *Rājāvalī* now available does not support this view[7]. The Portuguese historian, de Couto, on the other hand, was informed that Parākramabāhu VI had no sons of his own and that Sapumal Kumāra and Ambulugala Kumāra were both the sons of a South Indian prince (*panical*) who had found favour at the Sinhalese court and was married to a lady of rank[8]. The two young princes, it is said, were brought up by Parākramabāhu and were entrusted with high offices when they came of age. The expressions used in this record, as well as in the Kalyāṇī inscription, to describe the relationship of Bhuvanekabāhu to Parākramabāhu might be equally appropriate if the former was actually the latter's son or was only adopted as such. The *Kokila Sandesa*, a Sinhalese poem dating from the latter part of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, seems to afford conclusive evidence on this point. This

---

[1] For the interpretation of the word *gama* as 'estate' see above p. 276, n. 1.

[2] A dry measure, P. *ammaṇa*.

[3] See below p. 286.

[4] P. *Ratanattaya*, the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha.

[5] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxii, p. 45.

[6] E. Upham, *The Mahavamsa, the Rajaratnacari and the Rajavali*, London, 1833, vol. iii, p. 268.

[7] Edited by Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara, Colombo 1911, p. 47.

[8] *J. R. A. S., C. B.*, vol. xx, 68–70.

work was virtually a panegyric on Prince Sapumal and, if he was actually a son of the then reigning monarch, a statement of that fact in unmistakable terms would have have been in accordance with the purpose which the author had in view. But, on the other hand, in a verse addressed to Parākramabāhu, the poet, referring to the prince, says :—' Prince Sapumal, who has now attained to the rank of a son unto thee '[1]. These words, I think, are quite inappropriate if Sapumal was Parākramabāhu's own son.

[Lines A 10–11] *Aṭavannen matu avurudu* :—Though this document is dated in the ninth year of Bhuvanekabāhu VI, the *Rājāvalī*, as well as the *Mahāvaṁsa*, ascribes to him a reign of seven years only. Perhaps, this disagreement between the chronicles and our inscription may be reconciled if we assume that Bhuvanekabāhu reckoned his regnal years from the death of Parākramabāhu VI. It has already been stated that before his accession to the throne Bhuvanekabāhu was known as Sapumal Kumāra. During the latter part of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, Sapumal was the viceroy of Yāpāpaṭuna which he had wrested from its Tamil kings. On the demise of Parākramabāhu VI, his daughter's son Vīra Parākramabāhu (also known as Jayabāhu II) was proclaimed emperor at Kōṭṭe; but Sapumal did not acknowledge the authority of the new ruler and, coming with his army from Jaffna, he slew his rival and ascended the throne himself. It is very likely that Bhuvanekabāhu considered himself to be the true heir of Parākramabāhu VI and his predecessor on the throne of Kōṭṭe as a usurper. If so, it is natural that he should have reckoned his regnal years from the death of Parākramabāhu VI; while the later chroniclers mention the actual number of years during which he occupied the throne at Kōṭṭe.

[Lines A 14–15] The term *pratyanta-janapada* applied here to the Four Kōraḷas shows that that district was the frontier of the Kōṭṭe kingdom. Beyond that was the Uḍaraṭa, the ruler of which, though acknowledging the suzerainty of the throne of Kōṭṭe, was very often virtually independent.

[Lines A 23–24] *Uḍaraṭa k[ā]riya* :—We have here an obscure allusion to some trouble in the Uḍaraṭa of which we have no information from other sources. From the trend of the document it seems as if the disorders in that

[1] *Säpatin diniňdu dinu himisaňda dän obaṭa*
opa-tuna-siri-yut pat tene-tanaturaṭa
sipa sirisaňda vāḍi Sapumal-kumariňduṭa
apa yati-himi asnak duni dena lesaṭa.
Verse 155 of *Kokila Sandesa.*

part of the country had not yet been settled when this epigraph was written. The king's desire not to show undue severity towards the inhabitants of the Four Kōraḷas was most probably dictated by the necessity of his securing the co-operation of these people in his plans for subduing the mountainous districts. The people seemed to have entertained the fear that the king's conciliatory attitude would last only till the subjugation of the Uḍaraṭa had been accomplished; hence their anxiety to have the king's amnesty for their past rebellious conduct ensured by means of this edict.

[Lines B 2–3] *Siṁhaḷa-saṁgē*:—The word *saṁga*, in Sanskrit, has the meaning of 'war' or 'battle'; hence, the compound *Siṁhaḷa-saṁga* would mean 'the Sinhalese war'. It seems certain that this word is synonymous with *Siṁhala-peraḷiya* (the Sinhalese insurrection), the name given, in the *Rājāvalī*[1], to a serious rebellion against the authority of Bhuvanekabāhu by the people of the country between the Kalugaṅga and the Valave Gaṅga under the leadership of Śrīvardhana Patirāja and Kūrugama Himi. The rebellion, headed by a person called Garavi, which was raging at Väligama when the Burmese mission was forced to land there[2], seems to have been an episode of this wide spread rising. We learn from this inscription that the people of the Four Kōraḷas, too, were against the king during the course of this civil commotion. When the southern parts of the island raised the standard of revolt, the prince of Ambulugala, the ruler of the Four Kōraḷas, was dispatched by the king to subdue the insurgents. His absence seems to have been taken advantage of by the people of the Four Kōraḷas, in their turn, to rise in revolt. It also appears that the Uḍaraṭa, too, had declared against the king at the same time. Thus it is evident that all the Sinhalese people, excepting those in the immediate vicinity of his capital, rose against Bhuvanekabāhu. The name given to the rebellion suggests that it was a national rising against Bhuvanekabāhu and his family who were of South Indian origin. Just as he did in the case of the refractory people of the Four Kōraḷas, Bhuvanekabāhu adopted a conciliatory attitude to the leaders of the *Siṁhala-peraḷiya*; for when they were brought before him as captives, he contented himself with punishing them with imprisonment. Shortly after, he not only released them, but also placed his adopted son and heir under their protection[3]. We do not know whether this attitude of the king was due to his

---

[1] See *Rājāvalī*, Gunasekara's edition, 49.

[2] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxii, p. 42.

[3] See *Rājāvalī*, Gunasekara's translation, p. 70.

natural generosity or whether he was forced to act, in this manner, by political necessity.

[Lines B 5-6] *Artthahāni, aṅgahāni, jīvitahāni*:—Similar phraseology occurs in an unpublished inscription at Gaḍalādeṇiya, granting amnesty, by a king named Jayavīra Parākramabāhu.

[Line B 7] *Maḷāra* appears to be the earlier form of *marāḷa* which occurs in copper plate inscriptions of the period[1]. The form *maḷāra* also occurs in an unpublished rock inscription, at Gaḍalādeṇiya, of a king named Senāsammata Vikramabāhu, where we read *ätvagē duva vāṭuṇu kenakungē maḷārayaṭa himi kenek nätuva tibē nam jarāvāsava tibena vihāra karavīmaṭa pudanuvat* (if there be no person entitled to the *maḷara* of a person who had fallen whilst running in elephant hunts, the same may be dedicated for the repair of dilapidated monasteries). The word *maḷāra*, most probably, is derived from Skt. *mṛta* 'dead' and *hāra* 'what is taken' and would etymologically mean 'what is taken from dead persons'. According to Sinhalese institutions, when a person died all his movable properties passed to the king if he had no male heir; otherwise, one-third of it belonged to the king. The custom was in vogue during the Portuguese period in the territories under their rule. For a description of the institution in actual practice, see Dr. Pieris's, *Ceylon, the Portuguese Era*, vol. ii, pp. 80-2. In this particular instance, the *maḷāra* of those persons of the Four Kōraḷas who had acted treasonably would have been confiscated by the king, but in pursuance of the policy of reconciliation, already noted, the king was satisfied with only a half share.

[Lines B 8-12] The forfeiture of estates referred to here must have been in connexion with those who had taken a leading part in the recent rebellion. Leaving one *amuṇa* of paddy land, a house and a garden—just enough property to maintain one's livelihood—to the original owner must have been considered an act of clemency on the king's part. Ordinarily, the entire property of a rebel was confiscated.

[Lines 12-16] Invoking the authority of the gods and of the sacred objects held in the highest veneration by the Sinhalese kings was doubtless to make the edict binding on the part of the monarch.

[Lines B 20] *Sanhas Tiruvaraṅgan*:—Owing to the close resemblance between the symbols for *ha* and *ṅga*, this name has been read both in this

---

[1] See above p. 55.

inscription as well as in other documents, as *Tiruvarahan*[1]. The name is derived from Tamil *tiru* 'sacred' and *araṅgan* a name for Viṣṇu at Śriraṅgam, Tiruvaraṅgamu seems to have been the title of a family in which the office of *sannas* minister was hereditary for some time[2]. According to the *Haṁsa Sandesa*[3], a *sannas* minister belonging to this family, and who had the titles of Vikramasiṁha and Baṇḍāranāyaka, flourished during the early part of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. The minister who attested this record was probably a son of his.

No. 30. A PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAIKABĀHU MAHAPĀ FROM ANURĀDHAPURA.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THIS inscription is the latest in date among the records of Sinhalese royalty so far found at Anurādhapura. It was discovered, sometime between 1906 and 1912, in a chena near the Malvatu Oya, to the east of the fifth milestone on the Outer Circular Road; and has been included as No. 2 in the list of inscriptions forming Appendix F of the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* for 1911–12. The pillar on which it is engraved, now preserved in the Anurādhapura Museum, has evidently been taken from the ruins of an earlier building. The lower portion of the pillar has been broken off and, at its top, there is a mortise hole to which a wooden capital was probably fitted. Two of its sides measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches each and the other two sides $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches and $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches respectively. Its present height is 4 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. The inscription consists of nine lines of writing on side A, covering a space of 1 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. and eight lines on side B, in area 1 ft. 5 in. by $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. A chip from the top of the pillar has been broken off and in consequence two letters from line A 1 and one of line A 2 are missing. The rest of the record is well preserved. The letters vary in size from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches.

---

[1] *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 68.

[2] Compare *Haṁsa Sandesa*, v. 50. *Sanhas liyana niti mātikula Tiruvaraṅgamu*, 'Of the family of Tiruvaraṅgamu, which has always the office of "The Writer of Sannas"'

[3] *Haṁsa Sandesa*, v. 50.

The **script** is of the thirteenth century and has undergone considerable change in comparison with that of the Poḷonnaruva period. The letters *ma* and *ra* are written in two types, one differing very little from the symbols for these letters which prevailed in the Poḷonnaruva period; the other approaching the forms of the inscriptions of the Gampoḷa period. There is nothing noteworthy as regards orthography and grammar.

The inscription records the grant of a land, named **Kavuḍāvatta**, to a *pirivena* constructed by the **heir-apparent** (*Māpā*) **Bhuvanaikabāhu,** son of **Vijayabāhu.** The only Bhuvanaikabāhu mentioned in the chronicles as a son of a Vijayabāhu is the prince of that name who was the second son of Vijayabāhu III [1]. This prince held the office of *yuvarāja*, which is very often synonymous with *māpā*, in the reign of his elder brother, Parākramabāhu II [2]. As the prince is referred to by the title of *māpā* in the present epigraph, it must have been set up in the reign of Parākramabāhu II who was successful in ousting the Tamils from the country round Anurādhapura, and made his authority acknowledged in those parts of the island. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* (ch. lxxxiv, vv. 29–31), prince Bhuvanaikabāhu was made by his elder brother, the king, to study the scriptures and to see that the monks observed their precepts properly. He seems to have resided at Kurunāgala and predeceased his elder brother. The following account of what was done to perpetuate his memory by his nephew Vijayabāhu, the son of Parākramabāhu II, is given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* :—'Then the Monarch (Vijayabāhu) betook himself to the splendid Hatthigiripura. While here in the great vihāra built by his princely uncle (Bhuvanaikabāhu), he gazed along with Prince Vīrabāhu and his army again and again at the ever to be honoured spot where his corpse was laid (on the pyre), he felt anguish and gained there again and again the inner conception of impermanency. Hereupon, he erected there a splendid, three storeyed image-house and had made for it a great image of the Buddha. Then having had further a fine statue of his uncle fashioned, he set it up there adorned with all ornaments. The Ruler assigned (his foundation) fine maintenance villages fitted for their purpose, lying around the image-house, as well as numbers of people for service, and decreed for it (the foundation) the name Bhuvanaikabāhu-parivena, using for it the name of that (uncle).' [3]

The two missing letters at the beginning of the record with the first letter

---

[1] *Mv.* lxxxi, v. 68.

[2] *Ibid.* lxxxii, v. 4.

[3] Ibid. lxxxviii, vv. 53–60, Prof. Geiger's translation.

preserved, *ḷa*, formed an epithet of Vijayabāhu, the father of Bhuvanaikabāhu. Mr. Bell has restored this word as *Mahaḷu* and this may be found acceptable as Vijayabāhu III was known as Mahalu Vijayabāhu; but for the fact that the preserved letter is distinctly a *ḷa* and not *ḷu*. What remains of the second *akṣara* may justify our taking it as a *ha* and I propose to restore the word as *Siṁhaḷa*. An inscription[1], found at a place called Bēruvaḷa in the Beligal Kōraḷē, mentions a king named Siṁhaḷa Parākramabāhu and from the script, this record can be attributed to Parākramabāhu II. If the last named monarch was distinguished by the epithet of 'Siṁhaḷa', his father, Vijayabāhu of this inscription, could also have had it.

TEXT[2].

A.

1 . . . (ha)ḷa **Vi-**
2 **-[ja]yabāhu-**
3 putra **Śrī Bhu-**
4 **-vanaikabā-**
5 **-hu** mahapā-
6 **-ṇan vaha-**
7 **-nsē tama-**
8 **-n vahan-**
9 **-sē namin**

B.

1 kärävū pi-
2 -rivanaṭa
3 me **Kavuḍā-**
4 **vatta** bada
5 tän lū ni-
6 -yāvaṭa pi-
7 -hiṭavū ga-
8 -l -līma yi [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

[This] is the stone inscription set up in order to [proclaim] that the area belonging to this **Kavuḍāvatta** was granted by His Highness **Śrī Bhuvanaikabāhu** Mahapā, the son of . . . (ha)ḷa **Vijayabāhu, to the *pirivena***[3] constructed in the name of His Highness.

---

[1] No. 256 in the list of inscriptions given in the *A.S.C. Annual Report for* 1911–12 (Appendix F).

[2] See Plate 34 *a*.

[3] See above, p. 225, n. 6.

No. 31. TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF SENA I.

By S. Paranavitana.

I.

THE first of the two short inscriptions dealt with in this article comes from a village named Kivulēkaḍa in the Kuñcuṭṭu Kōraḷē of the North-Central Province. It has been noticed, for the first time, by Mr. Bell in his *Annual Report* for the year 1892, p. 7, where he says:—'Kivulekaḍa;—one and a half miles from Ayitigeveṷa. Here is an inscribed pillar slab, short and very rough. The Arachchi stated that it was below ground, except one corner, and that the inscription was discovered when he had the stone dug out for a support to his *aṭuva* (granary). About eleven lines of writing are visible; above are Buddhist emblems. The record belongs to the ninth century and a king styled '*Riṭigala Purmkáru Salamevan* who may be identified as Silámégha, or Sena I (844–866 A.D.)'.

When I visited Kivulēkaḍa in 1928, the Āracci mentioned by Mr. Bell and his *aṭuva* were both no more; and the pillar was lying, half-buried, on the ground with the inscribed face downwards, near the spill of the Kuḍā Kivulēkaḍa tank by the side of the footpath leading to the village of Maha Kivulēkaḍa. As has been stated, the pillar is extremely rough; and the engraving has been done in a very clumsy manner. The inscribed portion measures 3 ft. by 1 ft. 2 in. and contains 11 lines of writing. At the top are auspicious symbols; a flower vase (*pūrṇṇa-ghaṭa*), a crescent, a lotus, a *triśūla*, a *svastika*, and three others which are not recognizable. A few letters in the last three lines are obliterated; the rest of the record is in a fairly good state of preservation. The script does not differ, in essential points, from that of the inscriptions of Sena II, Udaya I and Kassapa IV. The letter *a* in the first line is somewhat unusual in form and can easily be mistaken for a *pu*, as has actually been done by Mr. Bell.

As regards **grammar**, the verbal forms *vajāḷeyin* and *avuj* occurring in this record appear as *vadāḷeyin* and *avud* in the later stages of the language. The form *kāru* is interesting; it is obviously an earlier form of *karu*, occurring in the standard Sinhalese speech, and is derived from Skt. *kāra* 'doer'. It is also possible to take it as a variant form of *käru* (P. *kārita*).

The inscription refers itself to a king named **Salamevan**, 'the founder of the **Riṭigal monastery**'. Riṭigala is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* by the name of

Arittha-pabbata[1]; and, according to the chronicle, it was **Sena I** who 'built a monastery on the Arittha mountain, erected as if by magic'[2]. Sena I had also the *viruda* title of Salamevan (P. *Silāmegha*)[3] and, on these grounds, Mr. Bell has correctly identified the king mentioned in this epigraph with Sena I, though his reading of the relevant portion of the record is not quite correct. No regnal year is given; but it is possible that the record dates from the later years of his reign (*circa* 826–846 A.D.), as the chronicle mentions his building of the Ritigala monastery after the Pāṇḍyan raid.

The **contents** deal with a grant of immunities; but, curiously enough, the land benefited by this act is not mentioned. It is very briefly worded; perhaps, the stereotyped style in which such documents came to be drawn up in the succeeding reigns had not yet been developed.

	TEXT.		TRANSCRIPT.
1	රිටිගල්අරම්කා	1	**Riṭigal**-aram-kā-
2	රු සලමෙවන්	2	-ru **Salamevan**-
3	රජ් වෑ[නදෑ] වජාළෙ	3	raj vä[ndä] vajāḷe-
4	යින් මෙ[ය්]කාප්	4	-yin me[y]-kāp-
5	පර්සම්දරුව	5	-par-sam-daruva-
6	න් අවුජ් ම[ඟ්]	6	-n avuj ma[ṅg-]
7	දිව පියදිව ර	7	diva piya-diva ra-
8	ට්ලදු පස්ලද්	8	-ṭ-ladu pas-lad-
9	[ද]න් නො ව[ද්නා]	9	-[da]n no va[dnā]
10	[කො]ට් හින්ද්වූ අ	10	[ko]ṭ hindvū a-
11	[ත්නා]ණි [॥*]	11	-[ttā]ṇi[॥*]

TRANSLATION.

The gentlemen of the body-guard[4], **having saluted**[5] King **Salamevan,** the

---

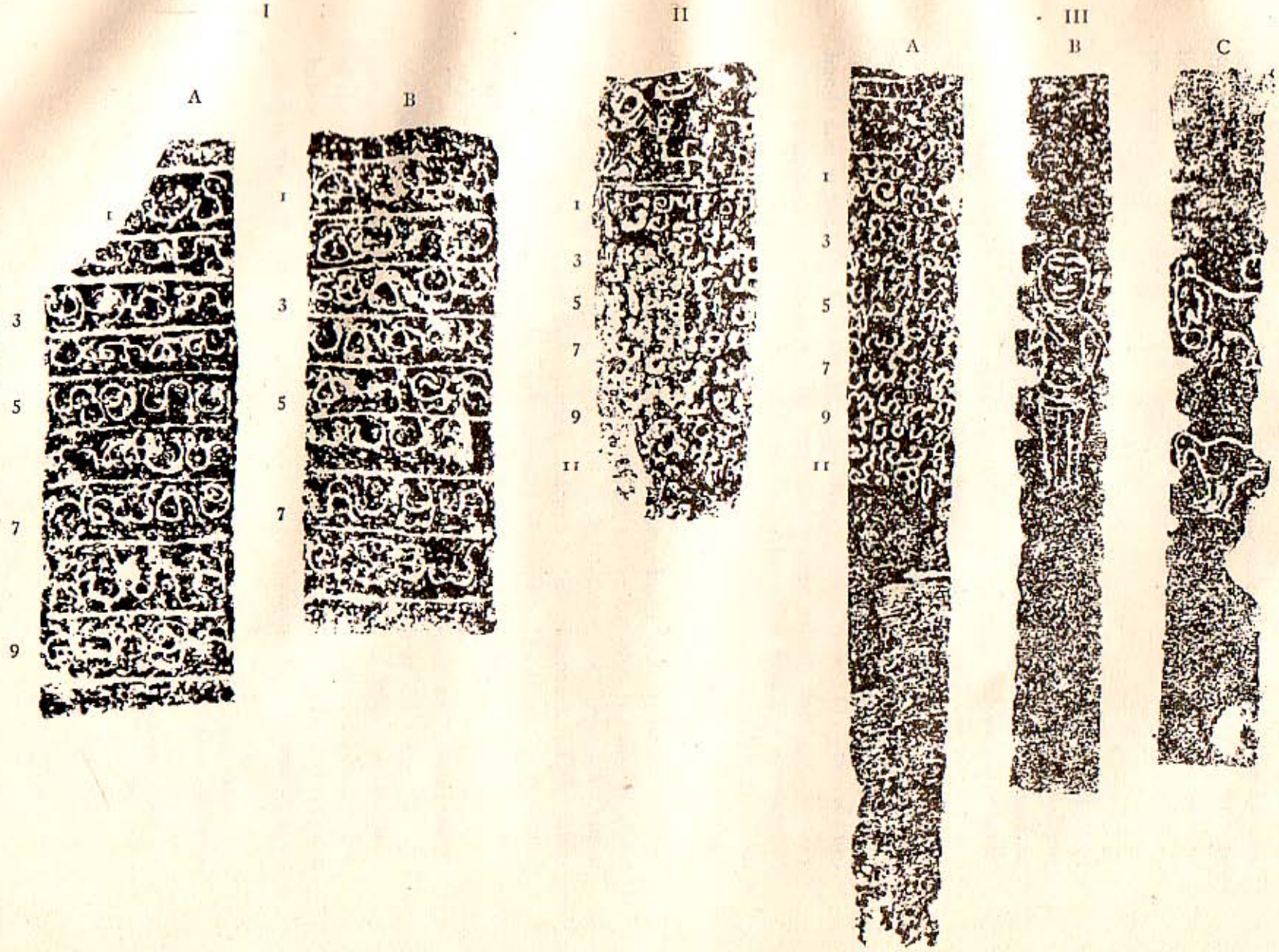
[1] For a description of the antiquities at Ritigala, see *A. S. C. Annual Report* for 1893, pp. 8–10. For the inscriptions at the place, see *E. Z.* Vol. I, pp. 135–153.

[2] *Mv.* l. 63. [3] *Ibid.* l. 43.

[4] *Mey-kāppar-sam-daruvan.* For the meaning of *mey-kāppar*, see *E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 193 and for *sam-daruvan*, see above, pp. 88. In mediaeval times, the proclamation of the royal edicts seems to have been one of the principal duties of the members of the king's body-guard. The *mey-kāppars* of this period seem to have performed very much the same functions as were entrusted to the *kaṭupulles* during Kandyan times.

[5] *Vändā vajāḷeyin.* See *E. Z.* Vol. II, p. 234, n. 3.

I. Anurādhapura : Pillar-Inscription of Bhuvanaikabāhu Mahapā
II. Kivulēkaḍa Pillar-Inscription
III. Poḷonnaruva : Vaṭa-dā-gē Pillar-Inscription



Scale :—I, about 2 inches to 1 foot ; II and III, about 1 inch to 1 foot

founder of the **Riṭigal** monastery[1], and having come [to this land] as ordered (by His Majesty), [this] *attāṇi* was set up [proclaiming] that [this land] is not to be entered by *maṅg-diva*, *piya-diva*[2], governors of districts and governors of provinces[3].

II.

The second inscription that can be ascribed to the reign of Sena I is on a pillar found used in the pavement of the Vaṭa-dā-gē at Poḷonnaruva, and now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Anurādhapura. It is included as No. 55 in the list of inscriptions examined by the Archaeological Survey between 1901 and 1905. The pillar is not well dressed and its sides are not regular. Roughly, it measures, including the rounded capital at the top, 9 in. by $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in height. The inscription covers only one side of the pillar; on the second face, there is a rude drawing of a man, standing, holding a club in one of his hands and on the third face are drawings of a dog and a crow. Only twelve lines of the inscription are preserved, the rest having been wilfully damaged, possibly when this pillar was used as a paving stone. Above the first line, remnants of two decorative designs between parallel lines are visible. The letters, about 2 in. in height, are engraved fairly deep; and in the preserved portion of the inscription, they are clearly legible.

The **script** is of the ninth century and individual letters do not call for any remarks. We may, however, draw attention to the fact that the medial vowel signs for *ā*, *e* and *o*, which are detached in the script from about the time of Sena II downwards, are here written attached to the consonant. This feature is noticed in the script of the early period and continued to about the beginning of the ninth century. As regards **grammar**, the two forms *Aseḷā* and *visevinū* for the usual *Äseḷä* and *visenī* are noteworthy.

The record is **dated** in the fifteenth year of a king styled **Abhā Salamevan**. Mr. Bell has taken the regnal year given in this epigraph as the forty-fifth, and referring to it he says:—'The short pillar record recovered from the pavement of the *Waṭa-dá-gé* necessitates emendment in the length of reign assigned by Sinhalese histories to some king of the 8th or 9th centuries'. 'The inscription is dated in the 45th year of the reign of an "*Abhā Salamevan*". According to the

---

[1] The word *aram* (P. *ārāma*) originally signified a 'pleasure garden' but later assumed the secondary meaning of 'monastery' as the early monasteries of Buddhism, both in India and Ceylon, were located in the parks and pleasure gardens of kings.

[2] See above, p. 146.

[3] *Raṭ-ladu* and *pas-ladu*. See above, p. 111.

chronicles, no king reigned more than 40 years in this period'[1]. 'The record commences; *Svasti Abhá Salamevan mapurmuká paṇsális vannehi.* The Sinhalese chronicles assign a reign of no more than 40 years (Aggabodhi VI, 741–81 A.D.) to any ruler between the 4th (Upatissa II, 370–412 A.D.) and 11th centuries (Vijayabáhu, I, 1065–1120 A.D.)'[2]. Mr. Codrington who did not examine the inscription itself, accepts Mr. Bell's statements and refers to this epigraph in the following words[3]:—'And the lengths of the reigns in the inscriptions do not always tally with the books; thus we find no reign in the period between Mānavamma and Sena I agreeing with that of an Abhā Salamevan, an inscription of whose forty-fifth year exists at Polonnaruva.' As the regnal year given in this inscription, which is actually *pasaḷos*, has been read as *paṁsālis* and as this has been brought forward as evidence for such an important question as the reliability of the lengths of the reigns given in the chronicles, it is necessary to examine the four crucial *akṣaras* to decide whether Mr. Bell's reading can be upheld. On referring to the facsimile of the inscription given in Plate 34, it will be seen that between the two arms of the symbol for the letter *pa*, there is a dot which Mr. Bell has read as an *anusvāra*. In the Sinhalese script of the ninth and tenth centuries, the *anusvāra* hardly appears at all; the only instance in a published document is found in the 'Vessagiriya' slab inscription of Dappula V (l. 12). Here, the *anusvāra*, written with the *anunāsika* symbol, is placed to the right of the letter which it follows[4] and the position given to the supposed *anusvāra* in the present record would, therefore, be without precedent. Besides, the use of the *anusvāra* in this word is grammatically wrong, and the word is actually found in a tenth-century inscription spelt not with the *anusvāra*, but with a dental *n* (*pansālis*)[5]. On these grounds, we may dismiss the dot in question as not due to the engraver, but to the weathering which the stone has undergone. The second *akṣara*, which Mr. Bell reads as *sā*, is actually *sa*, as the medial vowel sign for *ā* is absent. The third letter of this word is read by Mr. Bell as *li*. If this letter is compared with *la* in l. 2, it will be apparent that the consonant of this syllable is not a dental *l*; but, as will be seen in comparing it with the third symbol of l. 6, it is certainly a cerebral *ḷ*. The two strokes on the right and the left of the consonantal symbol, which together form the sign for the medial vowel *o*, are written attached to the top of the letter; and, as the upper

[1] *A. S. C. Annual Report* for 1905, p. 38.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 40, no. 11.
[3] *A Short History of Ceylon* (London, 1926), pp. xiii–xiv.
[4] *E. Z.* Vol. I, plate 8.
[5] *E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 247.

portion of the symbol for *ḷ* is somewhat worn, these have been mistaken by Mr. Bell for a single sign indicating the medial vowel *i*, though the signs indicating the latter, occurring elsewhere in the record, differ considerably in form. Thus, it will be seen that Mr. Bell's reading, *paṁsalis*, is due to a mistake and that the correct reading is *pasaḷos*; therefore, this inscription does not prove anything against what the chronicles say about the lengths of the reigns of the mediaeval kings of Ceylon.

As regards the identification of the king called Abhā Salamevan in this inscription, it may be stated that, on palaeographical grounds, this record ought to be ascribed to about the ninth century. None of the kings who followed Sena II and who had the throne name of Abhā Salamevan enjoyed a reign extending to fifteen years. Therefore, our record must belong to the reign of Sena I who, as we have already mentioned, had this *viruda*, or one of the earlier kings who could have been entitled, by the order of succession, to the title of Abhā Salamevan, and who enjoyed a reign of at least fifteen years. Such were Dappula III (*circa* 807–823 A.D.), Mahinda II (*circa* 767–787) and Aggabodhi VI (*circa* 721–761). But the script of our record shows considerable development from that of the Gäraṅḍigala rock inscription of Kassapa III (*circa* 710–717 A.D.)[1] and is closer in type to that which prevailed in the reigns of Sena II, Udaya I, and Kassapa IV. Therefore, in all probability, our record should be ascribed to the latest in date of the possible candidates, i.e., Sena I.

The inscription appears, from what is preserved, to have been a grant of immunities to a village named **Muhundehi-gama**; but as the greater part of it is missing, details regarding the immunities granted cannot be known.

	TEXT.		TRANSCRIPT.
1	සවසති[॥*] [අභා]	1	Svasti[॥*] [**Abhā-**]
2	**සලමෙව**	2	**Salameva-**
3	**න්** මපුර්මු	3	**-n** mapurmu-
4	කා පසළොස්	4	-kā pasaḷos-
5	වන්නෙහි	5	vannehi
6	අසෙළැ අව	6	Aseḷä ava
7	විසෙවිනී ද	7	visevinī da-
8	වස් **මුහු**	8	-vas **Muhu-**
9	**ඉදෙහිගම**	9	**-ndehi-gama-**

[1] See above, pp. 195–199.

10	ට වත්හිමි	10	-ṭ vat-himi-
11	යන් වදැළෙ	11	-yan vadāḷe-
12	යින් මෙකා	12	-yin Mekā-
	.. ..		.. ..

TRANSLATION.

Hail! On the fifth day of the waning moon in the month of Aseḷa[1] in the fifteenth year of His Majesty **Abhā Salamevan**[2]. As it was ordered by His Majesty, to the village of **Muhundehi-gama,** . . . . . the body-guard . . . . .

No. 32. VELMILLA SLAB-INSCRIPTION OF SENA III.

By S. Paranavitana.

THIS inscribed slab was discovered, in April 1931, in a garden called Baṭa-tuṁbagahavatta in the village of Velmilla in the Rayigam Kōraḷē of the Kalutara District. The head master of the Buddhist vernacular school at Baṇḍāragama brought it to the notice of the Hon. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka who, very kindly, passed the information to me. I visited the spot and, finding the record to be of exceptional interest, had it removed to the Colombo Museum, in order to preserve it from further damage.

There are no other antiquarian remains of any description to be seen in the vicinity of this stone. The inevitable story of buried treasures is connected with it and, many years ago, the villagers, in search of the imaginary gold and jewels, have dug a deep pit near the place where the stone was found. The stone itself, broken into two fragments, was thrown into this pit and it was lying there within the memory of the oldest inhabitants of the place until it was brought to the surface a few years back. According to our informant, six years ago the slab was in two pieces; now it has been further mutilated into four unequal parts, one of which is missing. There is also a tradition current among certain people of the locality that this stone marks the site of the cremation of Vīdāgama Mahāsāmi, a learned Buddhist monk who flourished, in the fifteenth century, at Vīdāgama, not far from Velmilla. As will be seen from the text and translation of the record given below, this tradition is baseless.

The stone is of irregular dimensions and has not been carefully dressed. The obverse face measures $15\frac{1}{4}$ in. in breadth at the top and $16\frac{1}{4}$ in. towards the

[1] June–July; Skt. *Āṣāḍha*.

[2] P. *Abhaya Silāmeghavaṇṇa*.

base whilst the corresponding measurements of the reverse face are 15 in. and 14½ in. respectively. The thickness of the slab on its right side is 4½ in. towards the top and 7 in. at the base and, on the left side, the thickness of 7½ in. at the top gradually diminishes to 6½ in. at the base. The stone is engraved not only on its two faces but also on the two sides formed by its thickness. Apart from the fractures, the stone has considerably suffered by exposure to sun and rain; a good number of the letters on side C being totally illegible and others being decipherable only conjecturally. At the top of side B, a few letters have been destroyed by the villagers sharpening their knives on the stone. The missing fragment contained parts of the last four lines on side A, lines B 14–21 and about six lines on side D.

The **letters**, engraved between parallel lines, are not of a uniform size. The whole of side A and the upper part of side C are in a larger hand, the average size of each letter being about 2 in. in height. Of the remaining portion, the letters are, on an average, between 1 to 1½ in. in height. Side A contains 18 lines of writing and rude drawings of a crow and a dog. Owing to fractures and the weathering of the stone, we cannot be precise about the number of lines on the other three sides; but we may not be wrong in taking that side B had 30 lines, C 26, and D 27.

The **script** is of the tenth century and does not contain any noteworthy features excepting that the two vertical strokes, extending downwards, of the letters *a* and *ra* and the medial vowel sign for *u*, are written separately so that the ends do not meet. This feature is also met with in several other records of the ninth and tenth centuries [1].

As regards **orthography** and **grammar**, the record does not show any deviation from the standard noticed in other documents of the same period. However, it may be mentioned here that the phrase *ag-bisov-mundnen veses vū* has not been met with in any other inscription and that the words *baḍora* and *väl-mila* are met with for the first time in this document. The word *karal*, though common in the modern language, has been found in only one other record of the tenth century.

The epigraph is **dated** in the eighth year of king **Mahasen Abhā** (Mahāsena Abhaya) who, on palaeographical grounds, must be one of the three Senas who flourished in the tenth century. The regnal year precludes Sena IV whose reign lasted for only three years and the mention of the heir-apparent **Ūdā** (Udaya)

[1] See above, p. 132.

son of **Sirisaṅgboyi Kasub**, rules out both that monarch and Sena V as the heir-apparent in the former reign was not a prince named Udaya and, in the latter, though named Udaya, was a son of Mahinda IV. Therefore, we can ascribe our record, beyond doubt, to **Sena III** (*circa* 933–942 A.D.) whose reign, according to the chronicles, extended for nine years and whose *mahapā* was a prince named Udaya. The present record is the only one, so far discovered, belonging to this reign and this fact, coupled with its being found in a locality where ancient inscriptions are rarely met with, makes it exceptionally interesting[1]. Its historical value is further enhanced in that it gives us the name of the father of Udā Mahapā who, later, ascended the throne as Udaya III—a fact not mentioned in any of the chronicles. The record at this particular place has been somewhat damaged; and only the letters *ṅg bo ka su*[2] are legible in the name of Udaya III's father. The full name can without doubt be restored as Sirisaṅgboyi Kasub (Sirisaṅghabodhi Kassapa). Of the five Kassapas who occupied the Sinhalese throne, only two, the fourth and the fifth of that name, lived in times sufficiently close to the reign of Udaya III to enable either of them to be considered as the latter's father. Of these two, Kassapa V had the throne name of Abhā Salamevan[3]; Kassapa IV, on the other hand, was known by the title of Sirisaṅgbo[4]; and he should, therefore, be considered as the father of Udaya III.

Dr. Wickremasinghe, in the genealogical tree facing p. 59 of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, has placed Udaya III as a brother of Udaya II whom he considers as the son of Mahinda, brother of Sena II[5]. This conclusion, which he has arrived at from insufficient data, need not militate against what we learn from a contemporary document.

The **object** of the record was to grant the usual type of immunities to a *pamuṇu* land belonging to a person whose name is not completely preserved. As regards the name of the village, **Aruṅgam-peḷavaga**, in which this land was situated, it may be of interest to mention that there is a village called Aruggoḍa about four miles from the site of this record. The district in which this record was found had, in the tenth century, the name of **Pahaṇbhunu**. Of the officers instrumental in promulgating the edict, none figures in other documents of the period.

---

[1] Only one other inscription belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries, namely a fragmentary pillar from Kälaniya (*A. I. C.* No. 127), has so far been recorded from the Western Province.

[2] The two letters, *ka* and *su*, are not quite clear in the facsimile; but the reading is beyond doubt.

[3] *E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 42.

[4] *E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 201.

[5] As regards the parentage of Udaya II, see above, pp. 141–142.

TEXT.

A.

1 සිරිබර් කැත්
2 කුලට් තලාට්
3 ක් ඔකාවස්
4 රදපරපුරෙන් බ
5 ට් අග්ගිසො
6 විමුන්නෙන් වෙ
7 සෙස් වූ මහසෙ
8 න් අභා මහරද්
9 නු සත් ලැගු අ
10 ට්වන හවුරුදුයෙහි
11 නවාමස් සඳ්හි
12 සුන්මස්හි දස[ප][1]
13 ක් දවස් පහණ්
14 හුනු[2] දනවියෙහි
15 (අ)වූ අරුහම්[ප]
16 [ළව]ග ආවූ (සො)මි
17 .. .. ණ කිනල් නා
18 .. .. (නු)නු පමණ්

B.

1 (වට්)
2 [සිරිස]
3 ග්බොධි
4 කසු [ඛ ම]
5 හරද් [නු]
6 සුන් උදෑ
7 මහපා[ණ]
8 න් වහන්
9 සෙ එක්
10 නැන්ස[මි]
11 යෙන් වදෑ
12 ළෙන් ආ මෙ
13 කාප්පර්
14 වැදෑරෑ
15 මි සුළඟ
16 ලු උදෑනා
17 [වන් ව]රෑ
18 වන මෙකා
19 පර් නු[සෑ]
20 පැහිදිමි ඉ
21 සා මෙකාප්
22 පර් මි[වු]ග[මි]
23 කිනිමි ඉසා
24 (ග)වල් උදෑව
25 න් වරෑ වන
26 .. ..
27 [ස]ග්[ඉ]සනි
28 [මි] ඉසා
29 .. ..
30 .. ..

C.

1 .. ..
2 .. ..
3 කොට් ඉසා මෙ
4 [යට්] රට්හිමින් පි
5 වතෑ සිවෑ [ගනු]ත්
6 මිසෑ ර[ද්කොා]ල්ස
7 මිදරුවන් [මෙය]ට් නො
8 වද්නා කොට් [ඉසා]
9 [මෙය]ට් මන්දිවෑ
10 [පෙදිවෑ] මෙලාත්නි

[1] 'ම' යනුද විය හැකිය.

[2] 'නු' යනුද විය හැකිය.

11 රත්කොල්[කැම්]
12 ඝත් නො වද්නා කො
13 ට් ඉසා .. ..
14 .. .. .. (නො වද්නා)
15 [කො]ට් ඉසා .. .. ..
16 .. .. (කො)
17 ට් ඉසා .. .. (නො)
18 වද්නා කො(ට් ඉසා ග
19 ම්) ගො(න් නො ගන්නා කො)
20 ට් ඉසා (දෙරුවනෑ දෙකම්නෑ
21 න්)වැස්සත් (නො) වද්නා (කො)
22 ට් ඉසා .. කුඩින් (සොරකම්)
23 (නො) කරනු ඉසා මෙයට ඕනි කො
24 වා (සොර)කම් කොට් වැ
25 (දු) ගම් වැස්නා කැමියන් ..
26 .. රවින් පිට් කර ගනු [ඉසා]

D.

1 කොට් දි බ
2 ඩොරට් වැල්
3 ම්ල එක්සි
4 ය පනැස්
5 කළඳුක් රන් ගෙ
6 නෑ හවුරුදු
7 පහා දෙකර
8 ලින් බදු දෙ
9 සියපනැස්
10 කළඳුක් රන්
11 ගන්නා ඉ
12 සා අරුගම්
13 (අරුගම්)[1] පෙ
14 ළවඟ ආවු
15 කෑ(ම්)කුඩිය
16 .. .. [ර
17 ද්] කොල් සම්
18–23 * * * * * *
24 .. .. [පෙ] ර
25 [හෑ]ර්ක
26 [ණු] භින්ද්ව
27 නු ලදිපි [॥*]

TRANSCRIPT.

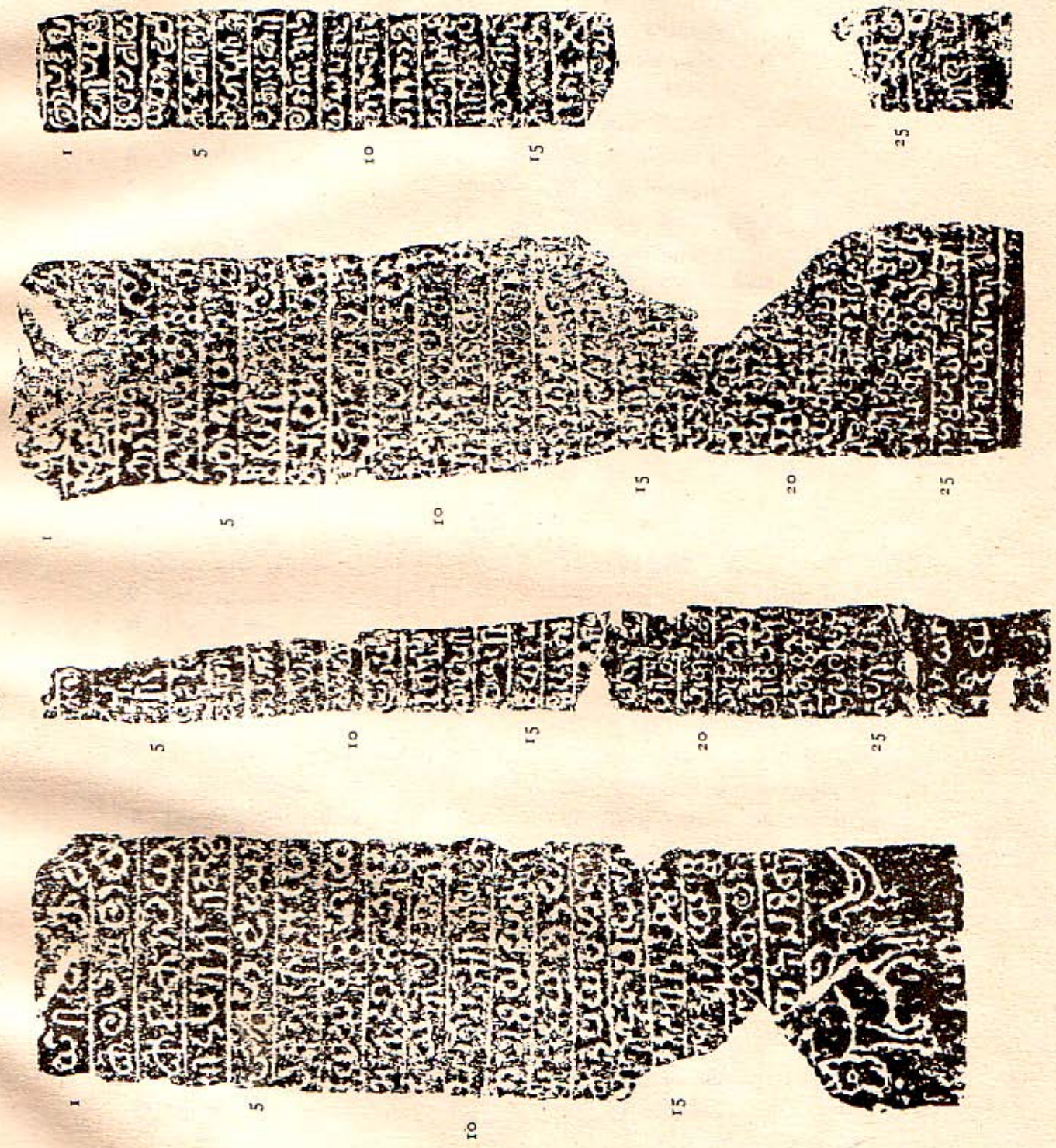
A.

1 Siribar-kät-
2 kulaṭ talāṭi-
3 -k Okāvas-
4 rada-parapuren ba-
5 -ṭ ag-biso-
6 -v-mundnen ve-
7 -ses vū **Mahase-**
8 **-n Abhā** maharad-
9 -hu sat läṅgu -a-
10 -ṭvana havuruduyehi
11 Navāmas sand-hi
12 pun-mas-hi dasa-[pa]-[2]
13 -k-davas **Pahaṇ-**
14 **bhunu**[3]-danaviyehi
15 (ā)vu **Aruṅgam-[p]e-**
16 -[ḷava]ga āvu (So)mi-
17 .. .. **ṇa-Kital-nā-**
18 .. .. (nda)nu pamaṇu-

[1] මේ පදය වැරදීමකින් දෙවරක් ලියවී තිබේ.
Can be read as *va* also.

[3] Can be read as *hu* also.

Velmitta Slab-Inscription



Scale about 1 3/4 inches to 1 foot

B.

1 -(vaṭ)
2 [**Sirisa**]-
3 **-ṅgbo [yi]**
4 **Kasu**[b ma]-
5 -harad-[hu]
6 put **Udā**
7 **mahapā**[**ṇa**]-
8 **-n** vahan-
9 -se ek-
10 tän-sa[mi]-
11 -yen vadā-
12 -ḷen ā Me-
13 -kāppar
14 vādāru-
15 **-m Suḷuga-**
16 **-lu Udānā-**
17 -[**van** va]rä
18 vana Mekā-
19 -par **Tu**[sä] ..
20 **Pähidim** i-
21 -sā Mekāp-
22 -par **Mi**[**vu**]**ga**[**m**]
23 **Kitim** isā
24 **(Ga)val Udāva-**
25 **-n** varä vana
26 .. ..
27 [**Sa**]**ṅgs**[**e**]**ni-**
28 -[**m**] isā
29 .. ..
30 .. ..

C.

1 .. ..
2 .. ..
3 koṭ isā me-
4 -[yaṭ] raṭ-himin pi-
5 -ṭatä siṭä [ganu]t
6 misä ra[d-ko]l-sa-
7 -m-daruvan [meya]ṭ no
8 vadnā koṭ [isā]
9 [meya]ṭ mang-divä
10 [pedivä] melātti
11 rat-kol-[kāmi]-
12 -yan no vadnā **ko-**
13 -ṭ isā .. ..
14 .. .. .. (no vadnā)
15 [ko]ṭ isā .. .. ..
16 .. .. (ko)-
17 -ṭ isā .. .. .. (no)
18 vadnā ko(ṭ isā ga-
19 -m) go(n no gannā ko)-
20 -ṭ isā (de-ruvanä de-kam-tä-
21 -n)-vässan (no) vadnā (ko)-
22 -ṭ isā .. kuḍin (sora-kam)
23 (no) karanu isā meyaṭ mini ko-
24 -ṭā (sora)-kam koṭ vä-
25 -(dä) gam väsnā kämiyan ..
26 .. raṭin piṭ kara ganu [isā]

D.

1 koṭ di ba-
2 -ḍoraṭ väl-
3 mila ek-si-
4 -ya-panäs

5 kaḷandak ran ge-
6 -nä havurudu-
7 patā de-kara-
8 -lin badu de-
9 siya-panäs
10 kaḷandak ran
11 gannā i-
12 -sā **Aruṅgam**
13 (Aruṅgam)-[1] **pe-**
14 **-ḷavaga** āvu
15 kä[mi]-kuḍiya-
16 .. .. [ra-
17 -d] kol sam-
18–23 *Missing.*
24 .. .. [pe] rä-
25 -[hä]r-ka-
26 -[ṇu] hindva-
27 -nu ladiyi [ll*]

TRANSLATION.

[Lines A 1–13] On the tenth day of the waxing moon in the month of Navāmas[2] in the eighth year since the umbrella (of dominion) was raised by the great king **Mahasen Abhā**, who is a *tilaka* mark[3] [of adornment] to the very illustrious *kṣatriya* race, who is descended from the lineage of King Okāvas[4], and whose head has been anointed with the supreme unction[5].

[Lines A 13—B 28] Whereas it was so decreed, with the unanimous assent (of the Council)[6], by His Highness **Udā Mahapā**[7], son of the great **King Sirisaṅgboyi Kasub**[8], I, **Tusä . . Pähidi**[9], Member of the Body-guard and I, **Mivugam Kit**[10], Member of the Body-guard, both in the service of **Suḷugalu Udānā**[11], the Commander of the Body-guard and I, ... **Saṅgsen**[12], in the service of **(Ga)val Udā**, who have come to the *pamuṇu* [land][13] possessed by

---

[1] These four *akṣaras* have been repeated by mistake.

[2] The eleventh Sinhalese month, Skt. *Māgha*; Mod. Sin. *Navam*, January–February.

[3] *Talāṭik*. See *E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 34, n. 6. For *ṭik*, compare also Pkt. *ṭikka* (in *ṭikkita*), *Karpūramañjarī* edited by Sten Konow, p. 46.

[4] P. *Okkāka*, Skt. *Ikṣvāku*.

[5] *Ag-bisov-mundnen veses vū*. Literally, 'distinguished by a supremely anointed head'. With this phrase, compare *siya mundnen lo-uturā-bisevnen bises-vā* in the 'Jetavanārāma' slab-inscription of Mahinda IV (*E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 221). For the word *ag-bisov*, compare *aggābhisekaṁ dāpesi yuvarājassa dhītuyā* in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (lii. 2).

[6] *Ek tān-samiyen*, see above, p. 107.

[7] For the interpretation of the title *mahapā*, see above, p. 82.

[8] P. *Sirisaṅghabodhi Kassapa*, i.e. Kassapa IV.

[9] *Pähidi* seems to be connected with the name *Paheja* occurring in earlier inscriptions, see above, p. 182. *Tusä* .. is evidently a place name.

[10] *Mivugam* is a place name. *Kit* = P. *Kitti*.

[11] P. *Cūḷagalla Udayanātha*. The Chief Udaya of Cūḷagalla.

[12] P. *Saṅghasena*.

[13] Heritable lands, see *E. Z.* Vol. II, p. 117, n. 5.

Somi . . . . ṇa Kitalnā, in **Aruṅgam-peḷavaga** in the district of **Pahaṇbhunu**[1] . . . . . .

[Lines C 3–26] . . . . . that . . . . . and that with regard to this [land], the officers of the royal household shall not enter it; but they shall take[2] [any dues] by being outside the boundaries of the district; and that *maiṅg-divä*, *pedivä*,[3] *meḷātti*[4] [and other] officers of the royal household shall not enter this [land]; and that . . . . . shall not enter; and that . . . . . and that . . . . . shall not enter; and that village oxen shall not be impressed and that the officers of the *de-ruvanä* and *de-kam-tän*,[5] are not to enter [this land] and that the tenants . . . . are not to commit theft; and that employees who live in the villages and who come hither having committed manslaughter or theft are to be removed outside the district[6].

Lines D 1–17] Having enacted the above, (we further order) that having taken one hundred and fifty *kaḷandas*[7] of gold as *väl-mila*[8] (to be paid) to the (royal) treasury[9], two hundred and fifty *kaḷandas* of gold shall annually be taken

---

[1] *Pahaṇbhunu* will, in Pāli, take the form of *Pāsāṇabhinna*; and it may be possible that *Pāsāṇa-sinna*, the name of a district occurring in *Mv.* xxxviii. 47, is an error for *Pāsāṇabhinna*. Up to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the district south of Colombo in which the site of this inscription is included, was known as *Pahaṇbunu*. In the Päpiḷiyāna inscription of Parākramabāhu VI (Jayatilaka, *Katikāvat Saṅgarā*, Colombo, 1922, p. 43), the village of Päpiḷiyāna is said to have been in the Pāṇabunu division. This district is given the same name by Alagiyavanna Mohoṭṭāla, a poet who flourished in the sixteenth century (see *Dharmmadhvaja Jātaka Kāvyaya*, v. 7). The following folk etymology of the name of this district is given in a *Kaḍayimpota*:—*Atīta-kālayehi ek-rajek pān-pūjāvak karana kala pahan bäṅdi toraṇa āgā Draviḍa jātiyak biňdapu heyin da, pasuva raja yuddhayen jayagat heyin da Pāṇabunna yayi kiyanalada raṭa pānkanda väni gal-parvatayaka kotaka saṭahan ättēya.* 'In the district which is called Pāṇabunna on account of the fact that a tribe of Dravidians broke down the arches and festoon works to which the lamps were fastened on an occasion when a king was conducting a festival of lamps in olden times, and on account of the king, on a subsequent occasion, having gained victory in battle [against the Dravidians], there is a symbol of a pinnacle on a rock resembling a lampstand' (*Trisiṁhalē Kaḍaim saha Vitti* published by A. J. W. Marambe, Kandy, 1926, p. 13).

[2] *Ganut* can also refer to the arresting of criminals. Compare *koṭā van gämin piṭat karavā ganut nisā gam vädä no gannā isā* in the Mäḍirigiriya pillar inscription. (*E. Z.* Vol. II, p. 31). If *ganut* is thus understood, 'arrest [criminals]' may be substituted for 'take [any dues]'.

[3] See above, p. 146. [4] See above, p. 110. [5] See above, p. 143.

[6] *I.e.*, the royal officers are prohibited from entering the estate for arresting criminals.

[7] A weight equivalent to 70–72 grains of troy.

[8] This term has not been met with elsewhere and, though it is clear from the context that it is the name of an impost which the estate had to pay to the royal treasury, its precise significance cannot yet be determined.

[9] *Baḍora* = Skt. *bhāṇḍāgāra*; Mod. Sin. *baṇḍāra* or *bhaṇḍāra*. This form of the word has not so far been met with elsewhere.

as dues[1] from the two harvests[2]. The employees and tenants of Aruṅgam-pe-ḷavaga * * * * * * *

[Lines D 24–27 . . . . . The officers of the royal household . . . . . the pillar of immunity has been set up.

No. 33. TWO TAMIL PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS FROM BUDUMUTTĀVA[3].

By S. PARANAVITANA.

AT Budumuttāva, a village situated about a mile to the north-west of Nikavāraṭiya in the Kuruṇāgala District, there is a Buddhist temple founded during the Kandyan times. The shrine[4], of which the superstructure is built of wood and clay, is supported on stone pillars collected from the ruins of earlier buildings. Two of these pillars bear the Tamil inscriptions which form the subject of the present paper. Near the modern *stūpa*, there is a slab containing another Tamil inscription which is too weathered to admit of its being satisfactorily deciphered.

Dr. E. Müller, in his *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, mentions the records at Budumuttāva; but has not succeeded in ascertaining what their contents are[5]. Mr. H. C. P. Bell has included these epigraphs as Nos. 41–43 in the list of Tamil inscriptions appended to the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* for 1911–12, and gives brief notes about each. They were recopied by me in 1929, have been numbered A. S. I. 473–475, and a preliminary account of them has been given in the Epigraphical Summary included in the *Ceylon Journal of Science* (*G*), vol. ii, pp. 99–128.

[1] *Badu*, probably from Skt. *bhāgadeya*, is of common use in the modern language and means 'tax', 'rent', &c.

[2] *De-karalin*. The word *karala*, meaning 'ear of corn', is used in the modern colloquial language of the farmers to denote a 'crop' or 'harvest', generally of paddy. The word is obviously used in the same sense here. It is also found in the compound *karal-kämi*, the name of an office, occurring in a fragmentary slab-inscription of the tenth century at Minnēriya (*A. I. C.* No. 123). Dr. Müller's reading has *karaṭ kämi* instead of *karal-kämi*, possibly due to a misprint.

[3] In the study of these two inscriptions, I have received much help from Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., Superintendent for Epigraphy, Indian Archaeological Survey, and Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, Retired C.C.S.

[4] See *C. J. Sc. G*, vol. i, plate LXIII.

[5] Budumuttāwe wihāra, half mile from Nikaweratiya, on the road from Kurunaegala to Puttalam. Three Tamil inscriptions on two pillars inside the temple and one large slab lying outside. On one of the pillars inside the temple we read the words Kalinga makan 'The son of the Kalinga King'. (*A. I. C.* p. 60). As regards Dr. Müller's reading, see the text of Inscription No. 473, side C, lines 3–5.

I.

Inscription No. 473 is engraved on a pillar which, excluding the part now buried below the floor level, measures, approximately, $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 6 ft. The pillar is surmounted by a wooden capital of the usual Kandyan type which partly conceals an inscription, consisting of three lines each, at the top of sides A and B. This record, which is in the Grantha script and Sanskrit language, does not seem to have any connexion with the inscription given below. Excluding this short epigraph of which the text cannot be satisfactorily made out, the first face of the pillar contains 26 lines and the second 25 lines, engraved between lines $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. apart from one another. The third face which contains 22 lines of writing is not ruled and the fourth is blank. The letters, which are well formed and regular, average $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in size. Sides A and C are in a good state of preservation whilst side B has badly deteriorated by exposure to sun and rain. Of this side, only three lines at the top and five at the end are decipherable; the rest having almost completely been obliterated.

As has already been stated, this record is written in the **Tamil script**, interspersed here and there with **Grantha characters**. On the whole, the script agrees in form with that of South Indian Tamil records of the same period as the date of this inscription. The *puḷḷi* or *virāma* sign is not marked at all and there is no difference in form between the symbols for *ra* and the medial vowel sign for *ā*. Attention may be drawn to the ligature which forms the third symbol of line A 14 (ஞ்) where the Tamil *ña* has been joined together with the Grantha *ca* in a somewhat curious manner. I have not met with this mode of writing *ñca* elsewhere in old Tamil writings. Grantha characters have been used in the writing of the following words: *Svasti Śrī* (line A 1), *Śalāmēga-cakravatthi* (lines A 2–4), *Śrī Jayabāhu-devar* (lines A 4–5), *Śrī Vīrabāhu-devar* (lines A 10–11), *pañca-pradhānigaḷ* (lines A 12–13), *pūrvvā-ācāram* (lines 13–14), *Śrī Vīrabāhu* (lines B 2–3), *Dāmāran Boruvesi* (lines C 6–8), *Dāmāran Bhoruvesi* (lines C 11–13), *Vijayābaraṇan* (lines C 19–20).

As regards **orthography**, the two letters *ṉ* and *n* are not used strictly in accordance with the methods of spelling in standard Tamil. For instance, *Paṅgūni* in line A 8 should correctly have been written *Paṅguṉi*. The same word also has the long *u* instead of the short with which it is spelt in correct Tamil. Other instances of the incorrect use of the two letters *ṉa* and *na* are:—*nāyanār* (line B 2) for *nāyaṉār* and *Vijayābaraṇanen* (lines C 19–29) for *Vijayābaraṇaṉeṉ*. The verbal form *veṭṭuviccēṉ* in lines C 1–2 stands for

veṭṭuvittēṉ. The Sinhalese royal title *Abhaya Śilamegha* is written as *Abaiya Śalāmēga* (lines A 1-3) and the words *cakravatthi* (lines A 5-6) and *pūrvvā-ācāram* (lines A 13-14) should have been *cakravartti* and *pūrvvācāram* or *pūrvva-ācāram*, respectively. The word *koṭṭacaḷu* (l. A 17) is evidently the Sinhalese *koṭasaḷu* or *koṭahaḷu*.

The inscription is **dated** in the eighth year of king **Abhaya Śilāmegha Jayabāhu** who, on palaeographic and other grounds, is to be identified with **Jayabāhu I**, the younger brother and successor of **Vijayabāhu I**. According to the chronological tables of Prof. Geiger and Dr. Wickremasinghe[1], this monarch ascended the throne in 1114 A.D.; and, therefore, our inscription was indited in 1122 A.D. or thereabouts. Divergent views, however, are held by scholars regarding the duration of Jayabāhu's reign. According to Dr. Wickremasinghe, Jayabāhu 'ruled about two years in Poḷonnaruva and lived for about twelve years in retirement as *de jure* king of Ceylon'; and the higher regnal years attributed to him in inscriptions are to be explained by assuming that documents were dated from his accession even in the reigns of Vikramabāhu II and Gajabāhu II as these two monarchs were not duly consecrated[2]. Mr. Bell, on the other hand, holds that Jayabāhu reigned, nominally at least, and was certainly alive, till thirty-eight years after his accession as this regnal year is mentioned in an inscription found at Poḷonnaruva[3]. Dr. Geiger[4] seems to have adopted the first, and Mr. Codrington[5] the second, of these two views. The present epigraph does not furnish us with any data to decide the question, and I, therefore, do not propose to discuss the matter here.

The **contents**, so far as can be ascertained, tell us that the officers of **Vīrabāhudēvar**, having inquired into former custom, upheld that the blacksmiths were entitled to the use of *koṭṭacaḷu*[6], foot-clothes and clothes for covering the faces of the dead and ordered the washermen to perform their services accordingly. Vīrabāhu mentioned here is no other than Mānābharaṇa, the father of Parākramabāhu I, for we are told in the *Mahāvaṁsa* that Mānābharaṇa was also known by that name[7]. After Vikramabāhu's capture of Poḷonnaruva, Mānābharaṇa managed to retain his hold on the Dakkhiṇadesa

---

[1] *E. Z.* Vol. III, p. 22; *Cūḷavaṁsa*, English translation, part II, p. xiii.

[2] See *E. Z.* Vol. II, pp. 200-202.

[3] *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, vol. x, pp. 10-13.

[4] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, English translation, part II, p. xiii.

[5] *Short History of Ceylon*, p. xvii.

[6] For the meaning of this word see below, p. 307, footnote 3.

[7] *Mv.* lxi. 26.

(Southern Country)[1]; and, as Mr. Codrington has proved that the Dakkhiṇadesa was the southern part of the Rājaraṭṭha[2], the site of the present inscription falls within Mānābharaṇa's territories.

Reverting to the subject-matter of the epigraph, it seems from the context that, although on the occasion of the inquiry by Mānābharaṇa's officials, the washermen disputed the claims of the blacksmiths for the social privileges specified, the latter had been enjoying them in earlier times. On the other hand, the chronicle laments that under the rule of Mānābharaṇa and his contemporaries, men of the lower classes were placed in high positions[3]; and, possibly, it was owing to incidents like the one mentioned in this epigraph that the author of the *Mahāvaṁsa* accused these rulers of subverting the established social order.

The pillar was engraved by a person named Mākkaliṅgam Kaṇavadi and was attested by Kummaracena Nambaṉaṉ *alias* Vijayābaraṇaṉ. There are some more signatories, whose names cannot be satisfactorily made out.

TEXT.

A.[4]

1 Svasti Śrī [॥*] **A-**
2 **-baiya-Śal-**
3 **-āmōga**-cakrava-
4 -tthigaḷ **Śrī Ja-**
5 **-yabāhu-de-**
6 **-var**kku yāṇ-
7 -ḍu eṭṭāva-
8 -du Paṅgūni[5]
9 muṉ nālām
10 pakkam **Śrī Vī-**
11 **-rabāhu-deva-**
12 **-r** (pañca)**-pradhāni-**
13 **gaḷ** pūrvvā-ā-
14 -cāram[6] vicāra-
15 -ṇai paṇṇi
16 kammāḷarkku
17 koṭṭacaḷu-
18 v-um pāvā-
19 -ḍai-y-um mugat-
20 -tīḍum≠ēṟugai-[7]
21 -kku-k-kāraṇa-
22 -ṅ≠kaṇḍu vaṇ-
23 -ṇārai-y -iṭṭu-
24 c-ceyvitta-
25 -maiyil

---

[1] See *Mv.* lxi. 21 *et seq.*

[2] *J. R. A. S.* (*C. B.*), vol. xxix, p. 62.

[3] See *Mahāvaṁsa*, lxi. 50.

[4] In numbering the lines, the short epigraph, referred to above, at the top of the pillar, has not been taken into account.

[5] Read *Paṅguṇi.*

[6] Read *pūrvvācāram* or *pūrvva-ācāram.*

[7] Read *ēṟgai*?

B.

1 eṅgaḷ
2 nāyanār[1] **Śrī-**
3 **Vīrabāhu-**
4 de[va]r [e]]luttu
5–20 *Illegible.*
21 -d-āga[vu]m yu-
22 -gāndaṟam [2]⁄₂aḷavu-
23 -m niṟpadāga a-
24 -ruḷi-c-ceyya
25 i-k-kallu

C.

1 veṭṭu-
2 -viccēṉ
3 **Mākkali-**
4 **-ṅgam Kaṇa-**
5 **-vadi**yēṉ[‖*]
6 **Dāmāran**[3]
7 **Boruve-**
8 **-si Paytā-**
9 **-ṅgi Kallā-**
10 **-nāvaṉ** cey-
11 -vittu **Dām-**
12 **-āran**[4] **Bhoru-**
13 **-vesi Kāca-**
14 **-m-baṇḍāra-**
15 **-ttuḷ Kaḷac-**
16 **-cukkuḷi-k-Ku-**
17 **-mmaracena-Ṉa-**[5]
18 **-mbaṉan**[4] -āna[4]
19 **Vijayābara-**
20 **-ṇan**[4]-ēṉ i-
21 -vai eṉ e-
22 -ḻuttu[‖*]

TRANSLATION.

[Lines A 1–10] Hail! Prosperity! On the fourth day of the first half of the month of Paṅguṉi[6], in the eighth year of the Emperor **Abaiya Śalāmēga**[7] **Śrī Jayabāhu-devar.**

---

[1] Read *nāyaṉār.*

[2] Read *yugāṉḍaram.*

[3] Though all the letters of lines C 6–18 are quite clear, the reading given above is not free from doubt owing to the fact that it is not possible to ascertain correctly where the *puḷḷi* should be introduced. This part appears to contain names of signatories; but they are quite unlike any personal names known to us either from the Sinhalese or the Tamil inscriptions. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar and Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam whom I consulted also cannot make anything out of this portion of the record. Possibly the strangeness of the names is due to Sinhalese names being written in Tamil.

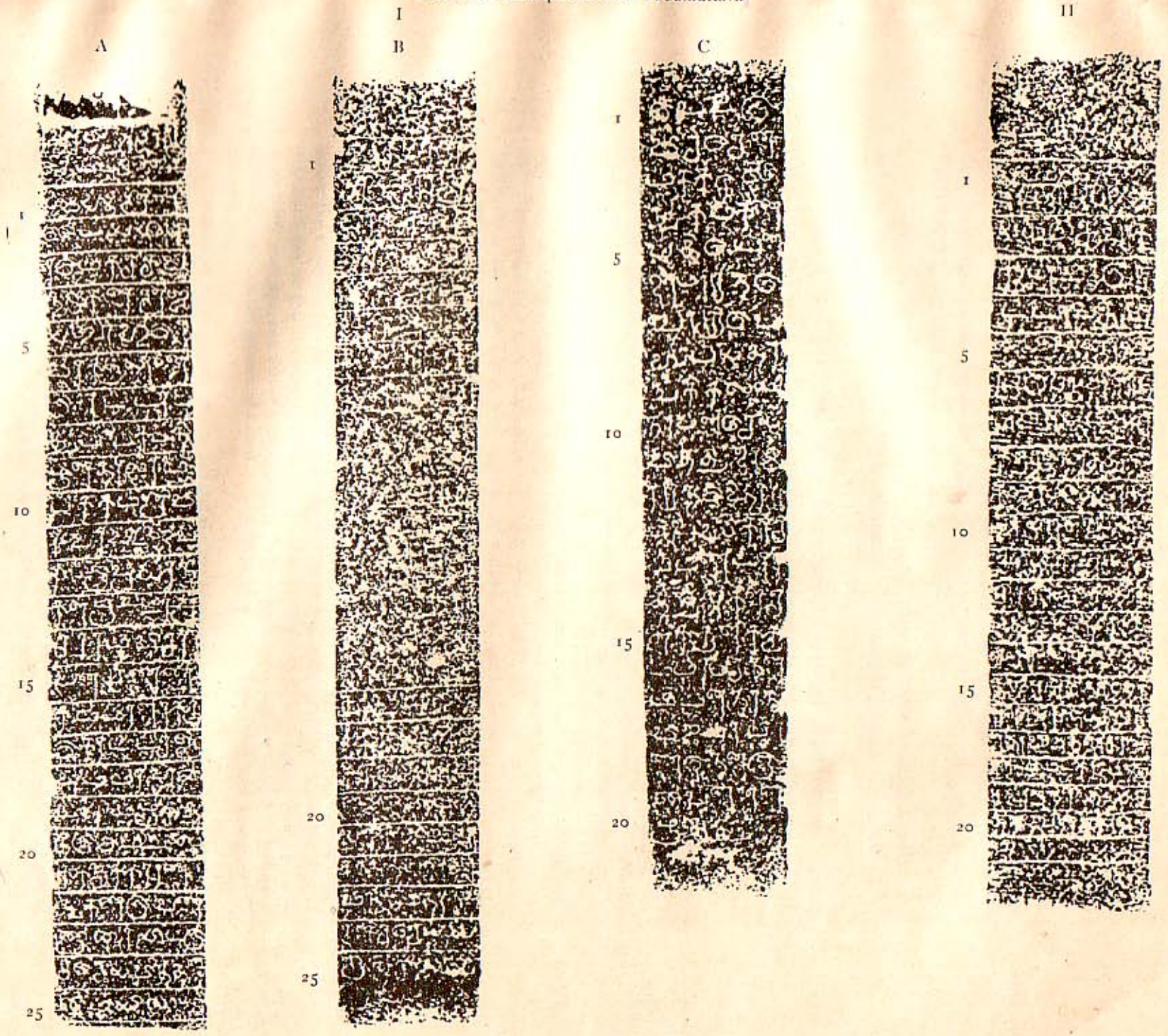
[4] Read *ṉa* for *na.*

[5] Read *na* for *ṉa.*

[6] March–April, Sanskrit *Phalguṇa.*

[7] P. *Abhaya Silāmegha*, or *Silāmeghavaṇṇa* (Sin. *Abā Salamevan*), a *viruda* title borne by alternate kings of Ceylon in mediaeval times, see *E. Z.* Vol. II, p. 9.

Two Pillar-Inscriptions from Budumuttāva



Scale about 1⅜ inches to 1 foot

[Lines A 10–B 4] Whereas the 'five chiefs'[1] of **Śrī Vīrabāhu-devar**, having inquired into former custom and having seen reason for the blacksmiths to receive[2] *koṭṭacaḷu*[3], foot-clothes and clothes for covering the faces of the dead, sent for the washermen[4], and made them perform (the said services), our Lord **Śrī Vīrabāhudevar** . . . writing . . .

[Lines B 21–C 5] . . . has been pleased to vouchsafe that this may last till the end of the aeon[5], I, **Mākkaliṅgam**[6] **Kaṇavadi** caused this stone to be engraved.

[Lines C 5–C 22] **Dāmāran Boruvesi**[7] **Paytāṅgi Kallānāvan** having caused (this) to be executed, **Dāmāran Bhoruvesi**[7] **Kācampaṇḍārattuḷ** and I, **Kaḷaccukkuḷi**[8] **Kummaracena Nambaṉaṉ** *alias* **Vijayābaraṇaṉ** [attest this writing]. This is my writing.

---

[1] *Pañca-pradhāni.* The reading *pañca* is somewhat open to doubt. For the second syllable *ñca*, see above, p. 303. Across *pa*, there is a stroke which seems to have been caused by the weathering of the stone and not due to the engraver. The term *pañca-pradhāni* also occurs in the Laṅkātilaka rock inscription; but it is not known who the five officials were. See Codrington in *C.J. Sc. G*, vol. ii, p. 138.

[2] *Ēṟugai.* None of the meanings given of the root *ēṟu* (see Tamil Lexicon, *s.v.*) suits the context here. Mudaliyar Rasanayagam suggests that the correct reading should be *ēṟgai* (from the root *ēl*). The syllable *ṟu* is quite clear on the stone and, perhaps, we have to treat it as a clerical error. In the above translation, I have taken *ēṟgai* as the verbal form intended here.

[3] The word *koṭṭacaḷu* is not in the Tamil dictionaries and Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar suggests that it means 'beating of drums'. But according to the context, the word ought to mean some kind of service performed by the washermen. It seems to be the same as the Sinhalese *koṭasaḷu* or *koṭahaḷu* which means 'short cloth' and is applied to the cloth worn by a girl on the occasion of her attaining puberty. This cloth, as well as the ornaments worn by the girl on the day of her first menstruation form the perquisites of the washerwoman for her services on the occasion, which usually consist of bathing the girl after the period of uncleanness. In the case of certain castes held to be of low status, the washermen do not perform these services connected with *koṭahaḷu*. Mudaliyar Rasanayagam informs me that the word *koṭṭacaḷu*, though now obsolete, was in use in the Jaffna Peninsula some thirty years ago, and that it denoted a short piece of cloth worn over the shoulders, by men of the lower castes, in the manner of a scarf. The higher castes were entitled to wear a longer cloth, the *uttarāsaṅga*.

Mudaliyar Rasanayagam informs me that *iṭṭu* has this meaning, though it is not given in the dictionaries. The phrase *vaṇṇārai-y-iṭṭu* may also mean 'having given the services of the washermen'.

[5] *Yugāntaram*, a Sanskrit *tatsama*.

[6] *Mākkaliṅgam* appears to be a village name. Sinh. *Mahakiliṅggam* is used in a personal name in *E. Z.* Vol. II, pp. 214 and 218.

[7] These also appear to be village names. For these names, see above, p. 306, n. 2.

[8] *Kaḷaccukkuḷi* also appears to be a Sinhalese place name. In mediaeval Sinhalese inscriptions, there are place names ending in *kuḷi*, e.g. *Mahademeṭikuḷi* (*E. Z.* Vol. II, p. 231).

II.

The second inscribed pillar at Budumuttāva (A. S. I. No. 474) measures $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. square by about 6 ft. in height. The inscription covers only one face of the pillar and consists of 21 lines. Above the first line are traces of another short Tamil epigraph which, however, does not seem to have had any connexion with the present inscription. The letters of the first 10 lines are about two inches in size while the rest are very much smaller. The stone is not smoothly dressed and the letters are not cut to any considerable depth; hence, the decipherment of the inscription, particularly of lines 10–21, of which the letters are very small, is not quite easy. But, with the exception of a few letters in lines 10–11, the whole text of the inscription can be made out with certainty.

The **script** is of the same type as that of the document already described; but the individual letters are not so well and regularly formed. Grantha characters are also not frequently used; being only seen in the words *Śrī Jaya-vāgu-devar*, *Cundhamalli* and *Īśvara*. The language is Tamil which, in style, is in keeping with that of contemporary documents in South India. *Kolottuṅga* for *Kulottuṅga* and *yiṭṭa for iṭṭa* are the only orthographical peculiarities worth noting.

This record which, like its companion, is **dated** in the eighth year of **Jayabāhu (I)**, is of considerable historical interest. It introduces us to a princess whose name has been read, with some doubt, as **Cundhamalliyāḷvār**, whose father was the **Coḷa king Kulottuṅga** and who was the wife of a Pāṇḍyan prince called **Vīrapperumāḷ**. This princess and her husband are both unknown from South Indian sources.

There were three Coḷa kings who bore the name Kulottuṅga. Of these, the first ascended the throne in 1070 A.D. and continued to reign till 1118 A.D.[1], i.e. four years before the date of our inscription, and was therefore a contemporary of the Sinhalese king Vijayabāhu I. Kulottuṅga II, the grandson of the first, began to reign about twenty years after the date of this epigraph[2] and it is improbable that he is the king mentioned here. The third Kulottuṅga belongs to a much later date and is out of the question. Therefore, the father of the princess mentioned in our record can be no other than Kulottuṅga I, one of the greatest of Indian potentates at that time.

---

[1] Kielhorn, 'Dates of Chola Kings', *Ep. Ind.* vol. vii, p. 7.

[2] *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. iii, p. 181.

The identity of Vīrapperumāḷ, the husband of this Coḷa princess, cannot be established so easily. As he is given the epithet of 'Pāṇḍiyaṉār', he must have belonged to the Pāṇḍyan royal family which was, at this time, deprived of sovereignty over its hereditary dominions. As has already been mentioned, a Pāṇḍyan prince of the name of Vīrapperumāḷ is not known from contemporary South Indian records. The person to whom a daughter of the great Kulottuṅga was given in marriage must have been a prince of some consequence, and it is not unnatural to suppose that he was the ruler of that part of the country in which this epigraph was found. From the historical writings dealing with this period, we know that Mānābharaṇa was the ruler of the Dakkhiṇadesa, to which the site of the present epigraph belonged; and that he had the appellation of 'Vīrabāhu'[1]. *Vīrapperumāḷ* can be considered to have been a variant form of the name *Vīrabāhu*. Of the two elements with which this name is compounded, the second, *perumāḷ*, meaning 'prince' or 'lord', can be suffixed to a personal name to denote respect. Therefore the essential part of the name *Vīrapperumāḷ* is its first element *Vīra* which was possibly an abbreviated form of the name *Vīrabāhu*. There are numerous examples wherein the second member of compound words used as personal names, such as Parākramabāhu, Vijayabāhu, &c., is omitted. For example, the Potgul Vehera inscription has the form *Parakkama-narinda* in referring to king Parākramabāhu[2]. In the Devanagala rock-inscription, king Vijayabāhu is called Vijayarajapā[3] and in this record itself Vikramabāhu is referred to as Vikkirama Calāmēga. On the analogy of these, we can easily imagine that the full name Vīrabāhupperumāḷ was shortened to Vīrapperumāḷ[4]. If this view is adopted, the epithet Pāṇḍiyaṉār applied to Vīrapperumāḷ can be explained as due to the fact that Vīrabāhu's father was a Pāṇḍyan prince.

The chronicles, of course, do not mention that Vīrabāhu (Mānābharaṇa) married a daughter of the Coḷa king. But this fact cannot be adduced as an argument against the proposed identification as the chroniclers have not recorded the names of all the wives of Ceylon princes and, in this instance, they had good reason to ignore the existence of a princess who belonged to an alien race and faith.

---

[1] *Mv.* lxi. 26 and lxii. 4.

[2] *E.Z.* Vol. II, p. 240.

[3] See below, p. 322.

[4] Compare also the Sanskrit maxim *nāmaikadeśagrahaṇam nāmamātragrahaṇam* 'the mention of a part of a name is (the same as) the mention of the name itself'.

Whatever the identity of Vīrapperumāḷ may be, the presence of a Coḷa princess in Ceylon shows that at this time there were friendly relations between this island and the Coḷa empire. This was quite a different state of affairs from that which prevailed towards the end of Vijayabāhu's reign, less than two decades before the date of this epigraph. Events described in Chapter lx. 24–47 of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, show that in the forty-fifth year of Vijayabāhu, that monarch's relations with Kulottuṅga, the Coḷa king, were strained almost to the breaking point. Before the accession of Kulottuṅga, Ceylon too was under the rule of the Coḷas and it was Vijayabāhu who, taking advantage of their internal troubles which preceded Kulottuṅga's accession, freed this island from the Coḷa yoke. Therefore, it is but natural for Kulottuṅga to have considered Vijayabāhu as an upstart and there could not have been any amicable relations between the Coḷa sovereign and a prince who had deprived him of one of the provinces of his empire. Vijayabāhu, on his part, contracted alliances with the Western Chālukyas and the Kaliṅgas who were inimical to the Coḷas and this sort of subdued hostility between the two countries seems to have lasted till the end of that monarch's reign. We do not know exactly when, and how, relations of a different nature started between Ceylon and the Coḷas.

The object of the epigraph was to register certain gifts made by the princess above mentioned to a Śaiva shrine named Vikkirama-Calāmēga-Īśvara in the town of Māgala *alias* Vikkirama-Calāmēga-pura. The town of Māgala must have been in the vicinity of the tank at Nikaväraṭiya, near Budumuttāva, as that reservoir is still known as Māgalavāva. In the *Mahāvaṁsa*, this town is called Mahāgalla[1]; and the tank at this place was enlarged by Parākramabāhu when he was the ruler of the Dakkhiṇadesa. The name Vikkirama-Calāmēga-pura was, presumably, given to Māgala in honour of Vikramabāhu who was at this time ruling at Poḷonnaruva. Mānābharaṇa, the ruler of the Dakkhiṇadesa in which Māgala was situated, had several contests with Vikramabāhu to deprive the latter of the sovereignty of Ceylon and at last succeeded in confining his authority to the northern half of the island. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, it appears as if Mānābharaṇa was virtually independent but the fact that an important town in his dominions was named after Vikramabāhu suggests that he acknowledged the suzerainty of the latter.

Not only the town of Māgala, but the Śaiva shrine at the place was also named after Vikramabāhu; and it is possible that he was its founder. This

[1] *Mahāvaṁsa*. lxviii. 32–39.

shows that Vikramabāhu had leanings towards the Śaiva faith and, in keeping with what we learn from this inscription, he and his contemporaries are described in the *Mahāvaṁsa* as rulers who were hostile towards the Buddhist religion. From this and other epigraphical remains of the period, it becomes clear that from the death of Vijayabāhu I till the accession of Parākramabāhu, the South Indian influence was dominant in Ceylon though the island was not politically subject to the neighbouring Dravidian kings.

It also appears from this record that Vikramabāhu had the throne name of Abā Salamevan (Calāmēga). His predecessor, Jayabāhu, also had the same title and from the fact that Parākramabāhu was called Sirisaṅgabo, Vikramabāhu's son and successor, Gajabāhu II, should have had the same throne name. As these two titles were borne alternately, Vikramabāhu should have been a Sirisaṅgabo. Perhaps, the reason why the throne name was not altered till Parākramabāhu was because neither Vikramabāhu nor Gajabāhu II was duly consecrated.

TEXT.

1 Śrī **Jaya(vā)**-
2 **-gu-dēvark-**
3 -ku yāṇḍu e-
4 -ṭṭāvadu Pā-
5 -ṇḍiyaṉār **Vī-**
6 **-rapperumāḷ** na-
7 **-mbirāṭṭiyā-**
8 -r **Kolottuṅ-**
9 **-ga**[1]**-Coḷadēvar** tiru-
10 magaḷār **(Cu)ndhamalli-**
11 **y-āḷvār Māgal**≠**āṉa**
12 **Vikkirama-Calāmēga-pu-**
13 **-rattu Vikkirama-Calā-**
14 **mēga-Īśvaram**≠uḍaiyār-
15 -kku candirāditta**v**aṟ≠ni
16 -nṟ≠eriya iṭṭa tiru na-
17 -ndā-viḷakk≠oṉṟu-
18 -kku yiṭṭa kācu pattu[॥*]
19 mun[2] cāṇ nīḷattil tarā-
20 nilai-viḷakku oṉ-
21 -ṟu[॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity! In the eighth year of **Jayavāgudēvar, (Cu)ndhamalliyāḷvār** the wife of **Vīrapperumāḷ**, the Pāṇḍyan, and daughter of **Kolottuṅga**[1]**-Coḷadevar**, gave ten *kācu*[3] for (maintaining) one sacred perpetual lamp[4] given, so that it

[1] Read *Kulottuṅga*.

[2] Read *muccāṇ*?.

[3] A gold coin equivalent to 28 grains troy. See Tamil Lexicon, *s.v.* According to Mr. Codrington, the weight of the *kācu* which originally was equivalent to half of the *gadyāṇa* of 58–60 grains was raised by Rājarāja to half of the *kaḻañju* of 68–72 grains (see *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 5).

[4] *Nandāviḷakku*, a word occurring frequently in South Indian Tamil inscriptions. For its interpretation, see *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 132, n. 2.

may last and burn as long as the moon and sun (endure), to the Lord **Vikkirama-Calāmēga-Īśvara**[1] in **Māgala** *alias* **Vikkirama-Calāmēga-pura.**

One standing lamp of brass[2], three spans in height (was also given).

No. 34. DEVANAGALA ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF PARĀKRAMABĀHU I.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

DEVANAGALA[3] is a rock, rising to a height of 1089 ft. above sea level, situated about three miles to the south-east of Māvanälla, in the Galboḍa Kōraḷē of the Kāgalla District. Steps cut on the bare sides of the rock, on its north-eastern and south-western slopes, lead one to the summit where are to be seen the remains of a massive stone building called Paraṇa Vihāra, an old dāgäba, and an image house of Kandyan style. The foundation of a monastery and shrines on this rock in 2110 B.E. (1567 A.D.) by a *thera* named Ratanālaṁkāra and the benefactions made to them by the Kandyan King Vimaladharmma Sūryya (probably the first of that name) are recorded in an inscription on the northern side of the rock at a distance of about seventy yards from the image house referred to above[4]. The earlier inscription, which is the subject of the present paper, is engraved on the rock at the bottom of the series of rock-cut steps on the south-western side.

This inscription was, for the first time, noticed by Dr. Müller in his *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*; but he entirely failed to recognize the historical importance of the document. About this epigraph, he says 'Five lines are only preserved, which contain the usual introduction of the inscriptions of the eleventh

---

[1] The deity worshipped in South Indian shrines is very often named after the founder of the temple. The god Śiva of the great temple at Tanjore is called Rājarājeśvara as it was built by the Coḷa king Rājarāja. The presiding deity of the temple built at Kāñcīpura by the Pallava king Rājasiṁha was called Rājasiṁheśvara. On the analogy of these instances, we may presume that the Śaiva shrine at Māgala was built by Vikrama [bāhu] Śilāmegha. Several *liṅga* stones, lying about the Buddhist temple at Budumuttāva, one near the Bo-tree and two serving as pillars in the verandah of the shrine, are doubtless remains of this Śaiva *kōvil*.

[2] *Tarā*. An alloy consisting of 8 parts of copper to 5 of tin, see Tamil Lexicon, *s.v.*

[3] For an account of Devanagala and its antiquities, see Mr. H. C. P. Bell's *Report on the Kāgalla District*, pp. 49–50.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

century (see, for instance, Mayilagastota, Ambasthala), but unfortunately not the name of the king; the greater part of the inscription is completely effaced'[1]. It was Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the former Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon, who first made the historical value of this epigraph known to scholars. In his *Archaeological Report on the Kegalla District* (Ceylon Government Sessional Papers, No. XXX of 1892, pp. 73–76) he published the text, transcript and translation of this inscription with notes and a discussion of the historical event mentioned in it. Mr. Bell's text and translation, though adequate enough to give a satisfactory idea about the contents of the record, are not free from errors, as is inevitable in a pioneer effort like his. Therefore, the present revised edition of the inscription, accompanied by the first facsimile reproduction of it in its entirety, will, I think, be found useful.

The inscription covers an area of 9 ft. 3 in. by 9 ft. not taking into account a projection, 1 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 1 in., at the left-hand bottom corner, which makes the last three lines longer than the rest. The rock surface had not been smoothed before the writing was executed; letters are sometimes engraved across natural fissures on the stone and where the rock has been flaked. The uneven nature of the rock surface made it necessary to leave some space between lines 15 and 16 and between the last two lines. The record consists of twenty-two lines, and is badly weatherworn; particularly in the last nine lines. However, excepting five or six letters at the beginning of each of lines 14–15, about eight letters in the middle of line 19 and about half of the lines 21 and 22, the rest is clearly legible. The letters are, on an average, about 3 in. in height; but those towards the end are slightly smaller. In lines 1–6 and parts of 7 and 8, the letters are engraved to a considerable depth; while in the remaining portion they are rather shallowly incised. Mr. Bell is of opinion that the greater depth of the letters in the first eight lines is due to their being re-chiselled at a later period, probably by the same person who engraved the more modern inscription at the place. This supposition gains strength from the fact that the last two syllables in the first line which should read *Damba* are very unlike the symbols for these letters in the other part of the record. The ligature *mba* is badly formed and the *da*, the lower part of which is altogether wanting, is joined to the former. The result is probably due to the letters, which were even then not very distinct, being retouched by one not familiar with the writing of the period.

[1] *A. I. C.* p. 60.

The **script** appears somewhat cursive in type when compared with that of the rock-inscription at Galvihāra in Polonnaruva which may be taken as the standard during this reign. As regards individual points, the following are worth mentioning. The medial vowel sign in *ri* which is, in the script of this period, generally written detached above the consonantal symbol, is here formed by continuing the left arm of *ra* upwards and then curving it downwards beyond the top of the right arm. In the *ri* occurring in line 17, the medial *i* sign assumes a different form; it is in the shape of an arc and its two ends are joined to the tops of the two arms of *ra*. The medial *u* sign which is generally attached below the right-hand side of letters is found on the left side in *yu* occurring in line 14. The syllable *bhū* in line 12 is written in a very unusual manner, and the *la* in the last line with a flourish.

The following clerical errors are found in the document:—In line 10, *taṅga-kumamba* is evidently intended for *mataṅga-kumba*: the engraver has, by some inadvertance, written the *ma* which should have preceded *ta*, three syllables after it. In the same line, *danala* is obviously a mistake for *dalana*. In line 12, the last letter *ta* has been omitted in the word *svarggastha-bhūta*. In line 14, *dede* should be corrected to *dedenā* and, in the next line, the word *Poson* was written without the final consonant; but the engraver has subsequently discovered his mistake and supplied the missing letter by writing it below the line.

As regards **orthography**, the following words deserve mention:—*Apirivat* (line 1) is found in other records as *apiriyat*[1]; as the word is derived from Skt. *aparyyanta*, and as the semi-vowel *y* is preferred to *v* after the vowel *i*, *apiriyat* may be a more correct form etymologically; but *y* and *v* are very often interchangeable in Sinhalese and in this case the occurrence of *v* in the words preceding and following must have influenced this change. *Osaba* (line 3) occurs elsewhere as *usaba*[2] and it may be held that while the form found in our record is to be derived from Skt. *vṛṣabha*, P. *vasabha*, the more frequent form goes back to Skt. *ṛṣabha*, P. *usabha*. The form *Lag-divu* for *Lak-divu* (P. *Laṅkā-dīpa*) has not been found elsewhere. The change of *k* to the corresponding sonant is doubtless due to the influence of the sonant *d* which immediately follows it. Even when the word is written *Lak-divu*, the *k* is very often actually pronounced as *g*. Here, the word is spelt exactly as it is pronounced. The form *yohon* is used in this record in place of *yon* in other

[1] See *E. Z.* Vol. I, pp. 130, 221, Vol. II, pp. 212, 286.
[2] *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 213.

epigraphs of this and other earlier periods. Dr. Wickremasinghe adduces this form *yohon* as one of the reasons why the words *yon*, *yona* and *yōna* occurring in similar phrases cannot, in his opinion, be considered the same as Skt. *yauvanī*; but the syllable *ho* can be explained as due either to augmentation or false restoration. Compare the modern Sin. *kehel* for the earlier form *kel* (*E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 117). *Bohosat* in l. 7 is an earlier form than *Bosat* occurring in the Aṁbagamuva rock-inscription (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 213). In the form *dāpin*, the change of the vowel *a* to *ä*, influenced by *i* in the second syllable, is noteworthy. *Kadavu* is used for the standard form *Kaṅdap* (Skt. *Kandarppa*); the change of the intervocalic *p* to *v* is a common phenomenon in Sinhalese [1], while the loss of the nasal can be supported by numerous examples in the mediaeval language. This and other words which differ from their standard forms, but can be defended phonetically, should, I think, be considered not as clerical errors but as variant forms which were actually in use at the time. There is no uniformity observed in the treatment of the nasal. The general tendency is not only to retain the nasal but also to introduce it in certain places, as in *pambanda* (for Skt. *prabandha*). On the other hand, we have *pabanda* in line 5 and in *kadavu*, the nasal has been elided. Attention also may be drawn to the long final vowel in *vūdū* (P. *visajjita*) which, so far as I know, has not been observed elsewhere, and the form *päharä* for the usual *pähärä* or *pähära*. In writing Sanskrit words, we have the following peculiarities:—*Laṁkājīpa* for *Laṁkādvīpa*, and *ekaccatra* for *ekacchatra*.

In comparison with other records, epigraphical as well as literary, dating from this period, the language of our inscription is somewhat archaic and the proportion of Sanskrit words used in it is small, particularly in the first half which is very ornate in style. But for a few orthographical variances, the first two lines of our record are identical with the opening of the 'Jetavanārāma' Slab-Inscription (No. 2) attributed to Mahinda IV [2] and that part beginning with line 4 and ending with *äti* in line 10 is the same as lines 9–16 of the Aṁbagamuva rock-inscription of Vijayabāhu I [3]. But it does not necessarily follow that the writer of the present epigraph copied these passages from the two earlier inscriptions. The similes and metaphors occurring in these phrases are, for the most part, commonplaces in Indian poetics, and they must have

[1] Compare, for example, Sin. *täv* for Skt. *tāpa*, Sin. *pav* for Skt. *pāpa*. See also Geiger, *L. S. S.* p. 39.

[2] *E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 234.

[3] *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 213.

formed part of the stock-in-trade of many a court panegyrist of the mediaeval kings of Ceylon. The introductory part of this inscription, up to *ăti* in line 10, also occurs, with slight variations, in the Doraṭiyāva Sannasa of Niśśaṁka Malla[1].

The record is **dated** in the twelfth year of **Parākramabāhu I** and its **object** was to register the grant, by the king, of certain lands to the general **Kit Nuvaragal** (Kitti Nagaragiri) in recognition of his services in the expedition against the Rāmañña Country. About two-thirds of the document is in the form of a panegyric on the king, in the course of which, in addition to the usual conventional terms of praise, there is a reference to the wars waged by Parākramabāhu against his two cousins, **Gajabāhu** and **Mānābharaṇa**. These campaigns are described at great length in chapters lxx–lxxii of the *Mahāvaṁsa*. It is also stated that forty-two years had elapsed from the death of his grandfather, King **Vijaya** (Vijayabāhu I), up to the time when Parākramabāhu started on his campaigns against his cousins. This part of the record has been understood by Mr. Codrington to mean that forty-two years was the period which intervened between Vijayabāhu I's death and the accession of Parākaramabāhu[2] and as the date of the latter event can be ascertained beyond doubt, it has been used as a means of determining the date of the former event. But, according to the construction of the sentence, the more obvious course is to take the adverbial clause *taman mutun . . . yana sitin* as modifying *yuddha koṭa*. This would mean that the period of forty-two years elapsed, not between the death of Vijayabāhu and the accession of Parākramabāhu, but between the former event and the campaigns of Parākramabāhu against his cousins. If we were to understand this passage as Mr. Codrington has done, it is necessary to take the adverbial clause above mentioned as modifying *ekacchatra-koṭa*. This is somewhat forced, and as even such an interpretation does not clear the chronological difficulties of this period of Ceylon history, I do not think that the present record helps us to fix definitely the date of Vijayabāhu I's death.

Of more historical value is the information afforded by this record about the **Burmese expedition** of Parākramabāhu I. The causes which, in this reign, brought about a rupture between Ceylon and Burma, the sending of a naval expedition by Parākramabāhu to chastise the Burmese monarch and the course of events in this war are given in considerable detail in the 76th

[1] *J. R. A. S.* (*C. B.*), vol. xxix, pp. 316–317.
[2] *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, vol. iv, p. 33.

chapter of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, vv. 10–75. This inscription, however, enables us to determine two facts about the expedition not mentioned in the chronicle; i.e. the date of the event and the name of the Burmese king who reigned at that time. In the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the account of the Burmese expedition is given immediately after that of the revolt of Mahātittha in the sixteenth year of Parākramabāhu and this has naturally led some writers to believe that the former event also occurred in the same year. The date given by Wijesinha for the accession of Parākramabāhu is 1164 A.D. and, therefore, Sir Arthur Phayre in his *History of Burma* assumes that the event took place in 1180 A.D., in the reign of the Burmese king Narapatisithu (1173–1210 A.D.)[1]. But this record, which registers a grant to one of the king's generals for his services in this expedition, is dated in the twelfth year of Parākramabāhu and, therefore, the event must have taken place earlier than 1180. M. Chas. Duroiselle, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of Burma and Mr. G. E. Harvey, I.C.S., the author of the latest *History of Burma*, both of whom appear to be unaware of this inscription, take 1180 A.D. for granted as the date of the Sinhalese expedition to Burma[2]. Mr. Bell, too, owing to the fact that he accepts 1164 A.D. as the date of Parākramabāhu's accession, follows Sir Arthur Phayre in ascribing this event to the reign of Narapatisithu and has made an ingenious attempt to show that the name *Narapatisithu* is the same as *Bhuvanāditta*[3], the name given, in this record, to Parākramabāhu's Burmese contemporary. The accession of Parākramabāhu I took place, according to the *Nikāya Saṅgraha*[4], in 1696 of the Buddhist era (1153/4 A.D.) and the same date is arrived at by calculating backwards from the year of Sāhasamalla's accession which is known, from a contemporary epigraphical record, to have been 1200 A.D.[5] This date for Parākramabāhu's accession appears to receive epigraphical testimony from an inscription which was recently copied from a village named Mädagama in the Vāuḍavili Hatpattu of the Kuruṇāgala District. This record, which unfortunately is very fragmentary, is dated in the seventeenth year of a king whose

---

[1] Spelt 'Narabaditsi-tsi-thu' by Sir Arthur Phayre who also gives 1167–1204 A.D. as the duration of his reign. The spelling of Burmese names adopted by Sir Arthur is different from that of the later writers on the history of Burma. The dates given by him have also been revised. In both these respects I follow M. Duroiselle and Mr. Harvey.

[2] *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1930*, pp. 17–19, and *History of Burma*, by G. E. Harvey (London, 1925), p. 57.

[3] *A. S. C. Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 74, n. 2.

[4] Colombo edition of 1890, p. 20.

[5] See *E. Z.* Vol. II, pp. 206 and 220.

name is not preserved; and gives the year 1696 of the Buddhist era, obviously as the date of that king's accession. From considerations of palaeography and other internal evidence as well as on account of the impossibility, from what we already know of the history of the period, of taking any other king to have ascended the throne in this year, this inscription can be ascribed, beyond doubt, to Parākramabāhu I. Thus, the date 1153 A.D. as the year of Parākramabāhu's accession rests on very firm grounds[1].

From the wording of the document, it appears, at first sight, as if the date given was that on which the Burmese king gave occasion to Parākramabāhu for embarking on hostilities. And one may therefore argue that, as it must have taken some time for Parākramabāhu to make the necessary preparations for the naval expedition, it actually took place later than the twelfth regnal year. But the general trend of the document is against such a view. The real purpose of the inscription was to record the grant of land to Kit Nuvaragal and the mention of the Rāmañña campaign is only incidental to it. Therefore we may reasonably assume that the date refers not to any incident connected with the Rāmañña expedition but to the royal grant. In order to get the above interpretation, it is necessary to consider as parenthetical that part of the sentence from *Aramaṇādhipati* in line 16 as far as *evū heyin* in line 20. Such constructions of sentences, though very awkward, are found in the best prose of the Sinhalese language. The grant of land to Kit Nuvaragal must have been made not long after his return from Burma; and as this was done in the twelfth regnal year, the Burmese expedition itself must have taken place in the same year or towards the end of the preceding year. And as the initial regnal year of Parākramabāhu was 1153 A.D., the date of the Burmese campaign should be 1164 or 1165 A.D.

The king who was ruling Burma at that date was not Narapatisithu, but his grandfather **Alaungsithu** whose reign lasted from 1112 A.D. to 1167 A.D.[2] Alaungsithu is described in the Burmese chronicles as a very strong and capable ruler; but Parākramabāhu's raid took place when his strong hand was getting feeble due to extreme old age and when the internal peace of his kingdom was being disturbed by the conduct of his sons. Alaungsithu is said to have visited

[1] Dr. Wickremasinghe (*E. Z.* Vol. II, pp. 205–206) puts forward a theory of three coronations of Parākramabāhu, the first in 1153 A.D., the second in 1159 A.D., and the third in 1161 A.D. Most of what Dr. Wickremasinghe has said here has been effectively disproved by Mr. Codrington in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, vol. ix, pp. 183–188.

[2] See Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 44.

Ceylon in the early part of his reign and stationed a representative of his, named Kāla, in this island. The haughty temperament attributed to Alaungsithu in the Burmese chronicles, is also reflected in the *Mahāvaṁsa* account of the incidents which led to a breach of the friendly relations between Burma and Ceylon [1].

The *Mahāvaṁsa* says that the Rāmañña king was killed by Parākramabāhu's general, but this statement cannot be taken as trustworthy as we know, from Burmese sources, that Alaungsithu met his death under quite different circumstances [2]. The Burmese chronicles have nothing to say about the Sinhalese expedition; and M. Chas. Duroiselle is of opinion that this silence is due not to the tendency of the Burmese to ignore events which were discreditable to them but due to loss of documents [3].

'Bhuvanāditta', the name given to the Burmese king in our inscription, is more correctly a title which was borne by more than one member of the Pagan dynasty. Kyanzittha, Alaungsithu's grandfather, is referred to, in inscriptions, as Tibhuvanādicca or Śrī Tribhuvanāditya-dhammarāja [4]. But the king to whom this title was particularly attached in Burmese tradition was Alaungsithu. The *Glass Palace Chronicle* says that the fulsome title of Siritari-bhavanāditya-pavara-paṇḍita-sudhammarāja-mahādhipati-narapatisithu was bestowed on Alaungsithu by the god Sakka at the foot of the mythical rose-apple tree [5]. Alaungsithu's grandson, Narapatisithu, also used the epithet [6].

As regards the **geographical names** mentioned in this record, **Aramaṇa** is the Sinhalese form of the name occurring in Pāli writings as Rāmañña, Rammaṇa or Ramaṇa. This was the old name of Pegu; but in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* it has a more extended application. In chapter l, v. 6, Anuruddha (Anawrahta),

---

[1] For an account of Alaungsithu's reign, see *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* translated by Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce (London, 1923), pp. 111–132.

[2] See *Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 127–128. About the identity of the Burmese king against whom Parākramabāhu fought and for the history of this campaign, see also Sir D. B. Jayatilaka's scholarly introduction to the Sinhalese edition of the *Mānāvulu Sandesa* (Colombo, 1925), pp. viii–xii.

[3] *Report of the A. S. Burma* for 1920, p. 17.

[4] *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. I, pp. 48 and 63.

[5] *Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 115. It will be seen that the name 'Narapatisithu' formed part of Alaungsithu's title. But in Burmese history, 'Narapatisithu' is the name by which Alaungsithu's grandson is commonly known. See *Report of the A. S. Burma* for 1919, p. 21.

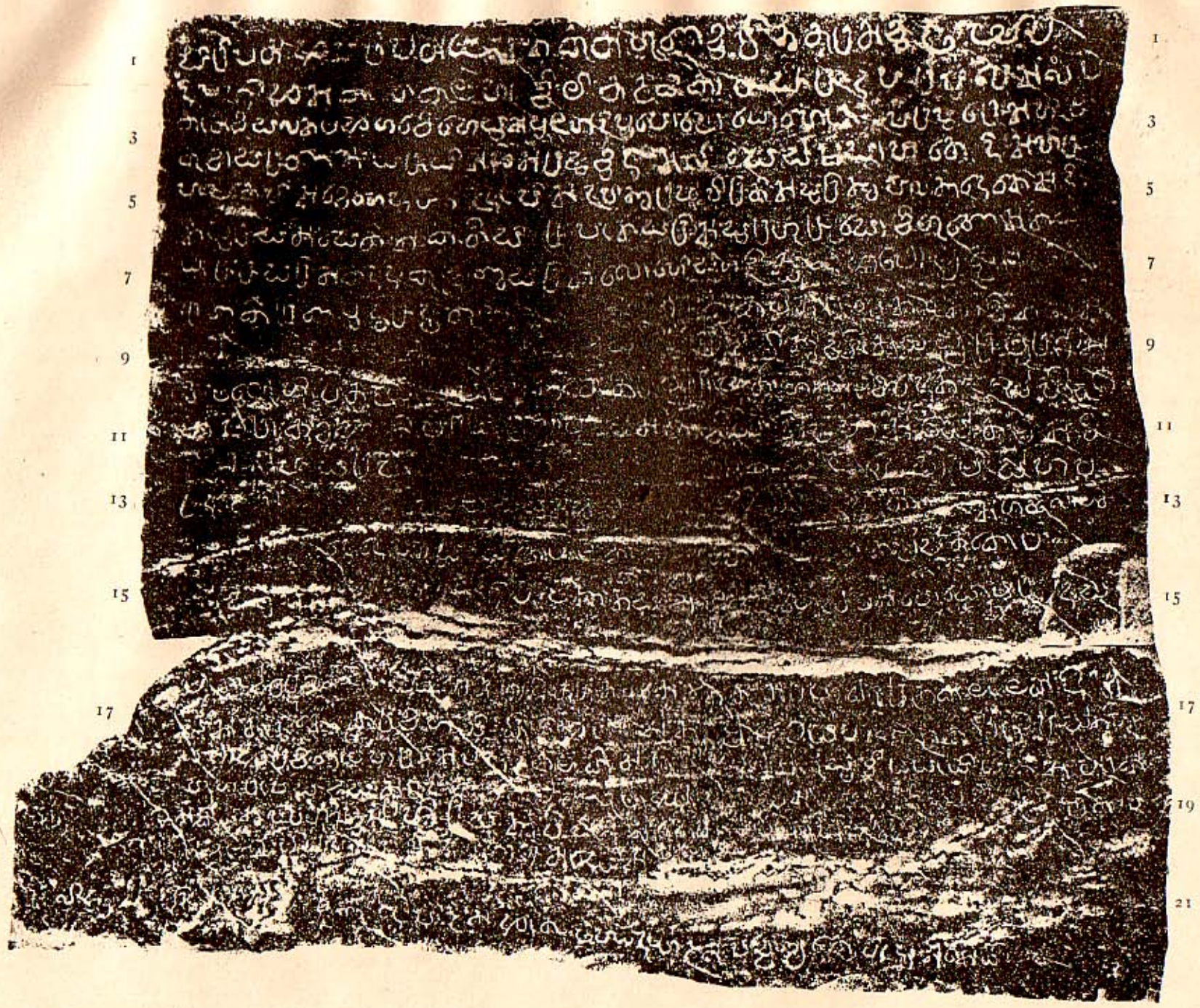
[6] *Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 128–132, *Inscriptions of Pagan Pinya und Ava* (Rangoon, 1899), p. 4.

king of Burma, is called the king of Rāmañña and in chapter lxxvi, the king of Rāmañña is also called the king of Arimaddana (Pagan). These references show that Burma proper which, in Pāli, is called Mrammaraṭṭha, was known in mediaeval Ceylon by the name which, strictly speaking, was appropriate for Pegu only. The kingdom of Pegu was conquered by Anawrahta in the eleventh century and under the kings of Pagan, it formed a province of the kingdom of Burma. The extension of the name of a conquered province for the home provinces of the kingdom is remarkable; and suggests that the Sinhalese first gained their knowledge of these parts of Further India through the Rāmañña country. **Kusumiya,** the town captured by Kit Nuvaragal, is mentioned in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions[1] and in the *Sāsanavaṁsa*[2] as Kusīma and is now known as Bassein[3]. Among the names of villages granted to Kit Nuvaragal, **Malabaṭuva** is undoubtedly the same as the modern Laṁbuṭuva situated about two and a half miles to the south-west of Devanagala. **Kit-sen-pavu** does not seem to have left any traces in the modern topography of the place. In '*Pallē Pamuṇuva*' and '*Uḍa Pamuṇuva*', names of two villages situated adjoining the rock of Devanagala to the north-east and south-west, we may still have a faint echo of the fact that these villages once formed a *pamuṇu* of Kit Nuvaragal. The inscription has nothing to show that a religious institution existed at Devanagala in the twelfth century. The remains that we find at the place are most probably contemporaneous with the second inscription mentioned above.

TEXT.

1 සිරිවත් අපිරිවත් ලෙඩු ශූකුත් ගුණමුළිනුතුරත් මුළු [දම්බ]
2 දිවගි අන්කැත්කුල පාම්ලි කළ ඔකාවස්රදපරපුරෙන් බව
3 කැත්ඔසබනට අගමෙහෙසුන් වූ ලග්දිවුපොළොයොනොන් පරපුරෙන් හිමි
4 තුමා සරණනියරසින් අන්රජමුදුන් බිසෙස් වූ සාහනෙදින් හිරු
5 පැළකෙවින් මෙහෙසුරු දළදුපින් උවිසු රජවිරිනින් සුරසු පබඳුදෙ නොන් දි
6 නිසුරු සත්සෙනින් කිනිසිරු පැනසරින් සුරගුරු සොම්ගුණෙන් නිස
7 පුරු රැසරින් කදවු කුලුඇසරින් බොහොසත් දිනූ සහවොටුතුරජබ
8 රණකිරණ වූදූ රැදුතුලානල අරා තුමා තුනුකප්තුරුමෙන් නොමින් නන්

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxii, p. 152.
[2] P. T. S. Edition, p. 41.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. xxii, pp. 18–21.



Scale about 1 13/16 inches to 1 foot

9 රුවන්ධනවතුරෙන් නත්දෙසෙන් ඔසළ මුළුදිළිඳුසිත්සපුර පුරමින්
10 මුළුලොහි පතළ යසපම්බඤ ඇති රුපුරජතගකුම්ම්බ[1] දනලයෙහි[2] සි[ං*]
11 හපරාක්‍රම ඇති **පරාක්‍රමබාහු** වත්හිමියන් වහන්සේ තමන් මු
12 තුන් **විජයරජපා** ස්වර්ගස්ථතු[ත*] නැනැ සිටැ දෙසාලිස් හවු
13 රුද්දක් නැසි තුබූ ලොසසුන් ඇති කරවමි යන සිතින් **ගජබාහු**
14 [**මානා**]**ෂර**[**ණ**] දෙදෙ[නා*] හා යුඩ **කොට ලංකාජීප**[3] යෙහි **එකච්ඡත්‍ර**[4] කොට
15 **පුල**[**සනිපුරව**]රෙහි රජශ්‍රී[5] වළඤන **සමාහි** දෙලොස්වනු[6] පොසොනැ පුර දස
16 වකැ **අරමණ**[**ඛිප**]**නි භුවනාදිත්ත** නම් කෙනෙකුන් රජකරන කලැ **ලක්දිවු**
17 සන්තාන නො කරම්හ යි කී හෙයින් නැවූ දහස්ගණනකට පිරිස් නගා
18 යවා අරමණය පාරනේ වදාළ කලැ **කින් නුවරගලුන් කුසුමිය** යැයි යන නුවරක්
19 පැහරැ පස්මසක් ර .. .. [ගත්] කලැ අරමණයන් සන්තාන කරම්හ යි දූතය
20 න් එවූ **හෙයින් කින් නුවරගලුන්ට** හිරිසඤ පවත්නා (තෙක් සිටින) පරිද්දෙ
21 න් මෙ ග(ලැ) කොටා දුන් **මලබටුව** හා .. .. හා **කින්සෙන් පවුයෙ**
22 න් බිජුවට දෙලොසමුණු දෙ පැළක් ඇතුළුවැ දෙ යාළක් පමුණු කොටැ දුන්නේයි [॥*]

TRANSCRIPT.

1 Sirivat apirivat levu[7]-ikut-guṇa-muḷin-uturat muḷu[8]-[Damba]-
2 divahi[9] an-kät-kula pā-mili[10] kaḷa Okāvas-rada[11]-parapuren baṭa[12]
3 kät-osabanaṭa[13] aga-mehesun vū Lag-divu[14]-poḷo-yohon[15] parapuren himi
4 tumā saraṇa-niya-räsin[16] an[17]-raja-mudun bises[18] vū sāha-tedin hiru[19]

---

1 'මතගකුම්බ' යිකියවනු. 2 'දලනයෙහි' යි කියවනු.
3 'ලංකාචීප' නොහොත් 'ලංකාදීප' යි කියවනු.
4 'එකච්ඡත්‍ර' යි කියවනු.
5 'රාජ්‍යශ්‍රී' නොහොත් 'රජසිරි' යි කියවනු.
6 'නැ' යන්න පසුව පෙළට යටින් ලියා තිබේ.

7 Mt. *lo.*
8 Mt. *vū.*
9 Mt. *diwuhi.*
10 Bt. Mt. *pämili.*
11 M. omits *rada.*
12 Mt. *baṭ.*
13 Mt. *usabnaṭ.*
14 Mt. *Lak-diwu.*
15 Mt. *yogen.*
16 Mt. *tisara sin.*
17 Mt. *gat.*
18 Mt. *wisesa.*
19 Mt. *hira.*

5 päḷakevin[1] mehesuru daḷa-däpin uvindu raja-viritin surindu pabanda-
denen di-
6 -nisuru sat-setin kitisiru[2] päna-sarin suraguru somi-guṇen nisa-
7 yuru ru-sarin kadavu[3] kuluṇu-sarin bohosat dinū saha-voṭunu-raja-ba-
8 -raṇa-kiraṇa vūdū[4] rudu-tulā-tala arā tumā tunu[5]-kapturumen[6] nomin
nan-
9 ruvan-dhana[7]-vaturen nan-desen osaḷa muḷu-diḷindu-sit-sayura puramin
10 muḷu-lohi pataḷa yasa[8]-pambanda äti rupu-raja-taṅga-kumamba[9]-danala-
yehi[10] si[ṁ*]-
11 -ha[11]-parākrama äti **Parākramabāhu** vat-himiyan vahanse taman mu-
12 -tun **Vijaya-raja-pā** svarggastha-bhū[ta*][12] tänä siṭä de-sālis **havu-**
13 -ruddak näsī tubū lo-sasun äti karavami yana sitin **Gajabāhu**
14 [**Mānā**]**bhara**[**ṇa**] dede[nā *][13] hā yuddha koṭa **La**[**ṁ**]**kā-jīpa**yehi[14]
ekaccatra[15] koṭa
15 **Pula**[**sti-pura-**va]rehi[16] raja-śrī[17] vaḷandana samāhi doḷosvanu[18] Posonä
pura dasa-
16 vakä **Aramaṇā**[**dhipa**]**ti**[19] **Bhuvanāditta** nam[20] kenekun rajakarana
kalä **Lak-divu**
17 santāna no karamha yi kī[21] he[yi]n[22] nävu dahas-gaṇanakaṭa[23] piris naṅgā
18 yavā Aramaṇaya pāranē vadāḷa kalä **Kit Nuvaragalun**[24] **Kusumīya**
yäyi yana nuvarak

---

[1] M.'s reading of the fifth line is:—*paḷa kelin mehesu radol daewin daewina raja wīra . . .*

[2] Bt. *kitisara.*

[3] Bt. *kandav.* The medial vowel sign for *u* in the third syllable, though imperfectly formed, is clearly visible.

[4] Bt. *vudu.*

[5] Bt. *tula kala aritu itunu.*

[6] Bt. *kapturamen.*

[7] Bt. *yana.*

[8] Bt. *yäsa*; what has been taken as the sign for the medial vowel *ä* is only a fracture on the rock.

[9] Read *mataṅgakumba*; B has *tuṅga kumba.*

[10] Read *dalanayehi*; B reads *vidanalayehi.*

[11] Bt. *sīha.*

[12] Bt. *svarggasthaṅgya*; the sign for the medial vowel *ū* in *bhū* is unusual in form and the *ta* is omitted.

[13] The engraver has omitted *nā.*

[14] Bt. *Laṁkādvīpayehi.* Read *Laṁkā-dvīpayehi.*

[15] Read *ekacchatra.*

[16] Bt. *pä*(*muṇu bandu*) *Rangira.*

[17] Read *rājya-śrī* or *raja-siri*; B reads *āśrī.*

[18] Bt. *vana.*

[19] *Aramaṇa* (*vasana*).

[20] Bt. *nan.*

[21] Bt. *kiyā.*

[22] Bt. *haṭan.*

[23] Bt. *dahas gaṇan koṭa.*

[24] Bt. *Aramaṇaya pāren padaḷa kalakin* (*uhu yamin*).

19 päharä[1] pas-masak ra .. ..[2] [gat][3] kalä Aramaṇayan santāna karamha[4] yi dūtaya-

20 -n evū heyin[5] **Kit Nuvaragaluṇṭa**[6] hiri[7]-sanda pavatnā (tek siṭina) paridde-

21 -n me ga(lä) koṭā[8] dun **Malabaṭuva** hā .. .. hā **(Ki)t-sen-pavuye-**[9]

22 -n bijuvaṭa doḷos-amuṇu de-pāḷak ätuḷu vä de-yāḷak pamuṇu koṭä dunnēyi[॥ *]

TRANSLATION[10].

[Lines 1–14] His Majesty[11] **Parākrambāhu** who is descended from the royal line of the Okkāka[12] dynasty which, abounding in an assemblage of illustrious, boundless and transcendental virtues, has made other *kṣatriya* dynasties of Jambudvīpa its vassals;[13] who is, by right of descent, the lord of the maiden, the land of Laṅkādvīpa[14], the chief queen of the *kṣatriya* nobles[15]; by the effulgence of the nails of whose feet the heads of other kings become anointed; who surpasses the Sun in impetuosity and fiery energy[16], Maheśvara in prowess[17], Upendra[18] in haughty spirit, the Chief of the Gods (Indra) in kingly

---

[1] Bt. *pähärä*.

[2] Bt. (*rajahēvāgan*) *kalä*.

[3] Bt. *gan*.

[4] Bt. *karavha*.

[5] Bt. (*evu hēya*).

[6] Bt. *Ki'nuvaragi[ri]ṇṭa*.

[7] Bt. *hira*.

[8] Bt. (*munṭa dun*).

[9] Bt. *pavaye*.

[10] For Mr. Bell's translation, see *A. S. C. Kegalla Report*, p. 75. The whole document forms one sentence, very complex in structure; but, for obvious reasons, I have translated as if it were two sentences by treating the gerund *koṭa* in line 14 as a finite verb.

[11] *Vat-himiyan vahanse*, see above, p. 85.

[12] Skt. *Ikṣvāku*.

[13] *Pāmili*, see above, p. 140, n. 3. For the translation of the first two lines of this record compare *E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 237.

[14] For the interpretation of the phrase *Lakdiv-poḷo-yohon*, see above, p. 81.

[15] *Kät-usab* = Skt. *kṣatriyarṣabha*, literally '*kṣatriya* bulls'. Names of animals such as lion, tiger, swan, elephant, &c., when suffixed to class names signify an honorific sense, in Sinhalese as well as in Pāli and Sanskrit.

[16] *Sāha-tedin*. Dr. Wickremasinghe (*E. Z.* II, p. 215) renders this compound by 'the majesty inherent in him'. He appears to take *sāha* as equivalent to Skt. *sahaja*. I have taken it as derived from Skt. *sāhasa*.

[17] Mr. Bell and Dr. Wickremasinghe thus render the word *päḷakev*. I have followed them, though I am not certain as to the etymology of the word. I have not found it in literature.

[18] *Viṣṇu*.

deportment, the Lord of Riches (Kuvera) in abundant wealth, Kitisiru[1] in (bestowing) happiness to beings, the Preceptor of the Gods (Bṛhaspati) in the excellence of his wisdom, the Moon in gentleness, Kandarppa in the excellence of his beauty and Bodhisattva in the fullness of his benevolence; who, having mounted the massive[2] scale pan which radiated[3] the resplendence of the royal adornments including the diadem[4], and filling the ocean, which is the hearts of multitudes of the poor assembled from various directions, by the flow of limitless and varied jewels and treasures from the wish-conferring tree[5], which is his own person, is possessed of poetical compositions[6] about his fame diffused throughout the entire world; who is having the prowess of a lion in tearing the frontal globes of the elephants who are his enemy kings,—[that king Parākramabāhu]—with the resolve, 'I shall cause the revival of the state and the church[7] which have been ruined for forty-two years since the time when my[8] grandfather, King **Vijaya**[9], became a denizen of heaven,' made war with the two persons, **Gajabāhu** and **Mānābharaṇa** and made [the authority of] one umbrella [of dominion prevail] in the island of Laṅkā.

[1] *Kitisiru* is equivalent to Sanskrit *Kīrttīśvara*; but no such name of a god or other mythological being is known from Sanskrit literature. Among names which may be said to have some resemblance to it, there are *Kīrtti-bhāj*, and *Kīrttimat*. The former is a name of Droṇācārya, the military preceptor of the Paṇḍus and Kurus and the latter of one of the Viśvedevās, son of Uttānapāda and Sūnṛta. But neither of these mythological personages is considered to have a speciality of bestowing happiness on beings. Fame personified is known as Kīrtti and is supposed to be the daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Dharmma and the latter can therefore be called Kīrttipati or Kīrttīśvara; but the word is nowhere actually found. In later Sinhalese poetry, god Nātha is particularly invoked for bestowing happiness; and, I have elsewhere (*C. J. Sc. G*, vol. ii, pp. 52–64) shown that Nātha is the same as the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Therefore, with extreme diffidence, I suggest that *Kitisiru* is a corruption of **Kiteśvara*, an abbreviated form of Avalokiteśvara.

[2] See *E. Z.* Vol. II, p. 216, n. 2.

[3] *Vūdū* = Skt. *visarjita*. Dr. Wickremasinghe (*E. Z.* Vol. II, p. 216, n. 1) takes it to be the same as Skt. *vidyut*.

[4] *Voṭunu* = Skt. *veṣṭana* and is commonly understood to mean 'a crown'.

[5] If *men* in *kap-turumen* be taken as the particle expressing similarity, the construction of the sentence is not clear; therefore, I have treated ***kaṭ-turumen*** as the instrumental singular of *kap-turuma*, a corruption of Skt. *kalpa-druma*.

[6] *Yasa-pambanda* = Skt. *yaśaḥ-prabandha*. Dr. Wickremasinghe (*E. Z.* II, p. 216) translates it by 'unbroken fame'.

[7] *Lo-sasun*. See *E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 181, n. 6. *Sasun* (P. *sāsana*) is the Buddhist Church and *lo* (P. *loka*), literary 'people', is used for temporal affairs. Hence the compound has been rendered as above.

[8] *Taman* (Skt. *ātmanaḥ*) means 'of one's own self' but as the word is used in a direct speech, it has been rendered by the first personal pronoun.

[9] Vijayabāhu I (*circa* 1058–1114 A.D.).

[Lines 15–22] On the tenth day of the waxing moon in [the month of] Poson[1] in the twelfth year when His Majesty was enjoying the royal splendour (in the noble city of **Pulasti**)[2]. Whereas, a person named **Bhuvanāditta**, lord of **Aramaṇa**, when reigning, said 'We shall not contract a treaty[3] with the island of **Laṅkā**', and whereas, when His Majesty had commanded 'Put men[4] on board thousands of vessels, send [them] and attack[5] Aramaṇa', and **Kit Nuvaragal**[6], (in pursuance of the said command), had taken by storm a town called **Kusumīya** and when . . . for five months, the Aramaṇas sent envoys saying 'We shall contract a treaty'—two *yāḷas*[7] were granted as *pamuṇu*[8] to Kit Nuvaragal, including **Malabaṭuva** . . . and the sowing extent of twelve *amuṇas*[7] and two *pāḷas*[7] in **(K)itsenpavu** which were granted by having this inscription engraved on this stone so that [the same] may last till the sun and moon endure.

No. 35. KAṬUGAHA-GALGĒ PILLAR-INSCRIPTION.

By S. PARANAVITANA.

ABOUT five miles to the north of Buttala[9], in the Kaňdukara Kōraḷē of the Ūva Province, there is an ancient site now known as Kaṭugaha-galgē or Aturugiri Vihāra. At this place there is a large cave, measuring about 300 ft. in length, 50 ft. in breadth, and 18 ft. in height, on the steep side of a huge granite rock on the top of which there is a small *stūpa* now renovated. A part of the spacious cave has been walled, in comparatively recent times, to form a shrine and six cells as living-quarters for the monks. In front of the cave are remains of ancient structures, the stonework of which is plain and archaic and bespeaks an early date. Near the southern end of the cave there is, lying on the ground,

---

[1] May–June. [2] Poḷonnaruva.

[3] *Santāna* is undoubtedly a corruption of the Sanskrit word *sandhāna* which means 'treaty'. The word *sandhāna* itself is used in an inscription at Saṁgamu Vihāra in the Kuruṇāgala District which gives the treaty between Gajabāhu II and Parākramabāhu. The word *santāna* also occurs in the *Rājāvaliya* (Colombo, 1911), p. 53.

[4] *Piris* = P. *parisā*, Skt. *parṣad*.

[5] *Pāranē*, the imperative mood of the root *pahara* or *pāra* (Skt. *pra* + $\sqrt{hṛ}$).

[6] Kitti Nagaragiri of the *Mahāvaṁsa* (lxxvi. 60). *Nuvaragal* or *Nagaragiri* is a title (*E. Z.* Vol. II, p. 246), but what it precisely signifies is not known.

[7] A grain measure of 20 *amuṇas* (see above, p. 183). The terms *yāḷa*, *amuṇa* and *pāḷa* ($\frac{1}{4}$ of an *amuṇa*) were also used in measuring fields (see above, p. 189).

[8] See above, p. 276, n. 3. [9] *Guttasāla* of the *Mahāvaṁsa*.

an inscribed stone pillar broken into two unequal pieces. The pillar is not in its original position; it was removed, over fifty years ago, to this vihāra from a neighbouring chena. It measures $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. and was standing, when complete, to a height of about 6 ft. above ground. The pillar is engraved on two sides only; the first face containing 35 lines and the second 22. The letters, which average about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, are engraved between parallel lines 2 in. apart from one another. The writing, except for line A 31 which has been damaged by the fracture of the stone, is in a very good state of preservation.

The **script** is Sinhalese of the twelfth century and does not differ from that of other published epigraphs of the reign to which this inscription belongs[1]. After the auspicious word *Śrīḥ* at the beginning of the record, there are two vertical strokes (*daṇḍas*) used as punctuation marks.

The **language**, too, is in keeping with other records of the period and contains nothing noteworthy except *nivañcāvo*, (l. A 21) and *suvāmi* (l. A 22), which are not grammatical forms and *bat kā bulat kā mata* (ll. A 18–19) which is a phrase not met with elsewhere.

Dr. E. Müller includes this epigraph as No. 155 of his *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*. He neither gives the text nor the translation of the inscription; but says that 'the contents are identical with those of the inscription at Kaeligatte (No. 152); only that here the words Pihiṭirajayehi Kael. A. 14 are missing'[2]. The inscribed pillar from Väligatta (mis-spelt Kaeligatte by Müller), a village in the Hambantoṭa district, is now in the Colombo Museum. It is not in a good state of preservation and therefore Dr. Müller was altogether mistaken about the nature of the contents of that record when he says that 'it gives some particulars about the king's daily life'[3]. A third pillar, bearing the same record, but not so well preserved, is now standing in the vicinity of the colossal *stūpa* at Yudaṅgaṇāva which is about four miles to the south of Kaṭugaha-galgē and is, according to tradition, the scene of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's encounter with his younger brother Tissa[4]. This pillar, like the one at Kaṭugaha-galgē, is not in its original position: it was brought to the temple grounds in 1924 from the neighbouring jungle by the incumbent of the vihāra, in order to add more prestige to his shrine.

In August 1927, I visited Yudaṅgaṇāva and Kaṭugaha-galgē and, from the inscriptions engraved on them, found that the pillars at these two places, as well as the one from Väligatta, bearing the identical record, were *gavu* (P. *gāvuta*)

---

[1] See *E. Z.* Vol. II, Nos 13–29.

[2] *A. I. C.* p. 68.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 67.

[4] For an account of this battle, see *Mv.* xxiv 19 ff.

stones set up by **Kāliṅga Cakravartti**, i.e. **Niśśaṁka Malla**[1]. A preliminary account of these epigraphs was included in the Epigraphical Summary published in the *Ceylon Journal of Science* (*Section G*), vol. ii, part. I, pp. 19–20. A few weeks after my visit to these two places, Mr. H. W. Codrington, then Government Agent of the Ūva Province, inspected the pillar at Yudaṅgaṇāva; and having independently discovered the purport of the record, communicated with the Archaeological Commissioner about its importance. On being informed of the existence of a duplicate at Kaṭugaha-galgē, he made inquiries through his headmen and succeeded in bringing to light six more of these *gāvuta* pillars, more or less in a fragmentary condition, in the same locality. An excellent paper on these pillars, dealing particularly with the information they yield on the precise length of the ancient *yojana* and *gāvuta*, has been contributed by Mr. Codrington to the *Ceylon Journal of Science* (*Section G*), vol. ii, pp. 129-134.

Of all the *gāvuta* pillars so far known, the one at Kaṭugaha-galgē alone has the inscription completely preserved. Niśśaṁka Malla was not satisfied with a bare mention of the fact that the pillar marked a *gāvuta*. More than half of the document is taken up by a short homily addressed to the people of Rohaṇa and this is followed by an account, very restrained, in comparison with his effusions elsewhere[2], of his South Indian campaigns and his tours of inspection within his own dominions.

It is interesting to note that in his advice to the people of Rohaṇa, Niśśaṁka Malla exhorts them to act in such a manner as not to deserve the reproaches of being perfidious and disloyal, levelled against them by the people of the other parts of the island. The unenviable reputation which the Rohaṇa people seem to have had was probably due to the several rebellions which they raised against the authority of Parākramabāhu I, about two decades before Niśśaṁka's time. In quelling these risings, the people of the Pihiṭi and Māyā kingdoms, who followed the standard of Parākramabāhu, had to fight many a pitched battle, the memories of which must have still been fresh in their minds in the reign of Niśśaṁka Malla, and made them regard the people of Rohaṇa with no friendly feelings[3].

---

[1] The Hāṭa-dā-gē Vestibule Wall Inscription of this king says that 'in the course of inspecting the three kingdoms in various ways, he fixed [the distance of] a *gavu* and calling it a Niśśaṁka-gavu, he caused inscribed mile-posts to be set up'. (*E. Z.* Vol. II, p. 95).

[2] See, for instance, the Galpota inscription, *E. Z.* Vol. II, pp. 115 ff.

[3] Even to-day, the Sinhalese of the southern parts of the island are regarded with a certain amount of distrust by their brethren of the western and the central regions.

TEXT.

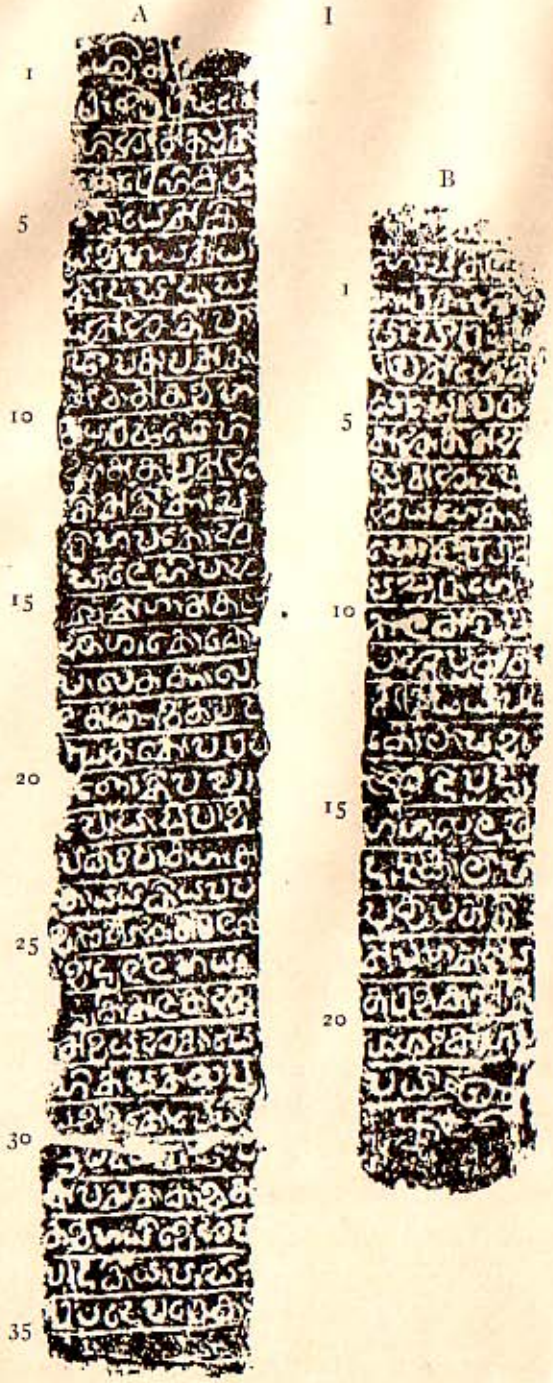
A.

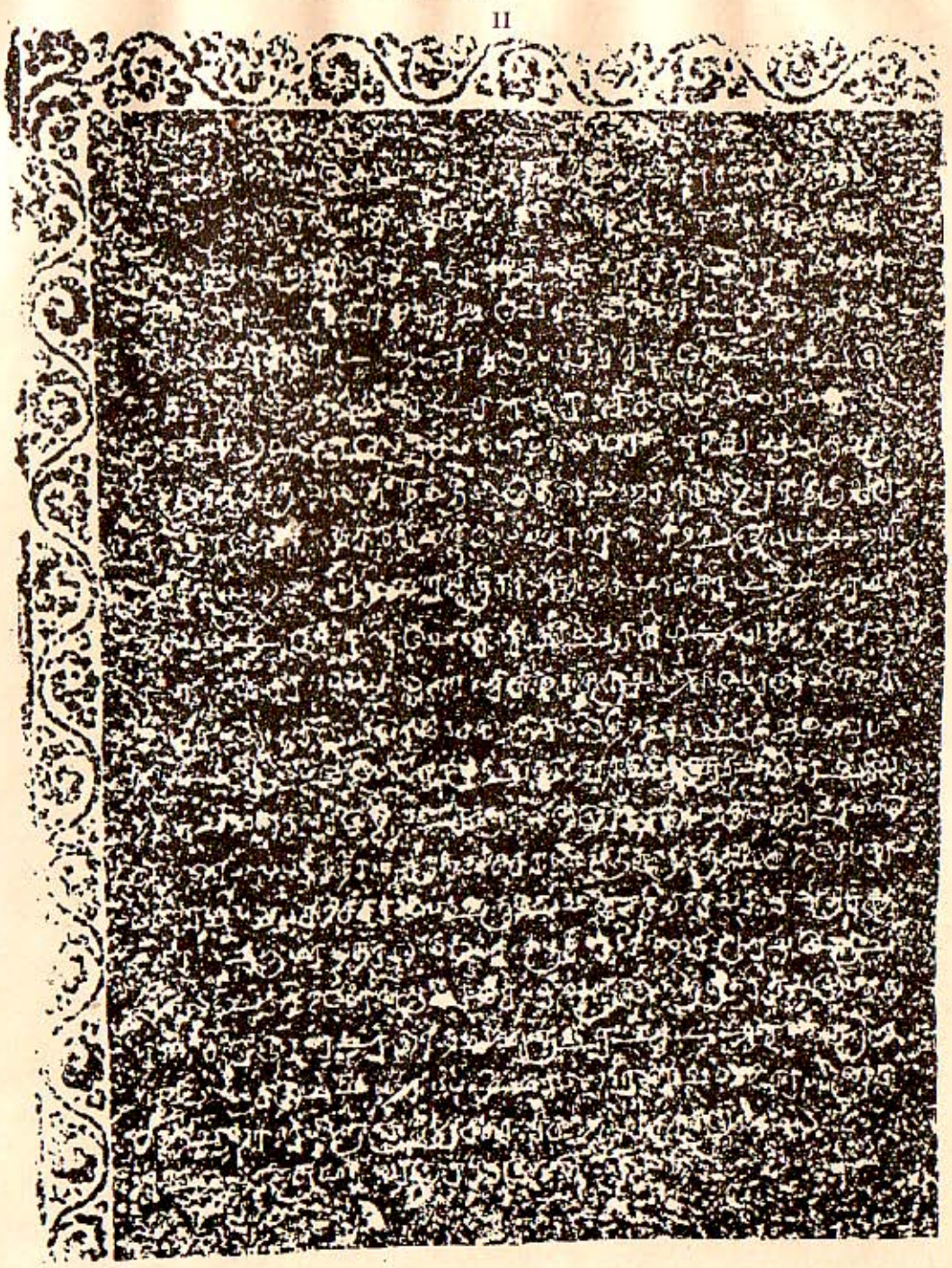
1 ශ්‍රීඃ ॥
2 **රුණුරජයෙ**
3 **හි** ඇත්තවුන්
4 කෙරෙහි කරු
5 ණයෙන් කි
6 යම්හ [॥*] ධනධා
7 න්‍ය දැසිදැස
8 යන් ඇති වැ
9 ජීවත්වන්නා
10 කැමැත්තම්හ [॥*]
11 **මායාරජයෙහි**
12 ඇත්තවුන් අ
13 තින් නිඤ්ඤ ප
14 රිභව නො අ
15 සා ලොහි වැ අ
16 නුන් ගැත්තට
17 ආශා නො කො
18 වැ බත් කෑ බු
19 ලත් කෑ මතට උ
20 ධත නො ව **රු**
21 **ණො** නිවවා
22 වො යැ සුවාමි
23 පක්ෂපාත ගැත්
24 තො යයි කියවව [॥*]
25 මනුෂ්‍යආත්ම ලැබී
26 ම දුල්ලභ යැ [॥*]
27 දුකින් ලත් ආ
28 ත්මය අනායෙ
29 හි නසන බව
30 ධම්ම නො වෙයි [॥*-
31 සුවයෙන් ජීව
32 ත්වන්නා කැමැත්
33 තම්හ යි [॥*] මේ අව
34 වාද කියා **පාඩි**
35 **රට** දෙවරෙකැ

B.

1 ගොස් තුලා
2 භාර නැඟි
3 **පාඩි** රජ්ජු
4 රුවන්ගෙන්
5 බිසොවරු
6 න් ඇතුන් අ
7 සුන් ආදි වූ
8 අය ගෙනැ
9 **සොළි** රටින්
10 පඬුරු ගෙ
11 නැ **ලක්දිව**
12 **ට** අවුත් තු
13 **න්** රජය වට
14 කොටැ **සම[නො]**
15 **ළ** ආදි වූ දු
16 ගීහ බලා ව
17 දැළ **කාලිග**
18 **චක්‍රවර්ත්ති**
19 **න්** වහන්සෙ
20 තරම් කළ
21 **නිශ්ශංකගවු**
22 වයි [॥*]

I. Kaṭugaha-galgē Pillar-Inscription
II. The Tamil portion of the Galle Trilingual Slab





Scale : I, about $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches to 1 foot ; II, about, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches to 1 foot

TRANSCRIPT[1].

A.

Śrīḥ ॥
Ruṇu-rajaye-
-hi ättavun
kerehi karu-
-ṇāyen ki-
-yamha [॥*] Dhana-dhā-
-nya dāsī-dāsa-
-yan äti vä
jīvat-vannā
kämättamha [॥*]
Māyā-rajayehi[2]
ättavun a-
-tin nindā pa-
-ribhava no a-
-sā lobhī vä a-
-nun gättaṭa
āśā no ko-
-ṭä bat kā bu-
-lat kā mataṭa u-
-ddhata no va **Ru-**
-ṇo nivañcā[3]-
-vo yä suvāmi[4]
pakṣapāta gät-
-to yayi kiyavava [॥*]
Manuṣya-ātma läbī-
-ma durllabha yä [॥*]
Dukin lat ā-
-tmaya anāye-
-hi nasana bava
dharmma no veyi [॥*]
Suvayen jīva-
-t vannā kämät-
-tamha yi [॥*] Mē ava-
-vāda kiyā **Pāṇḍi-**
raṭa de-varekä

B.

gos tulā-
bhāra näṅgī
Pāṇḍi- rajju-
-ruvangen
bisō-varu-
-n ätun a-
-sun ādi vū
aya genä
Soḷī-raṭin
paṇḍuru ge-
-nä **Lak-diva-**
-ṭa avut tu-
-n rajaya vaṭa
koṭä **Sama[no-]**
-ḷa ādi vū du-
-rgga balā va-
-dāḷa **Kāliṅga-**
cakravartti-
-n vahanse
taram kaḷa
Niśśaṁka-gavu-
-vayi [॥*][5]

[1] For Müller's reading of the Väligatta inscription which is identical with the present one, see *A. I. C.*, p. 102.

[2] The Yudaṅganāva and Väligatta pillars both insert *Piṭirajayehi* after *Māyārajayehi*. This word was omitted in the present epigraph, possibly due to an inadvertence on the part of the engraver. [3] Read *nirvañcā*. [4] The Yudaṅganāva pillar has *svāmi*.

[5] After the last letter of this line, there is a symbol of a chank, and below it are a *svastika* and two other symbols which are not clearly visible.

TRANSLATION[1].

[Lines A 1–24] Prosperity! We speak out of our compassion towards the the people of the **Ruṇu**[2] kingdom. We desire that you should live possessing money, grain, female slaves and male slaves. Do not listen to words of blame and reproach from[3] the people of the Māyā[4] kingdom[5]; but, by not coveting, through avarice, the property[6] of others and by not being conceited for the mere fact of having taken food and chewed betel[7], make (them) say that the people of Ruṇu are not perfidious and that they are loyal subjects[8] of their liege lord.

[Lines A 25–33] The acquisition of a human soul is very rare[9] and it is not

---

[1] For Müller's translation of the Väligatta inscription, see *A. I. C.*, p. 135.

[2] *Ruṇu* = P. *Rohaṇa*. See above, p. 225, n. 1. This was one of the three kingdoms to which Ceylon was divided in mediaeval times, the other two being Pihiṭi and Māyā.

[3] Literally, 'from the hands of'. The word *atin* which is the instrumental singular form of *at* (Skt. *hasta*) 'hand' is very often used in the manner of a suffix to denote the ablative case, just as *keren* (Skt. *kareṇa*) of the same meaning and *gen* 'from the house' are used.

[4] Māyā district was that part of Ceylon which comprised the area between the two rivers Däduru Oya and Kalugaṅga, roughly corresponding to the Dakkhiṇadesa of earlier periods. The district was so called because it was an appanage of the heir-apparent (*Mahayā* or *Māyā*).

[5] According to Yudaṅganāva and Väligatta pillars, 'and the Piṭi kingdom' should be inserted here.

[6] *Gätta*. For the meaning of the word *gäti*, see above, p. 86. Here the word is used in the same sense as it is in *Heraṇasika* (Colombo, 1911), p. 29. The word again occurs in lines A 23–24 where its meaning is more in accordance with the sense commonly attached to it.

[7] *Bat kā bulat kā mataṭa*. I have taken the word *mata* occurring in this phrase to be equivalent to the Pāli *matta*, Skt. *mātra*. It may also be connected with P. and Skt. *mada*, in which case it is interesting to compare this phrase with the compound *bhatta-sammada* occurring in *Jātaka*, vi. 57. The last word is interpreted as 'the drowsiness after a meal' (see Pāli Dictionary, *s.v.*) and the phrase in question may, accordingly, be rendered 'drowsiness caused by eating rice and chewing betel'. But the word which follows it, *uddhata*, is not appropriate to this meaning.

[8] Literally, 'slaves'. See note 6 above.

[9] *Manuṣya-ātma läbīma durilabha yä*. This sentence is obviously based on *dullabhañca manussattaṁ*, occurring in a familiar Pāli verse. For the difficulty with which the status of man is attained by beings wandering in the *saṁsāra*, see *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. iii, p. 169. The Pāli word *manussatta* is equivalent to Skt. *manuṣyatva* 'state of man', but the writer of this epigraph has misunderstood it as a *tat-puruṣa* compound of *manuṣya* with *ātman*, in spite of the fact that Buddhist metaphysics does not recognize any separate entity as *ātman* and the belief in an *ātman* will have to be eradicated before one can gain proper insight into the nature of things. Apparently due to this misunderstanding of the text, the writer, in the next sentence, views a possible destruction of the soul with dismay, though it is difficult to argue how an entity which is really non-existent can be destroyed. Possibly, the word *ātma* is not used here in a metaphysical sense but according to the popular conception of the term. We can scarcely expect Niśśaṁka Malla and his scribes to have been well versed in the niceties of Buddhist metaphysics.

right to destroy, in the future, that soul which has been acquired with such pains. We desire that [you] live in happiness.

[Lines A 31–B 22] His Majesty the **Kāliṅga emperor** [1], having uttered these exhortations, went twice to the **Pāṇḍya** country, ascended the scales [2], received tributes including queens, elephants, horses, &c., from the **Pāṇḍi** monarch, received presents from the **Soḷī** [3] country and, returning to the island of **Laṅkā**. toured the three kingdoms, and inspected inaccessible places such as **Samanoḷa** [4] On his measure was this **Niśśaṁka**-gavuva [5] made.

No. 36. THE TAMIL INSCRIPTION ON THE GALLE TRILINGUAL SLAB [6].

By S. PARANAVITANA.

THIS inscribed slab, which is now preserved in the Colombo Museum, was discovered in 1911 by Mr. H. F. Tomalin, the then Provincial Engineer at Galle, in a culvert near the turn to Cripps Road within that town [7]. It measures 4 ft. 9 in. in length, 2 ft. 6 in. in breadth and 5 in. in thickness. On either face of the top portion, of which the two corners are rounded, there is a carving of two dragons facing each other. The back of the slab has also been nicely smoothed though there is no writing on that side. The inscribed area measures 3 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. and is enclosed within a floral border. An area of 3 ft. 8 in. by 10 in. on the right-hand side of the slab is inscribed with a record in the Chinese script; a space measuring 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. is occupied by the Tamil inscription now dealt with and the remaining portion of the stone, measuring 1 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 4 in., contains an epigraph in the Persian characters.

---

[1] The title *Kāliṅga-cakravartti*, is given to Niśśaṁka Malla, in addition to his various other epithets, in the Kāliṅga Park Gal-āsana inscription (*E. Z.* Vol. II, p. 133). In the Poḷonnaruva Vān-āḷa inscription he is referred to by the cognate epithet of *Kaliṅgu-nirundu* alone.

[2] For an account of the ceremony of ascending the scales, *tulābhāra*, see *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, vol. i, p. 83.

[3] Coḷa.

[4] *Samanta-kūṭa* or *Sumana-kūṭa*, i.e., Adam's Peak.

[5] Skt. *gavyūti*, P. *gāvuta*. For a discussion of the exact length of the *gavuva* in Ceylon, see Codrington's article in the *Ceylon Journal of Science* (*Section G*), vol. ii, pp. 128–134, above referred to.

[6] I am indebted to Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam for many valuable suggestions in the reading, as well as in the interpretation, of this record.

[7] For an account of the discovery of this slab, see *J. R. A. S.* (*C. B.*), vol. xxii, p. 129.

The discovery of this slab aroused considerable interest among students of the history and antiquities of Ceylon; and attempts were made to have the three inscriptions deciphered by authorities in the languages concerned. The text and the translation of the Chinese version by Mr. E. Backhouse were procured through the good offices of the British Ambassador in Pekin. An estampage of the Tamil inscription was sent to the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, then Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras; but owing to the defective nature of the materials supplied, he was not able to decipher the record in a satisfactory manner. The translation of the Chinese version, which would have helped him in deciphering the Tamil inscription, was also not available to him. Dr. J. Horrovitz, then Epigraphist for Moslem inscriptions in India, to whom estampages of the Persian record were sent, was no more successful in deciphering that inscription.

A paper on this slab, embodying an account of its discovery, the text and translation of the Chinese version, the results of the various attempts to decipher the other two records and a discussion of the historical importance of the epigraphs, was contributed, by Mr. E. W. Perera, to the *Spolia Zeylanica*[1]. Without the aid of the translation of the Chinese text published there, the deciphering of some parts of the Tamil inscription would scarcely have been possible.

This record, of which the text and the translation are now offered, consists of twenty-four lines. The first line is almost completely obliterated; faint traces of the auspicious word *svasti*, at the opening of the record, being all that is recognizable. The twenty-third and twenty-fourth lines are, respectively, 1 ft. $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. and $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length; the remaining twenty-one lines are each 1 ft. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. long. The letters are unusually small in size for a stone inscription; some of them being less than a quarter of an inch in height and in breadth. They are also very shallowly incised, making it very difficult to prepare a satisfactory estampage; but, on the stone itself, the writing is tolerably clear, excepting in certain places where the letters are partly damaged. The *puḷḷi* or *virāma* sign is not marked and it is with the greatest difficulty, and very often only by the context, that one can distinguish between *ka* and *ta*, *cu* and *ña*, *ra* and the medial vowel sign for *ā*, *a* and *va*, *i* and *ḍu* and *ṉa* and *ḷa*. These peculiarities are also noticed in South Indian Tamil inscriptions of the period to which our record belongs. Grantha letters are not used except in the first line.

---

[1] Vol. viii, pp. 122 ff. *The Galle Trilingual Stone.*

As regards **orthographical** peculiarities, the following may be noted:—*nāyiṉār* (l. 4) for the standard form *nāyaṉār*, *yippācitam* (l. 6) for *ippācitam*, *kēṭppadu* (l. 6) for *kēṭpadu*, *iraṇḍāirattu* (l. 21) for *iraṇḍāyirattu*, *mukkāṇikkai* in l. 23) which is evidently the same as *muṉ-kāṇikkai* in l. 4, the form *aiñcu* (l. 14) occurring side by side with *añcu* (l. 17, and *eṇṇai* (l. 21) for *eṇṇey*. The forms *varugiṟar* (ll. 8, 9), *maṉittar* (l. 9), *aruḷattāl* (ll. 9, 10), and *kāṭṭiṉadu* (ll. 6 and 11) are not in conformity with correct usage; they should have been *varugiṟa* or *varugiṟavar*, *maṉitar*, *aruḷāl* and *kaṭṭiṉadu*, respectively. *Andaraiyeyāḷ* (l. 10), appears to be a corruption of the Skt. *antarāya* to which the Tamil suffix *āḷ* is added. The expression *yāṇḍu ēḻā* (l. 24) cannot be defended grammatically; it should have been either *yāṇḍu ēḻāvadu* or *ēḻām yāṇḍu*. There are also several clerical errors, such as the extra *ṅ* in the Chinese name in l. 5, the omission of *cu* in the word *añcu* in l. 19 and others which will be corrected in foot-notes attached to the text.

The **language**, which can hardly be called grammatical, also presents difficulties; there being several words which are neither found in Tamil literature nor in the colloquial dialects of the present day and are, consequently, not given in the dictionaries. Such words are particularly noticeable in that portion of the document containing the list of offerings. Some of these words would have remained altogether unintelligible but for the light thrown on them by the Chinese version. Of these words, we may here mention *tulukki* (l. 12), *tūcam* (l. 15), *cuvaḍu* (l. 15), *kaṟikkāl* (l. 17) and *muṟi* (l. 21).

Like the Chinese version, this record is **dated** in the second month of the seventh year of **Yuṅlo (Yung Lo)**, the Chinese emperor whose reign began in 1403 A.D.

The **contents** tell us that the Chinese emperor, having heard of the fame of the god **Tenavarai-nāyaṉār**[1] in Ceylon, sent to him, through his envoys Ciṅvo and Uviṅcuviṅ[2], various kinds of offerings of which a detailed list is given. There can be no doubt that **Ciṅvo** and **Uviṅcuviṅ** were the same as **Ching-Ho** and **Wang Ch'ing Lien** of the Chinese version. It is hardly surprising to find some difference in the Tamil and English modes of transcribing Chinese names. The offerings to Tenavarai-nāyaṉār are, on the whole, in line with those dedicated to the Buddha as given in the Chinese inscription (see Appendix A); but

[1] The Tamil word *nāyaṉār* is used in literature to denote the Śaiva saints. The term *āḻvār*, by which the god of Devundara is referred to in line 11, is appropriate for Vaiṣṇava saints.

[2] For this name, see below, p. 335, n. 2.

there are differences in certain items and the order of enumeration in the two records is not exactly the same.

As regards the name Tenavarai-nāyaṉār, it may be stated that *Tenavarai* is the Tamil form of the Sinhalese *Devunuvara* (Skt. *Deva-nagara* Mod. Sin. *Devnudara* 'City of God' *Anglice* Dondra). The Devundara Dēvāle Copper Plate of the reign of Vijayabāhu VII mentions a Brāhmaṇa of that place, named Tēnuvarapperumāḷ[1]. The form *Tēnuvara* in that name is another variant of *Devunuvara*. The Portuguese writers spelt the name as *Tanavare* which, obviously, is closer to the Tamil form *Tenavarai* than to the Sinhalese *Devunuvara*. Devundara is well known as the centre of the cult of a deity mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* as Uppalavaṇṇa and who was, in comparatively recent times, identified with the Purāṇic Viṣṇu. He is very often referred to as Devarāja 'King of the Gods' without any other epithet. On the analogy of such names as Kataragama Deviyo, Alutnuvara Deviyo, &c., he may have been styled, in Sinhalese, Devundara Deviyo which name in Tamil would be rendered by Tenavarai-nāyaṉār.

The Portuguese historian Fernão de Queyroz tells us that, at Devundara, his countrymen found 'stone pillars (*padroẽs*) which the kings of China ordered to be set up there with Letters of that Nation as a token, it seems, of their devotion to those idols[2].' This statement and the consideration that an inscription which registered donations to the deity at Devundara must have been set up in or near the shrine of that god would lead one to the conclusion that this inscribed slab originally stood at that place. But the Chinese and Persian records, inscribed on the same stone, do not contain any reference to the deity of Devundara and, therefore, are against such a supposition. It has already been stated that the Chinese inscription deals with donations to the Buddha. The Persian epigraph (see Appendix B) seems to record donations, similar to the offerings to the Buddha, made to an Islamic shrine or saint. Therefore, it appears that the Chinese, when they gained political ascendancy over Ceylon in 1409, with the eclecticism in religious matters characteristic of their race, made gifts of about equal value to the Buddha, to a deity who, whatever may have been his origin, was at that time, of Hindu character and to an Islamic saint or shrine; and a record of these various gifts was inscribed on the same stone.

I do not propose to discuss the circumstances which, at the time this record was set up, led to the acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the Chinese

---

[1] Bell, *Report on the Kāgalla District*, p. 96.

[2] *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, translated by Father S. G. Perera, S.J., p. 35.

emperor by the rulers of this island and the part played by Ching-Ho in those events, as they have already been fully dealt with by Mr. E. W. Perera in his paper mentioned above.

TEXT.

1 Sva(sti) .. ..
2 Irācādirāca-paramēcuraṉ pūrṇa-candira-p-piragācaṉ **Cīna**ttil
3 mahā-irācā **Ilaṅgā**-rācciyattil nāyiṉār **Tenavarai-**
4 **nāyiṉār**[1]kku-t-tiru-muṉ-kāṇikkai-y-āga nāyiṉār piṟagā-
5 -cañ≠kēṭṭu tūdar **Ciṅvo Uviṅcuyiṅṅ**[2] kaiyi-
6 -le vara-k-kāṭṭiṉadu[3] [॥*] Yippāci[t]am[4] kēṭppadu[5] [॥*] I-
7 -nda-p-puvanattil≠uṇḍāṉa pir[ā]ṇigaḷ≠ellām nāyi-
8 -ṉār kiṟubaiyiṉālē[6] cugamē paribāliyā niṉṟadu [॥*] Āṅgu varu-
9 -giṟar[7] ≠[ō]ṅgum maṉittarum[8] **Tenavarai-nāyiṉār**[1] tiru aru-
10 -ḷattāl[9] o[ḷind≠ā]ndaraiyeyāḷ niṉṟadu [॥*] Ippaḍiyai-
11 t- **Teṉavarai-āḷvar**kku kāṇikkai āga kāṭṭiṉadu[10] [॥*]
12 [Ā]gappaḍi poṉ velḷi tulukki paṭṭu candanam
13 eṇṇaikkāppu[11]-p-pala-kāṇikkaikku vagai poṉ āyiram ka-
14 -ḷañ] cu velḷi aiñc≠āyira-k-kaḷañcu pala-niṟa-t-tulukki aimbadu pala-
15 niṟa-p-paṭṭu aimbadu poṉ eḷuttu (kācadāra)-t-tūcañ≠cuvaḍu nālu civa-
16 -nda cuvaḍu iraṇḍu nīla-t-tūcañ≠cuvaḍu iraṇḍu paḷañ≠ceppu tūbam i-
17 -ḍugiṟa ceppu-p-pāttiram añcu kaṟikkāl añcu pū-k-kuttugiṟa ceppu-k-
18 keṇḍi pattu kaṟikkāl pattu kuttuviḷakki-c-cāvāṉ añcu kaṟi-
19 k-kāl āñ[cu*] marattāle poṉ pūciṉa tāmarai-p-pū-cuvaḍu āṟu
20 agil vaikkiṟa poṉ pūciṉa ceppu añcu meḷugidiri cuvaḍu pattu
21 eṇṇai[12] iraṇḍāirattu[13] aññūṟu kaṭṭi candana-muṟi
22 pattu āga iv-v-icaippaḍiyāl≠uḷḷadu .. .. nāyiṉār
23 **Teṉavarai-nāyiṉār**[1]kku tiru-mukkāṇikkai[14]-y-āga-k-kuḍukkavum [॥*]
24 **Yuṅlokku** yāṇḍu ēḷā iraṇḍā[m ma] di [॥*]

---

[1] Read *nāyaṉar.*

[2] One of the two akṣaras, ṅ ṁ, is evidently superfluous or a syllable, possibly a *li*, omitted between the two.

[3] Read *kaṭṭiṉadu.*

[4] May be corrected to *ippācitam*; T. *pācitam* = Skt. *bhāṣitam.*

[5] Read *kēṭpadu.*

[6] Read *kirubaiyinālē.*

[7] Read *varugiṟa-v-*[*ō*]*ṅgum* or *varugiṟavar-ōṅgum.*

[8] Read *maṉitarum.*

[9] Read *aruḷāl.*

[10] Read *kaṭṭiṉadu.*

[11] Read *eṇṇey.*

[12] Read *eṇṇey.*

[13] Read *iraṇḍāyirattu.*

[14] Perhaps to be amended to *muṉ-kāṇikkai.*

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1–6] Hail! . . . . . The great king of **Cīna**[1], the supreme overlord of kings, the full-orbed moon in splendour, having heard of the fame of the Lord, presents [the following] as offerings, in the hand of the envoys **Ciṅvo**[2] and **Uviṅcuviṅ**[3] to the sacred presence of the Lord **Tenavarai-nāyaṉār** in the kingdom of **Ilaṅgā**[4].

[Lines 6–13] [And he also] causes this utterance to be heard. 'All living beings who exist in this world are being protected, in happiness, by the compassion of the Lord. Men, whencesoever they come thither, have their obstacles [to happiness] removed through the divine grace of the **Lord of Tenavarai**'. So, [the following] are presented as offerings to the **Lord of Tenavarai**; to wit, gold, silver, *tulukki*[5], silk, sandalwood and oil for anointing.

[Lines 13–22] The various offerings, in detail, are:—One thousand *kaḻañcus*[6] of gold, five thousand *kaḻañcus* of silver, fifty pieces of *tulukki* of different colours, four pairs[7] of banners[8] embroidered with gold thread and (adorned with crystal ?)[9], two pairs of the same red in colour, five copper vessels of antique copper for keeping incense, five black stands[10], ten copper vases for holding[11] flowers, ten black stands, five wick-holders for standing brass lamps[12], five black stands, six pairs of lotus flowers made of wood and gilt, five gilt caskets for putting *agil*[13] in, ten pairs of wax candles, two thousand five hundred *kaṭṭi*[14] of oil and ten pieces[15] of sandalwood.

---

[1] China. [2] Ching-Ho.

[3] Wang Ch'ing Lien. [4] Laṅkā, i.e., Ceylon.

[5] The word *tulukki*, here and in the following lines, corresponds to a word translated as 'silk' in the Chinese text. Perhaps, *tulukki* is a corruption of Skt. *dukūla*.

[6] A weight equal to $\frac{1}{6}$ oz. of troy. Sin. *kaḷañda*.

[7] *Cuvaḍu* is evidently a variant form of *cōḍu* which is derived from Hindi *joḍi* and means pair. Comp. Sin. *jōḍu*.

[8] *Tūcam*, from the analogy of the Chinese version, must mean 'banners'. Most probably it is a variant form of *tuvacam* (Skt. *dhvajam*) 'banner'.

[9] The reading *kācadāra* is doubtful. The corresponding passage in the Chinese has been translated as 'jewelled'. I have treated the conjectural reading *kācadāra* as a corruption of Skt. *kācadhārin*.

[10] Possibly stands made of ebony or other kind of black wood.

[11] *Kuttukiṟa*, literally means 'to set'.

[12] *Kuttuviḷakkiccāvāṉ*. Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam informs me that *ticcāvāṉ* or *cāvāṉ* means 'wick-holder' or 'oil-holder'.

[13] Skt. *agaru* 'agallochum'.

[14] *Kaṭṭi*: see Appendix C for a note on this word by Mr. Codrington.

[15] *Muṟi* is a verb 'to break'. Here it is used as a noun and may mean 'piece'. The corresponding Chinese word has been translated as 'stick'.

[Lines 22–24] These, included in the list as enumerated, are given as offerings to the sacred presence of the Lord **Tenavarai nāyaṉār.**

The second month of the seventh year of **Yuṅlo.**

APPENDIX A.

The translation of the Chinese version, as published in the *Spolia Zeylanica*, is given below:

His Majesty, the Emperor of the **Great** Ming dynasty has despatched the eunuchs Ching-Ho, Wang Ch'ing-Lien, **and others** to set forth his utterance before Buddha, the World-Honoured One, **as follows:**

'Deeply do we reverence **you, Merciful** and Honoured One, whose bright perfection is wide-embracing, **and whose way of virtue** passes all understanding, whose law enters into **all human relations, and** the years of whose great Kalpa (period) are like **the sand of the river in number,** you **whose** controlling influence ennobles and **converts, whose kindness** quickens, and whose strength discerns, whose **mysterious efficacy is beyond** compare!

'Whereas **Ceylon's mountainous** isle **lies in** the south of the ocean, and its Buddhist temples are **sanctuaries of your gospel,** where your miraculous responsive power imbues and enlightens. Of late, we have despatched missions to announce our mandate to foreign nations, and during their journey over the ocean they have been favoured with the blessing of your beneficent protection. They escaped disaster, or misfortune and journeyed in safety to and fro. In everlasting recognition of your supreme virtue, We, therefore, bestow offerings in recompense, and do now reverently present before Buddha, the Honoured One, oblations of gold and silver, gold embroidered jewelled banners of variegated silk, incense burners, and flower vases, silks of many colours in lining and exterior, lamps and candles with other gifts, in order to manifest the high honour of our worship. Do you, Lord Buddha, bestow on them, your regard'!

List of Alms bestowed at the shrine of the Buddhist temple in the Mountain of Ceylon as offerings.

1,000 pieces of gold; 5,000 pieces of silver; fifty rolls of embroidered silk in many colours; fifty rolls of silk taffeta in many colours; four pairs of jewelled banners, gold embroidered, and of variegated silk; two pairs of the same picked in red; one pair of the same in yellow; one pair in black; five antique brass incense burners; five pairs of antique brass flower vases picked in gold on lacquer, with

gold stands; five pairs of yellow brass candle-sticks; picked in gold on lacquer, with gold stands; five yellow brass lamps picked in gold on lacquer with gold stands; five incense vessels in vermilion red, lacquered gold picked on lacquer, with gold stands; six pairs of golden lotus flowers; 2,500 catties of scented oil; ten pairs of wax candles; ten sticks of fragrant incense.

The date being the seventh year of Yung-Lo marked Chich'ou in the sixty years cycle, on the Chia Hsu day of the sixty days cycle in the second moon, being the first day of the month. A reverent oblation.

APPENDIX B.

A set of ink impressions of the Persian inscription was sent by me to Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, M.A., Director of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad; and he has favoured me with the following note and the text and translation of what is now legible of this epigraph prepared by Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, M.A., of his department.

'The Persian portion of the Inscription is badly worn out, particularly the text. The theme seems to be the same as that of the Tamil and Chinese. But the name of the deity to whom the offerings have been dedicated could not be deciphered. The word *Islam* has been mentioned at one place. This suggests that the offerings might have been made to Allah, Prophet or some Muslim priest. The details of the offering are fairly intelligible and they support the details of the Chinese portion more than those of the Tamil portion.'

TEXT.

1 .. ..
2 Bādshah Mu'aẓẓam ba ḥukm farmān .. .. Ming
3 faristāda shuda az barāay ta 'ẓīm .. ..
4 .. .. barāay isti'ānat ummid 'zimati ba'īd
5 .. ..
6 .. .. ma'lum gashtā ast .. ..
7 .. .. az barāay ānki .. ..
8 .. .. gas_ta wa īn karāmāt
9 .. .. faristāda shuda dāsht
10 .. .. ma'lūm gashta az bahrī ta'zīm dāsht
11 .. .. zar baft 'ūd-dān wa gul-dān wa raughani chirāgh
12 hind a az barāay ghaure khāṣ Sharīf hadīyā faristādā shud tā

13 .. nūre Islām .. ..
14 .. .. .. ke az barāay aqsām ke guzrānīdā ast attafṣīl ..
15 .. .. .. zar hazār mithqal .. Nuqrā panj hazār mithqāl .. .. .. zarkārā
16 .. .. .. pinjāh 'dad .. .. zar-baft chahār .. 'ud-dāni-mis panj 'dad
17 Kursī surkh zar nishān panj 'dad .. gul-dān panj juft - - kursi surkh zar nishān ..
18 chirāgh-dān qadīm panj 'dad .. kursī
19 surkh zar nishān panj 'dad .. chobī surkh zarnishān panj 'dad
20 .. .. raughane chiragheke
21 .. .. tārikh .. .. ..
22 .. haftum sāl .. .. yakum māh .

TRANSLATION.

1 .. ..
2 The great king .. .. by royal Order .. .. Ming .. ..
3 .. .. has been sent to pay homage .. .. ..
4 .. .. to seek help and .. ..
5 .. ..
6 .. .. it is known .. ..
7 .. .. for .. ..
8 and these miracles .. ..
9 .. .. has been sent .. .. ..
10 .. .. is known .. .. to pay his respects
11 .. .. embroidered cloth, incense burners, flower-baskets .. .. and lamp oil
12 .. .. for kind favour has sent these presents, so that
13 .. .. Light of Islam
14 .. .. the presents are as detailed below.
15 Gold one thousand 'Misqal'. Silver five thousand 'Misqal' .. .. embroidered articles fifty in number
16 .. .. fifty in number .. .. embroidered articles four .. .. altogether two pairs
17 one pair yellow .. .. one pair .. .. incense burners of copper, five in number
18 stand of copper, five in number .. .. five pairs .. red stands with gold work

19 antique lamp stands five in number red stands worked in gold five in number—wooden with gold work five in number

20 .. .. lamp oil .. ..

21 .. .. date .. .. ..

22 .. .. seventh year .. .. .. first of the month.

APPENDIX C.

KAṬṬI.

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

THE word corresponding to the Tamil *kaṭṭi* in the translation from the Chinese is 'catties'. Though in this inscription catty designates a measure for liquids, it is commonly used as the name of a Chinese weight. It is not, however, a Chinese word, but is a trade term employed by Europeans, derived from the Malay-Javanese *kātī* or *katī*, the weight having found its way from China into the Archipelago. It seems to be mentioned first in 1554 by Nunes in his *Lyvro dos pesos da Ymdia*. The trade of Ceylon was largely in the hands of the Muslims and it is just possible that this trade term was derived from them by the Tamils and assimilated in pronunciation with the common word *kaṭṭi*, 'lump'[1].

This supposition derives support from the presence of the word *nikkhala* or rather *nikkala* in *Cūḷavaṁsa* lxxvi. 18, which records that king Arimaddana of Rāmañña commanded that 'elephants which had formerly been sold there for a hundred or a thousand silver nikkhalas must (henceforth) be sold for two or three thousand' (Geiger's translation). The following is from my Note on the subject in the *Ceylon Antiquary* of 1917, vol. iii, part I, p. 57:—

'The *niṣka* (in Pāli *nikkha* and in Sinhalese *nika*) is a well-known measure, and in Ceylon works is a synonym of *kaḷaňda*. The termination in *la*, however, is unknown.

'It is now suggested, in view of the liability to confusion between *n* and *t* in the Sinhalese script, that the word should read *tikkhala*. This, on the analogy of the Sinhalese *nika*, would be the Pāli equivalent of *tikal*, the standard weight of Pegu and the neighbouring countries.

---

[1] In Hindustani, however, there is *kṭṭhā*, a corn measure of ten pounds, and in Bengali *kāṭhi*, a measure of capacity.

'*Tikal*, however, is not a pure native word. According to Sir R. Temple it occurs first in Nunes' *Lyvro dos pesos* of 1554, and is probably the Indian *ṭaka* = *ṭaṅka*, through the Talaing *t'ke*. He adds that the pronunciation of the word "has always been two-fold, according as the accent has been placed on the first or the last syllable. At present in Burma it is usual to pronounce it like tickle, and in Siam like tacawl"[1].

'If the identification of *nikkhala* is correct, it will follow that this corruption [*tikal*] was adopted by the first Europeans from their predecessors in the Indo-Chinese trade, and that it was in use at least as early as the fourteenth century, when the portion of the *Mahāvaṁsa* under reference is supposed to have been compiled. The word *tikal*, according to Sir R. Temple, appears in Crawfurd's *Malay Dictionary*, 1852[2].'

Since the above was written, Geiger's *Cūḷavaṁsa* has appeared. According to him the reading of all the manuscripts is *nikkaḷānaṁ*, corrected in one case to *nikkhalānaṁ*. But the Asgiri Vihārē book, which I have personally examined, most clearly has *tikkalāṇaṁ*. There seems to be no reason for thinking that the original word had any connexion with *nikkha*.

---

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxvi, p. 245.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. xxvii, p. 40, n. 61.

INDEX

The following is a complete index of Sinhalese words and proper names occurring in the third volume of the Epigraphia Zeylanica.

a, 77.
ā, 66, 70, 75, 76, 77, 103, 108, 109, 110, 127, 128, 139, 143, 222, 227, 235, 237, 265, 270, 271, 274, 276 *n.* 6, 298, 299, 300.
ā, 82.
abaddha-kara, 268 *n.* 5.
Abaiya-Śalāmēga, 304, 305, 306.
Abaiya-Śalāmēga-cakravat-thigaḷ, 305.
Abā Salamevan, 84, 139, 306 *n.* 7, 311.
Abā-Sen, 10.
Abaya, 154–157.
Abaye, 154.
Abhā Salamevan, 130 *n.* 5, 140, 141, 142, 197, 222, 291, 292, 293, 294, 296.
Abhā-Siri-saṅgabō (Sena II), 19.
Abhā Tissa, 10.
Abhaya, 4, 121, 124, 154 *n.* 6, 228 *n.* 5.
abhaya-dāna-śilā-lekhyaya, 281.
Abhayagiri, 97, 101, 131 *n.* 1, 144, 169, 226 *n.* 4, 227.
Abhayagiri-nakā, 97.
Abhayagiri-vihāra, 229 *n.* 1.
Abhaya-Nāga, 10.
Abhaya Śilāmegha, 304, 306 *n.* 7.
Abhaya Śilāmegha Jaya-bāhu, 304.
Abhaya Silāmeghavaṇṇa, 140, 141, 294 n. 2.
Abhayavāpī (*or* °väva), 119, 256.
Abhidhamma, 133 *n.* 3, 126.
Abhidhānappadīpikā, 194 *n.* 6.
Ābhīra, 119, 179, 180.
abu, 73.
abu-daruvan, 75.
ā candrārkka-sthāyī, 67, 246.
ācāri, 239.
acariya, 216.
Acavi-keta, 116.
aḍ, 259 *n.* 10.
Aḍa-Gāmuṇu, 8.
aḍa-mas-hi, 128.
Adam's Peak, 331 *n.* 4.
aḍaviya aṭa-denā, 77, 98.
aḍḍha-karīsa, 189.
aḍḍha-māna, 259 *n.* 10.
āḍhaka, 259 *n.* 10.
adhikāra, 256 *n.* 3, 281–282.
aḍi (servant), 89.
aḍi (channel), 154, 156 *n.* 5, 157 *n.* 4.
āḍi, 67, 82, 151, 329.
Ādicca Damiḷādhikārī, 272.
Ādigama, 70.
Adigār, 83, 109, 148.
ādipāda, 82, 83.
Aditya I, 86.
ādivaṭa, 70.
aḍmanā, 257, 259–260.
***aḍmānāk*, 258.**
ādurak-haṭ, 143.
Ādur Vathimi, 259, 260.
āg, 255, 257, 259.
āgā, 301 *n.* 1.
aga-mehesun, 321.
ag-bisov-mundnen, 295, 298, 300 *n.* 5.
Agbohi, 193.
aggābhiseka, 300 *n.* 5.
Aggabodhi I, 15, 257; II, 15; III. 16; IV, 17; V, 17, 197; VI, 18, 292–293; VII, 18; VIII, 18; IX, 18.
Aggona, 66, 68.
aghampaḍi, 238, 240.
āgī, 226 *n.* 2.
agil, 69, 335–336.
ag-mehesna, 222, 223 *n.* 4.
agra-purohita-teva, 66.
Ahmad (K. M.), 338.
aiñcu, 333, 335.
ajara, 216.
ājara, 216, 250.
ājñā, 280.
ājñapti, 110, 271.
aka, 194.
akak, 193.
akala, 185.
akala-hasa, 177, 185.
ā-kamtän, 112.
Akbō (Aggabodhi I), 15, 17.
Akbō-Salamevan, 18.
aki, 193.
akiṇiya, 175–176, 181; *akiṇi-yeni*, 176–177.
akramaya, 280.
akṣaya-nīvī, 182.
Akuju Kahagama, 216.
Akuju Mahagama, 216.
ākula, 76–77, 132; *ākulayaṭ*, 77.
akusal, 132.
-al, 276 *n.* 4.
āl, 226 *n.* 2.
ala, 187.
āḷa, 154 *n.* 12.
Alagakkōnāra, 37.
Alagiyavanna Mohoṭṭāla, 301 *n.* 1.
Alakeçvara, 31–33, 38.
Alaungsithu, 318–319.
Alexander, the Macedonian king, 2 *n.* 4.
āli or *āḷi*, 154 *n.* 12.
āḷi, 154 *n.* 12.
Allah, 338.
Alutnuvara, 242.
Alutnuvara Deviyo, 334.
Alutväva, 135, 142, 276 *n.* 6.
āḷvār, 333 *n.* 1, 335.
ama, 218.
amaṇa, 177–178, 184, 186; *amaṇaka*, 177.
Āmaṇḍa-Gāmaṇī Abhaya, 8.
Amaragiri, 31.
Amarāvatī, 106, 107 *n.* 1
āmāti-gaṇayan, 66.
amāvāsya, 268 *n.* 4.
Amāvatura, 118, 192 *n.*
Aṁbagamuva, 81, 102, 107, 147, 315.
Aṁbaheraṇa, 14.
ambalavāsin, 113.
Ambangaṅga, 157.
Amba-Sāmaṇerādi-Silākāla, 14.
Ambasthala, 313.
aṁbu, 70.
āṁbul, 89.
Ambulugala, prince of, 39–40, 236, 282, 284.
Ambulugala-Rāja, 41, 57–58.
Ambuluvāya, 66, 68.
ambur-hi, 264.
ameti, 175–176, 250–251.
ameti-paheja, 177.
Amgam-kuḷiya, 142, 276 *n.* 6.
ammaṇa, 184, 186, 282 ***n.* 2.**
ammaṇam, 184.
Amoghadarśśin, 202.
amuḍu, 218.
amuṇa, 68, 117, 184, 189, 198 *n.* 3, 282, 285, 325; *amuṇakut*, 280; *amuṇu*, 323.
amutuva, 66, 151, 237.
an, 139, 253, 321; *anun*, 151.
ana, 251–253.
-aṇa, 99.
ananta, 67, 175.
anat, 175.
Anawrahta, 319–320.
anāyehi, 329.
andaraiyeyāl, 333, 335.
aṅḍavana-piyangal, 107.
Andhavana, 107.
ane, 253.
aṅga, 232 *n.* 1.
aṅga-hāni, 280, 285.
aṅgara, 151.
Anguttara Nikāya, 183 *n.* 1, 252.
Anhilvāḍ, 85.
anikakuṭa, 280.
Anikaṅga, 24.
aniyā, 75, 77, 275.
Äniyaṅga, 24.
ānnā, 270; *ānnäyen*, 274.
annäyen, 75, 77.
Antaragaṅga, 157.
antarakhajjaka, 186–187.
antaraṅga-dhura, 145.
antare khajjakaṁ, 187.
anto-vaḷañja, 145.
antovassa, 188.
Anuḷā, Queen, 7, 155.
Anuḷādevī, wife of Vaṭṭa-gāmaṇī, 7 *n.* 1.
anumovatu, 122, 126.
anun, 151, 152 *n.* 3, 227, 329.
anunāsika, 292.
Anurādhapura, 4–19, 21, 90, 93, 94, 119–121, 125, 126, 131, 134, 136–138, 144, 149, 167, 181, 188, 212–214, 224 *n.* 10, 225, 228, *n.* 11, 229 *n.* 1, 249, 256, 269 *n.* 1, 271, 273, 276 *n.* 3, 277 *n.* 9, 286, 287, 291.
Anurogrammon, 90.
Anuruddha, 319.
anusvāra, 115, 201, 253, 255, 292.
anvayen, 227.
āp, 226 *n.* 2, 274.
apa, 132, 283 *n.* 1.
āpā, 265.
āpā, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36, 75, 77, 82, 83, 139, 140, 198, 269 *n.* 1.
Āpā, 236, 237, 240.
āpā-mahayā-siri, 75.
Āpaṇa, 236, 239.
āpā-rad-daruvan, 77.
aparādha, 280.
apara-kritya, 66.
Apaya, 121, 122, 124, 179 *n.* 3.
apē, 104, 105.
api, 104, 105.
apirivat, 314.
apiriyat, 139, 314, 321.
apis-satos, 227.
Āppāvaḷa, *see* Eppāvaḷa.
arā, 322.
araba, 114.
ārācci, 145.
arak, 99.
aräki, 145.
aräkkan, 139, 141, 145.
ārrakkhika, 145.
Arakmēnā, 99.
Araksamaṇa, 78, 81, 99, 145, 260.
Araksámiyā, 99.
aram, 290, 221 *n.* 1; *arama*, 190.
Aramaṇa, 319, 322, 325.
Aramaṇādhipati, 318, 322.
Aramanapola Vihāre, 54.
Aramaṇayan, 323.
ara-mudala, 255 *n.* 1.
Araṅgan, 286.
arhats, 87.
Arimaddana, 320, 340.
arinuvat, 280.
Ariṭa Maha-gama, 115 *n.* 1.
Ariṭṭhapabbata, 290.
ariya-vaṁsa, 182, 183.
ariya-vasa, 177, 178, 182, 183, 250, 251
ariya-väsa, 182.
ariya-vassa, 182, 183.
Ārṛūr, 86.
Arṛūr-tuñjiṇa-dēvar, 86.
Arthanāyaka, 33, 34.
Arthaśāstra, 63, 85, 96, 191 *n.* 5.
arttha-hāni, 280, 285.
Aruggoḍa, 296.
aruḷattāl, 333, 335.
Arunachalam (Sir P.), 212 *n.* 1.
Aruṅgam-peḷavaga, 300–302.
Ārya-Cakravarti (Pāṇḍyan general), 26, 27.
Ārya-Cakravarti (king of Jaffna), 31, 32, 39.
ārya-pāda, 124.
ārya-putra, 82.
äs, 226 *n.* 2.
asā, 329.
āśā, 329.
Aṣāḍha, 58, 269 *n.* 12, 294 *n.* 1.
Āsaḷa, 66, 67.
asanin, 97.
āśāven, 151.
asecanak-ātmabhāva, 203.
Aseḷa, 5.
Aseḷa, 291, 293, 294.
Āseḷa, 265, 269, 291.
Asgiri Vihārē, 242, 341.
Asiggāha(ka), 16.
Asiggāhaka-Saṅgha-Tissa, 15.
asma, 180.
asnak, 283 *n.* 1.
Aśoka, 1, 82, 87, 88, 183, 199, 212.
Aśokaśrī Tathāgata, 204, 208.
Asta, 223 *n.* 9.
Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāra-mitā, 205 *n.* 2.
āsthāna, 181.
Āsthāna Baṇḍāra, 46.
asun, 329.
Aśvina, 268 *n.* 4.
at (Skt. *hasta*), 192 *n.* 3, 258, 330 *n.* 3; *ata*, 116, 118, 119; *atä*, 227, 265, 268 *n.* 2; *at-hi*, 139; *atin*, 190, 191 *n.* 4, 193, 329, 330 *n.* 3.
at (Skt. *asta*), 220.
aṭ, 97, 143, 164, 190, 298; *aṭa*, 67, 77, 263 *n.* 4; *aṭak*, 69.
-aṭa, 154, 164, 175, 178.
āta, 77, 151, 258.
aṭaḍaha(sa), 218.
aṭa-dena, 77, 97, 98.
aṭaḍi, 215, 216.
Aṭakalan Kōraḷē, 238.
atä mehe, 265.
atana, 181.
Ataragaga, 154, 157.
atara-kaja (or *-kajaka*), 178, 186.
atara-kajaka-vata, 178.
atara-kaja-parikara, 178, 187.
aṭavakin, 265
aṭavannen, 279, 283.
ätavasa, 188.
At-āvuda bālayan, 55, 67.
At-āvuda Mudiyansēlāgē, 55 *n.* 1.
aṭaya, 111, 116, 162, 165, 166.
aṭ-denaku, 97.
ati, 119.
äti, 239, 258, 315, 316, 322, 329.
äti karavami, 322.
Ätinna-väṭuṇa-gala, 179 *n.* 3.

ätiri, 216.
atīta-kālayehi, 301 ***n.*** 1.
ātma, 329.
atmaga, 66.
ātmaya, 329.
ät-nam, 67.
ät namut, 67.
atovasa, 188; *atovasahi*, 178.
atsan, 96.
āṭsi, 111.
ättalayin, 67.
ättan, 104.
Attanagaluvaṁsa, 25, 33.
attāṇi, 276, 290, 291.
attāṇi-parähär, 274.
attāṇi-perähärä, 105.
ättavun, 329.
ättɛya, 301 *n.* 1.
aṭṭha-karīsa, 189.
äṭuḷ, 103, 144, 258, 264, 274; *äṭuḷä*, 274.
äṭuḷat, 235.
äṭuḷat-vū, 66.
äṭuḷu, 193, 265, 323.
äṭuḷu-vä, 190, 274.
äṭuḷu vū, 67, 94, 232, 233, 239.
äṭuḷ-vä. 79.
ätun, 329.
aturu, 190.
Aturugiri-gama, 54, 66, 68.
Aturugiri Kōraḷē, 51, 66, 68.
Aturugiri Vihāra, 325.
Aturugiriya-pēruva, 51.
ätvagē, 285.
aṭ-vana, 298.
Ava, 319 *n.* 6.
ava. 75, 103, 139, 193, 265, 268 *n.* 4, 293.
avā, 77.
avadhiye, 61.
avala, 112; *avalin*, 103–105, 112.
Avalokiteśvara, 324 *n.* 1.
avanaka, 179, 181.
avasä, 193, 265.
avavāda, 329.
aviya, 181.
aviya-kiṇiyeni, 177, 181.
āvu, 139, 298, 300.
āvū, 75, 103.
avud, 78, 289.
Avuhaḷa Ojjhalu, 51, 56, 66–68.
Avuhoḷa Ojjhalu Paḷaiporokkul Perumāḷun, 51.
avuj, 289, 290.
avul, 77, 198; *avulak*, 67, 240.
avurudda, 253; *avuruddak*, 66, 263 *n.* 4.
avurudu, 56, 66, 67, 253, 279, 283.
avurudu-pūjāva, 69.
avut, 108, 329.
aya, 82, 144, 151, 218 *n.* 1, 255, 268 *n.* 5, 276 *n.* 6, 329.
āya, 143, 270, 274, 276 *n.* 6.
aya-paya, 82.
ayaputa, 82.
āyaśarīra, 112.
Āyasmanta Camūpati, 23.
āya-sthāna, 143.
aya-vāya, 151.
ayek, 67.
Äyitigevāva, 107, 109 *n.* 2, 142, 146, 277 *n.* 1, 289.
ayṗaya, 82.
Ayrton (E. R.), 131, 134, 137, 226 *n.* 4.
Āyuṣmat-pṛtanāpati. 23.
ayya, 82.
ayyaṇ-adigaḷ, 82.
ayya-pāda, 82.

bā, 261.
Backhouse (E.), 332.
bad, 77, 193, 265.
bada, 66, 70, 71, 103, 190, 232, 234, 237, 239, 246, 280, 288.
Baḍagiriya, 182, 253.
Baden Powell (B. H.), 118 *n.* 2.
baḍiyehi, 76, 107 *n.* 8.
baḍora, 295, 301 *n.* 9; *baḍoraṭ*, 299.
Bādshah, 338.
baḍu, 76, 93 *n.* 3; *baḍiyehi*, 76.
badu, 261 *n.* 5, 300, 302 *n.* 1.
Badulla, 71, 72, 107 *n.* 8, 109 *n.* 1, 140 *n.* 2, 141, 144, 221, 232.
Baga, 139, 140.
Baga-cada, 188.
bägin, 67.
Bagīrata, 128 *n.* 2.
Bagu, 179 *n.* 3.
baḥā, 198, 274.
Bahadurasen, 103, 105.
Bahadurasen-piyangala, 103, 105.
baḥā-lū, 198, 274.
bähär, 264; *bähärä*, 265.
bähäri, 144, 255.
bāhira-vū, 67.
baḥi-vaḷañja, 145.
Bāhiya, 6.
Bailey (J.), 71.
Bairāṭ, 183 *n.* 1.
Bak, 140 *n.* 1, 243.
balā, 151, 193, 194 *n.* 9, 329.
bäḷa, 265.
balādhikṛta, 110.
balat, 104, 148; *balatun*, 139, 275; *bälätun*, 88.
Bäḷa-Tisu, 7.
Balat Siva, 7.
balatun, 139, 275.
bälätun, 88.
bäḷaya, 88.
balē, 67.
ballanaṭ, 258.
Ballävila, 66, 68.
balu, 198; *ballanaṭ*, 258.
balu-kavudu, 198.
balu-väddan, 67.
bambadesa, 192 *n.*; *bambadesen*, 190.
bam(ṁ)ba-deya, 192 *n.*
Bambarahela, 106 *n.* 11.
Bamba Senevi, 110.
Bämiṇitiya-sāya. 6.
Bamuṇu 66.
baṇa, 265.
baṇagama, 54, 66, 68.
Baṇagama Oruvala, 54, 66, 68.
Baṇagamaṭa, 66.
Baṇagameyi, 66.
baṇavar, 264.
bändä, 198.
bandanā, 265, 268 *n.* 5.
baṇḍāra, 301 *n.* 9.
Baṇḍāragama, 294.
Baṇḍāranāyaka, 286.
Baṇḍāravela, 72.
bäṇḍi, 301 *n.* 1.
bandu, 222.
baṅgasāla, 144.
Bānu, 128 *n.* 2.
bara, 74, 127.
Barreto, Moniz, 64.
Basavak-kuḷam, 119.
basnāhirin, 66.
Bassein, 320.
baṭ, 74, 75, 82, 139, 198, 222, 227, 264, 298.
bat, 77, 132, 152 *n.* 4, 190, 258, 326, 329, 330 *n.* 7; *batak*, 67, 258, 259; *bataṭ*, 190, 258.
baṭa, 321.
Baṭatuṁbagahavatta, 294.
bat-gam, 237, 238.
bat-ge, 258, 260 *n.* 2.
Bātiya-raja, 9.
bat kā bulat kā mata, 326, 329, 330 *n.* 7.
batupayā, 151, 152 *n.* 4.
Baṭuvantuḍāve, 117 *n.* 3, 155 *n.* 1.
bava, 152, 329; *bavaṭa*, 67, 240, 281; *bävin*, 198.
bayali, 175, 177, 178, 184; *bayali-hi*, 177.
Bayavä, 140, 141.
be, 261.
Beal (S.), 134 *n.* 5.
Beligala, 25, 59, 60, 63.
Beligal Kōraḷa(ē), 278, 279, 281, 288.
Beligal-nuvara, 237.
Bell (H. C. P.), 34, 42, 47–49, 58, 59, 61, 62, 82 *n.* 4, 95, 101, 102, 106, 108, 110, 119, 120, 125, 127, 131, 137, 138, 147, 153–155, 157 *n.* 4, 166, 168, 172 *n.* 1, 173, 185, 196, 199 *n.* 9, 231, 247 *n.* 1, 249, 256 *n.* 5, 278 *n.* 1, 279, 280 *n.* 1 and 11, 281 *n.* 5, 288–293, 302, 304, 312 *n.* 3, 313, 317, 323 *n.* 10, and 17, 334 *n.* 1.
Bendvā Veḷakkā, 274, 276.
Bengal, 112.
Bengali, 340 *n.* 1.
ber, 147.
Bēruvala, 288.
betma, 67.
Bhadra, 107.
Bhadrapāla, 202.
Bhadra-sena, 103, 105, 106.
Bhaga, 140 *n.* 1.
bhāga, 280.
bhāgadeya, 302 *n.* 1.
Bhagavat, 203, 204, 208, 210.
bhāṇḍāgāra, 301 *n.* 9.
bhaṇḍāra, 151, 301 *n.* 9; *bhaṇḍārayaṭa*, 151.
bhaṇḍāra-potun, 151.
bhaṇḍāra-rakṣāvehi, 99, 151.
Bhandarkar (D. R.), 180, 183 *n.* 1.
Bhāskara Ravivarman, 90.
Bhātika Abhaya, 153, 155, 156, 157, 164.
Bhātikābhaya, 7.
Bhātika Tissa I, 7; II, 9.
Bhātiya, 155.
Bhātiya Tissa, 7.
bhatta-sammada, 330 *n.* 7.
Bhaṭṭiprōlu, 123 *n.* 5.
Bherivāda Jātaka, 147.
bhikkhu, 228 *n.* 8.
bhiṁkāra, 118.
bhinna-liṅga, 81.
bhog, *bhoga*, 118.
Bhoruvesi, 306, 307.
bhotu, 126.
bhṛti, 152 *n.* 4.
Bhūta, 231.
Bhuvanāditta, 317, 319, 322, 325.
Bhuvanaika Bāhu, 62.
Bhuvanaika Bāhu V, 62; VI, 54–57, 59; VII, 60, 62, 63, 241, 242, 244. *See also* Bhuvaneka-Bāhu.
Bhuvanaikabāhu Mahapā, 286–288.
Bhuvanaika Bāhu Paṇḍita Mudiyansē, 241.
Bhuvanaikabāhu - pariveṇa, 287.
Bhuvanaika Bāhu Thera, 241.
Bhuvaneka-Bāhu I, 26; II, 27; III, 29; IV, 29, 31, 58, 278 *n.* 1; V, 32, 33, 35; VI, 40, 54, 278–284; VII, 43, 44; (son of Vijayabāhu III), 25; (local ruler), 24. *See also* Bhuvanaikabāhu.
bidala, 175, 185, 194 ***n.*** 4.
Bidara-cada, 188.
Bidervatu-kuḷiya, 142.
bijuvaṭa, 66, 69, 189, 239, 280, 323.
biku, 216.
bikujarana, 215, 216.
bikusagah-aṭa, 178.
bikusagah-aṭaya 116, 162, 165, 166.
biku sagaya, 154.
bila, 101, 104.
bila-bat, 104.
bili, 101, 104 *n.* 2.
bili-bat, 104 *n.* 2.
Bilibāva, 108 *n.* 3, 109 *n.* 3, 197 *n.* 1, 272.
bili-sāl, 104.
bim, 238; *bim-hi*, 264; *bimaṭ*, 265.
Bimbisāra, 123.
biṅdapu, 301 *n.* 1.
biṅgu, 220 *n.* 3.
Bintenne, 90.
biruda, 37, 221. See also *viruda*,
bises, 321.
bises-vä, 300 *n.* 5.
bisevnen, 300 *n.* 5.
biso or *bisō*, 75, 85, 139.
biso-tumā, 75.
bisov, 295, 298, 300 ***n.*** 5.
bisō-varun, 329.
biyali, 184, 193, 194 *n.* 4.
Bo *or* Bodhi (tree), 69, 99, 131, 212, 213, 224 *n.* 6, 278, 289, 312 *n.* 1.
Bodhigupta, 224 *n.* 6.
Bodhisattva, 56, 67–69, 87 *n.* 2, 160, 171, 202–204, 207, 208, 210, 211, 213 *n.* 3, 324.
Bodhisatvāvatāra, 52, 66.
Bodhivaṁsa, 28.
Bogamiya, 265, 267.
boho, 66.
Bohosat, 315, 322.
Böhtlingk (O.), 89, 150.
bojaka, 118.
bojaka-pati, 116–118.
boja-pati, 117.
bojɛya, 118.
bojiya-pati, 117, 118.
bojiya-pati-kara, 117.
bojiya-patiya-kara, 117.
Boṇḍ-vehera, 143.
Boruvesi *or* Bhoruvesi, 306, 307.
Bosat, 315.
Bōsat Vijaya-Bāhu, 26.
Bowl-Relic, 282.
boyä, 190.
brahmadesa, 192 *n.*
brahma-deya or °*deyya*, 191 *n.* 12.
Brāhmaṇa, 51, 52, 54–56, 68, 192 *n.*, 267 *n.* 7, 334.
Brāhmaṇagama, 143.
Brāhmī, 114, 164, 172 *n.* 1, 214.
Bṛhaspati, 324.
British, 74, 91, 332.
Budadasa Mahasena, 122, 124.
Buddas Abahay Salaměvan Dāpuḷa (Dappula V), 19.
Buddas-siri-saṅgbōy-Abhay (Sena II), 19.
Buddha, 1, 4–46, 49, 69, 87, 88, 107, 123, 125, 134, 161, 187, 194 *n.* 14, 203–205, 212, 213 *n.* 3, 224 *n.* 10, 228 *n.* 4, 260 *n.* 4, 267 *n.* 7, 269 *n.* 13, 282 *n.* 4, 287, 333, 334, 337.
Buddha (an individual), 231.
Buddhadāsa, 1, 11, 120, 121, 124, 174, 176.
Buddhadāsa Mahāsena, 122, 124.
Buddha Gayā, 126.
Buddhaghosa, 12, 155 *n.* 1, 199 *n.* 6.
Buddha-kṣetra, 204, 209.
Buddha Mahāmalla, 198, 199 *n.* 1.
Buddhannēhäla, 94, 99, 110 *n.* 4.
Buddha-varṣa, 70.
Buddhism, 1, 14, 25, 199, 241, 291 *n.* 1.
Buddhist, 260 *n.* 6, 267 *n.* 7, 272, 278, 289, 294, 302, 311, 312 *n.* 1, 330 *n.* 9, 337.
Buddhist Railing, 222, 224 *n.* 10, 226, 227, 228 *n.* 2
budenā, 198.
Bud Mahamal, 198, 199.
Budnaṭ, 94.
Budu-bava, 67.
Buduguṇa Alaṅkāraya, 56.
Budumuttāva, 302, 308, 310, 312 *n.* 1.
Budun, 118, 265.
Bühler (G.), 85, 110 *n.* 2, 153 *n.* 3, 154 *n.* 2, 158 *n.* 2, 170, 171, 249, 257.
bujana-tela, 178.
Bujas, 11.
bulat, 77, 151, 193, 326, 329, 330 *n.* 7; *bulatak*, 67.
bulat-gam, 238.
bulat-gam säläsmen, 237.
bulat-puvak, 77.
buna, 223, 265.
buna-tela, 178, 187.
bunäna, 255; *bundnen*, 255, 258.
Burgess (J.), 107 *n.* 1.
Burma *and* Burmese, 284, 316–320, 341.
Burutankanda, 182, 183, 252, 253.
But, 231, 234, 235.
Buttala, 325.
Buvanekabuja-niriṅdu-saṅda, 56.
byäṇa, 66.

ca, 101, 102, 104, 116, 176, 218, 219.
cada, 178, 179 *n.* 3, 188.

Caipura Pandar, 52, 55, 57.
Caitra, 140 *n.* 1.
caitya, 215, 216.
Çaka era, 28–31, 33, 45–47.
cakra, 51, 55.
cakravaḷa, 67.
cakravarthi, 303, 304.
cakravatthigaḷ, 305.
cakra-vartti, 66, 70, 234, 239, 244, 246, 279, 304, 329.
cakravartti-raja, 67.
Cakrāyudha, 43.
Calāmēga, 311.
Calcutta, 183 *n.* 1.
Camūnakka, 24.
Candabhānu, 26.
Candamukha-Siva, 8.
candirādittaval, 311.
cata, 177, 179.
catara-dorahi, 215.
catara-paca, 116.
cāvāṉ, 335, 336 *n.* 12.
ceta, 215–217.
cetiya, 215–218.
Cetiyagiri, 155 *n.* 1.
Cetiyapabbata, 155 *n.* 1.
ceya, 216–218.
Ceylon, 1–3, 17, 26, 37, 38, 45, 53, 58, 71, 73, 74, 81, 83, 84, 87, 90, 110, 113, 120, 121, 123, 125, 129, 142, 144, 147, 148, 156, 160, 171–173, 177, 179–182, 183 *n.* 1, 184, 185, 189, 192 *n.* 3, 194 *n.* 5, 197, 198 *n.* 5, 199, 201, 204, 212, 213 *n.* 3, 216, 217, 219, 223 *n.* 2, 224, 225 *n.* 1 and 9, 229 *n.* 1, 243, 252, 267 *n.* 7, 228 *n.* 5, 229 *n.* 1, 243, 252, 263, 267 *n.* 7, 268 *n.* 1 and 4, 273, 276 *n.* 6, 277 *n.* 9, 285, 286, 291 *n.* 1, 302, 304, 306 *n.* 7, 309–313, 316, 319, 320, 330 *n.* 2 and 4, 331 *n.* 5, 332–334, 337, 340.
Chalmers (R.), 171.
Chālukya, 85, 310.
chatrāvalī, 214.
Chatta-gāhaka Jantu, 12.
Chera, 82.
Chia Hsu, 338.
Chich'ou, 338.
Chilaw, 42.
Childers (R. C.), 281 *n.* 7.
China, 2, 12, 13, 18, 37, 334, 336 *n.* 1.
Chinese, 36–38, 134, 331–334, 336 *n.* 5, 8, 9 *and* 15, 337, 338, 340.
Ching-Ho, 333, 335, 336 *n.* 2, 337.
Chola, 86, 108. *See also* Coḷa.
Cholca Raya, 54 *n.* 1.
Cholia Pandar, 54 *n.* 1.
Cholians, 147, 148.
chothe, 179.
Christian, 1, 2 *n.* 4, 44, 63, 64, 92, 101, 121, 123.
Christian era, 4–46, 101, 147, 153, 160, 168, 173.
Cīna, 335, 336.
Ciñvo, 333, 335, 336.
cira-citati, 175.
cirasthiti, 175.
cirāt-kālaya, 69.
ciṭa, 175.
ciṭṭavaya, 175, 176, 178, 186.
ciṭṭhāi, 175.
Clough (B.), 87, 94, 190.
Cochin, 90.
Codagaṅga, 23.
Codrington (H. W.), 9, 18–20, 27, 72, 76 *n.* 6, 81, 96, 99, 110, 111 *n.* 4, 127, 141, 144 *n.* 1, 185 *n.* 1, 190, 251, 255 *n.* 1, 259 *n.* 7, 267 *n.* 6, 278 *n.* 1, 292, 304, 307 *n.* 1, 311 *n.* 3, 316, 318 *n.* 1, 327, 331 *n.* 5, 336 *n.* 14, 340.
Coḷa *or* Coḷas, 2, 5, 19–21, 84, 213, 273, 308–310, 312 *n.* 1, 331 *n.* 3.
Coḷarāja, 273.
Colombo, 42, 45, 46, 91 *n.* 1, 301 *n.* 1.
Colombo Museum, 58, 100 *n.* 3, 106, 124, 143, 217, 270, 294, 326, 331.
Cora-nāga, 6, 7.
Couto (Diogo de), 52, 53, 54 *n.* 1, 55–57, 282.
Crawford (J.), 341.
Çrī Parākrama Bāhu āpā, 30.
Çrī Rājādhi Rājasiṁha, 47.
Çrī Rājasiṁha, 41–43.
Çrivardhana Patirāja, 40.
Çrī Vijaya Kājasiṁha, 47.
Çrī Vikrama Kājasiṁha, 47.
Çrī Vīra Parākrama Narendra Siṁha, 47.
Cūḷābhaya, 8.
Cūḷagalla Udaya-nātha, 300 *n.* 11.
Cūḷa-Moggallāna, 15.
Culatisaviya, 116.
Cūḷa-Tissa, 9.
Cūḷavaṁsa, 2 *n.* 3, 4, 25, 29, 82, 232, 258 *n.* 1, 262 *n.* 3, 263 *n.* 1, 271 *n.* 6, 304 *n.* 1 and 5, 319, 340, 341.
cumbaṭaka, 223 *n.* 3.
Cundhamalliyāḷvār, 308, 311.
cuvaḍu, 333, 335, 366 *n.* 7.

d, 102, 227, 258, 265, 274.
da, 102, 280, 301 *n.* 1.
da (question), 151.
dā (day), 76.
dā (relics), 133, 224 *n.* 16, 265.
dā, 75 *n.* 1, 82, 94, 193, 222.
daḍa, 75, 76; *daḍak*, 55, 67; *daḍaṭ*, 75.
daḍa-muḍa, 55.
daḍa-nāyakayan, 75.
daḍavāddan, 55, 67.
Dādigama, 30 *n.* 2, 57, 59–61, 278.
daḍu, 77, 98.
daḍu-pat, 77.
Dāduru Oya, 330 *n.* 4.
dag, 94.
dāgaba, 132, 143, 278 *n.* 1, 312.
daham, 125.
Dāhāmi Siri-Saṅgabō, 11.
dahas, 322; *dahasak*, 69, 231; *dahasak-aṭa*, 164.
dahas-gaṇanak-aṭa, 322.
daka, 115, 116, 118, 119.
dāka, 67.
dākā-huṇavāha, 265.
daka-pati, 116, 117.
Dakavahanaka, 215, 216.
Dakiṇigiri, 257–259, 264, 266.
Dakiṇigiri-raj-mahaveher, 264.
Dakiṇigiri-vehera, 258.
Dakkhiṇadesa, 272, 304, 305, 309, 310, 330 *n.* 4.
Dakkhiṇagiri, 228 *n.* 11, 229 *n.* 1, 257, 259 *n.* 9.
Dakkhiṇāgiri, 257, 258, 259 *n.* 9.
Dakkhiṇa-passa, 111.
Dakṣa, 324 *n.* 1.
dakuṇ-terhi, 223.
dakuṇu-digin, 66, 70.
dakvā duṇ, 75.
daḷa, 222, 223 *n.* 8, 322.
Daḷadā, 280.
Daḷadāgē, 134, 137.
daḷa-dāp-in, 322.
Daḷadāsirita, 4, 26–29, 231.
daḷana, 314, 322.
Daḷanā, 255, 257–260.
Daḷa-Mugalan, 15.
D'Albuquerque (J.), 57 *n.* 1.
Dalla-Moggallāna, 15, 113.
Dāmāran Boruvesi *or* Bhoruvesi, 303.
Dāmāran Boruvesi Paṭṭāṅgi Kallānāvan, 306, 307.
Dāmāran Bhoruvesi Kācampaṇḍārattuḷ, 306, 307.
Daṁbadeṇi Asna, 147, 231.
Daṁbadeṇi Hatpattuva, 55.
Daṁbadeṇi-Kōraḷaya, 237.
Daṁbadeṇiya, 25, 26, 224 *n.* 6.
Dambadiv (diva), 139, 140, 222, 321.
Dambai, 28.
Dambdiv, 197, 198, 233.
Dambdiv-dunu, 197, 198.
Dambulla, 195, 242.
Damiḷādhikāri, 143, 272.
Dampiyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapada-sannaya, 119, 125, 220.
Damsaṅguṇu-gē, 133, 136.
dāmuṇa, 69; *dāmuṇak*, 190.
Damunumulla, 195.
dān, 283 *n.* 1.
dana, 178.
dānā (having known), 151.
dānā (having conquered), 221 *n.* 4.
dānā (having been born), 264.
dānakṣetra, 51, 54, 66, 68.
dānapati, 198, 199 *n.* 6.
dana-vaṭa, 178, 186.
dāna-vaṭṭaṁ, 182, 186.
danaviyehi, 222, 298.
danavu, 273.
daṇḍa, 55, 98, 326.
daṇḍa-nāyaka, 86.
daṇḍapāśika, 146.
daṇḍika, 146.
daṇḍu-muraṇḍu, 146.
danmaye, 198.
Dantoṭa-vatura, 237.
Dantoṭa-vature Devan, 236, 237, 240.
Danturē, 237.
Danturē Tuṇaya Baṇḍāra, 237.
dānvū, 77.
dā-pārāhār, 265, 268 *n.* 1.
dāpin, 315.
Dappula, 224 *n.* 16, 262 *n.* 3; I, 17, 212; II, 18, 200 *n.*, 262 *n.* 3; III, 18, 83, 293; IV, 19, 142; V, 19, 20, 81, 94, 115, 127, 129–131, 141, 142, 219, 221, 223, 292.
Dāpuḷ (Dappula V), 223, 224.
Dāpuḷā Pirittirad, 271, 274, 277.
Dāpuḷu (Dappula) I, 17; II, 18; III, 18; IV, 19; V, 127, 128, 130, 221.
Dāpuḷu, 224 *n.* 16.
Dāpuḷu Abahay, 127, 128.
Dāpuḷu-sen, 14.
dāraka, 80, 88, 231.
daru, 67, 77, 80, 88, 89, 128, 139, 246.
Dārubhatika-Tissa, 7.
daruvan, 75; *daruvan-ṭa*, 77.
das, 265; *dasnaṭ*, 265.
dasa, 94, 139, 177, 179 *n.* 3, 190, 265.
dāśa-adhikāra, 256 *n.* 3.
dasa-at-hi, 139.
Dasabala, 118.
dasa-dena, 240.
dāsak, 183.
Daśakumāracarita, 89.
dasamuna, 70.
dasa-pak, 298.
dasa-paka, 179 *n.* 3.
dasavak, 103, 128, 139, 265, 273; *dasavaka*, 322.
dāsayan, 329.
Dā-Sen-Kāḷi(ya), 13.
dāsī-dāsayan, 329.
daskama-ṭa, 234.
das-minisun, 265.
dasnaṭ, 265.
dataka, 178, 188.
Dāṭhānāga, 257, 259 *n.* 6.
Dāṭhāpabhuti, 14.
Daṭhāsiva, 16.
Dāṭhāvaṁsa, 135.
Dāṭhika, 6.
Dāṭhiya I, 6; II, 13.
Dāṭhopa-Tissa I, 16; II, 17.
Dātigama, 30, 281.
Dātigam-pura, 280.
Datta (father of king Subha), 9; (king of Ceylon), 17.
davas, 103, 128, 139, 193, 258, 265, 273, 298; *davasa*, 239, 280; *davasā*, 75, 77, 109, 271, 274.
dā vasā, 109 *n*, 3.
davas-patā, 190, 258.
Davy (J.), 83, 100 *n.* 2.
dāyak, 75.
dāyaka, 199 *n.* 6.
dayāyi, 151.
dayi, 176.
de, 77, 97, 104, 105, 139, 143, 177, 178, 190, 193, 198, 258, 300, 323, 329.
de-asanin, 97.
Debalagala, 168.
debisev-dā, 130.
Deccan, 252.
dedahas-pasaḷosak, 56.
dedās, 70.
dedenā, 314, 322; *dedenamo*, 104, 105.
dekak, 69.
de-kam-tān, 104, 111, 139, 143, 274, 277 *n.* 6, 299, 301.
de-karalin, 300, 302 *n.* 2.
Deltoṭa-kuṁbura, 69.
Demaḷa, 231, 276.
Demaḷadūva, 54, 55, 57, 59, 61, 63.
Demeḷ, 143, 273; Demeḷa, 273; Demeḷam-(ṭa), 77; Demeḷat, 139, 143.
Demelā Adhikāra(i), 143, 271–274.
Demeḷa-kābālla, 143, 272, 274, 276 *n.* 5, 277 *n.* 9.
de-muḷā, 77, 97; *de-muḷin*, 97.
dena (Skt. *jana*), 104, 240, 265; *denāgen*, 67; *denaku*, 97; *denamo*, 104, 105, 132, 265.
dena (giving), 91, 280, 283 *n.* 1.
Denā, 227, 228.
Denā-raja-maha-veher, 227.
Denavaka, 53, 54, 59, 238.
Denā-vehera, 132.
denen, 322.
Denham (E. B.), 100 *n.* 3.
denna, 66; *dennā*, 70.
dennaṭ, 274.
denneyayi, 67, 246.
denu, 77, 227, 258, 265.
denu-ladi, 274.
de-pāḷak, 66, 67.
de-radge, 269 *n.* 1
de-ruvane(ā), 104, 105, 111, 112, 139, 143, 144, 274, 277 *n.* 5, 299, 301.
de-sālis, 322.
desehi, 223; *desen*, 322.
desiya, 69.
desiya-panās, 300.
desu, 125.
Deṭagamuva, 219, 222.
Deṭa-Tis, 11.
detis-vannehi, 70.
deva, 198, 199 *n.* 2.
Deva, 231.
Devā, 129.
Devagariya-maha-vihara, 250.
Devagiri-vihāra, 250–252.
Devagiriya-vihara, 251.
devāle, 214.
Dēvamādi Hatpattu, 252.
Devan, 236, 237, 240.
devan, 127.
devana, 75.
Devanagala, 309, 312, 320.
Deva-nagara, 334.
Devānampiya-Tissa, 1, 4, 5, 134, 154 *n.* 9, 200 *n.*, 212, 213, 224 *n.* 6 and 10.
Devana-pā-Tis, 5.
Devanapiya-Gamiṇi-Abaya Maharaja, 9.
Devanapiya-kula, 156 *n.* 5.
Devanapiya Maharaja Gamaṇi Abaya, 6.
Devanapiya Maharaja Gamiṇi Tisa, 5.
Devanapiya Naka, 156.
Devanapiya-Naka Maharaja, 9.
Devanapiya Tisa, 154–156.
Devanapiya-Tisa Abaya, 6.
Devanapiya-Tisa-Maharaja, 9, 154.
Deva pādamūla-dāraka, 231.
Devarāja, 334.
Devarāja Kumārayā, 43.
Devasmitā, 89.
devā vadāraṇṭayayi, 66.
Devaya, 176–178.
Dev Gon, 221 222, 224.
devi-rajjuru-sāmī, 246.
Devu, 78, 81, 274, 277.
Devundara, 333 *n.* 1, 334.
Devundara Devālē, 334.
Devundara Deviyo, 334.
Devunuvara, 334.
dēyaḍ, 259 *n.* 10.
dēyaḍmanāk, 258, 259 *n.* 10.

deyak, 151.
Dhamma, 194 *n.* 14, 282 *n.* 4.
Dhammaceti, 282.
Dhammadhātu, 14, 205.
Dhammakitti (author of *Cūḷavaṁsa*), 2 *n.* 3, 25; (*saṅgharāja*), I, 32; II, 36.
Dhammapadaṭṭha-kathā, 87, 107, 119, 146, 168, 176 *n.* 1, 187, 189.
Dhammārāma (K.), 86 *n.* 2, 94 *n.* 4, 98.
Dhammaruci, sect, 229 *n.* 1.
Dhammasaṅgaṇī, 136.
Dhammasaṅgaṇī-geha *or* -house, 133, 136, 137.
Dhammāsoka, 23.
Dhammika Silāmegha (Mahinda III), 18.
dhana-dhānya, 329.
dhana-vaturen, 322.
Dhanumaṇḍala-nātha, 110.
dhānya, 329.
dharana, 52, 56.
Dharmapāla, Don Juan, 44, 45.
Dharma Parākrama-Bāhu (Parākrama-Bāhu IX), 41, 243.
dharmaśāstra, 150 *n.* 3.
Dharmma, 324 *n.* 1.
dharmma, 329.
Dharmmadhvaja Jātaka Kāvyaya, 301 *n.* 1.
Dharmmapradīpikā, 86, 94, 188.
Dharmmarāja-ratha, 158.
dharṇā, 92, 93 *n.* 1.
dhātu, 133 *n.* 3.
dhātūn-vahanse, 280.
dhātu-parīhāra, 268 *n.* 1.
Dhātuppabhūti, 224 *n.* 16.
Dhātusena, 12, 13, 217, 257.
Dhruvasena II, 85; IV, 184 *n.* 1.
di, *dī*, 76, 175, 178, 187, 258, 299.
-dī, 280.
diga, 151, 152.
Dīgha Nikāya, 84 *n.* 4, 85, 119, 176 *n.* 1, 183 *n.* 1, 187, 191 *n.* 12.
Dīghāsana-vihāra, 13.
Dīghasanda-Vihāra, 13.
digin, 66.
Dīgoḍa, 244.
Digpiṭiya, 70.
dihi, 76 *n.* 2, 79 *n.* 1, 258; *dihiyaṭ*, 190.
dik-vijaya, 278, 279.
dilindu, 322.
Diṁbulāgala, 153.
dina, 176, 177.
dīṇa, 76, 96.
dinaka, 165.
dine, 116, 155, 162, 165, 168, 251.
dini, 176, 178, 250.
diniṁdu, 283 *n.* 1.
dinisuru, 322.
dinmi, 255, 258.
dinu, 283 *n.* 1.
dinū, 322.
Dīpāvalī, 268 *n.* 4.
Dīpavaṁsa, 4.
Dīpavaṁsa-pakaraṇa, 13.
dīrggha-darśī, 151.
div, 74, 81, 273; *div-hi*, 222, 273 *n.* 4, 275 *n.* 6.
Divāṇavatta, 237.
Divāṇavatte Laṁkā Adhikārin, 263, 240.
divasa, 176, 178–180.
divayur-parapuren, 264.
divel, 151, 191 *n.* 9, 227, 240, 265, 267, 268 *n.* 2; *divelaṭ*, 190.
divel-patkaḍa, 240.
Divigoḍa, 62, 244, 246, 247.
divuṇu, 87 *n.* 5.
divya-rājottamayāṇan-vahanseṭa, 67.
diya (water), 118, 151, 264.
diya (world), 15.
diya-gos, 56.
Diyavāna, 216.
Diyavunu Matorana mīgasa, 66, 68.
diya yutu, 188.
diyul, 220, 222.
diyuṇa, 96.
diyuṇu, 87 *n.* 5.
doḷasa, 178.
doḷasa-paka, 178.
doḷos, 103, 143, 231, 323.
doḷos-amuṇa, 189.
doḷos-vanne, 103, 258.
doḷos-vanu, 322.
Doṁbavaḷagama, 109 *n.* 3, 271, 272.
doṇa, 184 *n.* 1.
Dona Catharina *or* Catherina, 46, 242, 243.
dona-vaṭa, 186.
Dondra, 55, 58–63, 334.
doṇi, 172 *n.* 1.
Don Juan Dharmapāla, 44, 45.
Dootoogamunu, 72.
dora, 216; *dora-hi*, 215, 216; *dorin*, 192 *n.* 3, 258.
Dorabāvila, 99, 107, 146.
dora-hi, 215, 216.
Doraṭiyāva, 55, 316.
dorin, 192 *n.* 3, 258.
doroṭu-pān-maḍiyehi, 227, 228 *n.* 7.
D'Oyly (J.), 55, 91, 109 *n.* 5, 252 *n.* 4, 276 *n.* 1.
Dravida *or* Dravidian, 301 *n.* 1, 311.
droṇa, 135.
Droṇācārya, 324 *n.* 1.
dug-gannā rāla, 140 *n.* 4.
duhul, 220.
duk-gat puruṣāyek, 140 *n.* 3.
duk-in, 329.
Dumbara, 232, 238–240.
dun, 66, 67, 75, 77, 94, 190, 193, 198, 235, 240, 246, 274, 323.
duni, 283 *n.* 1.
dunmahayi, 105.
dunmo, 132, 275.
dunneyi, 323.
duntel, 187.
dunu, 198.
Dunumaṇḍala-gala, 155.
dunumaṇḍala-nā, 110.
dunumaṇḍula, 104, 110.
dunu-pā-balat, 104.
dunuvā-balatun, 139, 275.
durgga, 329.
durllabha, 329, 330 *n.* 9.
Duroiselle (C.), 317, 319.
duru, 280.
Durutu, 241.
duru-vana, 280.
dūtaka, 99, 100, 108, 110, 271, 277 *n.* 1.
dūtayan, 323.
Dutch, 46, 200.
Dutt (N.), 201, 202.
Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, 5, 123 *n.* 3, 125, 147, 156, 213 *n.* 3, 326.
Duṭugāmuṇu, 5, 123 *n.* 5.
duṭuvā, 77.
duva, 285.
dvandva, 88.
dvāragāma, 181.
dvayābhisekā-saṅjāta, 130.
dyūta-maṇḍalī, 93.

-e, 125.
e, 66, 75, 82, 139, 151, 222.
ek, 189, 190, 193, 220, 222, 258, 299, 301 *n.* 1; *eka*, 66, 151, 177, 270; *ekakaṭa*, 67, 69; *ekakin*, 133; *ekin*, 280.
eka ānnā, 270.
eka-āsthāna, 107.
ekaccatra (*ekacchatra*), 315, 316, 322.
ekaḍmanā, 258, 259 *n.* 10.
Ekadoraya, 162, 166.
Ekadorika, 165, 167, 168.
Ekadvāra (°dvāraka *or* °dvārika), 162, 164, 166–168.
Ekadvārika-pabbata, 167 *n.* 4.
ekājñā, 270, 273, 275 *n.* 6.
ekakaṭa, 67, 69.
ekakin, 133.
ekamuṇu, 66.
Ekanāḷika, famine, 10.
eka-sataka, 250.
eka-siya-eka, 70.
eka-sthāna, 108.
eka-vavu, 151.
ek-dahas, 69, 70.
ekin bhāga, 280.
ekoḷos-vanne, 273.
ek-pähära, 222.
ek-sat, 53.
ek-se, 274.
ek-siya-panäs, 299.
ek-talāṭik, 222.
ek-tän, 107, 108.
ek-tän-samiya, 269 *n.* 11, 276 *n.* 7; *-samiyen*, 103, 104, 107, 108, 265, 271, 274, 299, 300 *n.* 6.
ekun, 280.
eḷa, 223, 225 *n.* 9.
ēḷā, 333, 335.
eḷa-harak, 225 *n.* 9.
eḷa-kiri, 225 *n.* 9.
Eḷāla, 5, 125, 147, 213 *n.* 3.
Elaḷu Ābō Senevirat, 23.
eḷa-maruvā, 223, 225 *n.* 9.
Eḷāra, 5.
eḷavanu, 75, 91.
eḷavīmak, 91.
Eliot (Sir Chas.), 87 *n.* 3.
eḷu-maruvā, 132, 135.
Eḷunnā, 8.
Eḷu Saṅdäs Lakuṇa, 149.
eluttu (*poṇ eḷuttu*), 335.
eḷuvan, 135 *n.* 5.
elvat, 75.
-em, 269 *n.* 4.
ena, 66, 237.
English, 47, 189, 220, 333.
-eni, 176.
enṇai, 333, 335.
Eppāvaḷa, 94, 164, 183, 184, 188.
erabadu, 88 *n.* 3.
Eravalagala, 253.
ēṛugai, *ēṛgai*, 307 *n.* 2.
etaya, 179, 180.
etaye, 180.
etiya, 180.
European, 340, 341.
evhu, 221, 222.
evū, 318, 323.

Fa-Hian, 1, 11, 134.
fanams, 200.
farmān, 338.
Fausböll (V.), 123 *n.* 4.
Ferguson (D.), 52.
Fleet (J. F.), 1 *n.* 2, 2, 4–6, 8, 126.
Four Kōraḷas, 279, 281, 283–285.
Further India, 320.

gabaḍā-gam, 238.
gabaḍāva, 144.
Gabigalpota, 195.
Gaḍalādeṇiya, 242, 285.
gaḍyāṇa, 311 *n.* 3.
Gaeraendigala, *see* Gäraṇḍidigala.
gaha-kola, 233.
gahe, 178, 186.
gähum no-van, 190, 191 *n.* 5.
Gaja-bā, 9. *See also* Gajabāhu.
Gajabāhu I, 9, 114, 115, 118, 155, 156, 163 *n.* 1 *and* 2, 166–169, 216, 249; II, 22, 232, 304, 311, 316, 322, 324, 325 *n.* 3.
Gajabāhu Gāmaṇī Abhaya, 166.
Gajabāhuka-Gāmaṇī, 9.
gal, 106, 133, 235; *galä*, 106, 323.
gäl, 104, 106, 139, 223, 265, 275.
Galahiṭiyāva, 231.
Galamburu-käräya, 190, 191.
Galboḍa Kōraḷē, 312.
Galenbiŭḍuṇu-vāva, 163.
Galgānē Vihāra, 242.
Galhiṭi, 231.
Galle, 62, 331, 332 *n.* 1.
gal-līma, 288.
gal-näva, 133.
Galnāva, 269 *n.* 1.
gal-parvatayaka, 301 *n.* 1.
Galpota, 106 *n.* 12, 150, 327 *n.* 2.
Gālu Kōraḷaya, 244, 246, 247.
Galvihāra, 116, 314.
gam, 75, 76, 104, 139, 140, 265, 233 *n.* 1, 275, 299, 301 *n.* 2; *gama*, 66, 157 *n.* 2, 215, 233, 237, 238, 276, 282 *n.* 1; *gämä*, 75, 76, 103, 140, 143, 148; *gamak*, 280; *gamakehi*, 177; *gamaṭ*, 75–77, 104, 274, 275; *gamaṭa*, 67, 237; *gamhi*, 77, 223; *gamin*, 75; *gämin*, 75, 77, 265, 301 *n.* 2.
gāma-bhojaka, 91, 117.
gama-himiyan, 280.
gamakehi, 177.
gāmaṇī, 123.
Gāmaṇīcaṇḍa Jātaka, 93.
gāmānta senāsana vāsika, 97.
gāma-sāmika, 225 *n.* 7.
gam-bim, 273; *-bimaṭ*, 265.
gam-gon, 139, 275, 299.
gamhi aṭa-denā, 77, 97.
gamhi lā, 73, 77.
gāmika, 225 *n.* 7.
gaminī, 114.
Gaminī Aba-raje, 166.
Gaminī Abaya, 115, 116, 156, 163 *n.* 2, 166, 168 *n.* 2, 249.
gam-laddā, 91; *gam-laddan*, 75.
gam-lad-nāyaka, 77.
gam-mudala, 55, 67, 232, 239, 255 *n.* 1.
Gampaha Kōraḷē, 230, 232.
gam-paṅḍuru, 55.
Gampola, 29–34, 36, 40, 45, 61, 62, 236, 237, 242, 278 *n.* 1, 287.
gam-säläsma, 237; *-sälämak*, 66, 237; *-sälämen*, 237, 239.
gam-vasam, 238.
gaṇa, 91, 95, 119.
Gaṇagami, 274, 276.
gaṇaka, 116, 119.
gaṇaka-mahāmacca, 119.
gaṇa-lahassa, 79, 95; *-lahassen*, 76.
gaṇanaka-ṭa, 322.
gaṇāpaka, 119.
Gaṇapa-Tissa, 4.
Gandekē Kōraḷē, 232.
Gaṇēgoḍa, 55, 60, 62.
Gaṅga, 222.
Gaṅgādoṇipabbata, 24.
Gaṅgānadī, 203, 204, 209 *n.* 6.
Gaṅgāsiripura, 29.
Ganges, 223 *n.* 7.
Gangoḍa Oya, 232.
gaṇhiya, 175, 186.
Gaṇitasiṁha, 39, 52.
ganiṭī, 77.
gannā, 75–77, 104, 132, 133, 139, 140, 146 *n.* 7, 223, 265, 275, 299, 300, 301 *n.* 2.
ganneya, 77.
ganu, 77, 299.
gānu, 69.
ganut, 75, 76, 299, 301 *n.* 2.
Gäraṇḍigala, 195, 293.
gäraṇḍiyā, 195.
Garavi, 284.
gari, 175.
garu-bhāṇḍa, 69.
gasa-koḷa, 67 232, 235, 239.
gasanu, 147.
gat, 164, 221 *n.* 4, 233 *n.* 1; *gatāha*, 223; *gat-ha*, 75; *gattāha*, 132.
gāthā, 48, 49.
gāti, 86, 330 *n.* 6.
gatiyāyen, 55, 56.
gätta, 330 *n.* 6.
gattāha, 132.
gattan, 147.
gättan, 75, 76, 86.
gattāṭa, 280.
gättaṭa, 329.
gätto, 329.
galuvan, 139.
(Ga)val Udā, 299, 300.
gavu, *gāvuta*, or *gavuva*, 326, 327, 331 *n.* 5.
gavyūti, 331 *n.* 5.
ge or *gē*, 75, 77, 88; *gehi*, 75, 88, 133, 190, 264.
gedaḍ, 225 *n.* 8, 265, 267.
Gedigē, 94, 131, 137.
Geiger (W.), 4, 5, 8, 11, 13, 14, 25, 87 *n.* 5, 114, 115, 150 *n.* 1, 155 *n.* 1, 157, 182, 220 *n.* 2, 225 *n.* 2, 231, 232, 257, 262 *n.* 3, 263 *n.* 1, 271 *n.* 6, 287 *n.* 3, 304, 315, 340, 341.
-gen, 330 *n.* 3.
geṇa, 175, 176, 178, 186, 251.

gena, 133.
genä, 75–77, 151, 193, 194 *n.* 9, 227, 265, 299, 329.
genä yanu, 75.
genehi, 69.
geneye, 250, 251.
geri, 135 *n.* 5, 139, 265, 275.
ge-taḍ, 223, 225.
ge-vatta, 280; *ge-vatu*, 67, 233.
Giant's Tank, 100 *n.* 3.
gimhapakhe, 179, 180.
ginnen, 152.
ginut, 75, 76.
giri, 175.
Girihaṇḍu Sātā Kumārayan, 70.
giri-kulu, 222.
Giritalē, 130 *n.* 5, 138, 255, 272, 273.
Girivaṁsa, 31.
gitel, 76.
givisa, 280.
givisä, 257–259, 260 *n.* 7.
givisvä, 265.
giya, 75, 280.
giya-davasä, 75.
Glass Palace Chronicle, 319.
goḍa, 67, 233.
goḍa-val, 232.
goḍa-val-piṭa, 238.
goḍa-val-piṭi-kārayō, 238.
Goḷabāgamu Nilādevu, 78, 81.
Goldschmidt (P.), 156.
Goḷu-Abā, 11.
gomēda, 151, 152.
Gon (queen), 75, 78, 139.
gon, 76, 104, 135 *n.* 5, 139, 265, 275, 299.
Goṇa-giri, 114, 116, 117.
Goṇagiri-utaviya, 115–117.
goṇi, 76, 94, 133, 135.
goṇī, 94, 135.
goṇi-gon, 76, 94.
Goṇṇagiri, 116 *n.* 1, 117.
gos, 76, 329.
goṣṭika, 123 *n.* 5.
Goṭha, 123 *n.* 5.
Goṭhābhaya, king, 11, 124; (warrior), 123 *n.* 5.
Goṭha Imbara, 123 *n.* 5.
Goṭhaka Abhaya, 229 *n.* 1.
goṭhi, 123 *n.* 5.
gotrābhijāta, 66.
govi-kam, 77, 265.
Govinda-pabbata, 24.
grāma (estate), 276 *n.* 1.
grāmaṇī, 91, 114, 123.
Grantha, 101, 158, 303, 308, 332.
grantha, 69.
Guhagupta, 202, 205.
Guḷavaṇṇa, 155 *n.* 1.
Guligamu Araḷe, 108.
Gulpiṭi (*or* °hiṭi) But, 231, 234, 235.
guṇa, 139; *guṇen*, 322.
guṇa-muḷin, 321.
Gunasekara (B.), 106, 110, 115, 142, 181, 236, 237, 242, 262 *n.* 1 *and* 6, 282 *n.* 7, 284 *n.* 1 *and* 3.
Gunawardhana (W. F.), 2, 29 *n.* 2, 30 *n.* 1.
guṇen, 322.
Gupta, 126, 249.
Guttaka, 5.
Guttasāla, 325 *n.* 9.

-ha, 75, 115, 176.
hā, 66, 69, 231, 232, 235, 238, 239, 322, 323.
Habarana, 117 *n.* 7, 179 *n.* 3.
hadārana, 265.
hakaḍa, 177, 178, 183, 184, 186.
hakaṭa, 178, 186.
hala, 106.
haḷa, 98 *n.* 4.
Hāḷigāravil His-kā-sō-Mihiṅdu, 18.
Hambantoṭa, 252, 253, 326.
haṁbiyehi, 107 *n.* 8.
Hamilton (A.), 92 *n.* 4.
Haṁsa Sandesa, 286.
hāmuduru, 88.
Haṁvälla, 232.
han, 222.
Handinnaru-gama, 143.
handuru, 88.
hāni, 280.
hapi-vaṭeha, 218, 219.
Hapugastänna, 30, 62, 63 *n.* 1.
hāra, 226, 229.
härä, 233 *n.* 1.
haravä, 77.
haravanu, 77.
hārayehi, 227.
harin, 222.
Hāris-pattuva, 237, 240.
Hārita gotra, 51.
harmmikā, 214.
Harvey (G. E.), 317, 318 *n.* 2.
hasa, 175, 185; *hasa-hi*, 177.
hasna, 151.
hat, 220, 222.
Häṭa-dā-gē, 327 *n.* 1.
Hat-(giri), 222, 223.
Hatthadāṭha I, 2, 17; II, 17.
Hatthigiripura, 287.
Hatthisela-pura, 27, 28.
Hat-Udā-gira, 222.
havajara, 252, 253; *havajarana*, 251–253.
havajariyi, 253.
havijiriya, 253.
havurudu, 239, 246, 253, 300; *havuruddak*, 263 *n.* 4; *havurudde*, 193; *havuruduyehi*, 75, 128, 139, 190, 223, 227, 298.
havurudu-patä, 300.
Hayley (F. A.), 91 *n.* 1, 92.
he, 151.
Heḷadiva, 53.
helbi, 264.
hemanta-pakhe, 180.
hēṇa, 143.
hēnpiṭa, 238.
henu, 258.
herabadu, 88 *n.* 3.
heraṇ, 265.
Heraṇasika, 86, 330 *n.* 6.
heraṇ-vathimiyan, 265.
Hēvägam Kōraḷē, 51.
hēvisi, 88.
hēvisi-pävisi, 88.
heyin, 91, 151, 301 *n.* 4, 318, 322, 323.
-hi (instr. term), 77.
-hi (loc. term), 176.
Hiḷa, 234, 235, 246.
him, 66, 237; *himat*, 274; *himin*, 299.
himi, 75, 81, 193, 285, 321; *himiyan*, 227; *himiyanṭa*, 280.
himi-saṅda, 281 *n.* 3.
hindä, 75, 76, 86 *n.* 6, 90, 264, 265.
Hindi, 89, 118 *n.* 3, 336 *n.* 7.
hindnä 78.
Hindu, 89, 90, 135, 150 *n.* 3, 212, 213 *n.* 3, 267 *n.* 7, 268 *n.* 4, 334.
Hindustäni, 340 *n.* 1.
hinduvani ladi, 78.
hindvä, 77, 198.
hindvannat, 77, 108.
hindvū, 290.
hinnē-piṭa, 238.
hir, 222, 258.
Hirahaḍagalli, 257.
hī renavä, 97.
Hir-got-kulen, 222.
hiri-sanda, 323.
hir-sand, 250.
hiru, 220 *n.* 3, 321.
Hiuen Tsiang, 134.
ho, 223.
hobnä, 222, 223 *n.* 8.
Hocart (A. M.), 49, 205, 272.
Hoernle (A. F. R.), 256.
hoḷ, 77, 98.
hoḷa-vaṭa, 98 *n.* 4.
hoḷ-daḍu, 77, 98.
Hopiṭigamu, 74, 75, 78, 88.
Hopiṭigamu-padiya, 75, 85.
Hopiṭiya, 276 *n.* 6.
Horaboravāva *or* °wewa, 71, 72.
Horovupotāna, 172.
Horrovitz (J.), 332.
Hultzsch (E.), 2 *n.* 2, 17, 19–21, 27, 74, 82 *n.* 2, 88 *n.* 1, 102 *n.* 6.
hulu, 139, 140, 143.
hulvāḍu, 94, 223, 225.
hun, 144.
huna, 151.
Huṇannaru-Riyandaḷa, 17.
huṇavāha, 265.
huṇu, 97.
huta, 219.
Hyderabad, 338.

-i, 125.
ica, 102, 176–178.
iḍam-kaḍam, 55.
iḍattil, 181.
iḍiri, 67; *iḍiriye*, 239.
iḍiripiṭa, 70.
iḍiriye, 239.
Ihala Puliyankuḷama, 233.
ihi, 176.
ikbiti, 263 *n.* 4.
ikmä, 75, 77, 127.
Ikṣvāku, 78, 128, 140, 228 *n.* 3, 266 *n.* 2, 300 *n.* 4, 323 *n.* 12.
ikut, 321.
ikut-va vadāḷa tena, 66.
Iḷam, 273.
Iḷa-Nāga, 8.
Iḷaṅgā, 335, 336.
Iḷattaraiyar, 273.
illā, 97, 190.
illanu, 77, 191 *n.* 6,
ilvā, 190.
ilvā genä, 151.
ilvanu, 191 *n.* 6.
-im, 269 *n.* 4.
ima, 66.
in, 70.
India, 4, 16, 21, 84 *n.* 3, 92, 123, 125, 144, 174, 179, 181, 184, 195, 198 *n.* 2, 213, 223 *n.* 5, 225 *n.* 7 *and* 9, 227 *n.*, 268 *n.* 4, 291 *n.* 1, 332.
Indian, 2, 84 *n.* 3, 110, 115, 118, 179, 180, 182, 192 *n.*, 212, 249, 252, 267 *n.* 7, 271, 276 *n.* 1, 308, 315, 341.
Iṅdikaṭusāya, 199, 200 *n.*, 205.
Indo-Chinese, 341.
Indra, 323.
Indradeva, 202, 205, 211.
Indradatta, 202.
ipädä, 73, 139.
ipäddū, 151.
ira, 239.
iraṇḍāirattu, 333, 335.
Iripinniyāva, 108, 110 *n.* 5, 146.
isä, 75-78, 94, 101, 102, 111, 135 *n.* 5, 139, 140, 143, 146–148, 176, 190, 193, 198, 223, 227, 258, 259, 265, 266 *n.* 9, 274, 275, 277 *n.* 10, 299, 300, 301 *n.* 2.
isirä, 273, 275 *n.* 6.
Islam, 338, 339.
Islamic, 334.
issara-bheri, 147.
isurä, 151.
Īśvara, 308.
Īśvarasena, 119, 179, 180.
Itāva, 143, 147.
Itnaru-gama, 276 *n.* 6.
iṭṭu (sent for), 307 *n.* 4.

j, 102.
ja, 102.
Jaffna, 26, 39, 40, 56, 57, 185, 283, 307 *n.* 3.
Jaffna Road, 126.
jag, 94.
Jagat- (*or* Jagatī-) pāla, 21.
Jaggayyapeṭa, 107 *n.* 1, 125.
Jain, Jaina, 180, 256.
Jambudoṇi, 25.
Jambudvīpa, 140, 198 *n.* 2, 223 *n.* 5, 323.
janapada, 279, 280.
jarāvāsa, 285.
Jātaka, 93, 96, 118 *n.* 4, 123, 140 *n.* 3, 143, 145 *n.* 2, 147 *n.* 3, 170, 171 *n.* 1, 183, 185, 187, 191 *n.* 5, 231, 259 *n.* 10, 261 *n.* 2, 330 *n.* 7.
Jātaka (Sinhalese), 29, 143, 183.
jātaveda, 170.
jāti, 67; *jātiyak*, 301 *n.* 1.
Jāvaka, 26.
Javanese, 340.
Jayabāhu I, 22, 304, 308, 311; II, 40, 56, 58, 283.
Jayabāhu (Māgha), 24, 26.
Jayabāhu (son of Parākramabāhu II), 26.
Jayabāhu (Vijayabāhu V), 29.
jayagat, 301 *n.* 1.
Jayaswal (K. P.), 84 *n.* 3.
Jayatilaka (Sir D. B.), 29 *n.* 2, 30 *n.* 1, 31 *n.* 1, 88, 94, 220 *n.* 1, 236 *n.*, 294, 301 *n.* 1, 319 *n.* 2.
Jayavāgu-dēvar, 308, 311.
Jayavardhana Kōṭṭa, 246, 247.
Jayavardhanapura, 51, 66, 67, 279, 281.
Jayavīra, 44, 62, 242–244.
Jayavīra Āsthāna, 241, 242.
Jayavīra Baṇḍāra, 43, 242, 243.
Jayavīra Parākramabāhu, 285.
jeṭa-pute, 154.
Jeṭatisa-maharaja Apaya, 122.
Jetavana (dāgäba), 131 *n.* 1. 135, 169, 226.
Jetavana (monastery), 133, 226, 227, 228 *n.* 10 *and* 11.
Jetavanārāma, 82, 86, 87 *n.* 2, 99, 105, 116, 124, 134 *n.* 3, 219, 221, 266 *n.* 9, 267 *n.* 7, 300 *n.* 5, 315.
Jetavanārāma (at Polonnaruva), 48.
jeṭṭha, 122.
jeṭṭhaka, 123.
Jeṭṭha-tissa, 121, 154 *n.* 7; I, 11, 124; II, 11, 121, 122, 124; III, 16.
Jeṭugami, 218, 219.
jihvāmūliya, 201, 206 *n.*
jina, 166, 169, 218.
jiṇa-paṭisatarana, 218.
jita, 125.
jitara, 125.
jitra, 122, 125.
Jivāṇavatta, 237.
jīvat-vannā, 329.
jīvita-hāni, 280, 285.
jōḍu, 336 *n.* 7.
Jolly (J.), 93 *n.* 1, 112 *n.* 2, 191 *n.* 5.
Jōti Siṭāṇa, 236, 237, 239, 240.
Jotiya Siṭu, 39, 236, 237.
Jōttia Sitti (Jōtiya Siṭu), 237.
Jyeṣṭha, 259 *n.* 4.

-ka, 115, 125, 267 *n.* 3.
kā, 231.
kā, 326, 329, 330 *n.* 7.
kabaḍa, 277 *n.* 9.
kabala, 277 *n.* 9.
käbäli, 101, 113, 275, 277 *n.* 9; *käbälla*, 143, 274, 276 *n.* 2.
käbäli-laduvan, 276 *n.* 3.
Käbällāleṇa, 252.
kabhäli, 101, 104, 105, 113.
kabhäli-lad, 104, 113.
käbiṭi, 99.
kācadāra, 335, 336 *n.* 9.
Kācampaṇḍārattul, 306, 307.
kacca, 267 *n.* 3.
kācu, 311.
kaḍa, 194 *n.* 13.
kaḍa-goṣṭiyehi ätto, 86.
Kaḍahavapi, 215.
kaḍakaṭ, 193.
kaḍa-säl, 191 *n.* 5.
kaḍavaya, 117.
kaḍavi, 165 *n.* 5, 169.
Kadavu, 315.
kaḍaya, 117.
Kaḍayim-pota, 301 *n.* 1.
Kadirā, 42.
Kadirāna, 58.
Kaḍḍukuḷam, 158.
Kaḍubala, 177, 178.
Kaeligatte, *see* Väligatta.
Kāgalla, 251, 256, 278, 279, 281 *n.* 5, 312, 334 *n.* 1. *See also* Kegalla.
kahāpaṇa, 168, 249–251.
kahapaṇe, 251.
kahavaṇa, 250–252; °*ṇehi*, 250.
Kahāva Radsivu, 271, 274, 277.
Kajaragama *or* Kājaragāma, 212, 218.
Kākavaṇṇa-Tissa, 5.
Kakudha Kaccāna, 156 *n.* 4.
-kaḷ, 97.
Kāla, 319.
kala, 280, 301 *n.* 11.

kaḷa (pot), 227.
kaḷa, 66, 67, 75, 77, 83, 96, 132, 139, 151, 193, 198, 215, 222, 223, 232, 258, 264, 273, 275 *n.* 6, 280, 321, 329.
kaḷā, 75, 77, 322, 323.
Kaḷaccukkuḷi, 307 *n.* 8.
Kaḷaccukkuḷi Kummaracena Nambaṉaṉ, 306, 307.
Kalāgam Kōraḷē, 102 *n.* 5.
kaḷāha, 190.
kalahi, 253.
Kaḷahumana, 178, 181.
Kaḷahumanaka, 177.
kālak, 69.
Kalakan-Deṭa-Tis, 11.
Kālakaṇṇi Tissa, 7.
kaḷākugen, 76.
kāḷal, 190, 192 *n.* 2, 193.
Kalalvāli Udagi, 259, 260.
kaḷamanā, 51, 66, 76.
kaḷamanavun, 76.
kaḷa-masu, 76, 96.
Kaḷamba-nadī, 155 *n.* 1.
kaḷamha, 265.
Kāḷanāgara-vaṁsa, 24.
kaḷañcu, 335, 336.
kaḷanda, 96, 189–191, 257, 259, 301, 336 *n.* 6, 340; *kaḷandak*, 94, 190, 258, 300; *kaḷandak-aṭ*, 164, 190.
Kālaṇiya, 42, 58–60, 82, 107, 296 *n.* 1.
kaḷañju, 311 *n.* 3.
Kālāpaka-paṭhaka, 85.
kāla-pōkam, 185 *n.* 1.
Kālasūtra, 67, 69.
kalavan, 220 *n.* 3.
kaḷāvū, 280.
kalhi, 66.
Kalikāla Sāhitya Sarvajña Paṇḍita Parākrama Bāhu I (Parākramabāhu II), 25.
Kali Māḍabi, 259, 260.
Kāliṅga, 23, 150, 152, 230, 273, 302 *n.* 5, 310, 331.
Kāliṅga Cakravartti, 327, 329, 331 *n.* 1.
Kāliṅga Park, 331 *n.* 1.
Kāliṅgarāyar, 273.
Kāliṅga Vijayabāhu, 24, 230, 234, 235.
Kaliṅgu-himi, 151.
Kaliṅgu-nirundu, 151, 331 *n.* 1.
Kallānāvan, 306, 307.
Kalpē Kōraḷē, 247, 249.
Kaḷudiyapokuṇa, 253, 257, 260.
Kalugaṅga, 284, 330 *n.* 4.
Kalun-nā, 6.
Kaḷupokuṇa, 192 *n.* 3, 253. *See also* Kaḷudiyapokuṇa.
Kalutara, 21, 294.
Kalyāṇavatī, 23, 102 *n.* 5.
Kalyāṇī, 40, 282, 320.
kam, 77, 223; *kamä*, 265.
Kamala Aba, 122, 125.
kämättamha, 329.
Kamboja, 87.
kämi, 227, 265, 300.
kämi-kamä, 265.
kämiyan, 111, 139, 223, 265, 299.
Kammahārattaka, 6.
kammūlar, 305.
kam-navämaṭa, 132.
kamtän, 111.
kamtän-ledaruvak, 111, 231.
kaṇaka piḷḷai, 88.
kaṇakkar, 95; *kaṇakkarun*, 76.
Kanarese, 256.
Kaṇavadi, 305–307.
Kāñchi., 10.
Kāñcī, 134, 197.
Kāñcīpura, 312 *n.* 1.
käṅḍa-oru, 131.
Kaṅḍap, 315.
Kandapalle Kōraḷē, 195.
Kandarppa, 324.
Kanda Uḍa-raṭa, 39, 43, 46. *See also* Uḍaraṭa.
Kandē Disānāyaka Mudiyansēlāgē-vatta, 230.
Kandēgamakanda, 82 *n.* 4.
Kandē-vatta, 230.
Kaṅḍukara Kōraḷē, 325.
Kandy, 43–45, 47, 54, 62, 64, 72, 83, 230, 232 *n.* 1, 236, 240–244.
Kandyan, 39, 62, 74, 84, 91, 92, 99, 109, 140 *n.* 3, 144, 148, 200, 232, 237, 243, 244, 276 *n.* 1, 302, 303, 312.
kaṇikā, 191 *n.* 5.
käṇikkai, 335.
Kaṇirajānu-Tissa, 8.
Kaṇishka, 180.
Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa, 9, 219.
Kaṇṭaka Cetiya, 199 *n.* 9, 200 *n.*
kanu, 73.
kap, 322.
kapakale, 198, 199 *n.* 7.
kapanu, 77.
Kapikandara, 225 *n.* 2.
Kapikandur, 221, 222, 225.
Kapikandur-ho, 223.
kappa-kālika, 199 *n.* 7.
Kappakandara, 225 *n.* 2.
Kappāsagāma, 224 *n.* 2.
kap-turumen, 322, 324 *n.* 5.
Kapugam-pirivena, 220–222, 224, 225 *n.* 2; *nat*, 223.
Kapurā, 68.
kapurā, 151.
Kapurā Kumārayā, 55, 66.
kapurāla, 213 *n.* 3.
kara (tax, rent), 95, 117.
kara (having done), 66.
karā, 107.
kärä, 76.
Kāragala, 58, 59, 62.
karai, 107.
Karajaviya, 116.
kärä-kumbur, 191 *n.* 3.
karal, 295; *karala*, 302 *n.* 2; *karalin*, 300, 302 *n.* 2.
karal-kämi, 302 *n.* 2.
Karalliyaddē *or* Karalliyaddē Kumāra Baṇḍāra, 242, 243.
Karal-Sora, 42.
Kārambagala, 179.
karamha, 322, 323.
karana, 66, 75, 132 133, 152 *n*, 2, 178, 183, 240, 265, 301 *n.* 1, 322.
karanā, 75, 151.
karanaka, 182, 218.
karaṇayehi, 258, 259, 260 *n.* 7.
karaṇayen, 259.
Karaṅḍagasa-āḷa, 66, 68.
karannaṭ, 265.
karanṭa, 66.
karanu, 75–77, 152 *n.* 2, 193, 265, 268 *n.* 2, *and* 7, 280, 299.
karavā, 52 *n.* 1, 301 *n.* 2.
karavami, 322.
karavanuvat, 280.
karavaya, 165.
karāve, 107.
karavi, 125.
kārāvïa, 125.
karavika, 122, 125.
karavīmaṭa, 285.
käravū, 133, 256 *n.* 2, 273, 288.
karavuvara, 265, 268 *n.* 5.
karaya, 107.
karäye, 103, 107.
käräyehi, 191 *n.* 3.
karikkāl, 333, 335.
karīsa, 189, 190, 198 *n.* 3, 268 *n.* 6.
kāriya, 191 *n.* 3, 280, 283.
Kārlē, 180.
karmmasthāna, 111.
Karpūramañjarī, 300 *n.* 3.
karṣāpaṇa, 259, 251.
karu, 289.
käru, 289, 290.
käru, 227, 289.
karuṇāyen, 329.
käruṇu, 77.
Karuvūr, 108.
Kasabal, 276 *n.* 4.
kasakārayā, 148.
kaśapaṇe, 251.
Kāsavāgama, 143.
Kasbā Kaksamaṇa, 265, 269.
Kashmir, 63.
Kassapa, 269 *n.* 10, 276 *n.* 4, 296.
Kassapa I, 2, 13, 14; II, 16; III, 17, 195, 197, 293; IV, 19, 87, 102, 103, 129, 130, 142, 257, 270, 271, 273, 289, 293, 296, 300 *n.* 8; V, 2, 19, 86, 87, 97, 103, 106, 129, 130, 134 *n.* 3, 136, 137, 142, 144, 257, 263, 266 *n.* 9, 296.
Kassapa (son of Mahinda V), 21.
Kassapa-ādipada (brother of Sena I), 129, 130, 142.
Kassapa, Kesadhātunāyaka, 21, 213.
Kassapa-Mahādipāda, 128–130.
Kassapa Sirisaṅghabodhi, 275 *n.* 4.
kastāna, 55 *n.* 1.
Kasub, 128, 270, 296, 299, 300.
Kasub Mahāpa-radāṇan, 128.
Kasub-Siri-saṅgbo (Kassapa IV), 19, 271, 273, 275.
Kasubu, 13, 17.
Kasup (Kassapa IV), 19; (Kassapa V), 19.
Kāśyapa (Buddha's disciple), 204, 209, 211.
kät, 74, 139, 321.
käta, 127.
Kaṭagamuva, 216.
Kaṭāhavāpīgāma, 216.
Kaṭakaceta, 200 *n.*
käta-kula, 127, 264.
Kataragama, 21, 212, 213, 216, 219, 263.
Kataragama Deviyo, 334.
Kaṭavāgama, 216.
Kathāsaritsāgara, 89.
kāṭhi, 340 *n.* 1.
kāṭī or *katī*, 340.
katikā, 264, 265, 267 *n.* 3; *katikāyehi*, 265.
katikāvata, 25, 26.
Katikāvat-Saṅgarā, 301 *n.* 1.
kät-kula, 74, 139, 321; *kät-kulaṭ*, 298.
kät-osabanaṭ, 321.
kaṭṭhā, 340.
kaṭṭi, 335, 336, 340.
kaṭṭiṇadu, 333, 335.
Kaṭugaha-galgē, 325–327.
Katu Mahasāya, 199 *n.* 9.
Kaṭupulle, 109, 290 *n.* 4.
kät-usab, 321, 323 *n.* 15.
Kauṇḍinya-gotra, 51.
Kauṭilya, 63, 85, 96, 112, 113, 143.
Kāvan Tissa, 32 *n.* 1.
kavara, 239, 264.
kavaru, 227.
kavi, 256 *n.* 3.
Kavuḍāvatta, 287, 288.
kavuḍu, 198, 258.
Kāvyaçekhara *or* °śekhara, 39, 53.
Kāyal-paṭṭanam, 42.
Kayikāvaḷa, 102 *n.* 2.
Kazivini, 92 *n.* 4.
Kegalle (°lla), 47, 55, 59, 60, 62, 63, 107 *n.* 5, 231, 313, 317 *n*, 3, 323 *n.* 10.
kehel, 193 *n.* 1, 315.
keheli, 193 *n.* 1.
Keith (A. B.), 84 *n.* 2.
kel, 315.
kēl, 193 *n.* 1.
keḷavara, 67.
keḷē, 215 *n.* 1.
keḷēya, 263 *n.* 4.
kenakun, 151, 280.
kenakungē, 285.
kenakungenut, 239.
kenakungen-vat, 67.
kenek, 67, 132, 198, 285; *kenekun*, 75, 99, 258, 322.
Kerala, 20.
kere, 193, 227.
kerehi, 329.
keren, 330 *n.* 3.
Kesadhātunāyaka, 213.
keta, 116.
keṭavū, 240.
keṭ-aya, 232 *n.* 1.
kēṭppadu, 333, 335.
Ketu, 191 *n.* 1.
ketu, 193 *n.* 1.
keṭu-va, 265.
Kevuḷgama, 230–232, 256.
Khallāṭanāga, 6.
khet, 143.
khetta, 143.
Khudda-Pārinda, 12.
Khujja-Nāga, 10.
kī, 66, 67, 322.
Kielhorn (F.), 308 *n.* 1.
Kilakkumalai, 172.
Kili, 78, 81.
Kilindiri Sen, 265, 269.
Kiliṅg Loke, 265, 269.
Kilin-kes-dā-Mihindu (Mahinda VI), 22.
kinä, 169.
kiṇa, 261, 265, 268 *n.* 5.
Kiṇigam, 143.
Kiṇihiriḍaḷa, 8.
kiṇiya, 165, 168, 169.
kiṇiya (*akiṇiya*), 175, 178.
kipa, 66.
kir, 139.
kiraṇa, 322.
kiranu, 76.
Kīravälla, 41, 43, 282.
Kīravällē Rālahāmi, 243.
kira-var, 103, 104.
kiravu, 77.
kir-geri, 139, 275.
kiri, 189, 190; *kiriya*, 198, 265, 268; *kiriyak*, 198.
Kiribat Vehera (Anurādhapura), 108, 109 *n.* 4.
Kiribat Vehera (Mihintaḷē), 200 *n.*, 249.
Kirigallāva, 100, 110, 132 *n.* 1, 276 *n.* 6.
kirivar, 104 *n.* 3, 112.
Kirivehera, 214–216, 218.
kiriya, 265, 268; *kiriyak*, 198.
Kīrti Çrī Rājasiṁha, 29.
Kīrtti, 324 *n.* 1.
Kīrtti-bhāj, 324 *n.* 1.
Kīrttimat, 324 *n.* 1.
Kirttipati, 324 *n.* 1.
Kīrtti Śrī, 241.
Kīrttiśvara, 324 *n.* 1.
kirupaiyiṇālē, 335.
kisi, 227.
Kit, 299, 300.
Kitā, 84, 262.
Kitagbō, 221 *n.* 2.
Kital-nā, 298, 301.
Kitdevu, 265, 269.
Kiteśvara, 324 *n.* 1.
Kitisiru, 322, 324.
Kit Nuvaragal, 316, 318, 320, 322, 323, 325.
Kit-Sen, 14.
Kit-Sen-pavu, 320, 323, 325.
Kit-siri-mēvam, 11.
Kitsirimevan-kālaṇi-vihāra, 29.
Kitsirimevan Kālaṇiya, 107.
Kittā, 141, 142.
Kittaggabodhi, 129, 130, 221 *n.* 2.
Kitti, 300 *n.* 10.
Kitti (general), 21.
Kitti (minister of Līlāvat), 23.
Kitti (wife of Yuvarāja Mahinda), 129.
Kitti (Vijayabāhu I), 22, 213.
Kittideva, 269 *n.* 9.
Kitti Nagaragiri, 316, 325 *n.* 6.
Kitti-Niśśaṅka-Malla, 23.
Kitti-Sena, 14.
Kitti-Siri Megha, 15.
Kittisirimegha (ruler of Dakkhiṇadesa), 271.
Kitti-Siri-Megha[vaṇṇa] II, 15.
Kitti-s-Siri-Meghavaṇṇa I, 11.
kitul, 125.
Kivi-lakuṇu-miṇimal, 39.
Kivulēkaḍa, 289.
kiyā, 66, 67, 77, 151, 264, 329.
kiyālā, 67.
kiyamha, 329.
kiyana, 66, 67, 240.
kiyana-lada, 301 *n.* 1.
kiyavava, 329.
Knox, (R.), 92.
Kobbākaḍuva, 242.
koḍulu, 220, 222.
koḍumbiya, 256 *n.* 6.
kohon, 228 *n.* 11.
Kokila Sandesa, 282, 283 *n.* 1.
kol, 146.
koḷa, 67, 232, 235, 239.
Koḷabā Sivu, 104, 105.
Kolottuṅga-Coḷadēvar, 311.
kolpātri, 146.
kolpaṭṭi, 146 *n.* 1.
kolpāṭṭi, 146.

Kolvä Sihi, 274, 277.
Konappu Baṇḍāra, 45.
koṇḍol, 220.
Konow (S.), 300 *n.* 3.
kōrala-karannan, 67.
Kōraḷēs, ruler of, 56, 57.
Koratoṭa, 51, 66, 68.
koṭ, 75, 77, 104, 135 *n.* 5, 190, 192 *n.* 3, 193, 258, 265, 268 *n.* 3, 273–275, 290, 299.
koṭ, 74, 127, 227.
koṭa, 53, 66, 67, 70, 235, 279, 280, **316**, **322**, **323** *n.* 10.
koṭā, 77, 140, 146, 233 *n.* 1, 265, 301 *n.* 2, 323.
koṭā, 69, 70, 76, 323, 329.
koṭahaḷu, 304, 307 *n.* 3.
kotaka, 301 *n.* 1.
koṭas, 132.
koṭasaḷu, 304, 307 *n.* 3.
koṭavaya, 251, 252.
Koṭavehera, 278 *n.* 1.
Koṭavehera-gala, 154 *n.* 12, 157 *n.* 4, 185.
koṭaya, 253.
Koṭgam Sīsen Vathimi, 258, 260.
Kotmalē, 25.
Kottā, 189–191.
koṭṭacaḷu, 304, 305, 307.
Koṭṭāyam, 89, 90.
Kōṭṭē, 31, 33–37, 39–41, **43–45**, 51–54, 63, 144, 224 *n.* 6, 236, 237, 241–244, 278 *n.* 1, 281 *n.* 8, 283.
koṭu, 116, 169, 175, 176, 178, 182, 218, 219, 250, 252.
koṭuru, 118; *koṭuruni*, 154; *koṭuruyen*, 118.
kōvil, 312 *n.* 1.
Kōvil Puliyankuḷam, 102.
kramayen, 66.
Krishna Sastri (H.), 332.
Krishnaswami Aiyangar, 9, 10.
Kṣatriya, 78, 123, 128, 140, 212, 266, 300, 323.
kṣuṇa(*e*), 180.
kubara, 117.
kubura, 237; *kuburu*, 239.
Kuccavēli *or* Kucchawelli, 158.
Kuḍā-Abā, 8.
Kuḍā-Akbō (Aggabodhi II), 15.
Kuḍā-Akbō (Aggabodhi VII), 18.
Kuḍā Dāpuḷu (Dappulu V), 19.
Kuḍakadavukā, 103, 105.
Kuḍakaṇa, 154–157.
Kuḍā-Kit-Sirimevan, 15.
Kuḍā Kivulēkaḍa, 289.
Kuḍā Midel (Mahinda IV), 20.
Kuḍā Muṅgalana, 70.
Kuḍā-Nā, 10.
kuḍasalā, 78, 81, 99, 100, 109, 146, 269 *n.* 9.
Kuḍasalā Devu, 274, 277.
Kuḍasalā Kitdevu, 265, 269.
Kuḍasalā-nāvan, 109, 110.
Kuḍasalā Vatkämi Devu, 78, 81.
Kuḍā Siri-Nā, 10.
Kuḍā-Tissa, 7.
kuḍi, 225 *n.* 7.; *kuḍin*, 75, 77, 104, 223, 299; *kuḍinhi*, 77; *kuḍiyak*, 77; *kuḍiyanaṭ*, 300.
Kuḍumirissa, 51, 53, 60–62.
Kuḍuvaḷa, 55, 68.
Kuḍuvaḷa-gati-yāya, 66, 68.
Kuhun-Nā, 10.
kukkan maḍuva, 55.
Kukurumahandamana, 109 *n.* 2, 145.
kula, 74, 91, 127, 139, 264, 321; *kalahi*, 156; *kulaṭ*, 222; *kulen*, 75, 82, 139, 222.
Kulaçekhara, 27.
kuḷa-masu, 76 *n.* 6.
kuli, 133, 136.
kuḷi, 307 *n.* 8; *kuḷiya*, 142; *kuḷiyehi*, 139.
kūli, 136.
Kulottuṅga, 308, 311 *n.* 1; I, 308–310; II, 308; III, 308.
kuḷu, 222.
kuluṇu-sarin, 322.
Kumāra Alakeçvara, 34.
Kumāra Baṇḍāra, 44.
Kumāra-Dās *or* Kumāra-Dāsen, 13.
Kumārādi-Dhātusena, 13.
Kumāra Siṁha, 46.
kumba, 314, 322.
Kumbalhala, 103, 105.
Kuṁbukkaṅdanvaḷa, 253.
Kuṁbukkan Oya, 225 *n.* 2.
kumbur, 198, 264; *kuṁbura*, 69, 235; *kumburaṭ*, 198; *kumburu*, 66, 67, 246.
Kummaracēna Nambaṇaṇ, 305–307.
Kuñca-Nāga, 10.
Kuñcikuḷama, 271.
Kuñcuṭṭu Kōraḷē, 102 *n.* 1, 172 *n.* 1, 271, 289.
Kuṇḍasāla, 99, 100.
Kūragama Himi, 40, 284.
Kuru, 324 *n.* 1.
Kurugoḍa, 70.
Kurunāgala, 27–29, 62, 107, 168 *n.* 2, 195, 237, 252, 287, 302, 317, 325 *n.* 3.
Kurundankuḷam, 106.
kusä, 75, 139.
kusal, 190.
kusalān, 70, 76, 95, 227, 229 *n.* 4, 275, 277 *n.* 3; *kusalaṁa*, 70, 71.
kus-hi, 222, 264.
Kusīma, 320.
Kusumiya, 320, 322, 325.
Kūṭāgāram, 87.
Kūṭaghāṇa, 155.
Kuṭakaṇa, 155, 156.
Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa, 7, 155–157.
kutarani, 115, 116, 118, 154 *n.* 11.
Kuṭhāra, 271.
Kuṭhārādi-Sabhānāyaka, 271 *n.* 6.
Kuṭhāra-sabhā, 271 *n.* 6.
kuṭipurisa, 225 *n.* 7.
Kuṭṭha *or* Kuṭṭhaka, 108.
kuttuviḷakki-c-cāvāṇ, 335, 336 *n.* 12.
Kuvera, 324.
Kyanzittha, 319.

-l, 276 *n.* 4.
-la, *lā*, 276 *n.* 4.
lā, 67, 73, 79, 140, 148.
läbet, 198.
läbi, 77, 98.
läbīma, 329, 330 *n.* 9.
Labuäṭa-bäṇḍigala, 181, 182, 185, 247, 248.
Labuetagala, 247 *n.* 1.
läbuṇäkugen, 76, 94.
läbuṇu, 77.
läbuvan, 77.
lada, 56, 132, 151.
laddan, 112.
ladi, 78, 274.
ladin, 234.
laduvan, 276 *n.* 3.
lagaḍu, 77.
Lag-divu, 314, 321.
lagita, 179.
laha, 68.
läha, 95.
lahabat, 259 *n.* 8, 265, 268 *n.* 7 *and* 8; *-batak*, 258, 259; *bataṭ*, 258.
lahassa, 95; *lahasiyen*, 76; *lahassen*, 76; *lahasu*, 79.
Lajji-Tissa, 6.
Lak, 74.
lakaḷa, 222, 223.
Lak-div, 74, 81, 273.
Lak-diva, 329.
Lak-div-poḷo-mehesana, 81.
Lak-div-poḷo-yohon, 321, 323 *n.* 14.
Lak-div-poḷo-yon, 74, 81.
Lak-divu, 314, 322.
läki, 145.
lakṣa, 231.
Lak-Vijaya-Siṅgu-Senevi-Ābōnāvan, 23.
Lāla, 4.
Lämäni *or* Lämäṇi, 224 *n.* 6.
Lämäṇi-Akbo, 14.
Lämäṇi Aṁbaheraṇa-Salamevan, 14.
Lämäṇi-Bō-nā Mugalan, 15.
Lämäṇi-Daḷupa-Tis, 16, 17.
Lämäṇi Jaya Mahalāna, 39.
Lämäṇi-Kaṭusara-Deṭa-Tis, 16.
Lämäni Mihind, 220, 221, 223, 224.
Lämäṇi-Siṁha, 15.
Lämäni-Siṅgānā, 15.
Lämäṇi-Tis (Laṇji-Tissa), 6; (Chatta-gāhaka Jantu), 12.
Lämäṇi-Upatissa, 14.
Lambakaṇṇas, 8–11, 38, 224 *n.* 6.
Laṁbuṭuva, 320.
Laṁkā, 67, 69. *See also* Laṅkā.
Laṁkā Adhikārin, 236, 237, 240.
Laṁkādhipati, 70.
Laṁkādīpa, 182.
Laṁkā-dvīpa, 315, 322 *n.* 14.
Laṁkā-jīpa, 315, 322.
Laṁkā-paṭhavi-yobbanāya, 81 *n.* 3.
Laṁkā Senevirat Piruvan Terasāmin, 244.
Laṁkātilaka (in Kandy District), 232; (at Poḷonnaruva), 49.
Laṁkissaro, 49.
läṅgu, 75, 127, 139, 227, 264, 298.
ḷäṅgu, 221, 223.
läṅgum-geya, 69.
Laṇja- (*or* Lajji-) Tissa, 6.
Laṅkā, 9, 49, 50, 78, 87 *n.* 2, 275, 324, 325, 331, 336 *n.* 4.
Laṅkā-dīpa, 314.
Laṅka-dvīpa, 323.
Laṅkāpura Daṇḍanātha, 86.
Laṅkātilāka (in Kandy District), 29, 307 *n.* 1; at Poḷonnaruva, 48–50.
lat, 329.
lavā, 107.
Law (N. N.), 84 *n.* 3, 123 *n.* 2, 272 *n.* 2.
Lawrie (A. C.), 62.
lē-daruvan, 231, 234.
legita, 176.
legitaka, 174, 177, 179 *n.* 3.
lekam, 151.
lēkam, 265, 268 *n.* 3.
lekam-gē, 78; *-gehi*, 88.
lekam-gehi sam-daruvan, 75.
lekam-geyi daruvan, 77.
Lēkam-mahatmayā, 100.
lēkam-miṭiya, 238.
lekha, 151.
lekhaka, 112.
lekhin, 145.
leḷa, 220, 222, 223 *n.* 8.
leṇa, 198.
leṇaṭ, 198.
lesa, 67; *lesa-ṭa*, 239, 240, 283 *n.* 1.
Lévi (Sylvain), 2 *n.* 1, 11, 12, 143 *n.* 3, 267 *n.* 7.
levu-ikuḷ, 321.
Lewis (J. P.), 172 *n.* 3.
lī, 75.
lī (written), 281.
Līlāvatī, 23, 24, 150.
līma, 288.
liṅga, 312 *n.* 1.
Lisbon, 44.
liyā, 67, 235, 246.
liyadda, 232.
liyana, 286 *n* 2.
Liyanagē, 88.
liyatda, 232, 235.
liyavā, 75.
liyū, 256 *n.* 3.
lo, 322, 324 *n.* 7; *lo-hi*, 322.
lobhī, 329.
Loholuvila-kuḷiya, 142.
Loka (Lokissara I), 21.
loka-pāla-deviyangē, 280.
Loke, 265, 269.
Lokeka-Bāhu, 26.
Lokissara I, 21; II, 24.
loṇa, 175, 178, 187.
lo-sasun, 322, 324 *n.* 7.
lo-uturā, 300 *n.* 5.
lovuturā, 67.
-lu, 276 *n.* 4.
lu or *lū*, 198, 274, 288.
Luce (G. H.), 319 *n.* 1.
luṇu, 69, 193.

ma, 66, 151, 193, 231, 237, 280.
mā, 190, 191 *n.* 4.
mä, 139, 151.
Maabar, 92.
Maagrammon, 90.
Macdonell (A. A.), 84 *n.* 2, 108.
Macedonian, 2 *n.* 4.
Macuḍika, 156, 157.
maḍa, 233.
mäda, 185, 240, 246.
māḍabi, 255, 256, 259, 260.
māḍabinu, 257.
madaḍi, 80, 96; *madaḍiyen*, 76, 96.
Mädagama, 317.
Mädagoḍa, 237.
māḍambi, 256.
māḍambiya, 256, 257.
Mädampe, 41, 57 *n.* 1.
Madampe Pandar, 54 *n.* 1.
maḍapaya, 73; *maḍapaye*, 77.
maḍata, 96.
maḍaṭi, 96.
Maḍavaḷa, 233 *n.* 1, 235, 236, 239, 240.
made, 175, 185.
made-hasa, 185; *-hasahi*, 177.
Mädi-Akbō (Aggabodhi VIII), 18.
Mädi-Bō-Mugalan, 15.
Mäḍiligiriya, 106, 110.
Mädin-dina, 45, 102, 103, 105.
Mädin-sand, 188.
Mäḍirigiriya, 98, 103 *n.* 1, 108, 142, 301 *n.* 2.
Mädi-Sen (Sena IV), 20.
Mädi-Siv, 14.
Mädivaka, 232.
Mädivak Gampaha, 232.
Mädiyä, 274, 277.
maḍiyehi, 227.
Madras, 97, 332.
maḍulu, 220, 222, 273.
Madune Pracura Mabago, 57.
Madurā, 87.
Maduru Oya, 157.
Magadha, 123.
Mägala, 310, 311, 312.
Magala-maha-ceya, 218.
Mägala-väva, 310.
Magäma, 265, 267.
Mägama, 222, 224 *n.* 5, 225 *n.* 2.
Mägam Pattu, 216.
magaṭa, 76.
mägē, 88 *n.* 4.
Mäge Goṅgayan, 88.
Mägha, 24, 26, 230, 300 *n.* 2.
magila, 106.
magiva, 139, 141, 146.
maha, 128, 178, 193, 258, 261, 265.
mäha, 185.
maha-ädurak, 143.
mahā-amātyādi, 67, 239.
maha-āpā, 83.
maha-aramudalē, 100 *n.* 2.
Mahā Āsthāna (Rajasiṁha II), 46.
maha-aya, 82.
maha-aya-paya, 82.
maha-biku-sagah-aṭa, 178.
maha-bo, 67.
Mahabodeṇiya, 198.
Maha Bodhisatva, 67.
maha-boyā, 190.
maha-bundna, 255, 260; *-bundnen*, 255, 258.
Mahācūḷa (*or* °lī) -Mahā Tissa, 75, 155, 156.
Mahācūḷika, 155, 156, 157.
Mahadaḷimahana, 216, 217, 218.
Mahadäḷiyā, 156.
Mahadäḷiyā-Mānā, 8.
Mahadäḷiyā-Tissa, 7.
Mahādāṭhika, 156.
Mahādāṭhika-Mahānāga, 8, 217.
Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (ruler of Rohaṇa), 217.
Mahademaṭa(ti)-kuḷiya, 142, 276 *n.* 6, 307 *n.* 8.
Mahā Dhammakathī, 11.
mahādipāda, 82.
Mahāduggata, 176, 187.
maha-gabaḍāva, 144.
Mahāgalla, 310.
Mahagam, 90.
Mahāgāma, 123 *n.* 3, 182, 212.
Mahā Govinda Sutta, 84.
Mahāgrāma, 75, 78, 89, 90.

maha-hasa, 185.
maha-himaṭ, 274.
maha-himiyan, 227.
mahājana, 90.
Maha Kaḍa-im-pota, 232.
Mahakālāgama *or* °hīnna, 163.
Mahakālāttāva, 108, 271.
Mahā-Kaliṅga-gāma, 269 *n.* 7.
Mahakapugollāva, 247 *n.* 1.
mahā-karuṇā, 161.
Mahakiliṅggam, 265, 269, 307 *n.* 6.
Maha Kivulēkaḍa, 289.
mahāl, 226, 227.
Mahālāna Kitti, 21.
Mahalāpāṇo, 17.
mahale, 78.
mahalē, 99, 100, 109, 110.
Mahalē (Mahālāna Kitti), 21.
mahāle, 273, 274.
Mahallaka Nāga, 9, 156, 179.
mahalu, 128.
mahaḷu, 288.
Mahaḷu-Mānā, 9.
Mahalu-Nā, 9.
Mahalu Vijayabāhu (Vijayabāhu III), 288.
Mahamal, 198, 199.
Mahāmalla, 199 *n.* 1.
Mahamaṇḍ, 265, 268.
Maha Mete-budu, 190.
Maha Mete Sammā-Sambudun, 192 *n.* 3, 258.
maha-muhund, 222.
Maha Muṅgalana, 70.
mahaṇ, 265, 266 *n.* 9.
Mahana, 217.
Mahānāga (brother of Devānampiya Tissa, 212, 214; (king), 15; (Mahāḍaṭhika), 153, 156, 157.
Mahānāma(n), (author of *Mv.*), 5 *n.* 1, 13; (Jeṭṭhatissa), 124; king of Ceylon, 12, 20, 120, 124, 217, 248.
Mahanamika Jeṭatisa, 124.
mahā-narakayehii, 67.
mahaṇ-karannaṭ, 265.
mahaṇ-karanu, 265.
Maha Oya, 232.
mahapā, 82, 83, 131, 198, 296, 300.
mahāpa, 128, 130.
Mahāpāḷī, 133, 134, 136, 137, 186.
mahapāṇan, 198, 288, 299.
mahāpa-radāṇan, 128.
Mahā Parākramabāhu, 51, 52, 66, 68.
maha-paramparānuyāta, 67.
Mahāpaṭṭana, 135.
Mahapeḷa, 132–134.
Maha Pracura Mabago, 56.
mahā-pramukha, 123.
Mahaputu-laddan, 103, 104, 113.
maharad, 139; °*radahu*, 75; °*rad-haṭ*, 139; °*rad-hu*, 127, 139, 223, 273, 298, 299.
maharaja, 116, 122, 124, 179 *n.* 3, 263 *n.* 4, 269 *n.* 1; °*rajaha*, 154, 172 *n.* 7, 177, 179; °*raje*, 155; °*raj-hu*, 227; °*raji*, 116, 125.
mahā-rājādhirāja, 66, 279, 282.
maharajakenek, 67.
maharajāṇan vahanse, 280.
maharaja-ruvanek, 67.
maharajjuruvan - vahanse, 279.
mahā-rājottamayāṇan vahanse, 67.
Mahārāṣṭrī, 119.
Maharatmalē, 154 *n.* 2, 156.
Mahā Rayigam Baṇḍāra, 43.
Mahā Sammata, 66, 67, 70, 245, 247, 279, 281.
Mahāsammata - Rājāvaliya, 4.
maha-saṅg, 264; °*saṅgaṭ*, 258; °*saṅgun*, 265; °*saṅgun-vahanse*, 193.
Maha Saṅghā rājna, 128.
mahā-sāvaddāyehi, 265.
Mahasen, 11; (Sena IV), 261, 264, 266.
Mahasena *or* Mahāsena, 11, 122, 124, 172, 174, 176–179, 228 *n.* 11, 261, 266 *n.* 5.
Mahāsena (Buddhadāsa), 121, 124.
Mahasen Abhā (Sena III), 295, 298, 300.
Mahāsena Abhaya (Sena III), 295.
Mahasena-maharaja, 177.
Mahasena-maharaja-Abaya, 172 *n.* 2.
Mahasen Maharaj (Sena IV), 261, 264.
Mahasiḷu, 155.
Mahasiḷu-Maha-Tis, 7.
Mahāsiva, 5.
mahat, 220 *n.* 3.
Mahatabaka, 181, 250.
maha-tera-sāmīn, 246.
maha-ternaṭ, 227.
Mahā-Tissa, 17.
Mahā-Tissa (Mahācūḷika), 155–157.
Mahātittha, 100, 105, 113, 133, 135, 225 *n.* 10, 317.
Mahā Ummagga Jātaka, 181.
maha-vāḍa-vun-tena or °*tāna*, 66, 243.
Mahāvagga, 194 *n.* 11.
Mahavāligaṅga, 90, 157.
Mahāvaṁsa, 2, 4–49, 71 *n.* 1, 74 *n.* 2, 82–84, 88 *n.* 4, 97, 106, 110, 113, 115, 117–119, 122, 123 *n.* 3 and 5, 124, 129–131, 134, 136, 138, 155 *n.* 1, 156, 157, 167, 181, 182, 186, 197, 199 *n.* 1, 200 *n.*, 212, 213 *n.* 1 and 2, 217 *n.* 1, 224 *n.* 16, 225 *n.* 2, 228 *n.* 5 and 7, 231, 241, 257, 262, 263, 271, 273, 287, 282 *n.* 6, 283, 289, 300 *n.* 5, 304, 305, 310, 311, 316, 317, 319, 325 *n.* 6 and 9, 334, 341.
Mahāvaṁsa-ṭīkā *or* °Commentary, 81 *n.* 3, 155 *n.* 1, 167, 187, 216.
Mahāvāpī-vihāra, 182.
maha-vāsala, 54.
maha-veher, 264; *-veherā*, 76; *-veherhi*, 227.
Maha-vehera *or* -veher (at Anurādhapura), 103; (at Māgama), 222, 224.
Mahaveher-nakā, 222.
maha-vĕr, 75, 225; *-veraṭ*, 223.
Mahā Vihāra, 103, 118, 224 *n.* 5, 225 *n.* 2, 226 *n.* 4, 228 *n.* 11, 229 *n.* 1, 271.
maha-viharahi, 250.
Mahavi-keṭa, 116.
Mahavoṭi, 223, 225.
Mahavuṭi, 77, 132.
Mahavuṭu, 104 *n.* 4, 113, 132, 133, 135.
Mahawelligam, 90.
mahaya, 82 *n.* 3.
mahayā, 75, 82, 83, 88, 129, 140, 224 *n.* 9, 232, 269 *n.* 1, 330 *n.* 4.
mahayāgē, 269 *n.* 1.
Mahayā-gē-bälätun, 88.
Mahāyāna, 160, 201, 204, 324 *n.* 1.
Mahāyānism, 199 *n.* 8, 201.
Mahāyānists, 200 *n.*, 205.
Mahela, 125.
Mahelaka-nagara, 124.
maheśāna, 81.
Maheśvara, 323.
mahī, 97.
Mahid Agbohi, 193.
Mahila, 122.
mahilā, 106.
Mahilaka, 125.
Mahilaka ṇakaraka, 122, 124.
mā-himaṭa, 66.
Māhimi, 29.
Mahinda, 276 *n.* 4; I, 17, 197, 198; II, 18, 293; III, 18; IV, 20, 82, 87, 95, 97, 105, 108 *n.* 2, 131, 135, 136, 144, 199 *n.* 9, 221, 222, 226, 261–263, 268 *n.* 2, 296, 300 *n.* 5, 315; V, 21; VI, 22; (*ādipāda*), 129; (*āpā*), 222; (heir-apparent), 140–142; (heir-apparent, Mahinda I), 197, 198; (Lämäni), 222, 224 *n.* 6; (mahādipāda), 20, 128–130, 141, 142, 296 (son of Yuvarāja Kassapa), 130; (thera), 199.
Mahinda Aggabodhi, 93 *n.* 2.
Mahiyaṅgaṇa, 71, 74, 71 *n.* 1, 84, 88, 90.
Maitreya, 192, 202, 260 *n.* 4.
Maitreya Buddha, 269 *n.* 13.
Majjhima Nikāya, 176 *n.* 1, 330 *n.* 9.
majjhima taṇḍūla, 191 *n.* 5.
Majjhimavagga, 232.
Majumdar (R. C.), 84 *n.* 3.
Makalaka, 125.
Makalaka-ṇakaraka, 122.
Makalan-Deṭa-Tis, 11 *or* °Deṭu-Tis.
Makalan Tissa, 7.
Makaya, 252.
Mākkaliṅgam, 307 *n.* 6.
Mākkaliṅgam Kaṇavadi, 305–307.
mal, 69, 151, 190.
mal (younger brother), 263 *n.* 4.
Mala, 224, 275.
Malabar, 40, 41, 267 *n.* 3.
Malabaṭuva, 320, 323, 325.
Mala-maḍulu, 222, 273, 275 *n.* 6.
maḷāra, 280, 281, 285; *maḷārayaṭa*, 285.
malavala-sala-sihilēhi, 226 *n.* 2.
Mālava-pūrvvāyām, 180.
Malay, 26, 341.
Malaya, 102, 195, 224 *n.* 14, 275 *n.* 5, 281 *n.* 9.
Malayalam, 60, 63, 113.
Malayarāja, 16.
Malay-Javanese, 340.
malbyā, 70.
māligāve, 246.
maḷōya, 52 *n.* 1.
maḷu, 142, 179.
mālu, 69.
Maḷu-Tisa, 117, 179.
Malvatu Oya, 286.
mama, 258.
Māmallapuram, 158.
Māminiyā Kōraḷē, 172 *n.* 1.
Māmpiṭa, 251.
manā, 259 *n.* 10.
māna, 259 *n.* 10.
Mānābharaṇa, 22, 304, 305, 309, 310.
Mānābharaṇa (ruler of Rohaṇa), 74 *n.* 2, 316, 322, 324.
manaharā. 151.
mananu, 76.
Mānavamma, 2, 17, 197, 199 *n.* 1, 292.
Mānāvulu Sandesa, 319 *n.* 2.
maṅḍa, 238 *n.* 1.
mäṅḍa, 66.
maṇḍaba, 257 *n.* 1.
māṇḍabika, 257.
maṇḍalam, 111.
maṇḍapa, 257 *n.* 1.
maṇḍapādhipati, 257.
Mandatu, 128 *n.* 2.
māṇḍavī, 257 *n.* 1.
Mändindina, 271, 273, 275.
Mändin-sand, 128.
Mäṅḍivak Saṁvälla, 232, 235.
mandraṇḍi, 78, 79, 89; °*ṇḍin*, 75.
Maṅgala Mahācetiya, 218.
maṅgdiv, 146.
maṅgdiva, 290, 291.
maṅg-divä, 299, 301.
maṅg-giv. 146.
Maṅgul Mahale Samannā Araksamaṇan, 78.
Maṅgul-prāsādayehi, 66.
Maṅgul-sakvaḷa, 67.
Maniārkuḷam, 172.
Manica Pandar, 57.
Maṇigrāma, 90.
Māṇik Gaṅga, 222, 225 *n.* 2.
Māṇikkaḍavara, 41–43.
Maṇimekhalā (country), 24.
Maṇimekhalai, 9, 10.
mānin, 70.
Maṇitilā Kiḷi, 78, 81, 100.
manittar, 333, 335.
mäṇiyan, 259.
mañjāḍi, 96.
Mannar, 100, 102, 135.
maṇṛaḍi, or *maṟṟāḍi*, 89.
maṇṛu, 89.
Māntai, 100.
Manu, 89, 96, 150 *n.* 4.
manusya-ātma, 329, 330 *n.* 9.
Manu Vaivasvata, 67.
māpā, 82, 287.
mapurmukā, 103, 123, 198, 258, 273, 292, 293.
mapurumaka, 179 *n.* 3.
mapurumuka, 123; *mapurumukah-aṭa*, 122.
marā (gem), 151.
marā, 135 *n.* 5.
Māra, 161.
marāla. 285; °*laya*, 55, 69; °*layak*, 67.
Mārāvaḷa, 237.
Māravarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulaçekharadeva, 27.
Marco Polo, 92.
mārū, 107.
marumaṇaka, 116, 154, 155.
maruvā, 132, 223.
māruvan, 135 *n.* 5.
mas (fish), 140; *masna*, 140; *masun*, 151.
mas (month), 76; *masa*, 174; *masak*, 323; *mashi*, 139; *masin*, 264.
māsaka, 194 *n.* 6.
masu, 76.
masu-ran, 151.
maṭ, 164, 190.
maṭa, 280.
mata, 326, 329, 330 *n.* 7.
Mātaḷē, 192 *n.* 3, 195, 253.
mataṅga-kumba, 314, 322.
Mathura, 180.
mäti-kula, 286 *n.* 2.
matoraṇa, 66.
mātrā, 149.
matsya-nyāya, 150.
matu, 66, 239, 246, 279, 283.
mat-vädi, 226 *n.* 2.
Matvaḷa-Sen, 19.
Maurya, 224 *n.* 6.
Māvanälla, 312.
māyā, 330 *n.* 4.
Māyā (kingdom), 327, 329, 330.
Māyādhanu, 44.
Māyādunna, 57.
Māyādunne, 43–45, 63, 64, 241, 242.
Māyādunu-nuvara, 57.
Māyā-gehādhināṭha, 88 *n.* 4.
Māyā-rajāya, 329.
Māyā-raṭa, 232, 327.
Mayidand, 101, 104.
Mayilagastoṭa, 222, 313.
Mayind, 101, 104, 105.
me (particle), 75, 222, 223 *n.* 8.
me (pronoun), 66, 67, 75–78, 82, 97, 103, 104, 132–134, 177, 178, 186, 190, 193, 198, 221, 223, 227, 231, 234, 240, 246, 250, 258, 259, 260 *n.* 7, 261, 265, 274, 275, 288, 323; *meyaṭ*, 132; *meyin*, 151.
mĕ, 151, 281, 329.
me gamhi aṭadenā, 97.
Meghavaṇṇa, 11.
Meghavaṇṇa Abhaya, 124.
Meghavaṇṇābhaya, 11.
Meghavarṇṇa, 177.
Meghavarṇṇa Abhaya, 249.
mehe, 265, 268 *n.* 2.
mehe-karuvanaṭ, 77.
mehe-karuvange, 227.
Meheṇavara, 35.
mehesana, 81.
mehesna, 222.
mehesun, 321.
mehesuran, 81.
mehesuru, 322.
mehevarin, 54, 67, 246, 281.
meheya, 112.
mehi, 66, 193, 232, 239.
meka, 121, 175.
mekāpar, 299.
mekāppar, 78, 104, 109, 110, 294, 299.
mekāppar-vädārum, 109, 110, 265, 274, 299.

mcknaṭ, 190.
meku, 66, 239; *mekun*, 70, 76, 125, 274; *mekunṭa*, 66; *mekuṭa*, 237.
mel, 111.
melākṣi, 110.
melāsi, 111.
melāssi, 104, 105, 110, 111.
melāṭsi, 110, 111.
melāṭṭi, 110.
melātti, 110, 139, 141, 223, 225, 299, 301.
mēl-vāram, 111.
mema, 246.
memā, 69.
membe, 261, 265.
men, 324 *n.* 5.
mesē, 193, 231, 231, 237.
Mete, 258, 260 *n.* 4.
Mete-budu, 190, 265, 269.
Metteyya, 260 *n.* 4.
Metteyya Buddha, 269 *n.* 13.
metuvā, 261, 265.
metuvāk, 78, 94, 104, 186, 193, 261, 264, 265, 274.
mevarak, 55, 67.
mevataka, 178.
meyaṭ, 132, 299.
meyin, 151.
meykāppar, 274.
meykāppar-samdaruvan, 290.
-mi, 189, 217, 255, 258.
mī (earth), 97.
mī (here), 221.
mī (honey), 187, 190.
Midel-raja *or* °pāṇō, 17.
Midel-Salā (Mahinda IV), 20.
mīgasa, 66.
Mīgasväva, 71.
mī-harak, 225 *n.* 9.
mihi, 221, 223.
Mihid Mahapā (Mahinda I), 197, 198.
Mihid Mahayā, 139.
Mihind, 128, 164.
Mihindal, 276 *n.* 4.
Mihind Aram Meheṇavara, 137.
Mihind Mahayā, 84, 130 *n.* 5, 140, 141, 262.
Mihiṇdu (Mahinda V), 21.
Mihindu, 190, 191.
Mihindyahu, 115, 128.
Mihinnariya, 198, 199.
Mihintaḷē, 95–97, 99, 105, 106, 111, 131, 135, 143, 144, 146, 155 *n.* 1, 175, 182, 191 *n.* 3, 199, 200, 222, 231, 249, 255.
mī-kiri, 225 *n.* 9.
mila, 188, 299.
mī laṅga, 221.
Milindapañha, 225 *n.* 7.
miliya, 175, 178, 188.
Mīnd-Atvara, 70.
Ming, 337–339.
miṇi, 151.
miṇi, 77, 265, 299.
miṇi-koḍulu, 222.
miṇi-koṭā, 77, 265, 299.
minisun, 232, 233, 235, 265.
Minnēriya, 302 *n.* 2.
Mīnvila, 156.
mi-pak, 190, 191 *n.* 8.
miris, 193, 194 *n.* 7.
Mirisagalakanda, 238.
Mirisavāṭiya, 214.
misā, 75, 76, 298, 301 *n.* 2.
misqal, 339.
mīṭa, 239.
Mithilā, 181.
mithqal, 339.
miti, 128.
Mit-Sen, 12.
Mitta, 26.
Mitta-Sena, 12.
Mivugam Kit, 299, 300.
mīvun, 139, 223, 265, 275.
miya, 175, 178, 186, 187.
miyā, 76, 96, 97.
Miyaguṇ, 75, 78, 79.
Miyaguṇ-maha-vēr, 75.
mīyāṭsi, 111.
miya-vaṭa, 178.
miyem, 261 *n.* 2.
Miyuguṇ-maha-veher, 76.
-mo, 104, 105, 265.
moba, 261.
Moggallāna I, 13, 14; II, 15; III, 15.
Moggallāna Pañcikā-pradīpa, 52, 53.
mok, 227.
Mōlāhiṭiyavelēgala, 119, 153, 157, 164.
Monarāgala, 217.
Mookerji (R.), 97 *n.* 3, 123 *n.* 1, 181 *n.* 3.
Moors, 42.
Moragoḍa, 271, 275 *n.* 6.
Moravävа, 247.
Moriya, 13, 15.
Moslem, 332.
Mrammaraṭṭha, 320.
Mṛcchakaṭikā, 92, 93 *n.* 1.
Mu'azzam, 338.
muḍak, 65, 67.
mudal, 267 *n.* 2.
mudala, 55, 67, 231, 239, 255.
Mudalī-vaḍuvā-ṭa, 238.
mudalivarun, 246.
mudu-hasa, 232.
mudun, 321.
Mugalan, 13.
mugattīḍu, 305.
Mugayin-Sen, 19.
Muggāyatana-raṭṭha, 93.
mugur, 139.
muhund, 222.
Muhundehigama, 293, 294.
Muhundgiri, 258.
mukkāṇikkai, 333, 335.
mul, 280.
mula, 218, 219.
muḷa, 97.
muḷā, 77.
mūlaka, 280.
mūla-taṇḍūla, 191 *n.* 5.
Mūlāvāsa, 193, 194.
Mulavasa Sen, 78, 81.
mul-gevatta, 280.
Mulgirigala, 258.
mulin, 139, 321.
Muḷḷaitīvu, 106.
Müller (E.), 42, 106, 117 *n.* 7, 124, 156, 158, 163, 165 *n.* 1, 166, 168, 172 *n.* 1, 195, 214, 215, 248, 256 *n.* 4, 271 *n.* 2, 302, 312, 326, 329 *n.* 1, 330 *n.* 1.
mul-sāl, 191 *n.* 5.
mulu, 232.
muḷu (food), 219.
muḷu (whole), 53, 139, 321, 322.
muṁ-biyali, 184.
mundnen, 295, 298, 300 *n.* 5.
Muṅgayina, 70.
muṅgu, 184.
muniṅdu, 56; °*uhu*, 125.
Munnēssaram, 41.
munuburu, 67, 243 246.
mura, 109.
muraṅḍu, 146.
muri, 333, 335, 336 *n.* 15.
Muruka, 212 *n.* 1.
Muslim, 338, 340.
mut, 151.
Muṭasiva, 4.
mut-harin, 222, 223 *n.* 8.
mut-hasa, 231, 232, 234, 255.
muṭ-panin, 255, 258, 260.
mutu, 151.
mutun, 316, 322.
Mc Crindle, 90 *n.* 5.

nā, 151, 270 *n.* 2.
Nabho-gaṅgā, 223 *n.* 7.
Nāccaḍūva, 269 *n.* 1.
Nada-tere, 215.
nāḍāṭsi, 111.
nāḍu, 111.
nāḍu-kāval, 94.
Nāga, 155, 168.
Nāgala, 70, 71.
Nāgama, 55.
Nāgampaha Kōraḷē, 269 *n.* 1.
Nāgara-gala, 172.
Nagaragiri, 325 *n.* 6.
Nagaraṅgaṇa, 119.
Nagara-vāpī, 119.
Nagarī, 180.
Nāgarī, 171, 172 *n.* 1.
Nāga-vihāra, 113.
nägenahirin, 66.
Nāhalvatura, 238.
Naimākara Bodhisattva, 211
Naka, 153, 155, 156, 168, 252.
nakā, 222, 224 *n.* 4.
nāka, 270 *n.* 2.
Naka-maharaje, 155.
nākan, 270, 273.
nakara, 114, 116, 175; *nakarahi*, 116, 177, 181, 250.
nakara-gaṇaka, 116, 119.
ṇakaraka, 121, 122.
Ṇakara-vavi, 116, 119.
nakayä, 227, 229 *n.* 7.
Nakka Māḍambiyā, 256.
Nakkan Vadur Māḍabi, 256.
Nākolagaṇē, 62, 63, 244.
nāḷā, 147.
Nāla Gon, 139, 140.
Nāl-aram, 271.
nāḷi, 95, 97, 259 *n.* 10.
nāḷi, 259 *n.* 10.
nāḷi, 69, 95, 259 *n.* 10.
nam, 67, 93 *n.* 3, 226 *n.* 2, 263 *n.* 4, 285, 322; *namin*, 227, 288.
namäti, 152.
Nāmāvaliya, 39, 52.
Nambaṇaṇ, 305–307.
nambirāṭṭiyār, 311.
nami, 93 *n.* 3.
Nam-pota, 237.
namut, 67.
nan, 151, 222, 322.
ṇan-ambaraṇa, 151.
Ñāṇasambandar, 135.
Nanda, 215.
nandana, 57, 279, 282.
nandā-viḷakku, 311.
naṅgā, 322.
naṅgī, 329.
näṅgini, 70.
näṅgiya henu, 258.
nan-siri, 322.
Narabaditsi-tsi-thu, 317 *n.* 1.
Nārada, 91.
Naradatta, 202, 205.
naranind-hu, 222.
Narapatisithu, 317–319.
Narāsiṁhavarman I, 17, 197, 199 *n.* 1.
Narendracaritāvalokana-pradīpikā, 4, 5.
nasana, 329.
näsī, 322.
Nāsik, 119, 126, 154 *n.* 10, 179.
nat, 175.
Nath (P.), 256, 276 *n.* 1.
Nātha, 324 *n.* 1.
Nātha Dēvālē, 54, 243, 244.
Nattānā (Nātaṇār) Kōvil, 158 *n.* 1.
Näṭṭukanda, 116.
nätuva, 285.
nava (new), 177, 178.
nava (nine), 263 *n.* 4.
näva, 133.
Navagomuva, 51.
Navam, 300 *n.* 2.
Navāmas, 298, 300.
navāmaṭa, 132.
Navāmpahaṅgamu, 264, 266.
nävan, 270.
navaratnādhipati, 66, 246, 279.
navatän, 77, 98.
navätän, 98, 227, 228 *n.* 6.
navatanu, 77.
navatnā, 77.
navavakā, 246.
Nā-vehera, 104, 105, 113.
nävu, 322.
näyaka, 75, 77.
näyaka-kenekun, 77.
näyanār (*näyaṇār*), 303, 306, 333 *n.* 1.
näyiṇār (*näyaṇār*), 333, 335.
Näyināru, 244.
Nepal, 92, 143, 267 *n.* 7.
nernā, 227.
-ni (instr. term), 115, 154.
Nibbāṇa, 1.
Niççaṁka Alakeçvara, 34.
Niççaṅka Alagakkōnāra, 31, 35.
Nidānakathā, 118, 183 *n.* 1.
nigaha-läbuvan, 77.
nigama, 175, 181.
nigama-gāma, 181.
nigama-jeṭṭhaka, 181.
nigraha, 280.
nika, 340.
Nikamaṇiya, 85, 178, 179, 188.
Nikamaṇiya-cada, 178.
nikata, 175–177, 182, 250.
Nikaväraṭiya, 302, 310.
Nikāyasaṅgraha, 2, 26, 31 *n.* 2, 36, 107, 227, 228 *n.* 11, 229 *n.* 1. 230, 231, 238, 252, 272 *n.* 1, 317.
Nikimni, 190, 191.
Nikini, 47, 78, 242, 244.
Nikinni, 85, 188.
Nikinni-sand, 75, 188.
nikkala, 340.
nikkha, 340, 341.
nikkhala, 340, 341.
nikma, 279.
nil, 151, 222.
nila, 67.
Nilādevu, 78, 81.
nilai-viḷakku, 311.
Nilavasä Mädiyā, 274, 277.
Nilawelli (Nilāvēli), 158.
Niliya, 7.
nimi, 265, 267.
nindā-paribhava, 329.
nirindu-nā, 151.
nīroḷ-āṭṭi, 118.
nirundu, 149.
Nirvāṇa, 69, 87, 247.
Nirvāṇapada, 87.
nisā, 66, 279.
nisayuru, 322.
niṣka, 340.
Niśśaṁka-gavu(va), 327 *n.* 1, 329, 331.
Niśśaṁka Malla, 86, 149–151, 316, 327, 330 *n.* 9, 331 *n.* 1. *See also* Niśśaṅka Malla.
Niśśaṅka Malla, 99, 106 *n.* 12, 117.
Niṭalaviṭiya Sivaya, 251, 252.
niti, 286 *n.* 2.
Nityodyukta, 202, 205.
nivaṅcāvo, 326, 329.
nīvī, 267 *n.* 2.
niya, 321.
niyā, 235; *niyāvaṭa*, 288; *niyāyen*, 246.
niyāma, 175, 177, 181.
niyama-kara, 66, 237.
niyama-tanahi, 177, 181, 250.
niyamavarun, 269 *n.* 1.
niyam-deṭu, 181.
niyam-gama, 181.
Niyamgampāya, 31, 238.
niyamin, 133.
niya-räsin, 321.
niyata, 178.
niyate, 154.
niyātitam, 154 *n.* 10.
niyāvaṭa, 288.
niyāyen, 246.
no, 67, 75–77, 94, 96, 104, 111, 128, 139, 140, 146–148, 151, 190, 191 *n.* 5, 193, 198, 223, 227, 239, 258, 264, 265, 268 *n.* 2, 3 and 5, 274, 275, 280, 290, 299, 301 *n.* 2, 322, 329.
no-asā, 329.
no-bada, 268 *n.* 5.
no-bandanā, 265, 268 *n.* 5.
no-dī, 258.
no-gannā, 104, 111, 223, 265, 275, 299, 301 *n.* 2.
no-kam, 265.
no-karanā, 75.
no-karanu, 75, 76, 265, 266 *n.* 9, 299.
noma, 133.
nomin, 322.
no nägiya henu, 192 *n.* 3, 258.
no-pā, 76.
no-pāṭu, 76, 96.
no-pirikāpū, 75.
no-sirit, 75, 77.
no-siritak, 95.
no-sitak, 76, 95.
no-tänā, 76, 77.
no-vä, 151.
no-vadanā, 104, 270, 274.
no-vadnā, 111, 139, 140, 148, 274, 275, 299.
no-vand, 101.
no-vandnā, 101.
no-vanu, 264.
no-vätu, 76 *n.* 4, 96.
no-ved, 77.
no-yädē, 151.
noyek, 67.
numba, 220.
Numba-gaṅga, 222, 223 *n.*
Nunes, 340, 341.
nūpadanāha, 190.
nuvanin, 151.
nuvara, 111, 133.

Nuvaragal, 316, 318, 320, 322, 325 *n.* 6.
nuvarak, 322.
Nuvara-vāva, 116, 119.
nuvarek-hi, 188.

oba-ṭa, 283 *n.* 1.
odanx-vaṭṭaṁ, 186.
ohu, 221, 263.
Ojjhalun, 51, 66, 68.
Okāvas, 73, 127, 128, 139, 140, 227, 228, 264, 266, 298, 300, 321.
Okkāka, 228 *n.* 3, 266 *n.* 2, 300 *n.* 4, 323.
Oldenburg (H.), 194 *n.* 11.
onā, 258.
opa, 283 *n.* 1.
Opalla, 238.
Ōpāta Māṟāvaḷa, 237.
orodhā, 262.
Oruvaḷa, 51, 54, 60–62, 66, 68, 237, 255 *n.* 1.
Oruvaḷa-piṭiye äḷa, 66, 68.
osaha, 314, 321.
osaḷa, 322.
ot, 222.
ota, 118.
ota-manavun, 96.
otunu, 52, 66, 67.
ovaya, 165.
ōviṭa, 68.
ōviṭi, 67.

-pā, 82, 124, 322.
pā, 221, 223.
pā, 76.
pabaḷu, 151.
pabanda, 315, 322.
paca, 116, 165, 177.
pacanahi, 178.
paca-satehi, 165.
paca-satehiya, 165.
paca-visiya, 177.
pachame, 180.
Pācīnapabbata, 168.
pāda (honorific), 82.
pāḷa (quarter), 189, 191 *n.* 2, 198 *n.* 6, 249.
pada-gaḍa, 216.
pada-ganṭhi, 216.
pādamūḷa, 231.
pādamūlika, 140 *n.* 3.
padana, 218.
padana-gala, 106.
paḍavaya, 114, 116, 118, 119.
Padaviya, 150.
paḍḍa or *paḍḍak*, 76, 79, 94, 193, 194.
paḍḍhana, 85.
paḍhāna, 107.
paḍhāna-bhūmi, 106.
paḍhāna-ghara, 106.
paḍhāna-maḍavo, 106.
paḍhāna-sālā, 106.
paḍi, 112, 231.
paḍi, 75–77, 85; *paḍiyā*, 75.
paḍidine, 166, 169.
paḍi-lad-daḍa-nāyakayan, 75, 85.
paḍi-meheya, 103, 112.
paḍi-meheyā ättan, 104.
paḍiya, 175, 178, 188.
pādōṇi, 256 *n.* 2.
padroēs, 334.
Paḍu Abhā, 220, 222, 224.
pādum, 139, 250.
paḍurat, 77.
paḍuru, 75, 77.
Paḍuvasdev Abhā, 227, 228.
Pagan, 319, 320.
pāhādā, 193.
pahaḷa, 265.
Pahala Kavināṭṭama-vāva, 162, 163, 166, 168.
Pahala Visidekē Kōraḷē, 102 *n.* 2.
pahaṇ (lamp), 264.
pahaṇ (stone), 77, 78, 108, 198.
pahan, 301 *n.* 1.
Pahaṇbhunu, 296, 301.
Pahaṇbhunu-danaviya, 298.
päharä, 315, 323.
pähära, 315.
pähärä (noun), 222; (verb), 76, 315, 323 *n.* 1.
paharanu, 148.
pahatakara, 168.
pahaväsi, 113.
pahayä, 94.
paheja, 177, 182, 300 *n.* 9.
Paheja Sivaya, 182.
Pähidi, 299, 300.
Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo, 256.
pajina, 181, 250.
pak, 190.
pā-kam, 223.
pakṣapāta, 234, 329.
Pakudha Kaccāna, 156 *n.* 4.
pala, 126.
palā, 187.
Pāla, 112, 146, 150 *n.* 3.
pāḷa, 227.
pāḷa, 66, 68, 184, 189, 193, 194, 323, 325.
palaha, 175, 178, 186, 187.
palaha-vaṭa, 178.
päḷakev-in, 322, 323 *n.* 17.
Palalugoḍa, 70.
palam, 69.
paḷamu, 66, 139, 237.
paḷamuvan, 234.
paḷamuvanu, 139.
palan, 222.
päḷaṅḍa, 52 *n.* 1, 67.
Pālāttaru, 51, 67, 69.
päḷaviya, 234.
Pāli, 11, 13, 48, 82, 88, 91, 96, 97, 104 *n.* 1, 106, 107, 113 *n.* 1, 115, 118, 119, 124–126, 129, 145, 153, 154 *n.* 6, 155, 156 *n.* 4, 157, 164, 168, 170, 171, 175, 176, 182, 185, 191 *n.* 12, 212, 216, 224 *n.* 16, 225 *n.* 2, 253, 267 *n.* 3, 268 *n.* 5, 278 *n.* 1, 281 *n.* 7, 301, 319, 320, 323 *n.* 15, 330 *n.* 7 and 9, 340.
paḷiya, 55, 67, 69.
Palkuṁbura, 240–242.
Palkuṁburē Vihārē, 62, 244.
pa(llā)sak, 66.
Pallava, 17, 158, 197, 199 *n.* 1, 257, 312 *n.* 1.
Pallava Grantha, 158.
Pallavanāraṇa-vadi, 85.
Pallēkāgama, 147.
Pallē Pamuṇuva, 320.
pallē vāhala, 269 *n.* 1.
Pālu Mākiccāva, 249.
pamā, 151.
Pamagalu, 189, 190, 191; °-ārāmā, 190.
pamaṇu, 276, 298.
pamaṇu-käbälla, 274, 276 *n.* 3, 277 *n.* 9.
pamaṇu-laduvan, 276 *n.* 3.
pambanda, 315, 322.
pāṁbul, 231, 234.
pāṁbul-lē-daruvan, 231, 234.
pāṁbul-peṭṭiya, 231.
paṁgu, 277 *n.* 9.
pā-mili, 139, 321, 323 *n.* 13.
pāmili, 321 *n.* 10.
pāmiṇā, 75, 83.
pāmiṇet, 280.
paṁsālis, 292, 293.
pāmul, 231.
pāmul-peṭṭiya, 231.
Pamunētänna, 230, 233.
pamuṇu, 233, 235, 264, 265, 267, 276 *n.* 3, 296, 300, 320, 323, 325.
pämuṇuṇuhot, 67.
pän, 227.
pāṇa, 322.
Pāṇabunu *or* °bunna, 301 *n.* 1.
Panagama, 264, 266.
paṇam, 67, 69.
panās, 299, 300.
päna-sarin, 322.
paṇataṭa, 67, 246.
Panayamāraka, 6.
pañcāparādha, 267 *n.* 7.
pañca-pradhāni, 303, 305, 307 *n.* 1.
Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, 201, 202, 206 *n.*, 207 *n.*
Pañcikā Pradīpa, 39.
Paṇḍirad, 105 *n.* 1, 271, 273, 274, 277.
Paṇḍirad Dāpuḷā(u), 103–105, 108, 110, 273.
Pāṇḍi-rajjuruvan, 329.
Pāṇḍirajun, 256 *n.* 3.
Pāṇḍi-raṭa, 329.
Paṇḍita Parakkama-Bāhu (Parākrama Bāhu VII), 40, 55, 57, 58.
Paṇḍita Parakkama-Bāhu I, 25; II, 27.
Paṇḍita Vijaya-Bāhu (Vijayabāhu II), 22.
Pāṇḍiyaṇār, 309, 311.
Paṇḍu, 12.
Paṇḍu (race), 324 *n.* 1.
Paṇḍuka Abhaya, 224 *n.* 10.
Paṇḍukābhaya, 4, 222, 224 *n.* 6, 228 *n.* 5.
paṇḍuru, 329.
Paṇḍuvasdev, 4.
Paṇḍuvāsudeva, 4, 228 *n.* 5.
Pandu Vāsudeva Abhaya, 228 *n.* 5.
Pandy, 54 *n.* 1.
Pāṇḍyas, 2, 19, 27, 54 *n.* 1, 87, 130, 256, 273, 290, 308, 309, 311, 331.
Paṅgūni (Paṅgunī), 303, 305, 306.
paṅguva, 276 *n.* 1.
päṇi, 187.
panical, 54 n. 1, 282.
pān-kanda, 301 *n.* 1.
Pankuḷiya, 256.
pän-maḷiya, 226, 227.
pän-maḍu, 227.
pān-pūjāvak, 301 *n.* 1.
pansālis-vannehi, 292.
pan-tis, 70.
papatakara, 168.
Pāpiliyāna, 52–54, 59, 61, 62, 237, 238, 301 *n.* 1.
para, 151 198.
pāra, 85.
para-danmaye, 198.
Paragasa-atmaga, 66, 68.
parähär, 274.
pärähär, 265, 268 *n.* 1, 275.
pärahera, 274.
(*para*)*kapā*, 77.
Parakkama (general of Līlāvatī), 24.
Parakkama-Bāhu, 50.
Parakkama-Bāhu, prince, son of Parakkamabāhu II, 26.
Parakkama-Bāhu I, 22, 25, 48, 49; II, 25, 49; III, 27; IV, 27–29; V, 30, 58; VI, 38, 39; VII, 40; VIII, 41; IX, 41. *See also* Parākrama Bāhu.
Parakkama-Bāhu Apā, 37, 38.
Parakkama-Bhuja, 49.
Parakkama-narinda, 309.
Parakkama Paṇḍu I, 21; II, 24.
parākrama, 322.
Parākrama, 53, 56.
Parākrama (°bāhu VI), 236.
Parākrama Apā, 278 *n.* 1.
Parākrama Atvara, 70.
Parākrama Bāhu, 58, 61, 67, 69, 107, 278, 309.
Parākrama Bāhu I (the Great), 52, 74 *n.* 2, 86, 88 *n.* 4, 110, 143, 145, 150, 231–233, 272, 278 *n.* 1, 304, 309–312, 316–319, 322–324, 325 *n.* 3, 327; II, 287, 288; V, 244, 278 *n.* 1; VI, 52–54, 56–59, 61–63, 236–238, 278 *n.* 1, 282, 283, 286, 301 *n.* 1; VII, 56; VIII, 54, 56, 61, 62; IX, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 243, 244.
Parākrama-bhuja, 70.
Pārakumbāsirita, 30, 31 *n.* 1, 39 *n.* 1, 53, 128, 224 *n.* 6, 236.
Pārakum Paṇḍi, 24.
Paramaṇāyā, 236, 239, 240.
Paramattha-jotikā, 199 *n.* 6.
Parameśvara-vadi, 85.
paramparā, 151; °*rāva*, 62; °*rāvaṭa*, 67, 246.
paramparānuyāta, 66, 70, 245, 279.
Paranavitana (S.), 9.
pāranē, 322, 325 *n.* 5.
Parāntaka I, 2, 19, 20; II, 86.
Parapē, 256.
parapuren, 74, 75, 81, 127, 128, 139, 222, 227, 264, 298, 321.
Para Rājasiṁha, 43.
para-vat, 151.
paraveni, 55, 276 *n.* 3.
paraveṇi paṅguva, 276 *n.* 3.
Parevi Sandēsaya, 57.
paribhava, 329.
pāribhogika, 133 *n.* 3.
paribhujana, 116.
paridden, 323.
parihāra-lekha, 113.
parikara, 178, 187.
parikkhāra, 187.
Pārinda, 12.
pārisajja, 182.
Parisā-kuḷiya, 139, 140.
parivahana, 99.
parivāra-janayat, 233.
parivaṭa, 119.
parivavaṭa, 116, 119.
parivyāvartta, 119.
pariyāyekin, 264.
pariyāyekinud, 227.
Parker (H.), 82 *n.* 1, 106, 126, 137, 172.
parru, 146.
parumaka, 123.
pas (direction), 111; *pasa*, 274; *pasahi*, 177, 181, 250; *pas-hi*, 139.
pas (earth), 169.
pas (five), 70, 98, 323.
pas (requisite), 222.
pāsajja, 182.
pasaḷos, 192, 293; °*sak*, 67.
pasaḷos-vaka, 69.
pasaḷos-vannehi, 293.
pasamuna, 70, 71.
pas-amuṇek, 70.
Pāsāṇabhiṁna, 301 *n.* 1.
Pāsāṇasiṁna, 301 *n.* 1.
paścāttāpa, 151.
pas-denā, 98.
Pasenadi, 128 *n.* 2.
pas-hi, 139.
pāsī, 67.
pāsida, 55, 67.
pasladdan, 104, 111, 274, 290.
pas-ladu, 277 *n.* 4, 291 *n.* 3.
pas-mahā-sāvadda, 267 *n.* 7; °*sāvaddāyehi*, 265.
pas-panas, 52, 66, 67.
pasu, (after), 280.
pasu (earth), 165, 169.
Pāsuḷu-Akbo (Aggabodhi IX), 18.
Pāsuḷu-Kasubu (Kassapa II), 16; (Kassapa V), 19.
Pāsuḷu-Sen (Sena IV), 20.
pasuva, 263 *n.* 4, 301 *n.* 1.
pas-visi, 231; *-vissa*, 77.
pat (Skt. *patra*), 67, 77.
pat (Skt. *prāpta*), 283 *n.* 1.
pata, 94, 133, 135, 259 *n.* 10.
patā, 190, 258.
Pāta Dumbara, 236.
paṭagaḍa, 215, 216.
paṭagaṭa, 216.
patak, 55, 67, 133, 190.
paṭaḷa, 322.
paṭan, 56, 66, 231, 234, 237.
patana-gala, 106.
patan bhūmi, 106.
paṭavanā, 70.
paṭavanu, 96.
paṭavay, 96.
pathame, 180.
pati, 115, 118, 126.
pāṭiṭā, 139.
pāṭiṭi, 56.
paṭisatarana, 169, 218.
pat-kaḍa, 240.
Pātra-dhātūn-vahansē, 280.
patti (share), 118, 121, 125.
pattidār, 118 *n*, 3.
pāṭu, 76, 96.
paṭvana, 135 *n.* 5.
paṭvay, 96.
pav, 221, 225, 315 *n.* 1.
pāvāḍai, 305.
pavāraṇa, 194.
Pavāraṇā Khaṇḍaka, 194 *n.* 11.
pavārannaṭ, 193.
pavata, 157 *n.* 2.
pävata, 66, 237.
pävätä-gena, 66.
pavatinā, 67, 239, 246, 279, 280.
pavatnā, 258, 323.
pavatvanu, 76, 190.
pavaya, 175.
paveṇi, 276 *n.* 3.
pāvisi, 88.
pavitra-gotrābhijāta, 66, 246.
-paya, 82.
paya, 189–191, 198.
payak, 190, 198.
Paytāṅgi Kallānāvan, 306, 307.

payutu, 218, 219.
pediv, 146.
pediva, 299, 301.
pegiva, 139, 141, 146.
Pegu, 319, 320, 340.
pekaḍa, 175, 176, 178, 184, 194 *n.* 3.
pekaḍaka, 177, 178.
Pekin, 332.
pekkha, 88.
Pelagāma-Vihāra, 157.
pemin, 128.
peṇi, 174, 178, 187.
Pepodatuḍa, 103, 105.
perā, 275.
Pērāḍeṇiya, 31.
perahāra, 268 *n.* 1.
perāhārā, 105, 113.
perāhār-kaṇu, 300.
perāḷi, 149, 151.
perat, 193.
pere, 75–77, 128, 144, 255, 258, 265, 274.
pere-aḍamashi, 128.
pere-bundna, 255, 260; *-bundnen*, 255, 258.
pereläki, 104, 105, 112, 145; °*läkkan*, 139, 141, 145.
pere-magaṭa, 76.
perenāṭṭiyam, 139, 141, 144, 265, 269.
perenāṭṭu, 145, 275, 277.
perenāṭṭuvam, 104, 105.
Perera (E. W.), 31 *n.* 1, 39, 51, 332, 335.
Perera (Fr. S. G.), 334 *n.* 2.
pere-sirit, 75.
perevari, 145.
perevässan, 145.
Periyakaḍu Vihāra, 168 *n*, 2.
Periyankuḷam, 158.
Persian, 331, 332, 334, 338.
Perumaiyānkuḷam, 106.
perumāḷ, 309.
perumuḍiyāṇ, 94.
pet, 76, 125.
peta, 93, 121, 122, 125, 126.
Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā, 182, 184.
pettanika, 252 *n.* 2.
pēvisi, 88.
peyaḷa, 184.
Phalguṇa, 140 *n.* 1, 275 *n.*, 306 *n.* 5.
Phayre (Sir A.), 317.
pidū, 70.
Pieris (P. E.), 45 *n.* 1, 46 *n.* 1, 86 *n.* 5, 92, 100, 144 *n.* 2 285.
pihiṭavū, 228.
pihiṭi, 128, 222, 227, 264, 270, 273, 275 *n.* 6.
Pihiṭi, 230, 235, 327, 330 *n.* 2.
Pihiṭi-rajaya, 232, 234, 326.
°Pihiṭiraṭa, 195.
Pilaviṭ Mayidand (Mayind), 104, 105, 110.
Piḷayamāraka, 6.
piḷibada, 227.
piḷima-gehi, 190, 264.
Pilipavata, 154, 157.
Pilipavata-vihara, 154.
piḷiveḷa, 75, 83, 128, 139.
piḷi[illegible]aṭa, 69.
pin, 97.
piṇḍ, 273.
piṇisa, 280.
piṇisä, 69, 151, 264.
pin-pet, 125.
Pinya, 319 *n.* 6.
piribhoga, 273, 275 *n.* 6.
pirikapā, 75, 77, 91.
pirikäpū, 75.
pirimin, 128.
pirinivi, 56, 87.
piriniviyan vahanse, 75.
piris, 322, 325 *n.* 4.
Pirittirad, 272, 274, 277.
pirivahannā, 77, 81, 99.
pirivahanuvā, 99.
pirivana-ṭa, 288.
pirivarā, 66.
piri-vas, 56.
pirivaṭa, 119.
piriven, 97, 225 *n.* 1; °*vena*, 193 *n.* 3, 256, 288; °*venä*, 193; °*venin*, 223.
pirūḷ, 119.
piruṇu, 56.
pisä, 258.
Pischel (R.), 119, 153 *n.* 4, 175.
pit, 299.
pit, 263 *n.* 4.
piṭadaḍa, 177, 185.
piṭadaḍa-hasa, 185; *-hasahi*, 177.
piṭaka, 175, 176, 184, 194 *n.* 3.
piṭat, 75, 77, 265, 275, 301 *n.* 1; *piṭatā*, 299.
piṭat-koṭä, 75.
piṭatun, 140, 148.
pīṭhaka, 184 *n.* 1.
Piṭhiya, 13.
piṭi, 235.
Piṭi, 330 *n.* 5.
piṭi-bim, 233.
Piṭi-rajaya, 329 *n.* 2.
piṭ-kara, 299.
pitr-maha rajjuruvan-vahanse, 54.
Piṭṭāgama, 237.
piya, 88.
piyadiv, 146.
piyadiva, 290, 291.
piyagäta, 216.
piyagiva, 146.
piyangal, 107; °*gala*, 103, 104, 106; °*galä*, 103.
piyanhala, 106.
piyavisi, 87, 88.
piyeyisi, 75, 87, 88.
piyo, 110.
piyovadāran(nan), 104, 105, 110, 275, 277.
piyo-vuru, 110.
Piyummala, 93 *n.* 3, 117.
poḍavaya, 166, 169.
pohata, 168.
pohatakara, 165, 168; °*karahi*, 166.
poho, 76; *pohohi*, 223.
poho-dā, 76.
pokuṇa, 253.
pol, 69.
polī, 186; *poliyat*, 190.
poḷo, 74, 81.
Poḷonnaruva, 18–27, 48, 49, 86, 110 *n.* 7, 138, 143, 149, 200, 213, 287, 291, 292, 304, 310, 314, 325, 331 *n.* 1.
poḷov, 222.
poḷo-yohon, 321.
Poṉ-māligai-tuñjiṉa-dēvar, 86.
Pora, 68.
Pōrē, 51, 66.
Portugal, 57 *n.* 1, 64.
Portuguese, 42, 44, 45, 54 *n.* 1, 63, 64, 92, 282, 285, 334.
Portuguese Tombo, 54 *n.* 1, 57 *n.* 1.
posatha, 168.
Poson, 53, 58, 257, 258, 278, 279, 281, 314, 322, 325.
Potā Ojjhalun, 51, 66, 68.
Pot-gul-Vehera, 48, 309.
povanu, 190, 191 *n.* 7.
pōya, 79.
Pōya Maluva, 241, 242.
prabhu-rāja, 31, 34, 35, 37.
Pradhan (S.), 1 *n.* 1, 4.
pradhānigaḷ, 303, 305.
Prajñāpāramitā, 202–205, 207.
Prākrit, 30 *n.* 2, 115, 119, 153, 164, 175, 179, 180, 256.
pramukha, 123.
prāpti, 55.
prārthanāśilā, 106.
prasaṁsā, 66.
prastha, 94, 133, 135, 191 *n.* 5, 194 *n.* 8, 259 *n.* 10.
prasthāvaṭa, 66.
pratītya samutpāda, 210.
Pratthavāha, 205.
pratyanta-janapada, 279, 283.
praveṇi, 237, 239; *praveṇīn*, 70; *praveṇi-ṭa*, 239.
preta, 69.
Pritivudeva, 272.
Pritivudeva Udāṇa, 271 *n.* 4.
Pṛthvīdeva, 272.
Pṛthvīrāja, 272.
Ptolemy, 90.
puāā, 190.
Puḍakaṇa, 156.
Puḍakaṇa Abaya, 156.
Puḍakaṇa Gamiṇi Abaya, 156, 157.
pudanuvat, 285.
pud-asane or *-asene*, 190, 191 *n.* 10.
pūjāsana, 191 *n.* 10.
Pūjāvaliya, 4, 7, 25, 142, 199 *n.* 1, 199 *n.* 1, 228 *n.* 11, 262, 263.
Puḷahattha, 6.
Pulasti, 325.
Pulasti-pura-vara, 322.
Puliyankuḷam (hill), 163, 167.
Puliyankuḷam *or* °kuḷama, 84, 88, 98, 130, 141, 192 *n.* 1, 221 *n.* 2.
puḷḷi, 303, 306 *n.* 3, 332.
puḷu, 224 *n.* 16.
pun, 223, 298.
puṇa-masa, 178, 179 *n.* 3, 188.
Puṅkhagāma, 272, 278 *n.* 1.
pun-mashi, 298.
pun-sand-pohohi, 223.
pura, 66, 69, 190, 234, 239, 246, 258, 265, 273, 279, 322.
puramin, 322.
Puraṇānūru, 87 *n.* 1.
Purāṇa Vinaya Sannaya, 233 *n.* 1.
Purāṇic, 334.
puravat, 76.
puravu-vari, 145.
pure, 145.
Purmigaṇa, 139, 140.
pūrṇṇa-ghaṭa, 289.
purohita, 51, 52, 54, 56, 68; °*tayan*, 66; °*iayange*, 67.
purohitavarun-ṭa, 66.
pūrvaye, 180.
pūrvvā, 180 *n.* 7, 181; *pūrvvāyām*, 179, 180.
purvvā-ācāram, 303–305.
Pusē-näkata, 63.
pus-rā, 151.
put, 70, 128, 239, 299; *puta*, 122, 156 *n.* 5, 172 *n.* 2, 177, 179 *n.* 3, 250–252; *pute*, 166; *puti*, 116; *putu*, 128.
Puṭakaṇa Abaya, 156 *n.* 5.
Puṭikaṇa, 156 *n.* 2.
putra, 288.
putra-rāja-kumārayan, 54.
Puttalam, 172 *n.* 1, 302 *n.* 5.
puvā, 181.
puvak, 69, 193.
Puvarasan-kuḷam, 182.
puvaya, 172 *n.* 2, 179, 180.
puvāya, 179, 180.
puvaye, 180.
puvi, 181.
puviya, 177, 179, 180.

Queyroz, Fernao de, 334.

Rabbegamuva, 232.
rad, 104, 139.
rada, 139, 298.
rādā, 75, 83; *rädäyehi*, 190.
radagē, 269 *n.* 1.
radakol-samdaruvamo, 274.
rädä päminä, 75.
rada-parapuren, 298, 321.
rādāyehi, 190.
(rad-daḍa) aṭa-denā, 77.
rad-daruvan, 77.
rad-gē, 269 *n.* 1; *-gehi*, 88.
rad-kämiyan, 104.
rad-kol, 299; *-kolen*, 274.
rad-kol-kämiyan, 111, 139, 146, 223, 225 *n.* 5.
rad-kol-sam-daruvan, 299.
radol, 265; °*dola*, 269 *n.* 1; °*dolan*, 76, 77; °*dolonaṭ*, 77; °*dolaṭ*, 140, 148; °*dolen*, 265.
rad-parapuren, 74.
Radsivu, 271, 274, 277.
raha, 76.
rähän, 148.
rahasika, 110.
rāisara, 256 *n.* 6.
raj, 264, 290; *raj-hu*, 264.
raja, 67, 174, 239, 263 *n.* 4, 301 *n.* 1, 321, 322; *rajaha*, 154, 165, 166; *raje*, 162, 165, 166; *rajemi*, 217, 218.
Raja Abaye 154.
raja-baraṇa, 322.
rāja-bhoga, 118.
raja-bisev, 56.
rājādhirāja, 66.
Rājādhirāja Simha, 83, 232.
rajaha, 154, 165, 166.
rajahi, 122.
raja karana, 322.
rāja-karttāraḥ, 84.
rāja-kattāro, 84.
Rājakeśari marakkāl, 95.
Rājakeśari nāḷi, 95.
rājakumārayan, 66.
Rājalekhanaya, 44 *n.* 1, 45, 46.
raja-maha-veher, 227.
Rajamāligāva, 110 *n.* 7, 145.
raja-pā, 124, 322.
rāja-pakṣapāṭa, 234.
raja-päminī, 53, 70.
raja-parapuren, 127.
rāja-putra, 66, 246.
Rājarāja, 311 *n.* 3, 312 *n.* 1.
Rājarājeśvara, 312 *n.* 1.
Rājaratnākara, 4, 22, 25, 35, 230, 241, 282 *n.* 6.
Rājaraṭṭha, 74 *n.* 2, 305.
Rajasiha Sirita, 243.
Rājasiṁha I, 45, 241, 242, 243; II, 46, 243; (Pallava king), 312 *n.* 1; (Rayigam Baṇḍāra), 44.
Rājasiṁheśvara, 312 *n.* 1.
raja-śrī, 322.
Rājasūrya Kumārayā, 45.
Rājasūya, 123 *n.* 2.
Rājāvalī *or* °valiya, 4, 15, 38, 42, 52, 53, 56, 57, 63, 115, 236, 237, 242–244, 282–284, 325 *n.* 3.
Rājavikrama-pravṛtti, 4.
raja-virita, 322.
rajayehi, 329.
raje, 162, 165, 166.
rajek, 301 *n.* 1.
rajemi, 217, 218.
Rājendra Coḷa I, 20, 21.
Rājendradeva, 108.
raj-hu, 264.
raji, 218.
raji-maha-vaherahi, 218.
rajjuruvangen, 329.
rajjuruvo, 52 *n.* 1.
raj-kol-kämiyan, 147.
raj-maha-veher, 264.
räjna, 128, 222, 224 *n.* 12, 262.
raj-parapuren, 264.
Rājputāna, 118, 180.
rājyaya, 263 *n.* 4.
rakaval, 133.
räkaval, 107.
Raka-vehera, 104, 105, 113.
räkem, 261 *n.* 2.
Rakkhasamaṇa, 99 *n.* 1.
Rakkha-Vihāra, 113.
raknā, 140, 148.
Raksa, 265, 269.
rakṣā-bhoga, 118.
Raksamaṇa, 99, 265, 269, 271, 274, 277.
Rākṣasa, 269 *n.* 5.
rakṣāvehi, 99, 151.
räḷa, 220.
raḷi, 220, 222, 223 *n.* 6.
räḷi, 223 *n.* 6.
Ramaṇa, 319.
Rāmañña, 272, 316, 318–320, 340.
Rambāva, 110 *n.* 5, 221.
Rammaṇa, 319.
ran, 69, 151, 190, 258, 300.
Ranasinha (W. P.), 51.
rāṇīvāsala, 269 *n.* 1.
ran-koturuyen, 118.
raño, 180.
räs, 321.
Rasanayagam (C.), 56, 302 *n.* 3, 306 *n.* 3, 307 *n.* 2, 3, and 4, 331 *n.* 6.
Rasavāhinī, 93, 113, 124, 125 *n.* 1, 182, 183.
räs-in, 321.
rāṣṭra-kūṭa, 252.
rāṣṭrika, 252.
raṭ, 94, 299; *raṭa*, 111, 132, 252, 301 *n.* 1; *ratä*, 265, 267 *n.* 4; *raṭin*, 265, 299, 329.
raṭa-nā, 80.
Ratana-araba, 115, 116, 118.
Ratana-ārāma, 118.
Ratanālaṅkāra, 312.
raṭa-nā-tän, 77.
Ratanattaya, 282 *n.* 4.
raṭa-vässan, 132.
raṭ-bim, 233 *n.* 1.
raṭ-dag, 76, 79, 94.
raṭē, 252.

raṭēmahatlayā, 252.
raṭ-himin, 299.
rāṭi, 252; *rāṭiyā*, 252.
raṭiya, 252.
Raṭiya Makaya, 252.
Raṭiya Sivaya, 252.
Raṭiya Sumanaya, 251, 252.
rat-kol-kämiyan, 299.
raṭ-lad, 274.
raṭ-laddā, 252.
raṭ-ladu, 104, 111, 277 *n.* 4, 290, 291 *n.* 3.
ratmāhāra, 238.
ratmāsara, 233, 238.
ratna-āya, 143.
Ratna caitya, 118.
Ratnagṛha, 227 *n.*
Ratnākara Bodhisattva, 202.
Ratnākara Tathāgatha, 203, 204, 206, 207.
Ratna-mahā-parivena, 228, *n.* 9.
Ratnamālī-caitya, 118 *n.* 6.
Ratnamā-pirivena, 226–228.
Ratnaprāsāda, 226 *n.* 6.
ratnatraye, 193.
Ratnāvatī-lokadhātu, 203, 204.
ratnāya, 144.
Ratnāyaka, 143.
ratnaye, 190.
ratnin, 123 *n.* 2.
rat-ran, 151.
raṭṭha, 94.
raṭṭhika, 252.
Rayigama, 31, 32, 34, 39, 41, 44, 53.
Rayigam Baṇḍāra, 41, 44.
Rayigam Kōraḷē, 294.
Rayigampura, 53.
Reḍḍi, 252.
Rhys-Davids (T. W.), 85, 88 *n.* 2, 183 *n.* 1, 194 *n.* 6.
ridī, 151.
Riṭigal (°gala), 115 *n.* 1, 289–291.
Riṭigal-aram, 290.
Robertson (J. W.), 217.
Rohaṇa, 16, 17, 21, 22, 24, 74 *n.* 2, 84, 130, 213, 217, 221, 224, 275 *n.* 5, 327, 330 *n.* 2.
Roṭupulle, 109 *n.* 4.
rudu, 322.
Ruhuṇ, 224, 275.
Ruhuṇ-danavu, 273, 275 *n.* 6.
Ruhuṇu, 222, 224.
Ruhuṇu-danavyehi, 221 *n.* 4.
Ruṇo, 329.
Ruṇu, 330.
Ruṇu-rajaya, 329.
rupu, 322.
ruvan, 322; *ruvan-hi*, 264.
ruvana(ä), 143.
Ruvanmala, 39, 87, 93, 94, 117, 260 *n.* 3.
Ruvanpahā, 226 *n.* 4.
Ruvanväli, 168.
Ruvanvälisāya, 115 *n.* 5, 116, 118, 120, 174, 176, 249.

sa. 115.
sa, 177, 179 *n.* 3, 265.
sā, 216.
Saba, 162, 164–168.
sabadin, 261.
Sabaragamu Disā Lēkammiṭiya, 238.
Sabha, 168, 169.
sabhā, 28, 78, 109, 271, 272, 277 *n.* 1; *sabhāye*, 75, 77, 78; *sabhāyen*, 107, 271, 274.
sabhā-nāyaka, 271.
sabhāpati, 271, 272, 274.
sabhā-pati-nā, 272.
sadā, 112, 113 *n.* 1.
sadā-laddan, 103–105, 112, 113 *n.* 1.
Sadā-Tis, 5.
Saddharmma-puṇḍarīka, 202.
Saddharmmaratnākara *or* °karaya, 4, 38, 53, 106, 205.
Saddharmma-ratnāvalī, 91, 187–190.
Saddhā-Tissa, 5, 257.
sādhyapāla, 112.
sag (heaven), 227.
sag (young), 227.
saga, 114; *sagah-aṭa*, 178; *sagah-aṭaya*, 116, 162, 165, 166; *sagaya*, 153, 154.
śaga (gen. *śagaśa*), 155.
Sāgala, 229 *n.* 1.
Sāgali, 227 *n.* 1, 229 *n.* 1.
Sāgaliya, 11, 229 *n.* 1.
Sagama, 62.
Sāgama, 193.
Saga Paheja, 182.
Sagaya, 250.
sag-mahalu, 227.
sag-mok-kämi, 227.
Sāguli, 227, 229.
saha, 322.
sāha, 222, 321.
Sähä, 222, 224, 227, 228.
sahajāta, 54, 66.
sahajāta-putra, 66.
Sähä-kula, 220, 222, 224, 227.
Sahā lokadhātu, 203, 204.
sāhanuvat, 97.
Sāhasa Malla, 22, 23, 230, 231, 317.
sāha-tedin, 321, 323 *n.* 16.
saha-voṭunu, 322.
sahaya, 67.
sahita, 69.
Śaiva, 310, 311, 312 *n.* 1, 333 *n.* 1.
Śaka (era), 52, 53, 58, 59, 63, 238 *n.* 1, 241. *See also* Çaka.
Śaka (people), 153.
säka, 151.
Sakalakalā-Vallabha, 41–43.
sakala-nagarāṅga-sampattiyen, 66.
sakas, 151.
śakaṭa, 106, 194 *n.* 1.
sakaṭa, 183, 184.
śakaṭa-gopaka, 146.
śaka-varuṣa, 70.
säkaya, 280.
Sakka, 319.
Sakkāyudha, 41, 43.
Śakra, 205.
Śākya, 224, 228 *n.*
Śākyamuni, 199, 203, 204, 207, 208, 210.
sal, 76, 93, 94.
sāl, 139, 258; *sāle*, 190, 258.
Saladaḷa-bōnā, 15.
salāka-bhatta, 259 *n.* 8.
säla-kaḷa, 66.
Śālalihini Sandesaya, 53.
Śalāmegha, 303, 305.
Salamevan, 16; (Sena I), 289, 290.
Salaměvan Mihiňdu, 18.
Salamevan-raj (Sena I), 290.
Salamevan-raja (Sena V), 20.
Salamevan-Sen, 19.
Salameyvan Abahay (Kassapa V), 19.
sälāsma, 237, 238; °*maṭa*, 239; °*me*, 237; °*men*, 237, 239.
salasvā, 67, 69, 239, 240, 246.
Salavaḍunā, 133.
Salavasu-nā, 133 *n.* 1.
sālis, 322.
sal kaḷākugen, 76, 93.
sal nokaḷamanā, 76.
sal nokaḷa manavun, 76.
sal-piḷa, 93.
saḷu, 151.
sama, 322.
sama-dā, 75 *n.* 1, 82, 222.
sämägin, 193, 194 *n.* 10.
samāharttā, 112.
samāhi, 322.
samāja, 87.
samaje, 87.
sāmajja, 87, 88.
sāmājya, 87.
Saman Dēvālē, 53.
samändin, 261, 265, 268 *n.* 2.
samaṅgi, 70.
sämängin, 193.
Samannā Araksamaṇan, 78, 81.
Samanoḷa, 329, 331.
Samanta-kūṭa, 331 *n.* 4.
Samantaraśmi Bodhisattva, 203, 204, 207.
samanvā, 216, 280.
samatäs-muniňdu, 56.
samatavaya, 215, 216.
samayehi, 66.
sambadin, 261.
Sambudun, 258.
sam-daru, 89, 277 *n.* 2; *-daruvamo*, 274; *-daruvan*, 75, 77, 78, 86 *n.* 6, 88, 98, 290, 299; *-daruvanṭa*, 77.
saṁga, 284.
Saṁgamu Vihāra, 325 *n.* 3.
Saṁgharāja, 238 *n.* 1.
sami, 99.
sāmi, 180.
Samiddhi, 81.
Samiddhidevī, 82.
Samidi, 81.
Samidi Gon, 75, 78.
samiyen, 107.
saṁkhyata, 51, 66.
saṁkhyāta, 245.
Sammā-sambudun, 254, 258.
sammati, 107.
sammuti, 107.
sampat, 152.
samprasāraṇa, 176.
samu, 107.
Samuddagiri, 258.
Samudragupta, 1, 11, 177.
sāmuṇa, 239.
samuṛddha, 66.
samuyen, 107.
saṁvachhare, 180.
Saṁvälla, 232, 235.
samvatā, 223.
samvatā-pahaṇ, 78.
saṁvatsara-grāma-kāryam, 98.
Samyak Sambodhi, 203.
san (instr. *sanin*), 96.
Sāñci, 227 *n.*
sana, 75, 127, 139, 188, 258; *sand-hi*, 298.
sanda, 323.
saňda, 56, 239.
sändā, 258.
Saňda-muhuṇu, 8.
sandhāna, 325 *n.* 3.
saṇdhi, 215.
Śāṇḍilya gotra, 51, 66, 68.
Sand Pirittirad, 272.
saṅg, 193, 194 *n.* 10, 264; *saṅgun*, 193, 265.
Saṅgal, 176 *n.* 4.
saṅgam, 87.
Saṅg Gon, 222.
Saṅgha (Buddhist Order), 114, 191 *n.* 7, 193, 194 *n.* 14 and 15, 257, 267 *n.* 3 and 7, 282 *n.* 4.
Saṅgha (personal name), 276 *n.* 4.
Saṅghā, daughter of Mahānāma, 12.
Saṅg-hā, queen of Sena II, 128–130.
Saṅghabhadda, 15.
saṅgha-kamma, 194 *n.* 15.
Saṅghamitta, 212.
Saṅghasena, 300 *n.* 12.
Sangha-Tissa I, 10; II, 15.
Saṅgili Kanadarāva, 106, 146, 147.
Saṅgīti Suttanta, 183 *n.* 1.
saṅgnaṭ, 193, 258.
Saṅgsen, 299, 300.
Saṅgsenu, 265, 269.
saṅgun, 97, 190, 193, 227.
saṅgvälla, 232.
sanhas, 67, 246, 247, 286 *n.* 2; °*hasa*, 241, 244.
Sanhas Tiruvaraṅgan, 285.
Sanhas Tiruvaraṅgan Näyināru, 246, 247.
Sanhas Tiruvaraṅgan Perumāḷ, 59 *n.* 1.
Sanhas Tiruvaraṅgan Vikramasiṁha Adhikāra, 281, 282.
Sañjīva, 67, 69.
Saṅkha-Camūpati, 24.
sannas, 286; *sannasa*, 316.
Sanskrit, 73, 84, 85, 89, 90, 92, 99, 107, 110, 114, 119, 135, 145, 146, 149, 160, 164, 170, 176, 180, 187, 191 *n.* 1, 200, 201, 217, 220, 278, 284, 303, 307 *n.* 5, 309 *n.* 4, 315, 323 *n.* 15, 324 *n.* 1, 325 *n.* 3.
santāna, 322, 323, 325 *n.* 3.
santoṣa-va, 66.
säpatin, 283 *n.* 1.
Sapumal *or* Sapumal Kumāra, 39, 40, 54 *n.* 1, 56, 57, 282, 283.
Sapumal Kumariňdu, 283 *n.* 1.
sarā-ambur, 264.
Sarajōtimālai, 27.
sarak, 151.
saraṇa-niya-räsin, 321.
śaraṇānveṣī, 280.
Sārārthasaṅgraha, 121.
sārasiya, 70.
Sarataraya, 217, 218.
Sāratthapakāsinī, 155 *n.* 1.
sari, 101, 175.
Sarimekavaṇa, 179 *n.* 3.
Sarimekavaṇa Aba, 177.
Sarimekavaṇa Abaya-maharaja, 172 *n.* 2.
sarin, 322.
sārīrik -dhātu, 133 *n.* 3, 205.
Sari Saṅgbo, 103.
sariya, *sariyat*, 66.
Sārnāth, 180.
sārtha, 113 *n.* 1.
Sārthavāha, 202, 205 *n.* 5.
Sarvaśokāpagata-lokadhātu, 204.
Sasadāvata, 150.
sāsana, 324 *n.* 7.
śāsana-bandhu-paramparāvaṭa, 246.
Sāsanavaṁsa, 320.
sasarapäḍi, 193, 194.
śastra-prahāra, 234.
sasun, 322, 324 *n.* 7.
sat (beings), 222.
sat (umbrella), 75, 127, 139, 223, 227, 264, 298.
säṭ, 220.
sata (hundred), 164.
sata (seven), 179.
saṭahan, 301 *n.* 1.
sataka, 250.
satalayen, 193, 194 *n.* 7.
satalis-savannen, 239.
Sataḷosa, 75, 78–80, 86.
Sataḷosä piriniviyan vahanse, 75, 77, 86.
Satalosä vahansē, 75.
Säṭa-maṇḍalässa, 70.
satame, 180.
satānaṁ, 125.
satan-aṭa, 122, 125, 126.
satar, 143, 222, 264; *satara*, 66, 103; *sataraṭa*, 235.
satara karāve, 107.
Satara Kōraḷaya, 280.
satara-mudala, 231.
satara-sīmāyen, 103.
satar-baṇavar, 264.
satar-pas, 222, 224 *n.* 1.
Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, 202, 203.
satehi, 164. 165.
satehiya, 164, 165.
Sat-gāhaka, 12.
sätiyaṭ, 75.
sat karāve, 107.
satkāya-dṛṣṭi, 210.
satos, 227.
sattha, 113 *n.* 1.
satthavāha, 256 *n.* 6.
sat-vana, 223 *n.* 1, 227.
sava, 122, 125, 126.
savachhare, 180.
sävaddäyehi, 265.
savämi, 73, 75.
savana, 223.
sava-satan-aṭa, 122, 125, 126.
Savulu Vijaya-Bāhu (Vijayabāhu V), 29.
Savuḷā Pārakum-raja (Parākrama-Bāhu V), 30.
-saya, 115.
sayak, 69.
śayana-gopaka, 146.
sayura, 322.
Schurhammer (G.), 63, 64, 243.
se, 75, 83, 139, 151, 193.
sehen, 143, 233 *n.* 1.
sekin, 77.
Seḷiya, 54 *n.* 1.
Seḷiyadarāyarun, 54, 69.
selu, 175.
Sen, 78, 81, 265, 269, 276 *n.* 4; (king, unidentified), 263; (Sena III), 20.
Sena I, 19, 107, 142, 196, 197, 289–293; II, 19, 99,

101–103, 108, 129, 130, 141, 142, 196, 197, 256, 257, 289, 291, 293, 296; III, 20, 261–263, 294, 296; IV, 20, 261–264, 295; V, 20, 261, 296; (Chief Secretary), 271; (General), 137; (individual), 269 *n.* 6, 276 *n.* 4; (king, unidentified), 261–263, 295; (Tamil usurper), 5.
Senā, 129 *n.* 2.
seṇā, 140, 143; *seṇāk*, 139, 143; *seṇāya*, **143.**
sēṇa, 143.
senādhipati, 110.
Senal (Chief Secretary), 271, 276.
Senālaṅkādhikāra, 29, 31, 33, 34, 37, 38.
Senal Māḍabi, 256.
Senalnāka, 273, 276.
Senānāyaka Sapumal-kumāra, 39, 40.
senaṅgin, 231.
senāpati, 100.
senāpatika, 252 *n.* 2.
Senāpati-mūla Thera, 244.
Senarat, 45, 241.
Senāratana, 46.
Senart (E.), 119, 125.
Senāsammata Vikrama Bāhu, 242–244, 285.
senasana, 198, 199 *n.* 3.
senasuna, 198.
Senevi-Mānā, 15.
Senevirad, 110.
Senevirad-mula, 227.
Senevirat-mula, 244, 246, 247.
Sen-got, 12.
Senim, 269 *n.* 4.
Seniya, 123.
Seṅkhaṇḍapura, 242.
Seṅkhaṇḍaseia, 241.
Sen Mahalāṇa, 271.
Śennā Ojjhalun, 51.
Sennaru-gama, 143.
sen-nel, 96.
Senu, 274, **277.**
Seriyā, 70.
sesu, 76, 111, 146.
setā, 151.
setin, 322.
seṭṭhi, 256 *n.* 6.
setu (coin), 200.
sēvā, 54.
sēvādivalaṭa, 66.
sēvādivela, 54.
sēvisi, 126.
sey, 216.
seyda nel, 96.
Shamasastry (R.), 85 *n.* 2, 96 *n.* 4, 112 *n.* 1, 113, 144 *n.* 4.
Sharīf, 338.
-iṣ, 176.
si, 162, 177, 215.
sī, 76, 96.
Sī, 258, 260.
Siam, 90, 341.
Sidat Saṅgarāva, 98, **220** *n.* 3, 226.
Siddāvulla, 236, 239, 240.
siddhaṁ(m), 116, 122 *n.* 1, 154, 162, 218, 247, 250, 251.
siddhavuṇāhu, 67.
siddhim, 198, 199 *n.* 4.
sidha, 164–166.
sidham, 154 *n.* 1.
Siduruvānā-raṭa Baṇḍāravaliya, 237.
sigā, 198, 199 *n.* 5.
Sīgiri-Kasubu, 13.
Sigiriya, 13, 99, 143, 256.
siha, 106.
Sīha, 260 *n.* 5.
Sīhaladīpa, 113 *n.* 4, 182.
Sīhasena, 260 *n.* 6.
Sihi, 274, 277.
sihimā (loc. *sihimāyehi*), 193.
Sikhavalaṅda Vinisa, 94, 107 *n.* 8.
Silākāla, 14.
śilā-lekha, 151, 240.
śilā-lekhyaya, 281.
Silāmegha (Aggabodhi VI), 18; (Mahinda II), 18; (Mahinda III), 18; (Sena I), 306 *n.* 7.
Silāmeghavaṇṇa (king), 16; (*viruda*) 306 *n.* 7.
Silappadikāram, 9, 147 *n.* 2.
siḷi-piya, 127, 128.
Sīlpān-doḷa, 66, 68.
sīmā, 192; °*māyen*, 103.
Sīmbur-bamārā, 265, 268.
Siṁha, 260 *n.* 5.
siṁha, 322.
Siṁha-Bāhu, 4.
Siṁhaḷa, 231, 281, 288.
Siṁhaḷa Parākramabāhu, 288.
Simhala-peraḷiya, **284.**
Siṁhala-saṁgē, **280,** 281, 284.
siṁha-parākrama, 322.
siṁhāsanaye, 246.
siṁhāsanehi, 66.
Singalese, 276 *n.* 1.
siṅgu, 106.
Sinhalese, 2, 5, 11, 15, 19, 28, 32, 37, 40, 48, 62, 72, 73, 82, 85–89, 91, 102, 106, 107, 111, 114, 115, 119, 121, 123, 131, 134, 140 *n.* 1, 144, 147, 149, 153, 154 *n.* 12, 155, 160, 164, 174, 176, 184, 188, 189, 195, 197, 199 *n.* 1, 200, 205, 212, 213, 215, 216, 221, 224 *n.* 6 and 10, **225** *n.* 2, 228 *n.* 11, 230, **231, 235, 243,** 250, 252–254, 259 *n.* 3, **262, 267** *n.* 3, 268 *n.* 1 and **5, 271,** 272, 275 *n.* 3 and 6, 276 *n.* 4, 277 *n.* 9, 278, 281 *n.* 8, 282, 284–286, 289, 291, 292, **296,** 304, 306 *n.* 3, 307 *n.* 3 and 8, **315,** 317–320, 323 *n.* 15, 324 *n.* 1, 326, 327 *n.* **3, 334,** 340.
sipa, 283 *n.* 1.
siri, 75, 83, 101, 103, 122 *n.* 1, 139, 175, **222, 283** *n.* 1.
siri-bar, 227, 298.
siri-bara, 74, 127.
Siridhara, 217
Siri-Lak, 222, **223, 275** *n.* **6.**
Siri-Laka, 56.
Siri-Lak-div, 273.
Sirimegha Jeṭṭhatissa Abhaya, 122, 124.
Siri-Meghavaṇṇa, 1, 11.
Siri-Meghavaṇṇa **Abhaya,** 124, 178.
Sirimeka, 122, 168.
Sirimeka Jeṭatisa Apaya, 122.
Sirimekavaṇa Aba, 178.
Siri-Nā, 10.
Siri-Nāga I, 10; II, 10.
Sirinakayi, 250–252.
siri-piṇḍ, 273, 275 *n.* 6.
Siri-Pulumāi (yi), 180.
Sirisaṁbo, 197, 198.
Sirisaṁghabodhi, 241.
Sirisaṁghabodhi **Mahinda,** 228 *n.* 1.
siri-saṅda, 283 *n.* 1.
Sirisaṅga-bō, 16, 17, **84,** 230, 234, 235, 311.
Siri Saṅgabo Kāliṅga Vijaya Bāhu, 230, 234, 235.
Siri Saṅgabō Senāsammata Vikrama Bāhu, 242.
Siri Saṅgabō Śrī Bhuvanaika Bāhu, 244, 246.
Siri Saṅgabō Śrī Bhuvanekabāhu, 279, 281.
Siri Saṅgabo Śrī Parākramabāhu, 51, 66, 67.
Siri Saṅgabō Śrī Parākrama-Bāhu (VI), 236, 239, 240.
Siri Saṅgabo Vijayabāhu, 70.
Siri Saṅgbo, **102, 103, 105, 130** *n.* **5, 139–142, 221,** 222, 226, 257, 263, 271, 275, 296.
Sirisaṅgbo Mahind, 226–228.
Sirisaṅgbo Udā (Udaya II), 130 *n.* 5; (Udaya III), 73, 75, 78, 84, 141.
Sirisaṅgboy, 256, 258, 259, 271.
Sirisaṅgboyi Kasub (Kassapa IV), 296, 299, 300.
Sirisaṅghabodhi, 141, 259 *n.* 5; I, 11; II, 16; III, 17.
Sirisaṅghabodhi Kassapa, 296, 300 *n.* 8.
sirit, 75–77, 265; *siritak*, 75; *siritin*, 265.
Siritari-bhavanādityapavarapaṇḍita - sudhammarāja - mahādhipati Narapatisithu, 319.
siriti, 75.
Sirivaḍḍhanapura, 241.
Sirivardhana, palace, **242.**
sirivat, 139, 321.
Siri Vijayabāhu, 26.
Sirivinna, 66, 68.
siṟu-pōkam, 185 *n.* 1.
Sīsen, 258, **260.**
sit, 322.
sitā, 66, 151.
siṭā, 76, 299, **322.**
siṭāṇa, 237.
sitā vadāḷa, 66.
Sītāvaka, 44, 45, 63, **241, 242.**
siṭi, 99, **220, 223,** 238.
sitin, 316, 322.
siṭina, 151, 231, 323.
Siṭivinen, 70.
siṭivū, 235.
Situlpavu-vihāra, **216.**
siṭu-raja, 237.
siṭuvā, 175, 186.
siṭvū, 75.
Śiva (god), 135, 312 *n.* 1.
Siva, 7, 122.
Sīva I, 14.
Sivalaviya, 116.
Sīvalī, Queen, 8.
Śivaskandavarmman, 257.
Sivattā Nāyināru, 244.
Sivaya, 122, 125, 177, 178, 252.
Sivayi, 251.
Sivu, 104, 105.
siya (Skt. *śata*), 299, 300.
siya (Skt. *svayam*, 128, 175, 177, 181, 193, **221** *n.* 4, 300 *n.* 5.
siyallama, 67, 233.
siyallat, 232.
siyatin, 193.
Skanda, 212–214.
śmaśāna-preta, 67.
Smith (V. A.), 88.
Sobara, 74 *n.* 2.
sohovar, 273.
Sōjāta Siṭu-raja (Jotiya Siṭu), 236, 237.
śoka-ginnen, 152.
soḷi, 140, 141, 146–148.
Solī, 329, 331.
somi-guṇen, 322.
sora, 76; *sorun*, 146.
Sorabara, 74, 75.
sora-kam, 299.
sora-veḷadam, **76.**
Sotthi-Sena, 12.
South India, 36, 74, 85, 86, 89, 90, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98, 101, 108, 111, **113,** 118, 131, 136, 158, 181, 192 *n.*, 200, 218, 228 *n.* 8, 273, 282, 284, 303, 308, 309, 311, 312 *n.* 1, 327, **332.**
sovaṇa-koturuni, 154.
sovaṇa-kutarani, **116,** 118.
Śrāvaṇa, 85.
śreṇī, 91, 123, **143** *n.* **1.**
Śreṇika, 123.
śrī, 66, 70, 103, 245, 279, 303, 305.
Śrī Bhuvanaikabāhu Mahapā, 288.
Śrīdhara, 217.
śrīḥ, 326, 329.
Śrī Jayabāhudevar, 303, 305, 306.
Śrī Jayavāgu-devar, 308, 311.
Śrī Jayavīra Mahaväḍa-vuntāna, 243.
Śrī Laṁkā, 223 *n.* 2.
śrīmat, 66, 70, 246, 279.
Śrīmegha, 122, 168.
Śrī Megha-vaṇṇa, 102 *n.* 1, 135, 168, 172, 173, 176, 177, 248.
Śrī Parākrama Bāhu (VI), 236, 279, 281, 282.
Śrī Rāhula, 53, 57.
Śrī Rājasiṁha, 243.
Śrīraṅgam, 286.
Śrī Tribhuvanāditya-dhammarāja, 319.
Śrīvardhana Patirāja, 284.
Śrī Vikrama Rājasiṁha, **62,** 241.
Śrī Vīrabāhudevar, 303, 305–307.
śrota āpanna, 211.
-ssa, 115.
Sthānu Ravi, 82, 90.
Still (John), 71 *n.* 1, 100 *n.* 3, 129.
stūpa, 71 *n.* 1, 200, 204, 205, 214, 247, 253, 254, 260, 302, 325, 326.
Subha, 164, 167.
Subhagupta, 202.
Subhapabbata (Yāpavu), 24.
Subha-rāja, 9.
Subha-Senāpati, 24.
Subrahmanya Aiyar (K. V.), 86 *n.* 9, 94, 95 *n.* 4, 302 *n.* 3, 306 *n.* 3, 307 *n.* 3.
suhuḷu, 220, 223 *n.* 3; °*ḷuvak*, 222.
Sudasun, 128 *n.* 2.
śuddha, 70.
Śuddhodana, 228 *n.* 4.
Sudovun, 227, 228.
sudusu, 66.
suhurubaḍu, 35.
Sukhāvatīvyūha, 209 *n.* 9.
sulaba, 222.
śulka, 73.
Suḷu-Abhā, 8.
Suḷugalu Udānāvan, 299, 300.
suḷu-piya, 127, 129.
Sumana, god, 71 *n.* 1.
Sumana, 122.
Sumana-kūṭa, 331 *n.* 4.
Sumanaya, 122.
Sumaṅgala (H.), 155 *n.* 1.
Sumaṅgala-prāsāda, 51.
Sumaṅgalu Raksa, 265, 269.
Sumedhā-devīn, 70.
Sumeyur Vathimi, 259, 260.
Sumitra, 66, 67, 246.
Sumitta, 4.
Sundara Choladeva, 86.
Sunetrā-mahādevī, 69.
Sūnṛta, 324 *n.* 1.
sun-sāl, 191 *n.* 5.
sunu, 94, 193.
suraguru, 322.
Sūra-Tissa, 5, **117, 167.**
surindu, 322.
Suriyā, 236, 239, 240.
sūriya-vaṁśābhijāta, 70.
Sūryavarman, 87.
sūryya-vaṁśotbhūta, 66, **245,** 279.
Susamprasthita, **202.**
su-sāṭa, 52 *n.* 1.
sut, 73, 76.
sut-baḍu, 76.
Sūtīghara Cetiya, **278** *n.* **1.**
Sutta Nipāta, 186.
sut-vat, 76.
suvāmi, 326, 329.
suvaṅda-mal, 69, 151.
Suvaṇṇa-piṇḍa-Tissa, 5.
suvayen, 329.
Suvikrāntavikrāmin, **202,** 205.
sūvisi, 231.
svāmīnvahanseṭa, 66, 70, 234, 239, 246, 279.
svarabhakti, 73, 115, 175.
svarggastha bhūta, 314, 322.
svasthira, 54, 55, 246.
svasti, 63, 66, 70, 101, 103, 169, 170, 245, 273, 279, 290, 293, 303, 305, 332, 335.
svastika, 153, 289, 329 *n.* **5.**
svastira, 55, **67.**
svati, 101.
-sya, 115, 176.

-t, 67, 265, 280.
-ṭa, 239, 240, 280, 329.
ṭabā, 77.
ṭabana, 93 *n.* 3, 227.
ṭabannaṭ, 75.
ṭabanu, 265.
ṭabavanu, 227.
ṭabi, 122, 125.
ṭaḍ, 223.
ṭāk, 103, 132, 258.
ṭaka, 341.
takkola, 73.
Taknaru Udagi, 78, 81.
Takopa, 90.
takul, 73.
tala, 322.
Talaing, 341.
talāṭik, 220, 222, 224 *n.* 8, 298, 300 *n.* 3.

talavara, 256 *n.* 6.
Talpē Pattuva, 244.
ṭām, 235.
tamā, 274; *tamāge*, 76; *tamahaṭ*, 273; *tamāhaṭa*, 151; *taman*, 316, 322, 324 *n.* 8; *tamangē*, 151.
Tamankaḍuva, 153, 157 *n.* 4, 172 *n.* 1.
taman vahansē, 288.
tama-taman, 280.
ṭāmba, 125.
Tambapaṇṇi-nagara, 4.
taṁba-pata, 66, 246.
tāmbra-patraya, 67, 246.
tāmbūla maṇḍapa, 97.
Tamil, 5, 6, 12, 13, 27, 28, 30 *n.* 2, 31, 32, 34, 39, 54 *n.* 1, 80, 82, 85, 87, 88–90, 92, 94–98, 106–108, 111, 112, 113 *n.* 1, 125, 135, 136, 140, 143–145, 147, 181, 184, 185, 186, 213 *n.* 3, 217, 218, 228 *n.* 8, 231, 272, 273, 277, 283, 286, 287, 302, 303, 306, 307 *n.* 2 and 3, 308, 311 *n.* 2 and 3, 312 *n.* 2, 331–334, 338, 340.
Tammannā-nuvara, 4.
Tammanne-Kanda, 179, 181.
Tammiṭa-Baṇḍāra, 41.
tān, 93 *n.* 3, 239, 288; *tāna*, 69; *tānā*, 75, 77, 235, 322; *tānaṭ*, 103; *tānaṭa*, 93 *n.* 3; *tān-hi*, 264; *tānin*, 70, 75–77.
tana, 181; *tana-hi*, 177, 181, 250.
tanaturaṭa, 283 *n.* 1.
tanaturehi, 128.
Tanavare, 334.
Taniyān-Vallabha, 41, 42.
Tanjore, 312 *n.* 1.
ṭaṅka, 341.
tān-paṭ, 280.
tarā, 311, 312 *n.* 2.
tāraka, 112.
taram, 239, 329.
taraṅga-vāḷā, 222.
tārika, 112.
tāri-kuḍi, 103, 112; *-kuḍin*, 104.
Tathāgata, 203, 204, 206, 207, 210, 211.
tatsama, 278, 307 *n.* 5.
tāv, 315 *n.* 1.
tāvata-ka, 186.
tāvat-ka, 186.
tāvena, 152.
Tcheng Houo, 37. *See also* Ching Ho.
ted-in, 321.
tek, 239, 323.
tel, 76, 79 *n.* 1, 104; *tela*, 178, 218, 219; *telaṭa*, 69.
teḷesvaka, 279.
Teliyāva, 102 *n.* 5.
Telugu, 51, 276 *n.* 4.
tel-var, 103, 104, 112.
Temple (Sir R.), 341.
tena, 51, 54, 66, 93; *tena-ṭa*, 233 *n.* 1.
Tenavarai, 334–336.
Tenavarai-āḷvar, 335.
Tenavarai-nāyaṉār *or* -nāyiṉār, 333–337.
tene-tanatura, 283 *n.* 1.
Tennent (Sir Emerson), 71 *n.* 2, 90.
Tēnuvara, 334.
Tēnuvarapperumāḷ, 334.
Tērdal, 256.
tere, 215.
ter-hi, 220, 223.
te-säṭ, 220, 223.
tesu, 265.
teva, 66.
Tēvāram, 135.
tevisi, 258.
thera, 312.
Thūlatthana(ka), 6.
Thūpārāma, 114, 125, 154 *n.* 11.
Thūpavaṁsa, 52.
tibādi, 66.
tibē, 285.
tibena, 285.
Tibhuvanādicca, 319.
tibī, 66, 164, 190.
-ṭik, 300 *n.* 3.
ṭikal, 340, 341.
Ṭikiri Rajjuru-Baṇḍāra *or* °Rajjuruvo, 45.
ṭikka (*ṭikkita*), 300 *n.* 3.
ṭikkhaḷa, 340, 341.
tila, 178.
timbirigē, 274.
Timbiriväva, 145, 256.
Tin (Pe Maung), 319 *n.* 1.
tiṇa, 177.
tiṇaḍa, 178, 186.
tiṇa-vanaka, 177, 181.
tirā genā, 75.
tiratnaye, 190.
Tīrtara, 13, 217.
Tirukkarai, 97.
Tirukkētīśvaram, 100, 135.
tiru-magaḷār, 311.
tiru-muṉ-kāṇikkai, 335.
Tiruvarahan, 286.
Tiruvaraṅgamu, 286.
Tis, 227, 228.
Tisa, 116, 166, 169.
Tisa-maharaja, 116.
Tisa-raja, 166.
Tisara Sandesa, 278 *n.* 1.
Tisāväva, 119.
Tis-maha-tera, 227.
Tissa (Devānampiya), 199; (king), 155; (Kuḍā, son of Mahācūḷī Mahātissa), 72, 236; (son of Paṇḍuvāsudeva), 4.
Tissā, 129 *n.* 2.
Tissamahārāma (monastery), 106, 124, 159, 217, 248; (village), 222, 225 *n.* 2.
Tissa Mahāvihāra, 224 *n.* 5.
Tissavāpī, 119.
tithi, 245 *n.* 2.
tivuṇu, 87 *n.* 5.
tiyavak, 193; °*väkā*, 190.
tiyuṇu, 87 *n.* 5.
Tomalin (H. F.), 331.
Toṇḍiyans, 147, 148.
tōṇī, 172 *n.* 1.
Tōṇigala (in Kilakkumalai South), 102 *n.* 1, 172, 174, 177, 193, 194 *n.* 3, 248–251; (in Māmiṇiyā Kōraḷē), 172 *n.* 1; (in Puttalam District), 172 *n.* 1; (in Tamankaḍuva), 172 *n.* 1.
Tooth-Relic, 11, 25, 27, 37, 131, 136, 137, 177, 231, 282.
Tōpāväva, 149.
toraṇa, 301 *n.* 1.
Travancore, 82 *n.* 3, 90 *n.* 3, 94, 95 *n.* 1, 97, 136.
trayadasa, 179.
Trenckner (V.), 156 *n.* 4.
Trincomalee, 158.
Tri-Siṁhala, 67, 68, 247.
Tri-Siṁhalādhīśvara, 66, 246, 279.
Tri-Siṁhalē Kaḍaim saha Vitti, 301 *n.* 1.
triśūla, 289.
-tu, 126.
tubū, 264, 322.
tubu-va, 227.
tūcam, 333, 335, 336 *n.* 8.
tuḍapata, 242.
tuḍi, 140, 141, 146–148.
tulā-bhāra, 329, 331 *n.* 2.
tulā-tala, 322.
Tulataravi-keta 116.
Tul-nā. 6.
tulukki, 333, 335, 336.
tumā, 75, 128, 139, 222, 264, 321, 322.
Tumpokoṇ, 103, 105.
tun, 103, 143, 263 *n.* 4, 264, 265.
tunamuna, 70.
Tunayesa, 36.
tuṇehi, 56.
tun-gäma, 103.
tun-radola, 269 *n.* 1; *-radolen*, 265.
tun-siya, 220, 223.
tunu, 98 *n.* 4, 283 *n.* 1, 322.
tunu-ruvange, 280.
tunu-ruvanhi, 264.
tun-vana, 181; *-vanne*, 198; *-vannen*, 66.
Turnour (G.), 155 *n.* 1.
turu, 52, 66.
turumen, 322.
Tusā-Pāhidi, 299, 300.
tuvāk, 104, 193, 265, 274.

ubhayavāsa, 97.
ud, 227.
Udā, 299, 300; (king, unidentified), 262, 263; (Udaya I), 19; (Udaya II), 20; (Udaya III), 20, 261, 262, 264, 266.
Udā-Abhā-Salamevan (Udaya I), 19.
Udā Abhay, 270.
Uḍa Dumbara, 230.
uḍa-gabaḍāva, 144.
Udagi, 78, 81, 259 *n.* 1.
Udā-giri, 222.
Udahi, 259, 260.
udaka-pūrvam, 118.
Udā-mahapā, 295, 296, 299, 300.
Udā-maharaj, 261, 262, 264.
Udā-mahayā, 98, 130 *n.* 5, 221, 222, 224.
Udānāvan, 299, 300.
Uḍa Pamuṇuva, 320.
Udā-raja (Dappula II), 18.
Uḍa-raṭa, 39, 42, 43, 46, 280, 281, 283, 284. *See also* Kanda Uḍa-raṭa.
Udā Sirisaṅgbō, 138–141.
Uḍavela, 66, 68.
Udaya I, 19, 83, 100, 108, 129, 130, 142, 289, 293; II, 20, 81, 84, 85, 130, 138, 141, 142, 148, 221, 262, 296; III, 20, 73, 83, 85, 87, 262, 263, 296; (heir-apparent of Dappula V), 224 *n.* 9; (heir-apparent of Sena III), 295; (individual), 84, 131, 141, 221, 260 *n.* 9, 296; (unidentified king), 262, 266 *n.* 3.
Udaya (mountain), 223 *n.* 10.
Udaya Abhaya, 270, 273, 275.
Udaya Mahādipāda, 224 *n.* 9.
Udaya-rāja (Dappula II), 18.
Udaya Sirisaṅghabodhi, 140, 141.
uddaranayak, 67.
uddesika 133 *n.* 3.
uddharaṇayak, 240.
uddhata, 329, 330 *n.* 7.
Uḍḍiyankuḷam Kōraḷē, 162, 163.
udi, 177, 178, 184; *udi-hi*, 177.
udu, 227.
Uḍugampola, 41, 42, 60.
uḍu-mahāl, 227.
Uḍunuvara, 241.
Uḍuvēriye Muggili, 70.
uk, 73.
ukas, 264, 265, 267.
Ukāvas, 73, 74, 78.
Ukuṇuhusu Kottā, 189–191.
uḷ, 145.
Ulakuḍaya Devī, 39, 40, 54 *n.* 1, 57.
ulpāḍaṉ, 94, 144.
uluvāhāl, 143.
ulvāḷu or *ulvāḍu*, 76, 79, 94, 139, 141, 144, 145, 225 *n.* 3.
ulvāḷu-kaṇakkar, 76, 95.
un, 151.
und, 193.
Underhill (M. M.), 268 *n.* 4.
uṅdu, 178 *n.* 6, 184, 194.
Uṅduvap, 47.
unge, 265.
ungen, 91.
Uṇhanāgara Hatthadāṭha II, 17.
unu, 76, 265, 266 *n.* 9.
unupovā, 266 *n.* 9.
upādā, 73, 75.
upadanāha, 190.
upadināhu, 67.
Upajāti, 160, 161.
upakaraṇa, 226, 227 *n.* 2; °*ṇayak*, °*ṇayen*, 227.
Upaladoṇika, 165–168.
upan, 222.
uparaṇa, 226, 227.
upāsaka, 228 *n.* 8.
Upatissa I, 12; II, 14, 124, 292; (regent), 4.
Upatissa-nagara, 4.
Upendra, 323.
Upham (E.), 282.
uposatha, 257.
Uppaladoṇika, 164–167.
Uppaladoṇiya, 163 *n.* 1, 166.
Uppalavaṇṇa, 334.
Upulvan, 246.
ūrāṭsi, 111.
urehi dā, 222.
urehi put, 128.
Urulāvatta, 241.
usaba, 314; °*bnaṭ*, 321 *n.* 13.
Usavadāta, 153.
Usgala, 130 *n.* 5, 142.
uta-kubara, 117.
utara-pasahi, 177, 250.
utaviya, 116, 117.
Utpalavarṇṇa, 67.
utta, 117.
Uttānapāda, 324 *n.* 1.
Uttaramallūr, 97.
Uttaramati, 202.
uttarāsaṅga, 307 *n.* 3.
uttē amuṇa, 117.
Uttiya (king), 5; (prince), 82.
utu, 117.
utur, 274.
uturat, 139, 321.
utur-deshi, 223.
Utur Pāṇḍirad, 271, 273, 274, 277.
utur-pasā, 274.
uturu, 66, 103.
uturu-digin, 66.
uturu-karāye, 103.
Ūva, 71, 72, 190 *n.* 2, *n.* 1, 217, 325.
uvadesi, 151.
uvanikeva koṭavaya, 251.
uvanikeva koṭu, 250, 251.
uvanisā, 222, 224 *n.* 3.
uvāraṇa, 226.
Uvāsagadasāo, 256.
uvasu, 228 *n.* 8; °*suvan*, 227.
Uviṁcuviṁ, 333, 335, 336.
uvindu, 322.

-va, 66, 67, 70, 227, 237, 265, 279, 280, 285, 329.
vā, 261.
-vā, 78, 139, 151, 190, 220, 222, 234, 238, 240, 246, 274, 300 *n.* 5, 323, 329.
vaḍā, 67, 265.
vāḍa, 121, 126.
vāḍā, 193, 299, 301 *n.* 2.
vädä, 76, 77, 140, 265.
väḍa-hiḍa, 246.
väḍa-hiṅda, 66.
väḍa inda dī, 54.
vadāḷa, 54, 66, 67, 77, 103, 108, 246, 265, 271, 281, 322, 329; *vadāḷamha*, 223; *vadāḷen*, 75, 299; *vadāḷeyin*, 104, 108, 274, 289, 294.
vaḍanā, 193.
vadanā, 76, 104, 274.
vadanavun, 233 *n.* 1.
vadanu, 147.
vadārā, 66.
vadārana, 66.
vadāranna, 110.
vadāraṇṭayayi, 66.
vadārmen, 274.
vädārum, 109, 110, 265, 274, 299.
väḍa-un tān, 54, 61.
väḍä vasana, 193.
väḍa-vun tān, 53.
väḍa-vun täna, 53.
väḍa-vun-tena, 52, 53, 66.
vädä denu, 265.
vaḍḍhi, 121, 126, 174, 185.
vadi, 75 *n.* 2, 76 *n.* 3, 85, 227.
vädi, 75, 77, 97, 215, 226 *n.* 2, 283 *n.* 1.
vadita, 215.
väḍi-vū, 188.
väḍiyä, 77.
vadnā, 76, 104, 111, 139, 140, 146, 274, 275, 290, 299.
vaḍu, 133, 143.
väḍu, 128.
vaḍu-nā, 133.
Vadurā, 260 *n.* 10.
Vadurā Araksamaṇa, 259, 260.
Vadurā Raksamaṇa, 271, 274, 277.
Vagapaṇaha Pallēsiya Pattu, 253.
vāha, 183.
Vahaba *or* Vahabaya, 115, 116, 155, 166.
vahal, 151.
vahanaka, 216.
vahanse, 67, 75, 77, 193, 279, 280, 299, 322, 329.

vahansē, 280, 288.
vahanseṭa, 66, 70, 279.
Vähäp, 9, 155.
Vaharakgoḍa, 107, 231, 256.
vahera, 175, 178; *vahera-hi*, 218; *vaherakahi*, 177, 178.
Vaishṇava, 51, 55.
Vaiśya, 123.
Vaitulya, 14.
Vaivasvata Manu, 66, 67, 245, 247.
Vajabuti-galakavi-keta, 116.
vajāleyin, 289, 290.
Vajira, 260 *n.* 10.
Vajirā, 266 *n.* 4.
Vajrā, 266 *n.* 4.
vak, 103, 128, 139, 265; *vakä*, 322; *väkä*, 190.
Vaknähä, Tis, 9.
Vaknäsinambapa, 9.
val, 67, 69, 77, 233, 235, 238; *val-vala*, 77, 97.
-valä, 77, 97.
välä, 220.
väläi, 220, 222.
Valabhī, 85.
väläḍemin, 139, 143.
Vaḷa-Gam-Bā, 6.
valahana, 265, 267 *n.* 1.
välähät, 94.
valakanu, 91.
välämma, 74, 79, 91, 92; *väläkme*, 75.
väläkme damanavā, 91.
väläkme no gannā, 75.
Valallāviṭi-kōraḷaya, 237.
Vaḷamäla, 265, 268.
vaḷaṅdā, 70.
vaḷandana, 322.
vaḷaṅdanā, 128.
vaḷandat, 151.
vaḷañja, 145.
Vaḷañjeyar, 145 *n.* 2.
väḷäta, 94.
väḷätā, 76, 94.
Valave Gaṅga, 284.
Valentyn, 52, 57, 237.
väl-gattan, 146.
väli, 232.
Väligama, 284.
Väligatta, 326, 329 *n.* 1 and 2, 330 *n.* 1 and 5.
Välimaḍa, 232, 235.
Välipungonu, 265, 268.
Väliviṭa, 238 *n.* 1.
väl-mila, 295, 299, 301.
valpiṭa, 232, 233, 238.
val-piṭi, 233, 235.
Valpiṭi-väsi-Dat. 17.
val-pittaniya, 233.
valvalä, 77.
val-vasarin, 70.
Valviṭ, 274, 276.
vamha, 239, 281.
vamhä, 239.
vaṁśothbhūta, 278, 279.
van, 76, 77, 108, 133, 146, 186, 190, 191 *n.* 5, 264, 274, 301 *n.* 2.
vaṇa (loc. *vaṇahi*), 178.
vana, 76, 110, 188, 220 *n.* 3, 227, 229 *n.* 3, 280, 299.
-vana, 75, 298.
vāna, 216.
vaṇahi, 178.
-vanaka, 177, 179 *n.* 3, 181.
Vān-äḷa, 149, 331 *n.* 1.
vanavāsika, 97.
vanaya, 188.
vanaya vanaya, 178.
väṅdä, 108, 290.
vandnā, 104.
Vaṅdurāmullē, 66, 68.
vaṅduru, 89.
Vāṅduruppē Vihāra, 192 *n.*
Vaṅguttara-pabbata, 168.
väni, 301 *n.* 1.
Vaṇigrāma, 75, 89, 90.
Vaṇiggrāma, 73, 75 *n.* 3, 89.
vanik-patha, 85.
Vaṅkanāsika-Tissa, 9.
vannā, 329.
Vaṇṇaka, 157.
vannan, 140.
vaṇṇār, 305, 307 *n.* 4.
-vanne, 103, 258, 273.
-vannehi, 293.
-vannen, 66.
Vanni, 172 *n.* 3.
Vanni Bhuvaneka Bāhu (Bhuvaneka-Bāhu III), 29.
-vanu, 139, 193, 231, 234, 264, 322.
Vap, 193, 194, 265, 268.
Väpä, 265.
vāpārayan, 75, 190, 192 *n.* 1.
vapi, 215.
väpuda, 76, 94; *°dayat*, 76.
var, 104.
vara, 109.
varä, 78, 104, 108–110, 274, 299.
varad, 265; *varada*, 77; *varadaṭ*, 77.
väradavuva, 190.
Varakaviya, 116.
varä van, 108.
varayäla, 229; *°yälen*, 227, 229 *n.* 5.
Varddhamānamati, 202.
varekä, 329.
vargga, 152.
vargga-paramparā, 151.
vāri, 139, 265.
varin, 108–110, 265, 274.
väri-säl, 139, 141 *n.* 1.
väriyan, 104, 139, 141 *n.* 1, 225 *n.* 6, 275.
Varthema, 92 *n.* 4.
varugiṟar, 333, 335.
Varuṇadatta, 202.
vas (noun), 191; *vasä*, 193.
vas (particle), 222.
vasa, 56, 177; *vasa-hi*, 177, 179.
Vasaba, 166.
Vasabha, 9, 106, 155, 166, 167, 169.
vasag, 190, 191 *n.* 7.
vasägin, 265, 266 *n.* 8.
vaśaguva, 280.
väsala, 54.
vasana, 193, 227.
vasanaka, 177.
Vasantatilakā, 160, 161.
vasanu, *vasanuvat*, 265.
vas-aturu, 190, 191 *n* 7.
väsi, 216.
vāsīn, 279, 280.
Vāsiṭhiputa, 180.
vasiya, 215, 216.
väsnā, 299.
vassa, 177, 179, 183, 191, 193, 194, 250, 252, 266 *n.* 8.
vässan, 104, 113, 132, 299.
Vāsukī, 7.
vat, 67.
vāṭ, 94.
vaṭa, 175, 178, 182, 251 *n.* 1.
vata, 220 *n.* 3.
vaṭā, 75, 107.
väṭa, 219.
Vaṭa-dā-gē, 291.
vaṭā-genā, 75.
vataka-vaṇahi, 178, 186.
vaṭanā-pasanaṭa or *-pasayaṭa*, 70.
vaṭaṭaya, 182, 250, 251.
vaṭavi, 175–177, 182, 183.
vaṭeha 218, 219.
väṭena, 76, 96.
vat-himi, 260.
Vat-himi-Bhuvaneka-Bāhu (Bhuvaneka-Bāhu II), 27.
vat-himiyan, 75, 77, 259, 265, 266 *n.* 7, 294, 322.
vat-himiyange, 258.
vat-himiyanud, 265.
vat-himiyan vahanse, 75, 77, 85, 322, 323 *n.* 11.
vaṭita, 219; *vaṭitani*, 218, 219.
vatkämi, 78, 81.
väṭ-puda, 94.
Vaṭrak Kasbā Raksamaṇa, 265, 269.
vatta, 66, 280.
Vaṭṭa-Gāmaṇī-Abhaya, 6.
Vaṭṭaka Jātaka, 170.
vaṭṭam, 185.
väṭ-telaṭ, 94.
vaṭu, 93.
väṭu, 96.
Vaṭuka, 7,
väṭuṇu, 285.
vatu-pet, 76, 93.
vaturen, 322.
Vā-uḍa-vili Hatpattu, 317.
vävasthā, 66, 75, 77; *vävasthāvak*, 75.
vävasthā-siriti, 75.
vavi, 165; *vaviya*, 115.
vavu, 151.
Vavuniyā, 172.
väyä, 151, 255.
Vayirmega-vadi, 85.
vayu, 122, 126.
vē, 93 *n.* 3.
veda, 175, 177, 185, 250, 251, 253.
vedahal vässan, 113.
veḍha, 121, 122, 126, 174, 177, 178, 185.
veḍhavataka, 178, 188.
Vedic, 84, 123, 140 *n.* 1, 164, 176, 253, 272.
Vēgiri-dēvālē, 30.
Vēgiriya, 33, 59, 62.
veher, 73, 222, 264; *veherä*, 258, 265; *veheraṭ*, 221; *veher-hi*, 227.
velä, 98.
veḷadam, *veḷadām*, 76, 77.
Veḷakkā, 274, 276.
veḷaṅdun, 93 *n.* 3.
Velatme Mihindu, 190, 191.
velä yut pas-denä, 98.
Velmilla, 294.
vel vässan, 113.
venin, 69, 237.
vēr, 73, 75; *veraṭ*, 221.
Vēragoḍagala, 125.
Veragoḍagala, 120, 121.
veraḷu, 151.
veraṭ, 221.
Vēra-Tissa, 10.
Vesaga, 223, 224.
Vesak, 46, 47, 53, 63, 237, 240, 242, 244.
Vesaka, 179 *n.* 3.
Vesaṅga, 239.
veses, 295, 298, 300 *n.* 5.
Vessagiriya, 81, 82 *n.* 4, 88, 94, 110 *n.* 6, 126, 129, 175, 226 *n.* 3, 261, 267 *n.* 3, 292.
vesun, 93 *n.* 3.
vet, 76.
vet (verb), 193.
veṭayala, 178, 187.
veṭi, 67.
veṭra-dhāra, 146.
veṭṭuviccēṉ(*ttēṉ*), 303, 306.
vetvay, 198.
Vēvälkäṭiya, 98, 109 *n.* 2, 135, 142.
veyi, 329.
vi, 133, 175, 177, 184, 190, 193.
vī, 67, 184.
vibangha, 254, 258.
vicārā, 51, 66.
vicāra koṭ, 86 *n.* 6.
vicāraṇa, 110.
vicārā vadārana, 66.
vidä, 75.
Vidāgama Mahāsāmi, 294.
vidāna-gam, 238.
Viḍēl-Viḍugu kal, 95.
vidhānē-täna-ṭa, 69.
vīdiya, 85.
Vīdiya Kumāra, 41.
vīdiye āracci, 85.
Vīdiye Baṇḍāra, 86.
vidurā, 151.
Vidurā, 262.
Vidurā-rājna, 261, 262, 264, 266.
Vidyodaya, 52, 53.
Vigataśoka Bodhisattva, 204, 208.
Vigulavatta, 31.
vihāra, 285; *°rayak*, 52 *n.* 1; *°rayaṭa*, 69.
viharahi, 116, 154, 165, 166, 176.
viharaya, 125.
Vihāregala, 162, 163, 167, 168.
viharya, 125.
Vijaya, 4.
Vijaya (Vijayabāhu I), 316, 322, 324.
Vijaya āpā, 36.
Vijayabāhu I, 22, 83, 102, 147, 213, 292, 304, 308–311, 315, 316, 324; II, 22; III, 25, 230, 287, 288; IV, 26, 48–50, 287; V, 29; VI, 36, 58, 63; VII, 43, 55, 58–61, 242, 244, 334; (unidentified), 59.
Vijaya Bāhu Vathimi, 25 (Vijayabāhu III).
Vijaya-bhāṇḍāra-potun, 70.
Vijayābharaṇaṇ(n), 303, 305–307.
Vijayādi-Bāhu, 50.
Vijaya-kumāra(ka), 10.
Vijayapāla, 46.
Vijaya-raja-pā, 309, 322.
Vijayārāma, 200 *n.* 1.
Vijayiñdu, 10.
viki, 76.
vikiṇä, 164, 169, 190.
vikiniyaṭa, 93 *n.* 3.
vikka, 77.
vikkä, 76.
Vikkama Bāhu I, 22; II, 23; III, 31, 32; (Kassapa), 21. *See also* **Vikrama** Bāhu.
Vikkama-Paṇḍu, 21.
Vikkirama-Calāmēga, 309, 311.
Vikkirama Calāmēga-Īśvara, 310, 312.
Vikkirama-Calāmēga-Īśvaram-ūḍaiyār, 311.
Vikkirama-Calāmēga-pura, 310–312.
vikmayen, 221, 222.
vikmen, 221 *n.* 4.
Vikrama Bāhu I, 304, 309–311; III, 232, 238, 244; (unidentified), 241–244.
Vikramabāhu Silāmegha, 312 *n.* 1.
Vikramasiṁha, 286.
Vikramasiṁha-adhīkāra, 281, 282.
vikuṇanu, 76, 77.
vikuṇayi, 160.
vil, 67, 69, 238.
Vilacciya Kōraḷē, 271.
Vilēväva, 249.
Vilgammūla Mahā Thera, 28.
Vilgammula Saṁgharāja, 244.
vil-piṭa, 238.
Vimala Dhamma Suriya *or* Vimala Dharma Sūrya I, 45, 242; II, 46; (unidentified), 312.
Vimānavatthu, 187.
Vimukti-saṅgraha, 30, 244.
Vinaya Piṭaka, 119, 168, 194 *n.* 11, 228 *n.* 6.
viṇḍä, 83, 139.
viṇḍinā, 246.
vindu, 151.
vi-poliyaṭ, 190.
vīra, 123 *n.* 2, 309.
Vīra Alakeçvara, 34–36, 38.
Vīrabāhu I, 23; II, 36, 38; (āpā), 36, 38; (*or* °devar, Mānābharaṇa), 304–307, 309; (prince, nephew of Parākramabāhu II), 26, 287.
Vīrabāhudevar, 304–307.
Vīrabāhupperumāḷ, 309.
virāma, 196–198, 303, 332.
Vīra Parakkama-Bāhu (Jayabāhu II), 40, 56; (Parakkama-Bāhu VIII), 41, 57, 58.
Vīra Parākrama Bāhu (Parakkama-Bāhu VIII), 41, 54, 57, 283.
Vīrapperumāḷ, 308–311.
Vīrarāghava, 90.
Vīra Rāma, 40.
Vīra Vijaya-Bāhu, 37.
Vīra-Vikkama, 44, 241, *o* -Vikrama, 242.
viruda, 84, 197, 199 *n.* 1, 226, 263, 273, 290, 293, 306 *n.* 7.
viruddha, 279.
visarga, 201.
visenī, 258, 291.
viseniya, 66.
viseniyi, 73, 75.
Viśeṣamati, 202.
visevinī, 291, 293.
Vishṇu, 51, 54, 55, 68.
visi (Skt. *vaśī*), 220, 222.
visi (Skt. *viṁśati*), 88, 258.
Visidāgama Thera, 38.
visi-kaḷa, 220, 222.
visin, 67, 220, 223, 227, 280.
visi-satara, 69.
visita, 179 *n.* 3.
visiya, 175, 177, 251, 252.
Viṣṇu, 240, 244, 247, 286, 323 *n.* 18, 334.
Viśuddhimārgga, 241.
Viśvedevās, 324 *n.* 1.
vitāra koṭ, 75.

viḷi, 187.
viṭiyaḷa, 187.
viya, 116.
viyagura, 260 *n.* 3; *viyagurak*, 258.
viyanaṭ, 190.
Vohārika-Tissa, 10.
voṭunnak, 52 *n.* 1.
voṭunu, 322, 324 *n.* 4.
Vṛttamālā, 244.
vu, *vū*, 66, 67, 69, 75, 91, 94, 103, 139, 151, 227, 229, *n.* 1, 232, 233, 235, 239, 269 *n.* 1, 274, 276 *n.* 6, 280, 295, 298, 300, 321, 329.
vūdū, 315, 322, 324 *n.* 3.
vusū, 193.
Vuttamālā, 278 *n.* 1.
vuva, 190.
vuvamanā, 151.
vyavasthā, 70; °*thāvaṭa*, 70.
vyaya-śarīra, 112.

Wang Ch'ing Lien, 333, 336 *n.* 3, 337.
Western Chālukya, 310.
White (H.), 71 *n.* 1, 72, 212 *n.* 1.
Wickremasinghe (D. M. de Z.), 81, 88 *n.* 4, 94, 95, 96 *n.* 2, 99, 106–108, 109 *n.* 3, 110, 115, 117, 128, 130 *n.* 5, 131, 141, 142, 143 *n.* 1, 146, 148, 154 *n.* 2, 156, 169, 170, 172, 222, 223 *n.* 4, 228 *n.* 11, 249, 262 *n.* 3, 263, 264, 267 *n.* 2, 269 *n.* 4, 275 *n.* 6, 278, 296, 304, 314, 318 *n.* 1, 323 *n.* 16 and 17, 324 *n.* 3 and 6.
Wijesinha (L. C.), 15, 102 *n.* 6, 129, 262 *n.* 3, 317.
William, the Conqueror, 52.
Williams (M.), 85, 118.
Winternitz (M.), 136 *n.* 2.
Woolner (A. C.), 87 *n.* 6.

-ya, 115, 153, 193, 255, 280.
ya, 175.
yā, 329, 330 *n.* 9.
yādē, 151.
-yaha (gen. term.), 115, 127.
yahaḍa, 183.
yahaḷa, 183, 194; *yahaḷak*, 193.
yahan-govu, 139, 146.
Yahisapavata, 177–179, 183.
Yahisapavaya, 177, 178.
-yahu, 115, 127.
yakaḍa, 151.
yala, 185.
yāḷa, 183, 189, 194 *n.* 1, 325; *yâḷak*, 323; *yāḷe*, 70.
yamma, 280.
yammā, 99, 151.
ya-mugur-gatuvan, 139, 146.
yana, 66, 233, 237, 280, 316, 322.
yana ena sēvā bālayan, 55.
yāna-gopaka, 146.
yanu, 75, 93 *n.* 3.
yāpā, 82.
yāpana, *yāpanī*, 187.
Yāpāpaṭuna, 283.
Yāpavu, 24, 26, 27.
yapeni, 178, 187.
-yasa, 115.
yasa, 173, 275 *n.* 6, 322.
Yasalālaka-Tissa, 9, 167.
yasa-pambanda, 322, 324 *n.* 6.
Yasasiḷu, 9.
yat, 258.
yaṭa, 227.
Yaṭāla dāgāba, 159.
yaṭa-mahālhi, 227.
yati-himi, 283 *n.* 1.
Yaṭinuvara, 237.
yavā, 322.
yāyen, 66.
-yayi, 237, 240, 301 *n.* 1, 329.
yāyiyana, 322.
Yazdani (G.), 338.
yedī, 151.
yena, 203, 206.
yet, 76, 77.
-yi, 70, 71, 76 *n.* 7, 77, 105, 133, 151, 190, 235, 255, 258, 280, 288, 322, 323, 329.
-yi (gen. term.), 75.
-yi (loc. term.), 73.
yippācitam, 333, 335.
yiṭṭa, 308.
yohon, 314, 315, 321.
yojana, 327.
yon, 75, 314, 315.
yona, 315.
yōna, 315.
Yudaṅgaṇāva, 326, 327, 329 *n.* 2 and 4, 330 *n.* 5.
yuddha koṭa, 316, 322.
yuddhayen, 301 *n.* 1.
yugānadaṟam (*yugāntaram*), 306, 307 *n.* 5.
yukti, 77.
Yule (Sir Henry), 92 *n.* 4.
Yung Lo, 333, 338.
Yuñlo, 333, 335, 337.
yut, 98, 283 *n.* 1.
yuvarada, 128.
yuvaraja, 57, 67, 239.
yuvarāja, 31, 33, 83, 129, 130, 287, 300 *n.* 5.
Yuvarāja of Māyādunuvara, 57.