A

n ancient site in the forest about three miles south of Maradan-
duva, lying about half a mile off the route to Iquirigallâva, was dis-
covered in 1953 by the officers of the Wild Life Department. The
site had no name at that time, but is now referred to as Tiimbirivâva, after
an abandoned and breached tank in the vicinity. The most conspicuous
feature at the site is a ruined stûpa, some 20 ft. in height, on the highest point
of an outcrop of granite which rises above the surrounding jungle. A
flight of over 30 steps, about 4 ft. in breadth, has been cut on the eastern side
of the rock leading to the stûpa. A pillar, 11 ft. 10 in. in height, of which
the lower portion is square to a length of five feet and the rest is irregularly
octagonal (the edges of the square being chamfered), and with rounded top,
is lying near the stûpa mound. On the level ground to the east of the rock
are traces of ancient structures indicated by stumps of stone pillars. An
altar slab, 8 ft. in length and 5½ ft. in breadth, is noticed in this area. The
ground to the north of the stûpa appears to have been laid out in terraces.
A full brick picked up at the site measured 16 in. by 8 in. by 2 in. On the
rock to the north of the stûpa are three inscriptions.

The discovery of the site and the inscriptions was reported to the
Archaeological Department by Mr. C. W. Nicholas, the then head of the
Wild Life Department. Estampages of the inscriptions were prepared by
the officers of the Archaeological Department in 1954, and numbered 41,
42 and 43 in the List of Inscriptions copied in that year, which forms Ap-
pendix II of the Administration Report for 1954. The inscriptions have
also been referred to at p. 29 of that report. I edit the inscriptions from
these estampages and photographs of them kindly placed at my disposal by
Dr. C. E. Godakumbure, the present Acting Archaeological Commissioner.
I am also indebted to Dr. Godakumbure for having a fresh estampage of
Inspection No. 1 prepared by Mr. T. K. Jayasundara.

The inscription numbered 1 in this paper is that numbered 43 in the
Archaeological Department’s List of Inscriptions copied in 1954. It con-
sists of five lines of writing, of which the first three are about 8 ft. in length
each, the fourth is about 4 ft. and the fifth probably of the same length as the
preceeding. An undetermined number of letters being totally effaced at the end of the last line, its exact length cannot be ascertained. The area covered by the inscription measures approximately 8 ft. by 2 ft. The letters vary in height between 7 in. and 2½ in. About eight letters after the first two in line 1, the tenth letter of line 2, three letters after the tenth of line 3 and an uncertain number of letters, possibly three, at the end of the last line have been lost due to the peeling away of the rock. The weathering of the rock has affected some of the other letters also in places. The letters have been shallowly, but sharply, incised, and are reasonably clear on an estampage. But, in a photograph of a reduced size, they are not readily distinguishable, to an untrained eye, from adventitious lines and dots due to the weathering of the rock, which too appear on the estampage. I therefore reproduce a drawing of the letters made from the estampage, in addition to the photograph, of this record as well as of the next.

The script has a general resemblance to that of a rock inscription from Vessagiri at Anurādhapura, of which a facsimile appears on Plate 12 (IV) of Epigraphia Zeylanica (EZ), Volume IV, and the Murutava rock inscription illustrated on Plate 2 of EZ, Volume V. The form of the letter ha of the present record differs from that in the Vessagiri inscription referred to. The right hand portion of the letter is reduced to a loop placed on and cutting through the straight horizontal line forming its base. Of the two triangles forming the letter ma, the lower one, as in the Nāgirikanda inscription (EZ, IV, plate II), is smaller in size than the upper. The letter ja of our record, too, is similar in form to that aksara in the Nāgirikanda record. The reader interested in palaeographical development may compare the forms in the drawing with their counterparts in other records of approximately the same date as this epigraph. The straight vertical lines of the letters a, ra, ka and the stroke for the medial u and the short horizontal stoke forming the serif of some aksaras in this record, when compared with the curved or hooked forms in the corresponding aksaras in many inscriptions of the first to fifth centuries, definitely point to a reversal in the evolution of the Sinhalese alphabet.

The Sinhalese language of this record displays phonological developments appropriate to the period to which it refers. Noteworthy forms are palava for Skt. pātipada, P. patipada and classical and modern Sinhalese pīlaviya, and baniya for Skt. bhāgineya, P. bhāgeneyya and Sinhalese bāna. In

1 See the corresponding letters in EZ, Vol. I, plates 13, 27 and 30; Vol. III, plates 7, 8, 13, 22 and 23; Vol. IV, plate 22.
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the form Nikamani, the last syllable of the earlier form, Nikamaniya,\(^2\) has dropped. Vowel assimilation has taken place in puña-masa for the earlier puṇā-masa.\(^3\)

The record is dated in the tenth regnal year of a king styled Kasabala Alakapaya. ‘Kasabala,’ as the equivalent of Pali ‘Kassapa’, Skt. ‘Kāsyapa’, is found in several graffiti at Sigiri as well as in the stone inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries.\(^4\) The transformation of the Middle Indian form of this name into Kasaba, Kasub or Kasubu follows normal phonological development. With regard to the suffix-\(\text{-la}\) attached to the name, compare the forms ‘Nakala’ for ‘Nāga’ in a first or second century inscription at Minvila in the Tamankaḍu District, and ‘Senala’ for P. and Skt. ‘Sena,’ ‘Mhidala’ for P. ‘Mahinda’, Skt. ‘Mahendra’, and ‘Kitala’ for P. ‘ Kitti, Skt. ‘Kirtti’, occurring in the Sigiri graffiti.\(^5\) Our record therefore is of a king who would have been called Kassapa in the Cūlavaṃśa. A comparison of the script of the Gāraṇḍīgala inscription\(^6\) of Kassapa III with that of our record would make it certain that this epigraph is not of that monarch. Kassapa II had a reign of only nine years;\(^7\) therefore he cannot be the king in whose regnal years this epigraph is dated. Thus we are left with Kassapa I, whose association with Sigiri has made him well-known to all students of Ceylon history and art. This is the only inscription so far known dating from the reign of Kassapa I; hence its historical interest is very great.

The title of Alakapaya attached to the king’s name is the same as ‘Alakapati’ (Lord of Alaka) in Sanskrit. The phonological processes involved in Skt. ‘Alakāpati’ becoming ‘Alakapaya’ in Old Sinhalese—the shortening of the long vowel, the dropping of the intervocalic \(t\), the addition of the \(y\) to avoid the hiatus thus caused, and vowel-assimilation in the last syllable—are familiar to students of Old Sinhalese and need no comment.\(^8\) Alaka is Ālakamanda in Pali texts; therefore the significance of the title is explained by the Cūlavaṃśa\(^9\) when it says that Kassapa built on the summit of Sigiri ‘a fine palace worthy to behold, like another Ālakamandā and

\(\text{2 EZ, Vol. III, p. 179.}\)
\(\text{3 EZ, Vol. IV, p. 227; Vol. III, p. 178.}\)
\(\text{4 Sigiri Graffiti, Oxford University Press, 1956, Vol. II, pp. 113, 118 and 303.}\)
\(\text{5 Sigiri Graffiti, op.cit., Vol. I, p. ccxiv et seq.}\)
\(\text{6 See EZ, Vol. III, plate No. 10, facing p. 198.}\)
\(\text{7 See Cūlavaṃsa, Geiger’s translation, part I, p. 90; chapter xlv, v. 10.}\)
\(\text{8 Sigiri Graffiti, op.cit., Vol. I, p. lxxx, paragraphs 275 and 276 and p. lxxxvi, paragraph 292.}\)
\(\text{9 Geiger’s translation, part I, p. 42f; chapter xxxix, v. 5.}\)

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dwelt there like (the god) Kuvera and the present writer’s paper ‘Sigiri, the Abode of a God-king’, which is a commentary on that passage in the chronicle.

The purpose of the epigraph was to register the gift of seven hundred kahavana coins to the royal monastery of Masala by Budala Aladara, nephew of Valaba Haladara. ‘Masala (P.Mahasela)’ is evidently the ancient name of the monastic establishment at the modern Timbiriwawa. It does not appear to be mentioned in the chronicles. The donors, too, are otherwise unknown.

**Text**

1. Mapu[rumu]......ya Kasabala-Alakapaya-maharaja-
3. pu[nu]-masa pe[llava] -dava[sa] .. balaha vasana Valaba-
4. Haladara baniya Budala-Aladara sata-
5. sayaka kahavana Masala-raja-maha-vahara ....

**Transcript**

1. Mapu[rumu]......ya Kasabala-Alakapaya-maharaja-
3. pu[nu]-masa pe[llava] -dava[sa] .. balaha vasana Valaba-
4. Haladara baniya Budala-Aladara sata-
5. sayaka kahavana Masala-raja-maha-vahara ....

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12. Perhaps the missing letters, together with ya which is preserved, read Sīrisagaboya (P. Sīrisapūrabodhi).
13. Parts of some letters forming this word are blurred; but what is preserved of them leaves no room for doubt with regard to their identity.
14. The e-sign is presumed to have been there as the form peḷava would be the prototype of the classical Sinhalese paḷava; but it is also not impossible that vowel-assimilation has been at work to give rise to the form paḷavā.
15. The context requires a place-name in the locative singular here; the last letter therefore may stand for hi.
16. May be restored as vaharaja dina.
17. Nikamaniya in the Tenigala inscription (EZ, III, p. 178); Nikimi in classical Sinhalese and inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries (Sorata-mahāthera’s *Sinhalese Dictionary*, s.v.); modern Sinhalese Nikimi or Nikini. The name of the Sinhalese lunar month corresponding to Skt. Śrāvana (July-August). The name occurs in the *Samantapādāśikā* (P.T.S. Edition, Vol. IV, p. 867), as Nikkhamaniya which is most probably a rendering into Pali of the Old Sinhalese name known from the inscriptions. How the month received this name is a matter requiring investigation.
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TRANSLATION

On the first day of the waxing moon in the month of Nikamaṇi¹⁸ in the tenth year of the raising of the umbrella [of dominion] by the great king. Kasabala Alakapaya, the Brave,¹⁹ Budala Aladara, nephew of Vaḷaba Haladara,²⁰ residing at . . . . . bala, (gave) seven hundred kahavaṇas [to] the great royal monastery of Masala.²¹

The second inscription at Tiṁbirivāva consists of two lines of writing, each about 11 ft. in length. About four letters at the end of the first line, and seven at the end of the second, are almost totally effaced; hence the exact length of the lines cannot be ascertained. To the left of the two lines, the auspicious word sidam is enclosed within a linear framing of oval shape formed by the flourish of the stroke for the medial i of the first letter. In addition to the letters at the ends of the lines, certain others are partly damaged, but their identity is beyond question. The missing letters at the ends of the lines, too, can be restored with reasonable certainty from the context. The area inscribed is 1¼ ft. in breadth.

The letters range in height between 6 in. and 1½ in. They are more regularly and carefully incised than in the previous epigraph. The script generally resembles that in the preceding record, but the individual letters are less angular in form. The letter ha differs from that in the preceding record in that the base line curves upwards at the right, and ends by curving downwards. The stage of development exhibited by the language is also generally similar to that of the foregoing inscription. A noteworthy form

¹⁹ The form Aladara in the name of the donor is the same as Haladara, that of the personage of whom he was nephew (sister's son). Haladara is the same as Skt. Haladhara, 'the bearer of the plough', and can be interpreted as a name of Daladeva, the god whose symbol is the plough. Vaḷaba may be derived from Skt. Vṛṣabhā, through an intermediate form Vaḍaba. The substitution of d for s is found in Tamil, e.g. in viḍabam for Skt. vṛṣabha. Budala is the same as Skt. and P. Buddhā, with the addition of the suffix -a. It is noteworthy that the donor in this inscription emphasises his relationship to the maternal uncle, and does not mention his paternal relationship. The normal practice in ancient Sinhalese inscriptions was to give the name of a person together with that of his father. Perhaps in the family of Aladara (Haladara) descent was matrilineal.
²⁰ Masala = Skt. Mahā-śiḷā or Mahā-śaila, P. Mahā-śilā or Maha-vela, See next page.
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is yahala, which occurs in the Tōnigala inscription of Sirimeghavanṇa as hakada.\(^{22}\) The form found in our record occurs also in literary works, and differs but little from its modern form yāla. The name of the ancient monastery at the place is called ‘Maharala’ in this record, whereas in the other it is ‘Masala’. Most probably, the two forms are different methods of pronouncing one and the same name. Ma in the one stands for maha in the other, the syllable ha having dropped. Rala in the name as given in this record must then stand for sala in the other. Thus we have an instance of s becoming r, a phonetical change noticed in Sinh. ruvan, ‘gold’, for Skt. suvana (Ruvanmala, v. 388), and sporadically met with in modern colloquial Sinhalese, e.g. sata (cent) being pronounced as rata by the average uneducated person speaking Sinhalese. The change of l to l is a consequence of the r taking the place of s. Noteworthy also is the locative termination in Pilligamiyi.

The record is dated in the fourth year of a king styled Kumara-sirisagaboṣi (P. Kumāra-sirisāṅghabodhi). The throne name of Sirisagaboṣi (Sirisāṅghabodhi) occurs here for the first time in an epigraphical document. The only Sinhalese king of this period, or of any period, in fact, who bore a name with the element Kumāra was he who is called Kumāra-Dhātuseṇa in the Cūlavamsa and Kumāra-Dhātuseṇa (Kumarasagab) in Sinhalese historical writings.\(^{23}\) In the only other epigraph yet known of this king, he is called Maha-Kumaratasa (Mahā-Kumāradāsa).\(^{24}\) Our record may therefore be taken without doubt as one of Kumāradāsa who reigned from 512 to 520. It is therefore twenty-nine years later than the inscription of Kassapa I at the same site. The purport of the record was to register a gift of a yāla of paddy for the maintenance of slaves in the vihāra named, which has already been commented on, by the wife of a person named Dala residing at Pilligami. The identity of the last named place cannot be established. It was probably in the vicinity of the modern Tūmbirivāva.

Text

1 Ekā[(*)]ākrtī-śīlānakārya-āpyupāṭa  vādhaṅkārya  āy-ād  rup-vādi
   [ācārya-το]
2 -se  Ekā[(*)]ākrti  śīlā  āy-ād  rup  vādhaṅkārya  āy-vādi-śīlā-śīlā-vādhaṅkārya  āy[το
   δ-βι-ατ]

22 Čūlavamsa, chapter xli, v. 1; Pūjāvali, chapters xxxiii and xxxiv, edited by A. V. Suravira, p. 100, Pārakumbāśirita, v. 23.
23 EZ, Vol. IV, p. 123.
24 Modern Sinhalese Vap, the month corresponding to Skt. Asvina, September-October.

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TRANSCRIPT

1 Sidam [*] Kumara-Sirisagaboyi-mapurumuka catarivaniyahi
Vapa-cadi punu-mesi [dolasa-pa-]

2 -ka Piligamiyi vasana Da layaha abi mahara la-raja-maha-vahare
vi-yahalaka vahara [la-vaṭa kaṭa dina]

TRANSLATION

Success! On (the twelfth) of the waxing moon in the month of Vapa in
the fourth of His Majesty Kumara Sirisagaboyi, the wife of Da laya,
residing at Piligami, (gave) one yaha!a of paddy for the purpose of main-
taining [the services of] slaves at the great royal monastery of Mahara la.

The third inscription at Tiṁbirivāva covers an area of rock surface
measuring approximately 5 ft. 6 in. at the longest, and 2 ft. 6 in. at the
broadest. The letters range in height between 6 in. and 2 in. It consists
of five lines of writing, of which the last two are badly preserved. The
script and language conform to standards familiar in records of the fifth to
sixth centuries. The record is not dated; its purpose is to register the
manumission of an individual, who is named, by paying a hundred kaha-
vañas.

TEXT

1 ści [*] ści-ści-ści ści ści-
2 -ści ści ści ści ści-
3 ści ści [*] ści ści-
4 -ści ści ści ści ści-
5 -ści ści ści ści ści [*]

TRANSCRIPT

1 Sidam[*] Aba-jeta-baya Aba c-
2 -ka-saya27 kahavāna di vasa
3 vaharala cidi [*] Pala save-
4 -ṭa28 save-satanaṭa maya ri-
5 -ci Bu[du]- bava va[yavaya] [*] .......

25 Vi—See EZ, Vol. III, pp. 177 and 184. For yaha!a, see note 21.
26 Vaharala vata kota— See EZ, Vol. IV, pp. 134 f., and below p. 103
27 The letter sa has been engraved over a ka which has obviously been erroneously
engraved on the stone.
28 The normal phraseology in inscriptions of this type indicates that savata in lines 3
and 4 occurring after pala is due to a clerical error. In the translation, however, it
has been taken as authentic.

101
Success! The elder of Aba, having given a hundred kahavanäs, freed Aba from the slavery to which [he] was subjected. May the merit of this be for the attainment of Buddhahood, desired by me [also], to all beings everywhere.

About three miles south-east of Maradanmaduva, close to the eastern boundary of the Vilpattu National Park and about three-quarters of a mile to the east of Timbiriväva, there is a group of detached rocks known as Andaragollâgala. On one of these rock-boulders, rising to a height of about 30 ft., and about 50 ft. in length, there are to be seen slight vestiges of an ancient brick structure, probably a stîpa, and to the south of these remains, there is an inscription which was discovered in 1953 by Mr. C. W. Nicholas. Information about the discovery was supplied to the Archaeological Department, and an estampage was prepared in 1954, being numbered 46 in the List of Inscriptions copied by the department in that year. It has been read from a photograph of that estampage kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. C. E. Godakumbure.

Excluding the auspicious word sidâni, which is written within a flourish of the sign of si, 10 1/2 in. by 7 1/2 in., to the left of the main body of the writing, the record covers an area of the rock surface measuring 2 ft. 9 in. at the longest, and 9 in. at the broadest, and comprises three lines of writing. The individual letters, ranging in height between 1 1/2 in. and 3 1/2 in., are shallowly but sharply incised. The weathering of the rock has obscured the writing in places, but every letter of the record can be deciphered. The script generally resembles that of record No. 2 at Timbiriväva, but certain letters have more developed forms; compare for example the symbols for da and la. The letter la has two dents and the serif of certain letters, e.g. pa, is turned down on the left. This record furnishes us with one of the rare occurrences of the initial o in records of the fifth to eighth centuries. Being dated in the second year of a king named Dâla-Opatisa (Dâthopatissa), the record

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29 Jeto = Skt. jyeṣṭha, P. jettho, classical Sinhalese deṭu, ‘eldest’. In actual usage, the word does not always have the superlative sense indicated by its etymology.
30 Skt. or P. Abhaya.
31 See note II.
32 Vasa = Skt. vaśa, P. vasa. Vaharala being qualified by vasa supports the interpretation of that word as ‘slavery’. The literal interpretation of vaharala cidavi is ‘caused the cessation of slavery’.
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at Andaragollāgala is 174 or 158 years later than Inscription No. 1, and 145 or 129 after Inscription No. 2 at Tiṃbirivāva. A comparison of the script of these records indicates that there was not much development in the angular variety of the Sinhalese script during the sixth and seventh centuries.

This inscription ends with the phrase dasi-paha cidavi, which has not been found so far in any other record of this period. It is quite obvious that dasi is the same as Skt. dāsya, P. dāsavya, 'the state of a slave, i.e. slavery.' Paha can be equated with Skt. pāsa, P. pāsa, 'noose, bond, chain or fetter.' Cidavi is the third person singular in the causative mood, past tense, of the verbal root corresponding to Skt. chid; its equivalent in classical Sinhalese would be sīdāvi. The whole phrase may therefore be translated as 'caused to be torn asunder, or caused the cessation of, the bondage or fetters of slavery'.

The phrase dasi-paha cidavi of the present inscription takes the place of vaharala cidavi occurring in a large number of epigraphs,34 many of them yet unpublished, belonging to the period between the fifth and eighth centuries. In publishing some of these inscriptions for the first time, I suggested that vaharala and its variant forms mean 'slave' or 'slavery', according to the context.35 The occurrence of dasi-paha as a substitute for vaharala in the present inscription establishes beyond doubt the meaning that I proposed for it originally.

The occurrence of dasi-paha as synonymous with vaharala or vaharalaya gives us a clue with regard to the etymology of the latter word. It is reasonable to take that laya, its variant form leya, and its contracted form la, have the same meaning as paha. Laya, leya and la, therefore, are equivalent etymologically to Skt. lāya, derived from the root li 'to adhere,' with the secondary meaning of 'bondage,' 'fetter,' which is found in the word ā-lāna formed from the same root with the addition of the prefix ā. Vahara is equated with Skt. vyavahāra, P. vohāra, in the meaning of 'law' or 'custom'. Etymologically, therefore, the word vaharala and its variants would mean 'legal bond' or 'one who is subjected to a legal bond'. The suggested etymology gains support from the statement in the Sambantapāsādikā that a bought slave is

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34 Maya = mā in standard Sinhalese. See Sigiri Graffiti, Index—Glossary, s.v.
35 Savaṇa can mean 'to all,' but the word would be redundant before sava-satanāta. It has therefore being equated with Skt. saṃveda, P. saubhātto. It is, however, possible that the scribe first wrote saṇḍa, but later expanded it to saṇḍasatanāta. See also note 28.
A son bought for money from the parents, or one who is already a slave bought from the master, having brought him within the law relating to slaves (dāsa-cārittāni āropetvā).\textsuperscript{36} In manumitting a slave also, the same authority states, the laws regarding slaves prevailing in various localities should be followed.\textsuperscript{37} The word cāritta used in this connection by the Samantapāsādikā is equivalent to Sinhalese sīrit, regularly used in Sinhalese documents of the ninth to fourteenth centuries for ‘law’.\textsuperscript{38} It is therefore synonymous with vahara (Skt. vyavahāra) forming the first member of the compound vaharala. The word vaharala and its modern Sinhalese forms vahal and vāl, are thus semantically equivalent to English ‘bondman,’ ‘bondsmen,’ ‘bondmaid,’ ‘bond-servant’ and other similar words. This etymology would also explain the appropriateness of using a form derived from the root chid to express the idea of manumission.

The inscription contains no evidence to decide whether Daḷa-Opatīsa (Dāṭhopatīsa), in whose regnal years it is dated, was the first or the second of that name. It may, however, be of some significance that Daḷa-Opatīsa of our inscription is given the sovereign epithet of mapurumuka, whereas Daḷapatīsa (Dāṭhopatīsa) of the Dakkhina-vihāra record is referred to as purumaka. If the reasons adduced to ascribe that record to Dāṭhopatīsa I be valid,\textsuperscript{39} our record may be taken as a document of the reign of Dāṭhopatīsa II.

**Text**

1 Sidam [\(^*\)] Daḷa-Opatīsa-mapurumuka-va-
2 -sa [de]vanayahi Gi[r]vela-Ca-
3 -da puta dasi-paha cidavi [\(^*\)]

**Transcript**

1 Sidam [\(^*\)] Daḷa-Opatīsa-mapurumuka-va-
2 -sa [de]vanayahi Gi[r]vela-Ca-
3 -da puta dasi-paha cidavi [\(^*\)]

**Translation**

In the second of the years of His Majesty Daḷa-Opatīsa, Girivela Cada freed [his] son from slavery.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{37} See EZ, Vol. IV, Nos. 15, 16, 17 and 37 and Vol. V, Nos. 2 and 3.
\textsuperscript{38} EZ, Vol. IV, pp. 134 ff.
\textsuperscript{39} Dhanakkito nama m/itsi-pitunruuii santikii putto sdmilainam. santikii d/iso vii dhanam.
d(ttvii ddsa-cdrittam. dropeuxi kito.
\textsuperscript{40} Tattha tattha cāritta-vasena adāsam kutvā, Samantapāsādikā, op.cit., Vol. V, p. 1001.