I have included in this paper eight short epigraphs in the Sinhalese language of about the sixth century, which have a bearing on the interpretation of a phrase of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions of that period. The decipherment of these records has been done from photographs of estampages very kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. C. E. Godakumbure, the Archaeological Commissioner, to whom I am indebted for permission to reproduce them.

A. Periyakaḍu-vihāra (See Plate II, 3)

The first of these records is from the site of an ancient monastery, now called Periyakaḍu-vihāra, near Nālava in the Ihala Visidekē Kōrāle of the Hiriyaḷa Hatpattu, Kurūnāgal District. At this site there are Brāhmī inscriptions, in pre-Christian characters, below the drip-ledges of four caves, the text of one of which has been published by H. Parker in his Ancient Ceylon,1 an inscription of a king named Gamiṇi Ābaya (probably Gajabāhu I, circa 112-134 A.C.), indited on the rock in characters of about the second century A.C.2, and a rock-inscription of a king named Sirināga (probably the first of that name, circa 195-214 A.C.), in addition to the epigraph now published.3 It was discovered by me when I visited the place in 1931, and the photograph now published is of an estampage prepared at that time.

The record, which is of four lines, is in a satisfactory state of preservation, not one of its letters having become illegible. The script is similar to that of the Tiṃbirivāva rock-inscription of Kassapa I,4 and the record

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1 H. Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 449.
2 E. Müller, Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon, No. 8.
3 For an account of the inscriptions at Periyakaḍu-vihāra, see Ceylon Journal of Sciences, Section G (CJSG), Vol. II, pp. 178, 180 and 214-5.
4 University of Ceylon Review, Vol. XIX, p. 96 f, and plate facing p. 95.
may therefore belong to the last decades of the fifth or the first half of the sixth century. The ancient name of the monastery, the equivalent of P. Ekadvära, is contained in this as well as in the other two rock inscriptions at the site.\(^5\) This name, it may be noted, was also borne by a monastery founded by King Sabha (Subha, \textit{circa} 59-65 A.C.)\(^6\) of which the remains are seen at Viharegala near Mahakälâgama in the Uḍḍiyankulãm Köræle of the Anurâdhapura District, as attested by inscriptions at that site as well as at the tank called Pahala Kayinåttama in its vicinity.\(^7\)

The inscription ends with the phrase \textit{cidava vaharalya} which, in a number of variant forms, has been found in the majority of Sinhalese inscriptions from the fifth to seventh centuries. Separated from this phrase by the name of the monastery, our record also contains the phrase \textit{tamaha vasa nayanamaha}, noticed here for the first time. It is clear from the context that the phrase \textit{tamaha vasa nayanamaha}, ending with an absolutive, refers to an action which preceded that recorded in the phrase \textit{cidava vaharalya}. What the action referred to in the first phrase was, it is not difficult to determine, for none of the four words contained in it presents any difficulty of interpretation. \textit{Tamaha} is the genitive singular of \textit{tama}, equivalent to Sanskrit \textit{ātman} and Pali \textit{ātuma} or \textit{attā}, meaning 'self'. \textit{Vasa} is the same as Skt. \textit{vasa}, and is found in the same form in Pali and Prakrit as well as in standard Sinhalese; among its meanings is 'subjection'. \textit{Naya} is derived from Skt. \textit{nya} with the addition of the \textit{-ka} suffix, and is found in the same form in the modern language, meaning 'debt'. The word \textit{namaha} has not been met with before, but in its present context it is reasonable to take it as derived from an absolutive form of the Skt. \textit{nir-vah} which may mean 'to cease', 'to end' etc. The form \textit{namaha} of the present record is the prototype of \textit{nimā} in classical Sinhalese. The whole phrase may therefore be rendered literally as 'having ended the debt of his subjection', i.e. 'having settled the debt he was subjected to'. Now, this interpretation squares very well with that given for the phrase \textit{cidavi vaharalya}, and its equivalents, i.e. 'caused the cessation of slavery'.\(^8\) It is well known that, in ancient Ceylon, as it was in India, one particular class of slave was the \textit{ina-dāsa}, i.e. a person who had submitted himself to slavery on account of a debt that he had incurred.\(^9\) In such instances, the payment of the debt, either in money or in services rendered, would automatically result in the cessation of the slavery caused

\(^6\) \textit{Mahāwihara}, Chapter XXXV, v. 58.
\(^8\) \textit{EZ}, Vol. IV, pp. 132-3.
\(^9\) \textit{Rasavahini}, Part II, Colombo, 1899, p. 18
by it. The interpretation of the phrase is also supported by that of the similar phraseology occurring in the inscriptions that follow in this paper. This record and those which follow conclusively establish the interpretation that we have given of the phrase *cidavi vaharalaya* etc, when it came up for consideration for the first time in the course of the decipherment of an inscription.

### Text

1 तलाहाया वसना नागा
2 तमाहा वसना नाया नामाहा
3 एकादरा-राजा-महा-वहारा *ci*-
4 -दावा वहरालाया

### Transcript

1 Talahayaha vasana Naga
2 tamaha vasa ṇaya namaha
3 Ekadora-raja-maha-vahara *ci*-
4 -dava vaharalaya

### Translation

Naga residing at Talahayat settled the debt that he had incurred, and caused the cessation of [his] slavery in the royal monastery of Ekadora.

### B. Galkāṭiyāgama

Five inscriptions in the Sinhalese script of about the sixth century are incised on a rock at the site of an ancient monastery at Galkāṭiyāgama, four miles south-west of Polpitigama, in the Hiriyāla Hatpattu, Kurunāgala District. These records are included as No. 101 in the List of Inscriptions.

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10 There are faint traces of the i-stroke of *ci*, though medial vowels, other than the inherent a, are rarely shown graphically.

11 After this are visible faint traces of the letter *ma*. It is not impossible that the phrase *ma pala sava sutanāya* was contained in the last line of this record.

12 Pali *Nāga*.

13 A tank named Tulahaka is mentioned in the inscription of Gamanī Abaya at this place. The last syllable, which is the locative suffix, may be read as -hi.

14 Pali *Ekadvāra*.
forming Appendix F of H. C. P. Bell’s *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey* for 1911-12, p. 118. They have also been noticed by the late Mr. C. W. Nicholas who has prepared eye-copies of them; an estampage of the records has been prepared by the Archaeological Survey. The inscriptions have been indited close to each other, three of them on the left side of the inscribed area, and two on the right side. That on the upper section of the right hand side is in letters much larger than those in the others. Some of the letters of this record have been worn away. The other four records are in a satisfactory state of preservation. The engraver has omitted one letter each in the records numbered II and III. Among the dated inscriptions of this period, that which is written in characters approximating to those in the records under discussion is the rock-inscription of Dāthopatissa at Andaragollāva. It is very rarely that the writing shows strokes to indicate the medial vowels, apart from the a which is inherent in every consonantal symbol. Records No. I and III have *sadeva* in place of *cādeva* or *cidevi* in other records; they thus provide us with one of the earliest examples for the change of c to s, a phonological change which had a widespread vogue in the language of the later period.

In records I, III and V, we come across the phrase *na kena* before *cidavi* (or *sadeva*) *vaharala* (or *veharalaya*). In No. II also the phrase *na kena* occurs in a similar position, but the letter *ka* has been inadvertently omitted by the engraver. From the context, it appears that *na kena* has the same meaning as *naya namaha* of the Periyakađu-vihāra inscription dealt with above. *Na* is obviously derived from Sanskrit *na*, without the adding of the pleonastic suffix *-ka*. The word in that form occurs in the Mihintale tablets, in the phrase *lekam karā na vū dāyak genā* and also in the *Dampiyā-ātuvā-gāta-padaya*. *Kena* is to be derived from an absolutive form of the root *kṣi* formed by the suffix *-ya* instead of the grammatical *-tvā*, and with the addition of the conjugal affix *-na* (*kṣīnya*). It would thus mean ‘having diminished or decreased’, or ‘having made an end of’. Used with a word meaning ‘debt’, it would express the idea of ‘having settled’ or ‘paid back’. The word that would be appropriate in such a context in the modern

18 *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 92. In Wickremasinghe’s edition of this inscription, the reading is *lekam karāna dāyak genā* which fails to recognize *na* as a separate word. As correctly, read above, the phrase means ‘having examined accounts and recovered any debts incurred.’
language is gevā, the absolutive of the verb geva, going back to a causative form of the root kṣi to which the conjugational affix -ṇa has not been added. The phrase ṇa kena, thus, has the same meaning as ṇaya namaha.

Inscriptions numbered II and IV contain the word sayamala before vaharala. In several other unpublished inscriptions of this period also, the word sayamala occurs in a similar position. The compound dasi-paha, used in place of vaharala in the Andaragollāva inscription,21 throws welcome light on the meaning of the word sayamala (which also occurs in some records as siyamala). Paha in dasi-paha has been equated with Skt. pāśa ‘noose’ or ‘bondage’, with which the Sinhalese mala is synonymous. Taking saya or siya as equivalent to Skt. svayam, the compound saya-mala would mean ‘self-bondage,’ that is, slavery that one has voluntarily taken upon oneself in consequence of a debt or some other reason. This interpretation of the compound sayamala gains support by the occurrence, in a few records of the period,22 of the phrase ala-mala vaharala, in which ala would stand for Skt. anya. Compare alle davase for Skt. anyeṇus. Alamala-vaharala would thus be slavery enforced by others, as distinct from that voluntarily accepted.

I

Text23 (See Plate I, 1)

1    2    3    4
Ka habaya paṭaya Samana
Gana ṇa kena sadeva vehara-
-laya maha pala sava-sa-
-tanaṭa vayavaya

Transcript

1    2    3    4
Kahabaya paṭaya Samana
Gana ṇa kena sadeva vehara-
-laya maha pala sava-sa-
-tanaṭa vayavaya

22 For example, in an unpublished inscription from Rājaṅgaṉē. See EZ, Vol. IV, p. 134.
23 No attempt has been made in the readings that follow to restore the vowels where they have not been graphically indicated.
Translation

Samana Gana, a resident of Kahabaya, having settled the debt [due from him], caused the cessation of [his] slavery. May the fruit of this action be for [the good] of all beings.

II

Text (See Plate I, 2)

1. Dapula-derana Sarna- 
2. na Gana na [ke*]na cadeva 
3. sayamala vahara- 
4. -la pala sava-sa- 
5. -tanața

Translation

Samana Gana of Dapula-derana, having settled the debt [due from him], caused the cessation of [his] self-imposed slavery. The merit [of this action is given] to all beings.

III

Text (See Plate I, 3)

1. "Dapula-derana Sarna- 
2. na Gana na [ke*]na cadeva 
3. sayamala vahara- 
4. -la pala sava-sa- 
5. -tanața

Translation

Samana Gana of Dapula-derana, having settled the debt [due from him], caused the cessation of [his] self-imposed slavery. The merit [of this action is given] to all beings.

24 This personal name occurs in the next record as well as in a number of documents in this period.
25 The place name Kahabaya of this record is found in Nos. III and IV in the form Kahapuya. These appear to be locative forms of a stem Kahabi or Kahapu, possibly connected with Skt. Kīśyapa, P. Kassapa. Comparison with No. IV indicates that Kahabaya or Kahapuya, without pañaya which follows, is the place name, and that pañaya takes the place of vasana, 'residing in' of No. IV. Possibly pañaya is derived from Skt. prasthā- 
yin.
26 Vayavaya is vēvi in standard Sinhalese.
SOME SINHALESE INSCRIPTIONS

Transcript

1 Kahapuya\textsuperscript{27} paṭaya Dasa[ga]pa-
2 -ya ṇa kena sade[va\textsuperscript{*}] vahara[la]
3 pala sava-satanaṭa

Translation

Dasagapaya, a resident of Kahapuya, having settled the debt [due from him], caused the cessation of his slavery. The merit [of this] is given to all beings.

IV

Text (See Plate I, 4)

1 \textsuperscript{28} Kaha\textsuperscript{27} vasa\textsuperscript{27} Daya
2 -na kena sadevaya vahara
3 pala sava-satanaṭa

Translation

Daya, residing at Kahapuya, having settled the debt [due from him], caused the cessation of [his] self-imposed slavery. The merit [of this] is given to all beings.

V

Text (See Plate I, 5)

1 \[\text{	extsuperscript{27} Kihapu,}\]
2 \[\text{but there is no i-stroke attached to the first letter.}\]
3 \[\text{This name may have contained another letter or two after ya.}\]

\textsuperscript{27} C. W. Nicholas (\textit{JRASCB}, NS, Vol. VI, p. 100) has read this name as Kihapu, but there is no i-stroke attached to the first letter.

\textsuperscript{28} This name may have contained another letter or two after ya.
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Transcript

1 [Ga]ragamaya
2 vasana Rayana
3 -na Gana na kena
4 ci[davi vaha]rala
5 [pa]la sa[vasata]nata

Translation

Rayana Gana, residing at [Ga]ragamaya, having settled the debt [due from him], caused the cessation of [his] slavery. The fruit of this is given to all beings.

C. Aṃbagasvāva

Two inscriptions in the Sinhalese script of about the sixth century are incised on a rock called Maduvegala in the village of Aṃbagasvāva in the Divigandahe Kōrale of the Hiriyāla Hatpattu, Kurunāgala District. These inscriptions are included as No. 100 of the List of Inscriptions forming Appendix F of H. C. P. Bell’s Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1911-12. Estampages of them have been prepared by the Archaeological Department in 1959, and numbered 7 and 8 in the List of Inscriptions copied during that year. With the exception of two or three letters which have been blurred somewhat, the two records are in a satisfactory state of preservation. Some of the letters are rather cursive in formation; the script may be ascribed to a period between Kumāradāsa and Dāṭhopatissa.

With regard to language, the phrase paya-vasa-nayata in record No. 1 has not been found in any other document. Nayata is the dative singular of naya and means ‘for the debt’; paya-vasa must therefore denote a particular kind of debt. Paya means foot, and vasa has been explained in discussing the phrase tamaha vasa naya namaha in the Periyakaḍu inscription dealt with above. The phrase paya-vasa-naya would therefore mean ‘a debt for which one’s foot is subjected’. What is intended by the expression becomes

29 There are traces of letters of a sixth line.
30 This might have stood for Girigâma in Pali.
31 ASCAR for 1959, p. 52.
clear from the phrase *at-pā-vaḥalat-giḷākugen* in l. 21 of the Vēvālkāṭīya inscription, 'from one who has gone out for slavery (by working with) hands or with feet'. The Galapāṭa-vihāra rock-inscription specifies the services, which the slaves attached to the monastery had to render to the monks, by the phrase *at-pā-mehe* 'services by hands and feet'. It would thus appear that in old Ceylon when a person became a slave, it was understood between him and his master what particular type of work he had to perform, whether it was manual labour involving the use of the hands, or going on errands, which involves the use of the feet. It is significant in this connection that the record uses the phrase *yana saya di* before the statement that the debt was liquidated. *Yana* in this phrase is Skt. *yāna* 'going', *saya* means 'hundred' and *di* 'having given'. The import of the phrase is 'having performed a hundred journeys', on errands and other needs of the monastery, it is to be understood.

Another unusual phrase occurring in Inscription No. I is *naya narada pavatavaya*. The last word is an absolute form meaning 'having conducted', of which the subject is *vahara-laḍana* (*vehera-laḍuvan*, in the later language), the trustee of the monastery'. The context would thus indicate that by *naya-narada* was meant a formal action by the trustee of the monastery on the occasion of manumitting a slave. As such, *narada* may be connected with the Sanskrit root *nir-aj* 'to drive out or away'. In this connection, it is pertinent to note that the *Samantapāśādikā* refers to the practice of pouring butter-milk on the head of a slave when he is given his freedom.

Another interesting form is *mayala* (*meyala*) in Inscription No. II. From the context, it is clear that *mayala* is the genitive singular of the demonstrative pronoun *me*, in the masculine gender. As such, it may be compared with the modern Sinhalese *meyala* or *meyala-ge*, where the suffix *-la* is plural. Originally, however, this suffix would have been honorific, as in the modern *āraccila*.

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33 EZ, Vol. I, p. 247. Wickremasinghe's rendering of this phrase, 'from those who went out to do menial work', is too free, and does not bring out the particular significance of the words used.


36 See also *Sīgiri Graffiti*, op.cit, p. cxxiv.
Text (See Plate II, 1)

1 Dekena -ereya Kasapa Pasa Mayagara-raja-
2 maha-vaharaṭa paya-vasa-ṇayata38 ya-
3 -na saya di39 e ṇa38 kena39 sadeva40 vaharala
4 Mayadava vaharaladana ṇaya38 -narada pavatavaya

Transcript

1 Dekena -ereya Kasapa Pasa Mayagara-raja-
2 maha-vaharaṭa paya-vasa-ṇayata38 ya-
3 -na saya di39 e ṇa38 kena39 sadeva40 vaharala
4 Mayadava vaharaladana ṇaya38 -narada pavatavaya

Translation

Kasapa41 of Dekena42 -ereya having completed43 a hundred journeys44 on account of the debt binding his feet45 to the royal monastery of Mayagara,46 and having thus settled that debt, caused the cessation of [his] slavery, Mayadava,47 the trustee of the monastery48 having conducted49 the [ceremony of] debt-driving.50

37 The symbol read as de looks like gu.
38 The cross stroke at the middle, which distinguishes the cerebral na from the dental, is not perceptible. It is possible that the scribe wrote na instead of ga, which this word has in other records.
39 The stroke for the medial vowel has been assumed. The symbol for da here is different from that in other places of this record; but this form for da occurs in the Tīmbiri-vāva inscription of Kassapa I referred to above.
40 Šidavi.
41 Kasapa is Sanskrit Kāśyapa, P. Kassapa. The equivalent of Pasa in Sanskrit or Pali is not certain.
42 Skt. Daksīna, P. Dakkhīna, Elu Dakunu.
43 Di, literally 'given.'
44 Yana saya, see discussion above.
45 Paya-vasa-ṇayata:— This phrase has been discussed in the introduction.
46 To be read as Meyagiri=Skt. and P. Meghagiri.
47 Šread Mayadera; Skt. P. Māgā-deva.
48 Vahara-ladana:— In later language, vehera-laduvan, literally, ‘one who has received the monastery’. The plural form is no doubt honorific.
49 Pavatavaya, in later language pavatā. It is possible that pavatavaya is a finite verb, being the prototype in the sixth century of the classical Sinhalese pāvāte, which presupposes a form *pavatavayi, and that the i in the last syllable has been changed to a due to vowel-assimilation.
50 ṇaya-narada. See discussion in the Introduction.
SOME SINHALESE INSCRIPTIONS

II

Text (See Plate II, 2)

1 ද ආදාඬුණික හාව
2 මෙ මීට හිටන්
3 මකුණු මීට සි ගොන කුනි මෝ
4 නිය ප්‍රේ_digit

Transcript

1 Si Dekana-ereya Kasapa
2 Pasa Mayagara raja-maha-
3 vahare mayala vasa [k]e[na] si-
4 -deva vaharala

Translation

Hail! Kasapa Pasa of Dekana-ereya, having settled the debt by which this [personage] was subjected to the royal monastery of Mayagara, caused the cessation of [his] slavery.\(^\text{51}\)

S. PARANAVITANA

\(^\text{51}\) It will be noticed that Inscription No. II is identical in subject matter with No. I, but for the omission of certain phrases contained in the first. Perhaps the more detailed document was set up by the person who was manumitted, and the other by the trustee of the temple. The names of places and persons are the same in both. With the text and the translation of No. II, see notes on the corresponding readings and names of No. I.