

## BANDĀRA RATMALE PILLAR INSCRIPTION

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The epigraph dealt with in this paper is inscribed on a stone -pillar which was found in the jungle below the tank at Bandāra-Ratmale in Kānda Korale of the Anurādhapura district. It is an *attāṇi* pillar of the late Anurādhapura period. This pillar was discovered in 1891 and its discovery is recorded by H. C. P. Bell in the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report for 1891 (p. 6) as follows:

'Bandāra-Ratmale - By the side of the path to Kāpirigama is a squared pillar, 6 ft. 6 ins in height, rounded at top, with an inscription on three sides, and symbols on the fourth, greatly weather-beaten. The pillar and writing resemble those at Eṭavīragollēwa and Etākaḍa, and belong to the tenth century'.

As for its lithography, all four sides of the pillar have been smoothened, but only three ruled for writing. The width of a side is about 9½ inches. Both sides 'A' and 'B' have 31 lines of writing each and there are 23 lines on side 'C'. Six symbols are engraved below one another in the following order on side 'D' : a sun, a crescent moon, a monk's fan, a sickle, a crow and a dog. The writing on the three sides that contain them, have suffered considerably from weather, but it was possible with some effort to decipher (except for a few lines) the whole inscription.

The characters on the three sides containing the script belong to the alphabet that was in use during the latter half of the tenth century A. D., and show a marked tendency to cursive form. The letters are roughly of the same size, approximately 1½ inches by 1½ inches. The hook at the beginning of certain letters is very conspicuous; it is very prominent in letters like *a, ka, ta, pa* and *ha*.

The language of this record is pure Siṅhala (Eḷu); the only aspirated consonant employed here is the labial sonant *bhā* used in proper names only. (*Abhāsalamēvan*, side A, lines 9-10, 16-17) The document is introduced with a panegyric of the king in whose reign this inscription was issued. The only unusual word occurring in this record is *nāñḍanu* (*no+hañḍanu*). It is used here in this sense: 'do not sound (the drums)'. The word usually found in inscriptions of this period is '*no gasanu*', 'Do not beat (drums)'.<sup>1</sup> However, in the *Jātaka Aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya*, a work of a later period, the word '*hañḍa*' (sound has been used, as in the inscription under discussion, in the former sense.<sup>2</sup>

As for phonology we may note that nasals are preserved here in a number of places: *Daṁbadiv, viṇḍa, lāṅgū, māñḍi, saṅganaṭ, Tuṁbarab, Saṅgsen, Kiliṅg* and *nāñḍanu* (Side A: lines 3, 14, 18, 20, 25-26, 27, 30; side 'B', lines 5, 7, 8, 10; side 'C', line 7).

This inscription is dated in the first year of a king whose throne name was *Abhāsalamēvan*. The names of his parents are also given in the inscription, where the father is called *Abhāsalamēvan* (which is also the throne name) and the mother, *Vidurā rājina*. During the tenth century A.D., to which period this record could be assigned on paleographical grounds, there were five rulers who bore this throne name, namely Kassapa V (914-923), Dappula IV

(924–935), Sena III (938–946) and Sena V (972–982). It is the view of some scholars that Udaya III (935–938) had used both throne names, *Abhāsalamēvan* and *Sirisañgabo*; this would thereby add Udaya III to our list. But owing to the lack of conclusive proof that he ever used the name of *Abhāsalamēvan*, he need not be considered in this respect. Of the other five kings, Kassapa V and Dappula IV were the sons of Sena II (853–887), who bore the throne name of *Sirisañgabo*: Sena V was a son of Mahinda IV (956–972) also a *Sirisañgabo*. The father of the king mentioned in the present inscription is an *Abhāsalamēvan*. Thus, we may discount the probability of any of the three kings mentioned above being the king referred to. The *Cūlavamsa* has not given the parentage of the other two rulers. Nevertheless, it is certain that one of these two is the sought for *Abhāsalamēvan*.

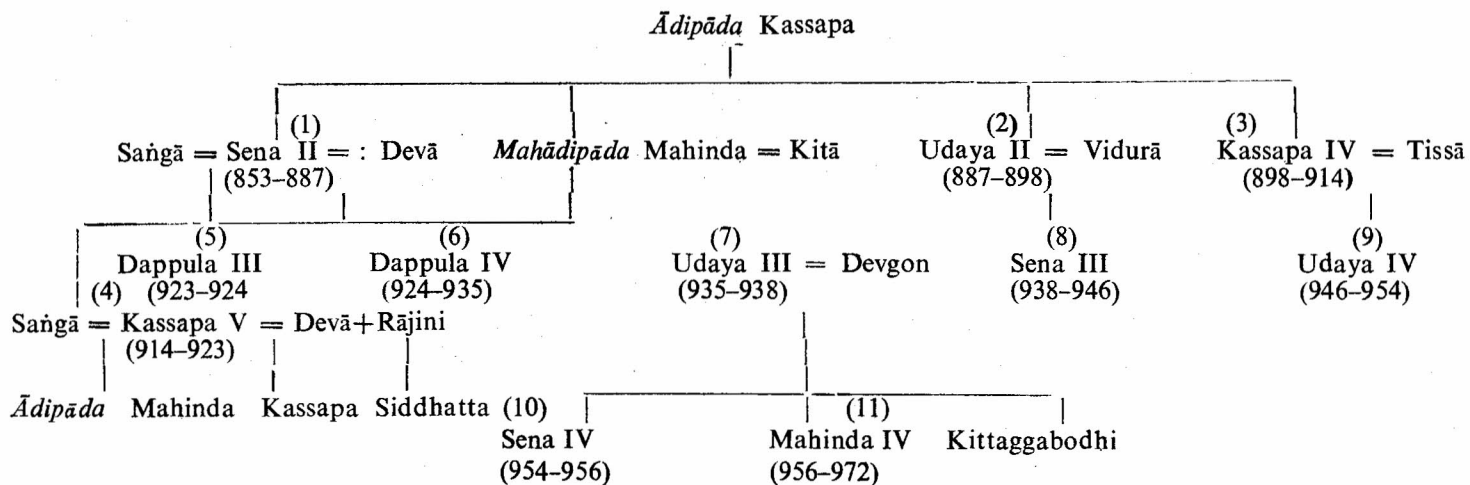
According to the *Cūlavamsa*, Sena IV 'had by inheritance attained consecration as king in Srī Laṅkā'<sup>3</sup>. It follows that he ascended the throne according to the law of succession that was in use in Srī Laṅkā at that time. As rightly pointed out by Geiger,<sup>4</sup> the law of succession that was practised during that period was that 'the next youngest brother of the king succeeded him on the throne.' Only when no other brother existed did the crown pass to the next generation, and here again to the eldest son of the eldest brother of the preceding generation.' The fact that Sena IV ascended the throne by right of succession indicates that he was either a younger brother of his predecessor Udaya IV (946–954) or an elder brother of his successor Mahinda IV (956–972). The other possibility is that he was a son of one of the two paternal uncles of Mahinda IV, namely Dappula III (923–924) or Dappula IV (924–935). According to the Velmilla slab inscription of Sena III (938–946),<sup>5</sup> Udaya IV was a son of Sirisañgboyi Kasub (Kassapa IV) (898–914). If Sena IV was a brother of Udaya IV, we may identify him as a son of Kassapa IV. Mahinda IV was a son of Udaya III and if Sena IV was an elder brother of Mahinda IV, it will follow that his father too was Udaya III. The Jetavanārāma slab inscription of Mahinda IV has an indirect reference to Sena IV as an elder brother (bā) of that king and as a founder of a religious institution named Huligam-*pirivena*. The relevant reference states that 'He (Mahinda IV) completed the Huligam-*pirivena*, which had been half finished by the great king, his brother, (and is situated at) Mihi ..... where he had resided enjoying the dignity of governor (āpā).<sup>6</sup> The *Cūlavamsa* confirms this fact; 'After turning Sitthagama where he had himself dwelt, into a *pirivena*, he entered into heaven'<sup>7</sup> Hence we may identify Sena IV as a son of Udaya III by his chief queen and as an elder brother of Mahinda IV, for the sons of the chief queen had the right of succession over and above the sons of the junior queens. According to the Jetavanārāma slab inscription of Mahinda IV (956–972) (E. Z. Vol. 1.p. 221) the name of the chief queen of Udaya III was Devgon and Sena IV must have been a son of that queen; therefore Sena IV cannot be identified as the *Abhāsalamēvan*, the promulgator of the present record, for the latter's mother was a junior queen named Vidurā. It only remains now to identify Sena III as king *Abhāsalamēvan* mentioned in the present record.

Although we know for certain that King *Abhāsalamēvan*, at whose command this pillar was set up was Sena III, we are still not certain who his father was. The present inscription does not give the latter's actual name, but his throne name. However it gives the actual name of the mother of Sena III, and that will help us to determine the actual name of his father. The mother of Sena III, as given there was a queen named Vidurā. A tenth century slab-inscription found at Kaludiyapokuṇa near Sīgiriya also mentions a queen named Vidurā,

who was the mother of a king named Mahasen.<sup>8</sup> As to the identity of this king, Parana-vitana is of the opinion that king Mahasen of that record was Sena IV,<sup>9</sup> but looking at this ruler in the light of the present record we can identify him as Sena III. The Kaludiyapokuṇa inscription has also given the name of the father of king Mahasen as *Udā Maharaj*. As we have already seen, the father of Sena III had the throne name of *Abhāsalamevan*. Hence we may have to look for a king named Udaya who had the throne name of *Abhāsalamevan*. There were only three kings named Udaya, namely Udaya II (887–898), Udaya III (935–938) and Udaya IV (946–953), during the ninth and tenth centuries. Of these three rulers only Udaya II had the throne name of *Abhāsalamevan*, while the other two had that of *Sirisaṅgabo*. Even if we are to accept the view that Udaya III had also the throne name of *Abhāsalamevan* in addition to that of *Sirisaṅgabo*, he cannot be identified as the father of Sena III, for the *Pūjāvaliya* refers to Sena III as a younger brother or a cousin (*maḷ*) of Udaya III.<sup>10</sup> We have consequently no other alternative but to identify *Udā maharaj* of the Kaludiyapokuṇa slab inscription with Udaya II (887–898). There is also indirect evidence in our record to support this identification; *Mekāppar vādārum* Saṅgsen, who is associated with the execution of the decree in the present inscription, appears also in the Kaludiyapokuṇa slab inscription in the same official capacity, thus indicating that the kings referred to in the two inscriptions as *Abhāsalamevan* and Mahasen respectively are one and the same person. Making use of the evidence available in the present inscription and in that of the Kaludiyapokuṇa slab inscription we may make certain amendments to the genealogical table of kings of the line of *ādipāda* Kassapa up to Udaya IV (946–953).

The object of this record is to register certain immunities approved by the King in Council in respect of some lands belonging to one of the meditation halls of the Thūpārāma monastery at Anurādhapura. Although the name of the village, in which these lands were located, is given in the inscription, unfortunately it cannot be deciphered as the few lines where the name occurs are badly worn. The person who was responsible for erecting this meditation hall as mentioned in our record was a commander-in-chief of the army named Sena (*Sen Seneviradāṇan*). The name of this commander-in-chief occurs also in a few other inscriptions of this period, again as the founder of certain religious buildings.<sup>11</sup> According to the *Cūlavamsa* there were two *senāpatis* during the ninth and tenth centuries in Anurādhapura, one was the commander-in-chief of Kassapa IV (898–914) and the other was the commander-in-chief of Mahinda IV (956–972)<sup>12</sup>. The commander-in-chief of Kassapa IV is said to have built a number religious buildings in the city of Anurādhapura and elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> As the present inscription is earlier than the date of Mahinda IV, we may identify the *Sen Seneviradāṇan* mentioned in the present record as the commander-in-chief of Kassapa IV. The fact that the commander-in-chief of Kassapa IV is referred to as the founder of a number of religious buildings lends support to this identification. Wickremasinghe, too, had identified this *Sen Seneviradāṇan* mentioned in the Ayitigevāva pillar inscription of Kassapa IV as *senāpati* Sena, the commander-in-chief of that king; he says 'we know for certain by comparing the *Mahāvamsa* account (Ch. L II–24) with the present record (i.e. Ayitigevāva pillar inscription) and the Kukurumahandamana pillar inscription that the commander-in-chief Sena is identified with Ilaṅga Sena, the *senāpati* of the army of Kassapa IV'<sup>14</sup>.

### GENEALOGICAL TABLE



The contents of this inscription are certain immunities granted by the king to a village belonging to a house of meditation named Yaṭ Tuṃbarab of the Mahāvihāra Fraternity at Anurādhapura. By these immunities a large number of royal officials of different categories like *ulvāḍu*, *perenāṭṭu*, *raṭladu*, *pasladu*, *ūrāki*, *perelāki*, *dunuwābalath yahangovu* and *kuḷasalā* had been prevented from entering the village referred to in the inscription and residents of that village had been exempted from certain dues like the periodical supply of rice, milch cows, buffaloes and cart-oxen. The playing of certain musical instruments and the arrest of criminals within the village had also been prohibited by these immunities. The details of the immunities given do not contain anything that is new. The unexplained technical terms with which we are familiar from the other immunity grants of this period are seen here too.

TEXT

A	B	C
1. ශ්‍රී සිරිවත් අපිරි	1. ....	1. ගෙරි කිරිමිවුන් නො
2. (යත්) ගුණ මුලින් උ	2. ....වදල එ	2. ගන්නා කොට ඉ
3. කුරන් මුළු දඹ (දි)	3. ක්කන් සමියෙන්	3. සා (ගෙරි) ගැල්
4. විහි අන් කැන් කු (ල)	4. මෙකාප්පර් වැදැරැ	4. ගොන් ගැල්මිවුන්
5. පාමිලි කළ ඔකාව	5. මි සන්සෙහු වරි	5. න් නොගන්නා කො
6. ස් රද් පරපුරෙන්	6. න් ආ හිඩ්වනු ගු	6. ට ඉසා කුඩි සො
7. බට ලක්දිව පොළො	7. ණයා ඉසා කීලි (භ)	7. ළිය නාඩනු ඉසා
8. යොන පරපුරෙන් හි	8. මි බුදු ඉසා කිලිභ්	8. මිනි (කොටා) වන්න
9. මිවු අභාසලමෙව	9. අග්බොනාවන් ව	9. න් වැදු නොගන්
10. න් මහරද්හට හි	10. ර නාවීනි කිලිභ් (කු)	10. නා කොට ඉසා
11. මිවු එමැ කුලෙ ද වී	11. ණයා ඉසා වටර	11. ....
12. දුරා රද්න කුසැ (ඉ)	12. ක් අග්බොයා අ	12. රටහිමින් පි
13. පැදු (ඇ) පා මහයා	13. රක්සමණන් වරැ	13. ටන් කරනු ඉසා
14. සිරිවිඤ්ඤ පිළිවෙලි	14. කුඩසලා ඔසාදෙ	14. මහිව පියහිව
15. න් නො ඉක්මැ ර (ඡ)	15. වු ඇකුල්වැ ඇප්	15. නොවද්නා කොට
16. පැමිණි අභාසල	16. මෙකුවාක් දෙනමො	16. වදල එක්කන්
17. මෙවන් මහරද්හු	17. එක්සෙවැ මෙහ	17. සමියෙන් ආ
18. කුමා සන් ලැඟ	18. මට උල්වාඩු පෙ	18. මෙකුවාක් දෙනා වී
19. පළමුවන හවුරුදු	19. රෙනාටවු නොවද්	19. සින් මෙ.....
20. යෙහි මැඤ් පුර පු	20. නා කොට ඉසා රට	20. ....
21. න් පොහො දවස් ම	21. ලදු පස්ලදුවන්	21. බද් තැනට මෙ අ
22. හවෙහෙර් නකාහි	22. නොවද්නා කොට	22. ත්තාණි කණු පැ
23. යට බැහිල පෙන්	23. ඉසා ඇරැකි පෙරෙ	23. රහැර් දෙහු ලදී.
24. හි සෙන් සෙනෙවි	24. ලැකි දුනුවා බලතු	
25. රදණන් කමන් ස	25. න් නොවද්නා කොට	
26. හනට (කී) යෙන් (කැ)	26. ඉසා යහන්ගො	
27. රු යට කුඹර්බ	27. වු කුඩසලසින්	
28. පියන්ගල්හි ව	28. නොවද්නා කොට	
29. ද්දිනන්හි වැඩව <sup>1</sup>	29. ඉසා වැරියන් වැ	
30. සන සහනට	30. රිසාල් නොගන්නා	
31. (බා)නුබිමිහි ආවු	31. කොට ඉසා කිරි	

**D**  
ලකුණු : ඉර  
අඩසඳු  
වටාපන  
දැකැත්ත  
කපුටා  
බල්ලා

1. 'වැ' යනු ලියා ඇත්තේ යවිනි.

## TRANSCRIPTION

A	B
1. Srī Sirivat apiri-	1. ....
2. (yat) guṇa mulin u-	2. .... vadāḷa e-
3. turat muḷu Damba (di)-	3. ktān samiyen
4. vhi an kāt-ku (la)	4. mekāppar vādāru-
5. pāmili kaḷa Okāva-	5. m Saṅgsenu vari-
6. s rad parapuren	6. n ā Hiḍivanu Gu-
7. baṭ Lakdiv poḷo	7. ṇāya isā kili (ṅga)-
8. yona parapuren hi-	8. m Budu isā kiliṅg
9. mivū Abhāsalameva-	9. Agbonāvan va-
10. n maharad haṭ hi-	10. rā Nāvini kiliṅg (Tu)
11. mivū emā kule dā Vi-	11. -nayā isā Vaṭra-
12. durā rādna kusā (i)	12. k Agboyā a-
13. pādā (ā)pā mahayā	13. raksamaṇan varā
14. siri viṇḍā piḷiveli-	14. kuḍasalā Osāde-
15. n no ikmā ra(ja)	15. vu ātuḷvā āp
16. pāmiṇi Abhāsala-	16. metuvāk denamo
17. mevan maharad hu	17. eksevā me ga-
18. tumā sat lāṅgū	18. maṭ ulvāḍu pe-
19. paḷamuvana havurudu-	19. renāṭṭu novad-
20. yehi Māṇḍi pura pu-	20. nā koṭ isā raṭ-
21. n poho davas Ma	21. ladu pasladuvan
22. haveher nakāhi	22. novadnā koṭ
23. Yaṭ Bāhilapet-	23. isā ārāki pere-
24. hi Sen Senevi-	24. lāki dunuvā balatu-
25. radāṇan taman sa-	25. n novadnā koṭ
26. ṅganāṭ (kī)yen (kā)	26. isā yahango-
27. rū Yaṭ Tuṃbarab	27. vu kuḍasalayin
28. piyangalhi va-	28. novadnā koṭ
29. dditanhi vāḍā <sup>1</sup> va	29. isā vāriyan vā-
30. sana saṅganāṭ	30. riṣāl nogannā
31. bā) nubimhi āvū	31. koṭ isā kiri-

1. Va is written below the line

## C

1. geri kiri mīvun no-
2. gannā koṭ i-
3. sā (geri) gāl-
4. gon gāl-mīvu-
5. n nogannā ko-
6. ṭ isā tuḍi so-
7. ḷiya nāñḍanu isā
8. minī (koṭā) vanna-
9. n vādā nogan-
10. nā koṭ isā
11. ....
12. raṭ himin pi-
13. ṭat karunu isā
14. magiva piyagiva
15. novadnā koṭ
16. vadāḷa ektān
17. samiyen ā
18. metuvāk denā vi
19. sin me.....
20. ....
21. bad tānaṭ me a-
22. ttāṇi kaṇu pā-
23. rāhār denu ladi

## D

- Symblos:
- |               |
|---------------|
| Sun           |
| Crescent moon |
| Monks' fan    |
| Sickle        |
| Crow          |
| Dog           |

## TRANSLATION

(A, LL, 1-21) Hail! On the full moon day of the month of *Mūñdin* in the first year after the raising of the umbrella of dominion by the great king Abhāsalamēvan, who attained kingship without deviating from the regular order of succession, after having enjoyed the dignities of *ādipāda* and *mahādipāda*, being born of the womb of queen Vidurā who was born of the same (royal) dynasty and belonging to the great king Abhāsalamēvan: and that king who is descended from the royal line of the Okkāka dynasty which, overflowing in an assemblage of illustrious, boundless and transcendental virtues, has made other royal dynasties of Jambudvīpa vassals, and also is by right of descent the lord of the young damsel, that is the island of Laṅkā.

(A, LL, 21-31) Concerning the village of .....situated in (Bā)nubim, granted to the monks residing at the institute for the teaching of religious observances, which was built by the Commander-in-chief in accordance with his word to the monks, and which was attached to the Yaṭ Tuṃbarab meditation hall in the Yaṭ Bahilapeta of the Mahāvihāra monastery.

(B, Ll. 1–C, Ll. 33) In accordance with the proclaimed order of the Supreme Council, Guṇayā of Hiḍivana and Bud of Kiliṅgama (both) who came by commission of *mekāppar vādārum* Saṅgsen; *kiliṅg* Tunayā of Nāvini who came by commission of *kiliṅg* Agbonā and *kuḍasalā* Osādevu who came by commission of *araksamaṇa* Agboyā: We the aforementioned (officials) having come together granted the immunities (recorded) in this *attāni* pillar in accordance with the proclaimed order of the Supreme Council in respect of the land attached to this village; that *ulvāḍu* and *perenāṭṭu* shall not enter this village; also that the governors of districts and governors of provinces shall not enter; also that the *ārāki*, *perelāki* and soldiers of the archery section of the army shall not enter; also that the chamberlains and *kuḍasalā* officers shall not enter; also that animals bound to be sent by turn to serve, and rice given by turn (by the villagers) shall not be taken; also that milch cows and milk giving buffaloes shall not be taken; also that oxen, draught oxen and draught buffaloes shall not be taken; and that *tudī* (drums) and *solī* (drums) shall not be sounded (in the village); also that (royal) officials shall not enter the village to arrest those who have come to the village after having committed murder (elsewhere); ..... (the offenders) shall be sent out of the boundaries of the district; also that *magiva* and *piyagiva* shall not enter.

#### COMMENTS

(A, L. 4) ‘kāt-kula,’ ‘ksatriya dynasties’; or ‘royal families’;

(A, L. 5) *pāmīli kaḷa*, lit. ‘made to sit at the feet’; caused to render homage’, or made (them) vassals’.

(A, Ll. 7–9) *Lakdiv poḷo yona parapuren himivū*; ‘by right of descent the lord of the young damsel, that is the earth of the island of Laṅkā’. It can also be translated as ‘the lord, by hereditary succession, of the soil of the island of Lanka’. Compare the phrase with ‘*taman yona parapuren himi Lakdiva* (the island of Lanka which is his by right of lineal succession of kings)’. occurring in the Galpota slab inscription of Nissankamalla (EZ. vol. II. pp. 109, 115).

(A, Ll. 9–11). *Abhāsalamēvan maharad haṭ himivū*; lit. ‘belonging to the great king Abhāsalamēvan. The word *himivū* occurring here in place of *dā* or *jā* (born unto) is very unusual. Instead of saying that he was born unto the great king Abhāsalamēvan, it says that the mother of that king belonged to his father.

(A, L. II) *emā kule dā*, ‘born of the same (royal) dynasty’. This phrase is used here in place of *samadā* or *samajā* (of equal birth); the most familiar one.

(A, Ll. 13–16) *āpā mahayā siri viṇḍū piḷveḷin no ikmā raja pāmīni*; ‘after having enjoyed the dignities of *ādipāda* and *mahādipāda* attained kingship without deviating from the regular order of succession.’

This phrase too, differs a little from the phraseology of the other contemporary inscriptions, where it occurs as ‘*āpā mahayā siri vinda piḷveḷase rajavā or raja pāmīnā*’ (After enjoying the the dignities of *āpā* and *mahayā*, (he) in due course became king’).



*no ikmā*, without deviating; *āpā*, *ādipāda* or prince, the heir presumptive; *mahayā*, *mahādipāda*, or crown prince, the heir apparent.

(A, Ll. 20–21) *Māndi pura punpoho dasas*; on the full moon day of the month of Māndin'. (Skt. *Phālguna* – February – March).

(A, Ll. 21–22) *Mahaveher nakāhi*; 'in the monastery of Mahāvihāra'. *Naka* — P. *Nikāya*, the original meaning of which, according to P. T. S. Pali Dictionary was 'assemblage' or 'group', but later it came to be used in the sense of describing a monastery. (see E.Z. vol. 1. pp. 33, 35, 92, 94, 101, 105).

(A, Ll. 23–24)... *Yaṭ Bāhilapethi*; 'in Yaṭ Bāhilapeta'; *peta* may mean a row or range of (cells). According to our record Yaṭ Bāhilapeta was attached to the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura. Mahinda IV (956–972) is said to have built an alms hall at Yaṭ Bāhilapeta (E.Z. Vol. 1. pp. 221, 227).

(A, Ll. 27–28) *Yaṭ Tuṃbarab piyangalhi*; in the Yaṭ Tuṃbarab meditation hall; *Yaṭ* means 'lower or 'below' and Tuṃbarab is the Sinhala version of Thūpārāma. Most probably this meditation hall was situated below the Thūpārāma *dāgāba*, and therefore it was named after that monument.

(A, Ll. 28–29). *vadditanhi*; The meaning of this word is obscure. In the Puliyankulama slab-inscription of Udā *mahayā*, this word is written as '*vatditan*', (*vatditan* > *vadditan*); compare *atdeniya* > *addeniya*. (the trough for the purpose of washing hands). (E. Z. Vol. 1 p. 186) From the context of the Puliyankulama slab inscription and that of the present record it is clear that a *vadditan* or *vatditan* was a kind of institute where a section of monks of a monastery resided; for according to the Puliyankulama inscription, the *vatditan* attached to the monastery of Kitagbo *pavu* had owned villages, lands, serfs and men. The present record also has registered the donation of a village to the *vadditan* attached to the Yaṭ Tuṃbarab meditation hall of the Mahāvihāra, for the benefit of the monks residing in that institute.

'*Vat*', the first part of this word (*vat+di+tan*) seems to have been derived, either from *vata* or *vatta* in Pali, meaning religious observances, such as religious duties, religious customs and religious rites. The next letter in this word, '*di*' means 'giving' or 'given' and '*tan*', the last part of the word, means 'the place'. Hence a '*vadditan*' may have been a place where the teachings on religious observances are imparted to monks. A reference in the Anurādhapura slab-inscription of Kassapa V (914–923) to some monks who were responsible for preaching on religious observances in a *vadditan* attached to the Sīgiriya monastery (*vaddi tanaṭ vata kiyaṇa himiyan*) 'the monks who preached on religious observances' supports this interpretation. (E. Z. Vol. 1 p. 48).

(A, L. 31) (*Bā*)*nubimhi*, 'in (*Bā*)*nubima*'. (*Bā*)*nubima* seems to have been the region around-Bandāra Ratmale, the site of the present inscription, about 16 miles North-East of Anurādhapura.

(B, Ll. 2-3) *vadāla ektān-samiyen*, 'In accordance with the proclaimed order of the Supreme Council' *Ek tāt-samiyen*, the second part of the above phrase occurs in most of the *attāni* pillars of the ninth and tenth centuries. We come across this word for the first time in a slab-inscription dated in the seventeenth year of Sena II (853-887), discovered at a place named Kehelpota in the Badulla district.<sup>15</sup> Wickremasinghe has rendered it as 'by the Council' 'by the Supreme Council' or 'by His Majesty in Council',<sup>16</sup> Godakumbura, who seems to have agreed with the interpretation of Wickremasinghe has translated it as 'by the Assembly' or 'the Council of State'.<sup>17</sup> Paranavitana disagrees with this interpretation for he says that 'the occurrence of the word *sabhāyen*, itself meaning assembly, immediately following *ektān-samiyen* in the Ayitigevāva pillar, militates against this interpretation. According to him '*ektān*' might signify being of one disposition i.e. 'unanimous'. Hence *ektān-samiyen* may be interpreted as 'with the unanimous assent'.<sup>18</sup> But a careful examination of this word as it appears in various epigraphs of the ninth and tenth centuries shows that this meaning does not suit the context of most of the passages where it has occurred.

This word occurs in the middle of a phrase in the Buddannehela pillar inscription as '*apameyatuvāk denā avud vat-himiyan vahanse vadāla ektān-samiyen me samvatā pahana hiṇḍvanu ladi*'; this phrase may be translated as 'we, all of us having come (here) set up this *attāni* pillar by order of His Majesty in Council'.<sup>19</sup> It is stated in the same inscription at the beginning that that *attāni* pillar was set up by the order of His Majesty. (*vat-himiyan vahanse vadāleyin*..... *pahan hiṇḍvannaṭ ā*). We may note that here there is no reference to *ektān-samiya*. It is evident from this that the immunities referred to in that epigraph had been granted and the *attāni* pillar had been set up at the command of the king. When the king issues a decree, makes an order or gives a command he does not have to get 'the unanimous assent' or consent of any other authority for he was the highest administrative and legislative authority of the land. As has been pointed out by Paranavitana himself. 'His descent traced back to mythical personages of the past, the traditional rituals undergone by him at the consecration and the magical potency believed to reside in the regalia in his possession, made the person of the king sacred, and the commands emanating from him demanded implicit obedience as the expression of the will of the gods. The king, therefore, wielded absolute authority, and had power of life and death over the most exalted of his subjects'.<sup>20</sup> Hence the meaning given to this word by Paranavitana is not acceptable. The Iṅginimitiya pillar inscription of Dappula IV (924-935) refers to two groups of royal officials who had been sent to a village named Hiṅginiviṭiya for the purpose of granting immunities in respect of that village and to set up an *attāni* pillar there; according to this epigraph, one group of officials had been sent there by the command of the heir apparent, (*Kasbal mahapāṇan vahanse vadāleyin ā*) and the other group by *ektān-samiya* (*ektān-samiyen ā*)<sup>21</sup> It is quite clear from this reference that the word *ektān-samiya* had been used there with reference to some legislative or administrative body or to an order from such an authority. The Kapuruvāḍu-oya pillar inscription of Gajabāhu II (1132-1153) lends support to this view. It is evident from the contents of that epigraph, which is an *attāni* grant of the Polonnaruwa period, that the king himself had delivered the order granting immunities in respect of a certain village. It is clearly stated in this epigraph that the decree granting immunities had been issued by the king seated (himself) in the Citrakūṭa hall at Polonnaruwa, attended by the council of ministers'.<sup>22</sup> The officials named in this inscription as *kiling* Nāvini Rakuma

and *kūḍasalā* Devana Sātum, who were empowered to set up the *attāṇi* pillar in that village, are said to have been sent from the King's Council. The procedure followed in granting immunities in respect of villages, estates and institutions during the eleventh and twelfth centuries may not have differed from that which was followed during the tenth century. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that during the late Anurādhapura period, too, the decrees granting immunities had been issued by the King in Council. Following this analogy we may conclude that 'ek-tān-samiya' was a term that had been used to denote some executive function of the King's Council. As to the objection of Paranavitana to the meaning of the word *ektān* given by Wickremasinghe as 'the King's Council' on the ground that the word *sabhā*, itself meaning assembly, occurs immediately following the term *ektān-samiyen* in some epigraphs of this period, we may point out that it does not contradict this interpretation; for the two words can be taken either as an adjectival compound (*karmadhāraya*), in which case both words are of one and the same meaning, or they may be taken as two terms denoting two different assemblies like *samiti* and *sabhā* of the Vedic Age in India. Of the two, one like the Council of Gajābāhu II mentioned in the Kapuruvāḍūoya pillar inscription, was an august body of a larger group of royal officials or ministers for the discharge of business concerning matters of state and presided over by the king, and the other, a more select body presided over by a *sabhāpati* or a President constituted mainly for the administration of justice and other allied subjects. A reference to a *sabhā* and to a *sabhāpati* made in a pillar inscription of Kassapa IV (898-914), now at the Colombo Museum, lends support to this view; it refers to six royal officials who had been sent to a village named Gaṇagamiya to bestow certain immunities granted by the king in respect of that village. Of the six officials mentioned there, two had been sent by the *ektān+samiya*, two others from the *sabhā* on the day of *Sabhāpati* Dāpuḷā Pirittirad, and the other two by orders of *Mahale* Vadurā *raksamaṇa* and *Utur* Pāñḍirad respectively.<sup>23</sup> This reference indicates that *ektān(samiya)* and the *sabhā* were two different assemblies. The Kukurumahandamana pillar inscription of Kassapa IV refers to an official named Nikavāli Sen, who is said to have 'come from the *sabhā*'<sup>24</sup> (*sabhāyen ā Nikavāli Sen*) to set up an *attāṇi* pillar. He is again mentioned in an unpublished pillar inscription of Kassapa IV, now at the Anurādhapura Archaeological Museum, discovered at a place called Mahamānkaḍavala. This inscription has given a little more information about him; there we are told that 'Nikavāli Sen came to set up an *attāṇi* pillar from the *sabhā*, in which Kitnā of Gambāvāriya is sitting'. (*Gambāvāriya Ritnāvan hindnā sabhāyen a Nikavāli Sen*).<sup>25</sup> This shows that it was not the king who presided over that *sabhā*, but some other official, and that official may have been designated *sabhāpati*. Paranavitana himself is of the opinion that 'the inscriptions in mentioning the *sabhāpati* of a particular day, seem 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 turn'.<sup>26</sup> Paranavitana also suggests that the *sabhāpatināyake* mentioned in the Doraṭiyāva *sannasa* of Niśsaṅkamalla (1187-1196) was the designation of the chief judicial officer.<sup>27</sup> Thus it follows that the *sabhāpati* mentioned in the Colombo Museum pillar inscription was the judicial officer, who presided over the *sabhā*. According to *Vimativinodanī* (12th century) the word *sabhā* means 'a court of justice in the city'.<sup>28</sup> Hence the words *sabhā* and *sabhāpati* may be interpreted as 'the court of justice' and 'the president of the court of justice', respectively. Probably the *sabhā* was connected or attached to the Kings Council and the members of the *sabhā* may have been selected from among the members of the King's Council. It is also evident from

a reference in the Polonnaruva Council Chamber pillar inscription that the *sabhā* was entrusted with judicial powers. The relevant section of this inscription records that 'should there be any dispute over (these) two plots of land and (this) share of the field in this village, it shall be settled by arbitration by the royal officials sitting in the *sabhā*.'<sup>29</sup> Some of the persons who are referred to in some epigraphs as 'the officials who had come from the *sabhā* to bestow immunities in respect of certain villages had been referred to in other epigraphs as 'officials who were in the *sabhā*' or who were sitting in the *sabhā*'. For instance, the officials named Nilavasā Māñḍiyā, Mahakubussāḍu Mitu, Māniṅgamu Udahi and Kuḍupasakkāmi Sen referred to in some epigraphs as persons 'who had come from the *sabhā*' (*sabhāyēn ā*) are referred to in other inscriptions as persons 'who are in the *sabhā*' (*sabhāyehi*) or 'who are sitting in the *sabhā*' (*sabhāyehi hiñḍnā*).<sup>30</sup> Thus it is evident that these officials were some sitting members of a *sabhā*. In a few instances it has been stated in some epigraphs that 'they have come from the *sabhā* on the day of a certain *sabhāpati*' (*sabhāpati.....radun davasā sabhāyēn ā*).<sup>31</sup> It is also interesting to note that, unlike the *mekāppars* and, the *kuḍasalās* who had gone to set up *attāṇi* pillars by order of some higher authority like *mekāppar vādūrum* or *mahale*, the members or the officials of the *sabhā* had gone to set up *attāṇi* pillars without reference to any higher authority.

According to the Badulla pillar inscription of Udaya IV (946–954), 'there was a section of the *sabhā* called *Lekamge*, the house of secretaries or scribes, which was charged with the duty of drafting legislation.'<sup>32</sup> All these references make it quite clear that the term *sabhā* had been applied in the *attāṇi* pillars of the late Anurādhapura period to denote a court of justice.

The discussion of the term *ektān-samiya* may now be resumed. It has been pointed out by Wickremasinghe, that the word 'tān', the second part of the compound *ek-tān-samiya*, may have been derived from the Skt. word *āsthāna*, meaning 'the assembly' or 'the Council'<sup>33</sup>. The *Kaṇḍavuru-Sirita*, a short treatise which details the daily routine of Parākramabāhu II (1236–1270), when that ruler was staying at Polonnaruva, has used the word *āsthāna* to refer to 'the King's Council'.<sup>34</sup> It is equivalent to the word *attāṇi*, which has been used frequently in the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. Thus it is very clear that all these words, *āsthāna*, *attāṇa* and *tān* had been used at that time to denote a Council. The pillar inscriptions of that period containing immunity grants are referred to as *attāṇi-kaṇu*, as they were issued and set up by the Council.

If the word *tān* or *āsthāna* without its prefix *ek* or *eka* means 'the Council', it may have a different meaning when we use it with the prefix as *ektān* or *eka-āsthāna*. As suggested by Wickremasinghe, it may be rendered as 'the Supreme Council, 'King's Council' or 'King in Council'.<sup>35</sup> If the word *ektān* means the 'Supreme Council', then it follows that the meaning of the term *ektān-samiya*, cannot also be 'the Supreme Council', but some thing associated with or attached to it, in which case the word *ektān* may be taken as an adjective qualifying *samiya*. The word *samiya* is somewhat similar to *samaya* in Pali, meaning 'congregation', 'gathering' or 'crowd, 'which may be interpreted as 'a meeting'. If we adopt the derivative explanation of *samaya* the term *ektān samiya* can be rendered as the 'meeting of' the Supreme Council. However, this meaning does not suit the context of some passages in which it has occurred. Hence we may have to look for other possible meanings.

It can be seen that the Skt. word 'samayena', of which one of the meanings is 'by order', is very much akin to the word *samiyen* of the inscriptions. A word with the same meaning, namely 'mehevarin', has been used in the inscriptions of the later periods, and it appears that the word *samiyen* also had been used in that sense. We may now dwell on this point. As we have seen, the word *ektān-samiya* very often occurs in the inscriptions, either preceded or followed by the word *vadāla* or *vadāleyin*, meaning proclaimed, declared, announced or delivered. A phrase somewhat similar to this occurs in the inscriptions of the later periods, as '*vadāla mehevarin*'.

As mentioned above, one of the meanings attached to the word 'mehevarin' is 'by order'. A phrase which appears with this word in the Dādigama Slab-inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu VI (1470-1478) as '*Bhuvanekabāhu maharajānan vahanse vadāla mehevarin me abhayadāna silā lekhyaya lī bavaṭa*', has been rendered into English by Paranavitana as 'this stone inscription, granting amnesty, was written by the order delivered by His Majesty, the great king Bhuvanekabāhu'.<sup>36</sup> This phrase is somewhat similar to the phrase '*samdaruvan eksevā vadāla samiyen megamaṭ me attāni kaṇu pārāhār dunmo*', which is found in the Ellevāva pillar inscription of Dappula IV.<sup>37</sup> Here we have in place of *mehevarin* the word *samiyen*. Hence the word *samiyen* may be interpreted as 'by order' and we translate the above phrase as follows: 'in accordance with the order delivered by the officials who gathered together (here), this pillar of the council containing immunities was bestowed in respect of this village'. In the same way when this phrase occurs as '*ektān-samiyen vadāleyin*' it can be rendered as 'in accordance with the order proclaimed or delivered by the Supreme Council', and when it occurs as '*vadāla ektān-samiyen*' as 'in accordance with the proclaimed order of the Supreme Council'. Now it is clear that the meaning of the term *ektān-samiyen* is 'by order of the Supreme Council'. Following this interpretation the phrase *ektān-samiyen sabhāyēn ā*' can now be translated as '(who) came from the court of justice (*sabhā*) by order of the Supreme Council'.

A fair number of pillar inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries containing decrees issued by heirs apparent had been discovered in various places within the ancient Dakkhinadesa, which was the principality of the heir apparent during that period.<sup>38</sup> It is evident from the contents of these epigraphs that it is not only the king who had the right to grant immunities in respect of institutions, villages and estates, but the heir apparent as well; and he also had his own council of ministers or a Supreme Council; just as the king issued decrees granting immunities, the heir apparent issued decrees granting immunities in his Supreme Council. It is stated in the Sīgiriya pillar inscription of Kassapa IV that in the fifth year (of that king's reign) *mahapā* Kassapa (later Kassapa V) issued a decree granting immunities in respect of a *vihāra* near Sīgiriya. Not only had he granted these immunities but had also sent his own officials to execute his order.<sup>39</sup> The Dorabāvila pillar inscription of Kassapa V (914-923) contains immunities granted at the command of *Mahapā* Dāpuḷu (later Dappula III) in respect of some estates belonging to a hospital built by Kassapa V. *Mahapā* Dāpuḷu too, seems to have sent his own officials to execute his order. In fact, he has ended that inscription by saying 'If there be any king, *mahapā* or *āpā* (*ādipāda*) who will not observe these immunities (*samvatā*) he shall become a crow or a dog.'<sup>40</sup> Although heirs apparent had the right to issue decrees granting immunities in their own councils, they

have never failed to refer to the regnal years of the kings during which those decrees had been issued; thus indicating their subordinate position in the ruling hierarchy, and the fact that they acknowledged the authority of the king.

From the foregoing study it may be concluded that Paranavitana's interpretation of the term *ektān-samiya* as 'with the unanimous assent' cannot be maintained as it does not suit the context of most of the passages in the epigraphs in which it has occurred. He has taken objection to Wickramasinghe's interpretation of this term as 'the Supreme Assembly' because it occurs in some inscriptions along with the word *sabhā*, for he says, 'The occurrence of the word *sabhāyen*, itself meaning assembly, immediately following *ektān-samiyen* in the Ayitigevāva pillar, militates against this interpretation.'<sup>41</sup> As we have pointed out, this fact does not altogether stand against Wickremasinghe's interpretation as *ektān* and *sabhā* can mean two different assemblies, one a Supreme Assembly' and the other 'an assembly of justice', a court house. In the light of this, the relevant phrase '*ektān samiyen sabhāyen ā*' in the Ayitigevāva pillar inscription may be rendered as '(who) came from the court of justice by order of the Supreme Assembly'. The only defect in Wickremasinghe's interpretation is that he has not explained fully the meaning of the word '*samiya*' and has taken the whole compound *ektān-samiya* as a word meaning 'the Supreme Assembly. As we have shown, the word *samiya* is equivalent to the Skt. word *samayena*, meaning 'by order'. We agree with Wickremasinghe's interpretation of the word *ektān* as *ekasthāna* in Skt. meaning 'Supreme Assembly', 'Supreme Council' or 'His Majesty in Council : and now it is evident that the term that was applied to the king's Council of ministers during the late Anurādhapura period was *ektāna*. Hence we may interpret the term *ektān-samiyen* as 'by order of the Supreme Council, 'by order of the Supreme Assembly', or 'by order of the King in Council.

(B, Ll. 4-5); *mekāppar vādārum* Saṅgsen, 'Sagṇhasena, the Commander of the body-guards'. The term *mekāppar vādārum* appears to be a title given to some commanders of the army. The Moragoda pillar inscription of Kassapa IV (898-914) refers to a commander-in-chief of the army named Vadurā as *mekāppar vādārum Seneviraju*. (EZ. Vol. 1, p. 204) It is also possible that some army commanders, in addition to their office in the army, had held the office of the commander of the body-guards. If it had been the case we may have to take it as a designation of an official. Wickremasinghe derives the term *mekāppar* from the *meykāppar* in Tamil, meaning the body-guard. EZ. Vol. 1, p. 38, n. 2). It occurs in a few inscriptions in its Tamil form as *meykāppar*. (EZ. Vol. 1, p. 248)

(B, Ll. 5-6); *varin ā*, '(who) came by order of'. See Ancient Ceylon, No. 4, pp. 212-213 for the interpretation of this phrase.

(B, L. 8). *kiliṅg*, see Ancient Ceylon No. 4, pp. 214-216 for the meaning of this word.

(B, Ll. 12-13). Agboyā *araksamaṇan*, 'Agboyi, the Chief Guardian'. See EZ. Vol. III, p. 99; EZ. Vol. IV, p. 190, n. 9.

(B, L. 14). *kuḍasalā*; The Mihintale slab inscription attributed to Mahinda IV (956-972) refers to some servants attached to the monastery there as '*sala*' and to their head as '*salā-jetak*'. It can be inferred from this that *kuḍasalā* was also some kind of servant. It is not

known whether '*kuda*', the first part of this word meant an establishment or whether it stood for the word '*kuḍā*', meaning, small or minor. As *kuḍasalās* almost always had come by order of the Chief Secretary cum Chief Guardian (*Mahale Araksamaṇa*), it is obvious that they were attached to the office of Chief Secretary (or to that of the Chief Guardian), who was the head of the civil administrative system of the central government. However, we are not certain whether the office of the Chief Secretary or that of the Chief Guardian was known as '*kuḍā*' or *kuṇḍa* during the late Anuradhapura period. In *Butsaraṇa* of the Polonnaruwa period, the *Kuḍasalās* had been referred to as '*Kuḍasalā* soldiers'. (*Kuḍasalā balatun*).<sup>42</sup> It is possible that *Kuḍasalās* of the Anurādhapura period too functioned as soldiers under the Chief Guardian, (the *Araksamaṇan*). (See E.Z. Vol. III. pp. 99-100 for Parānavitan's interpretation of the word *Kuḍasalā*).

(B, Ll. 15-17) *āp metuvāk denamo eksevā*, 'so many of us having come together' or we, all of us having come together.

(B, Ll. 18-19) *Ulvāḍu perenāṭṭu*. According to Parānavitana *ulvāḍu* or *ulpāḍu* most probably, were a class of functionaries who had the right of entry to the inner music hall of the royal palace, and *perenāṭṭu*, a lower grade who were not permitted to proceed further than the dancing hall in the outer precincts of the palace. The meaning of *Ulvāḍu* can be taken as "inside singing" and *perenāṭṭu* as 'outside dancing'.<sup>43</sup> But a statement in the 10th century pillar inscription at Koṇḍavaṭṭavan which says that "For the offences of committing murder, no fine shall be exacted, but (the offender) shall be surrendered to an *ulpāḍu* (*ulvāḍu*) who is in the district",<sup>44</sup> indicates that *ulvāḍu* was either a judicial officer or a police officer (E. Z. Vol. v. pp. 140, f. n. 2, 141). The two words *ulvāḍu* and *perenāṭṭu* are generally found together, which fact indicates that those two types of officials had very similar or allied functions to perform. A reference in the Timbirivāva pillar inscription of Kassapa IV to '*perenāṭṭu*' points to this view, for it throws some light on the functions of this official. The relevant section of the inscription says "The fines levied after a trial by the *perenāṭṭu* (officials) while stationed in the village, shall not be appropriated by the state, but shall be given to the *piriveṇa*".<sup>45</sup> It is evident from this statement that *perenāṭṭus* were a class of judicial officers.

(B, Ll. 19-20) *Novadnā koṭ*, "shall not enter"

(B, Ll. 20-21) *raṭladu pasladuvan*, 'administrators of districts and administrators of provinces.

(BL. 23) *Ārkāi*, 'guards' or 'security officers'. See E. Z. Vol. III. p. 145. They may have been under the *araksamaṇan* or the *mahale* (*mahale araksamaṇan*).

B, Ll. 23-24) *perelāki*, See E. Z. Vol. III. p. 145

(B, Ll. 24-25) *dunuvā balatun*, 'soldiers of the archery division of the army. The bearers of bows is meant by the word *dunuvā*, and *balatun* is a word denoting soldiers.

(B, Ll. 26-27) *Yahangovu*, 'chamberlains'. However, Parānavitana has rendered it as 'officers in charge of the (royal) conveyances'. (E. Z. Vol. III. pp. 141, 146).

(B, L. 29) *Vāriyan*, The meaning of this word is obscure. It very often occurs along with the words *gālgon*, (cart oxen), *gāl mīvun* (cart buffaloes), or *gam gon* (village oxen). In the Dorabāvila pillar inscription of Kassapa V, it occurs along with the words *gāl gon* and *mīvun* (cart oxen and buffaloes). The translation of the relevant passage reads as ‘cart oxen, *vāriyan* and buffaloes shall not be taken for the service of the king or queen; *vāriyan* and buffaloes shall also not be taken even if the twelve great tanks are breached” (E. Z. Vol. V.p. 296). It is clear from this passage that the *vāriyan* were a kind of beast. The word *vāri* (pp. *vārika*) may mean *vāra* in modern Sinhala, of which the English rendering will be ‘by turn’. Any beast that was taken in for some kind of service once a month or once in six months or even once a year may be called *vāriyan*. In the light of this argument we may interpret the term *vāriyan* as “beasts who were taken for (use in the king’s) service by turn”. In the same way the meanings of *vāri mīvun* and *vāri gālmīvun* referred to in some inscriptions of this period can be taken as ‘buffaloes taken for service by turn’ and “cart buffaloes taken for service by turn” respectively.

The Ambagamuva Rock inscription of Vijayabāhu I (1055–1110) refers to another type of *vāri* called ‘*adanā vāri*’. The relevant passage says ‘that cart oxen, milch cows and *adanā vāriyan* shall not be taken (from the villages listed). It is quite clear from a simile, ‘*adana gerivagaya pasupassehi yana ruvan baḍu gālak sē*’ (“Like a goods cart filled with gems going behind a pair of draught oxen”) found in the (*Butsaraṇa* of the Polonnaruva period, that the meaning of the word ‘*adanā*’ is drawing. Hence the term *adanā vāriyan* obviously refers to “draught oxen taken for service by turn”.

The word *vāri* also occurs as an adjective linked with the term *perenāṭṭu* (*vāri perenāṭṭu* or *vāri perenāṭṭiyam*) in a few inscriptions of the 9th and 10th centuries. As we have already seen, ‘*perenāṭṭu*’ was the designation of a judicial officer who heard cases in the village he was assigned to. Hence, when the word *perenāṭṭu* is qualified by this adjective *vāri*, it can be deduced that they were a class of judicial officers who heard cases in villages by turn. They can be compared with the circuit judges of the present day. It is now evident that the word *vāri* conveyed the meaning ‘by turn’ and the term *vāriyan* has been used to denote ‘oxen taken for service by turn (once or twice a year)’. The occurrence of a phrase referring to ‘*vāri mehe*’ (service by turn) in an unpublished pillar edict of Kassapa IV at Kirivehera, Polonnaruwa, supports this interpretation.<sup>46</sup> It is further supported by a reference in another unpublished pillar inscription of Dappula IV at Murunkan in the Mannar district, to ‘*vāri umbur kulī*’, meaning ‘rent for fields payable by turn.’<sup>47</sup> According to Paranavitana *vāri* means ‘forced labour exacted by the state from the villagers (U. H. C. Vol. I. P. 375), but this meaning does not suit the context in most of the examples cited above.

(B, Ll. 29–30) *vāri sāl*, This appears to be a kind of tax or tribute paid in kind, namely in rice, by turn once a year or once in six months.

(B, Ll. 31–CL I) *kirigeri, kiri mīvun*, ‘milch cows and milk giving buffaloes’.

(C, Ll. 3–5) *geri gālgon gāl mīvun*, ‘oxen, cart-oxen and cart-buffaloes’.

(C, Ll. 6–7) *tuḍi solīya nāñḍanu*, *Tuḍi* drums and *solīya* drums shall not be sounded. The word *nāñḍanu* obviously a later development of the word *no hañḍanu* > *no añḍanu* > *nāñḍanu*



(CL. 14) *maṅgiva piyaṅgiva*. These two words occur in various other forms also as '*mādiva*, *pediva*, *maṅgiya*, *piyagiya* and *maṅgdiva piyadiva*. These words have been applied to denote two kinds of taxes as well as two types of royal officials, who were responsible for its collection. This is clear from a passage in the Polonnaruva Rajamāligāva pillar inscription, where it says that '*perelākkamum* who administer Demeḷ Kiṅigama (the village named Demeḷ Kiṅigama) shall not enter that village and levy *kulī melātti*, fines, imposts *maṅgiva* and *pediva* (Demeḷ Kiṅigam *lad perelākkamum gamaṭ vādā kulī melātti daḍa muṅḍu maṅgiva pediva no gannā koḷ*).<sup>48</sup> In the present inscription *maṅgiva* and *piyaṅgiva* have been prohibited from entering the village, indicating that they were the officials whose responsibility it was to collect these taxes.

(C.Ll. 21–22) *attāṇi kaṇu*, 'council pillars' or 'pillars of the council'. According to the *Purāṇa Nāmāvaliya* (v. 18) and the *Ruvanmal Nighaṇṭuva*, the meaning of the word '*attāṇi*' is 'the council' (sabhā). A 10th century pillar inscription at Māda-ulpota in the Matale district refers to a council hall as '*attāṇihala*' (E. Z. vol. iv. p. 56). The royal court or the council of Parākramabāhu II (1236–1270) is referred to as *āsthāna* in the *Kaṇḍavuru Sirita*. Hence the word *attāṇi kaṇu* can be rendered as 'council pillars' or 'pillars of the council'. These pillars were called *attāṇi kaṇu*, because they were issued or erected by the council. It is interesting to note that some inscriptions of this period refer to them not as *attāṇi kaṇu*, but as *sabhā pahaṇ* (council pillars). See *Spolia Zeylanica*. Vol. 35. p.352.

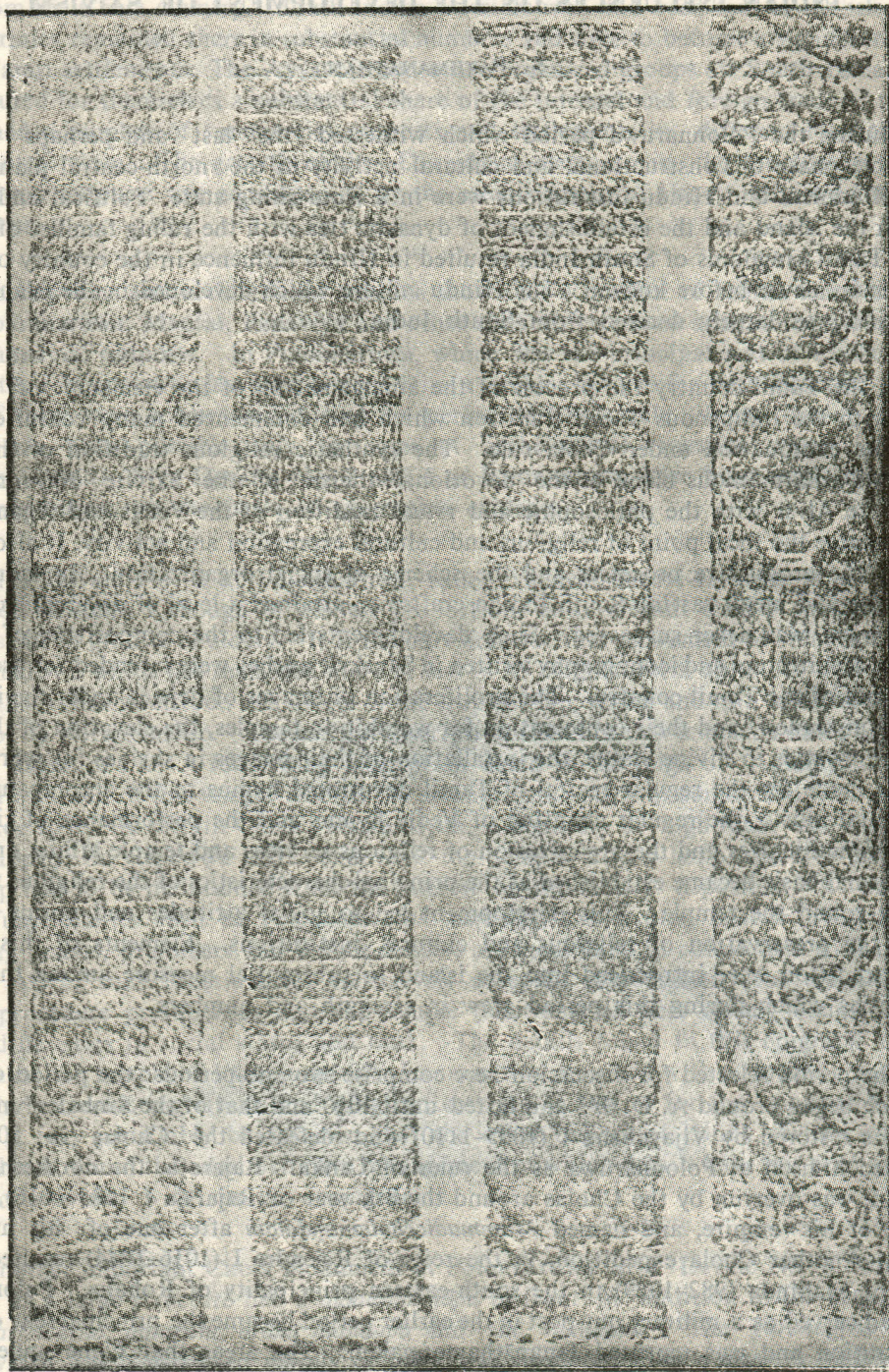
(C, Ll. 22–23) *pārāhār*, Pali, *parihāra*. 'immunities'.

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