

# Allai Copper-Plate Charter of King Niśśāṅkamalla

This copper-plate charter was brought to my notice in July, 1968, by the Reverend Mātālē Sumana Thera of Nīla-rājamahāvihārāya, Nīlapōla, Trincomalee District. It had been discovered five years earlier by a resident in the village of Allai near Sēruvila, Trincomalee District, while he was digging the earth near the remains of some ancient buildings. I am grateful to the Reverend Sumana Thera who invited me to study this important document and to publish it with the necessary critical apparatus. The charter has now been presented to the Archaeological Department and is deposited in the Archaeological Museum at Trincomalee.

I am grateful to the Archaeological Commissioner for furnishing me with a set of estampages of the charter.

The charter consists of five sheets of copper, each measuring 8.20 ins. in length and 3.00 ins. in breadth, strung on to a copper ring with an inner diameter of 3.00 ins. The thickness of the wire that forms the ring varies from 0.32 in. to 0.35 in. The thickness of the copper plates varies from 0.10 in. to 0.16 in. The plates and the ring together weigh 5.512 lbs.

In the centre of the left-hand margin of each plate is a hole through which the wire forming the ring is passed. The two ends of the ring are joined together in a half-lap butt joint secured by a pin driven through the two ends. The joint appears to have been broken some considerable time before the charter had been discovered. After its discovery plate No. 4 appears to have been extracted and replaced in the wrong way with the result that now the plates cannot be read in the proper order without re-arranging this plate.<sup>1</sup>

The craftsmanship displayed in the design and making of the charter can hardly be described as being of a high order. The plates have been so designed and inscribed upon that for continuous reading they have to be turned upwards as when one reads a palm-leaf manuscript. The diameter of the ring has been calculated to permit two pages of the charter to be kept open at one and the same time for continuous reading, plate No. 1 which should lie flat on the top being turned upwards to open two pages, namely, plate No. 1b and plate No. 2a for continuous reading. In the same manner when plate No. 2 is turned upwards and allowed to lie on plate

1. My thanks are due to Professor J. V. C. Chinnappah, formerly Dean of the Faculty of Engineering, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, and to Professor C. L. V. Jayatilke, Head of the Department of Mechanical Engineering, University of Peradeniya.

No. 1, two pages, namely, plate No. 2b and plate No. 3a will be open for continuous reading. This arrangement is made possible by the ring being fabricated with an inner diameter of 4 ins. which is the distance approximately between the inner edge of the two holes of any two plates arranged for continuous reading.

The technique of engraving letters employed in this charter, as far as the present writer is aware, has not been noticed in any other copper-plate document found in Sri Lanka, though numerous examples of a similar technique have been found in India even of a period as early as the first century B. C.<sup>2</sup> It would appear that in the plates of this charter the first stage of engraving consisted of each letter being marked by means of dots punched into the metal with a sharp point. In the second stage the outline of each letter so marked was gouged out with a suitable tool to form a continuous groove, possibly after the metal had been adequately heated.<sup>3</sup> The reverse of the second plate and that of the third contain outlines of the letters *ka* and *kā* respectively on the left-hand margin. These have not been gouged out owing to some over-sight on the part of the engraver. In the body of the text on the other plates there are several characters which have not been gouged out accurately and some of the dots remain outside the line gouged out. These letters provide clear examples of the first stage of the technique of engraving employed in the charter. Of the five plates that form the charter only the second, the third and the fourth plate are inscribed upon on both sides. Of the first and the last plates only the reverse and the obverse respectively have been inscribed upon.

The obverse of the first plate† or what may be described as the frontispiece of the charter is divided into two rectangles, with a margin of slightly over one inch on the left-hand side to accommodate the hole through which the wire forming the ring is passed. Conventional representations of the sun and the moon are engraved on the left-hand side and the right-hand side respectively, the moon being indicated by the figure of a hare inscribed within the circle that represents the orb of the moon. The space around the two astral bodies is enclosed by rectangular frames composed of a crescent-like element possibly intended to represent clouds. All the figures, decorative elements and the lines demarcating the two rectangles have been drawn by means of dots punched into the metal. In the same manner the reverse of the fifth plate which forms the back cover of the charter is divided into three rectangles leaving a margin as in the front cover. The rectangle on the left-hand side contains the figure

2. Inscribed Relic Casket from Kurram, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, plate opposite p. 13; Kalawan Copper-Plate Inscription of the Year 134, *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, plate opposite p. 259.

3. Regarding the heating of a copper-plate, see, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 215. According to the eighth century Neulpur Copper-Plate Grant of Subhākara of Orissa, the copper plate was heated by a *peṭṭapāla* and incised by a *tattapāla*, *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 6.

†. Plates 1 a and 5 bare not reproduced.





of a crow perched perilously on the brim of a bowl which is evidently filled with some kind of food. It rests on a stand. The rectangle in the middle contains the figure of a dog with the head bent down, eating from a bowl placed on a low stand while the rectangle on the right-hand side is filled with the figure of a man, bent down and supported by a stick held in his right hand. In the left hand the man holds a begging bowl. The figure is crudely engraved and gives an impression of infirmity and abject demeanour.

These three figures are obviously intended to serve as a warning to people that any one who interferes with the grant recorded in the charter will be born as a dog or a crow or even as a *caṇḍāla*. Ancient and mediaeval inscriptions recording grants of land to religious foundations usually conclude with the imprecation that those who misuse or misappropriate the land so granted will be born in the next birth either as a dog or as a crow, but there is one lithic inscription of king Niṣṣaṅkamalla, who was also the grantor of the present charter, which concludes with the imprecation that any one who contravenes the provisions of the grant will be equal in name to *mātaṅgas* and to crows and dogs. Below the concluding lines of this inscription are the figures of a man, a crow and a dog as a sign of warning to possible miscreants. The figure of the man in the present charter, therefore, is intended to represent a man of the *mātaṅga* caste, one of the so-called degraded castes, also known as the *caṇḍāla* caste.<sup>4</sup>

On the inscribed side of each plate there are two margins on either side. In all the plates the margin on the left-hand side is 1.25 ins. in width, and provides sufficient space for the hole through which the wire which forms the ring stringing the plates is passed. The right-hand side of the margin, however, varies from 0.30 in. to 0.50 in.

There are eight lines of writing on each inscribed side except on the reverse of the first plate which has seven lines of writing and the obverse of the fifth plate which has only six lines of writing. Below the last line of this latter plate three figures of fish have been engraved with dots punched into the metal. On the top of the left-hand side of the reverse of the first plate is drawn in the same manner the letter *śrī*, 0.60 in. in height, as an indication that the document has been issued by the King.

In the body of the text the letters range from 0.20 in. to 0.30 in. in height, and have been engraved quite deep. The plates are generally so well preserved that every letter can be deciphered with certainty.

<sup>4</sup>. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, Ceylon, 1955 - 1966, Plate 9, and p. 204 and p. 208.

The script employed in the charter is the script of the Polonnaruva period appearing in lithic records, and belongs to the type of script employed in the Anurādhapura Ruvanvālisāya Slab-Inscription<sup>5</sup> and the Kāliṅga Forest Gal Āsana Inscription,<sup>6</sup> both set up by the same ruler Niṣṣaṅkamalla. The same type of script is also used in the Polonnaruva Slab-Inscription of King Sāhasamalla.<sup>7</sup> A distinctive feature of this script is the letter *na* in which the loop common in the letter *na* occurring in most lithic records of the Polonnaruva period is replaced by a thin vertical line curved towards the left, and the letter *lā* in which the medial *ā* sign is attached to the lower curve of the letter.<sup>8</sup> The medial sign *ā* when associated with other consonants is represented usually by a curve opening to the left and separated from the main sign, the distinction being thus made between the medial sign *ā* and the medial sign *ā̄* which is generally represented by an almost vertical stroke in a few of the lithic records of King Niṣṣaṅkamalla.

A few errors can be noticed in the engraving of letters. The word *surin̄du* in lines 1-2 on the obverse of the second plate is written without the medial vowel signs for *i* and *u*. These signs, however, have been marked out by means of dots but the engraver has failed to complete them. In line 6 of the same side of the same plate the letter *du* of what should read as *rudu* is altogether missing.

There are also several instances where letters forming conjunct consonants are not properly joined together. The word - *malla* in line 2 of the reverse of the second plate reads as - *malala*. The letters *ta* and *ti* of the word *pettiya* in line 8 on the obverse of the third plate, are also not properly linked. Attention may also be drawn to some orthographical peculiarities noticed in the charter: the word *abhiśeka* in line 4 on the reverse of the second plate, the word *niskalamka* in line 2 on the reverse of the second plate and the word *lamkēsvara* in line 1 on the reverse of the third plate. The king's name is written Niṣṣamkhamalla in line 2 on the reverse of the second plate, while it is spelt Niṣyamkhamalla in lines 2-3 on the obverse of the fifth plate. The latter form is repeated in the donee's name in line 1 on the reverse of the third plate.

On the obverse of the fifth plate in the second line after the words *byavasthā keḷe* there is a curved stroke opening to the right, with a short extension backwards, obviously intended to serve as a mark of punctuation to separate the text of the grant from the attestation containing the names of the king and other members of the royal family. After the last word in the last line on the same side of this plate is another punctuation mark, evidently a fullstop, engraved horizontally in the form of a chain consisting of two links and a half link which is open to the right.

5. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, London, 1912-1927, Plate 13.

6. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, Plate 21.

7. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, Plate 32.

8. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, Plate 13, Plate 21.

The language of the charter is the literary language of the Polonnaruva period as is used in the lithic inscriptions of the Polonnaruva kings including King Niśśaṅkamalla. Attention may be drawn to the form *osabanata* and *oviṇḍu*. The nasal element is missing in the words *kadap* and *diliḍun* though *kaṇḍap* and *diliṇḍun* are the regular forms that appear in the lithic records of the period. The active past participle *harā* is here used in place of the regular and usual *arā*, with an augmentation of *h*. The form *deseyin* in the ablative sigilar appears to be an intermediate form between *desin* and *dēsāyen* which is a loan word.

This charter, which is the second oldest copper-plate charter so far found in Sri Lanka,<sup>9</sup> records the grant of one *ṅāla* of land by King Niśśaṅkamalla (A. D. 1187-1196) of Polonnaruva to a dignitary by the name of Niśyamkha-Lamkēsvara Helavānā Rak as a reward for successfully accomplishing a mission entrusted to him by the king for which the former had to travel to Kalinga and Paṇḍūruva, which, as will be seen in due course, were situated in India. It is stated in the charter that the announcement of the grant of this land took place in the *abhiseka-maṇḍapa* of a building known as *Tun-dā-gedora*, The Three Relic House, situated obviously at Polonnaruva. Attired in full regalia and accompanied by his two queens, the Heir Apparent and several high officials, the king is stated to have announced the grant and requested an officer named Kiliṅgu Mahakiliṅgam Rakal-nā to issue a copper-plate charter to Helavānā Rak<sup>10</sup>. The land so granted was situated in Piti-rajaya. The boundaries of the land are given in detail in the charter. The grant is attested by the king, the chief queen Subhadrā, the queen Kalyāna-mahādēvī and the Heir Apparent Virabāhu. All these personages are known from the lithic records of King Niśśaṅkamalla. The *Mahāvamsa* mentions all of them with the exception of Queen Subhadrā.

The ministers who were present at the *Abbhiseka-maṇḍapa* were (1) Lak-Vijaya Siṅgu Tāvuru-nā, (2) Laṅkādhikāra Lolupālākulu Kital-nā. (3) Adhikāra Totadanavu Suva-nā. (4) Adhikāra Totadanavu Sātā-nā and (5) the President of the Council Gajabāhu-nā, who held the office of *Daham-badahāli*. All these high dignitaries are known from the *Doraṭiyāva Sannasa* also issued by King Niśśaṅkamalla.<sup>11</sup> The foremost among these dignitaries, Lak-Vijaya Siṅgu Tāvuru-nā, is mentioned in more than one

9. The oldest copper-plate charter discovered in Sri Lanka is the Panākaḍuva Copper-Plate Charter of Vijayabāhu I, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, Plate 1.

10. A similar procedure seems to have been followed when the *Doraṭiyāva Sannasa* was granted by King Niśśaṅkamalla, *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 316-318. The Inscription of Gajabāhu II from Laggala Pallesiya Pattuva also indicates the same procedure, *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, Part 1, (No. 71), pp. 53-60. See also *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, p. 397.

11. *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 316-318.

lithic record of King Niśśaṅkamalla,<sup>12</sup> and is, without doubt, identical with the general named Tāvuru Senvirat mentioned in the Sinhalese literary work *Pūjāvaliya*,<sup>13</sup> where it is stated that he put to death Niśśaṅkamalla's son, Vīrabāhu, because the latter was not of high birth. Tāvuru-nā conquered Pāṇḍya<sup>14</sup> and was entrusted by Niśśaṅkamalla with the construction of a *vata-dā-gē*, circular relic house, named Ratnagiri.<sup>15</sup> In the course of his introduction to the Galpota Slab-Inscription of King Niśśaṅkamalla, D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe has suggested the possibility of this general being identical, with among others, Lak-Vijaya Siṅgu Senevi Ābo-nā mentioned in the Slab-Inscription of King Sāhasamalla,<sup>16</sup> and even with Adhikāra Totadanavu Mand-nā who is mentioned in the same Gal-pota Slab - Inscription<sup>17</sup> as having been responsible for transporting for from Mihintale to Poḷonnaruva the block of stone on which the inscription has been engraved. Wickremasinghe, however, does not adduce any reasons for these identifications, nor does he explain why the same high official should be given two different names in one and the same record. Referring to the identity of of an officer named Lak-Vijaya Ābo Siṅgu Senevi-nā mentioned in the Batalagodavāva Slab-Inscription of Queen Līlāvati Parānavitana states that this officer is obviously the same as Lak-Vijaya Siṅgu Senevi Tāvuru-nā of the inscriptions of King Niśśaṅkamalla,<sup>18</sup> But again he does not adduce any reasons for his identification.

However, a study of the documents where these names occur<sup>19</sup> show that both Wickremasinghe and Parānavitana have confused the names and titles of more than one person as the names and titles of one single person, Lak-Vijaya Siṅgu Senevi Tāvuru-nā, with whom we are concerned here was the one and only commander-in-chief of King Niśśaṅkamalla and his name in this form appears only in the king's lithic records. He does not appear in any document as serving any other ruler. The expression *Lak-Vijaya-Siṅgu*, Victorious Lion of Lanka, is a title, and *Senevi* means general. Tāvuru is the general's proper name by which alone he can be identified. He is therefore identical with the Tāvuru Senevi mentioned in the *Pūjāvaliya*<sup>20</sup> as having put to death Vīrabāhu, the Heir Apparent of Niśśaṅkamalla, as stated above. That he was a loyal and trusted servant of the king is shown in the manner he is stated to have volunteered to conquer Pāṇḍya.

12. Gal-pota Slab-Inscription, Poḷonnaruva: A Slab-Inscription of Niśśaṅkamalla, Poḷonnaruva; Kiri-Vehera Slab-Inscription; Pṛīti-Dānaka-Maṇḍapa Rock-Inscription. For these inscriptions, see, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 107, 154, 150 and 170 respectively.

13. *Pūjāvaliya*, ed. A. V. Suravīra, Colombo, 1961, p. 107.

14. Gal-pota Slab-Inscription, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 107.

15. Pṛīti-Dānaka-Maṇḍapa Rock-Inscription, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol., II p. 170.

16. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 222 and 224.

17. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 100 and 101.

18. Inscriptions mentioned in Note No. 12, and also *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 75-76.

19. See footnote No. 12.

20. See footnote No. 13.

The Adhikāra Totadanavu Mand-nā<sup>21</sup> mentioned in the Galp-pota Slab-Inscription cannot be by any means identified with the general named Tāvuru. The office of Senevi was very definitely of a higher order than that of Adhikāra,<sup>22</sup> and if these two dignitaries were identical there is no reason, as was stated above, why the dignitary in question should be given two different offices of varying rank besides two proper names, namely Tāvuru and Mand, in the same document. Of the numerous military men who are mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* as being alive during this period, it is not possible to single out any one of them as being identical with LakVijaya Singu Senevi Tāvuru-nā.

Lak-Vijaya Ābo Singu Senevi-nā mentioned in the Batalagodavāva Slab-Inscription<sup>23</sup> appears to be identical with Lankādhikāra Lolupālākulu Dūttāti Ābo-nā who, seeing that Srī Lanka was without a ruler consequent on the death of King Niṣṣankamalla, despatched with the active support of his friend Lankādhikāra Lolupālākulu Eudal-nā, as an envoy to Kalinga to fetch a prince from that country to rule over Sri Lanka. Accordingly Sāhasamalla, the younger brother of King Niṣṣankamalla, arrived in Sri Lanka and ascended the throne. Dūttāti Ābo-nā was promoted Commander-in-Chief in recognition of his services to the new ruler.<sup>24</sup> It is the same general who is called Āyasmanta in the the *Mahāvamsa*, and who removed Sāhasamalla and placed Kalyānavatī, the chief queen of Niṣṣankamalla, on the throne.<sup>25</sup> It would seem that Dūttāti Ābo-nā, who helped Sāhasamalla to become the king of Sri Lanka, soon had become disillusioned with him and had placed Kalyānavatī on the throne. The Sinhalese word Ābō means 'long lived'<sup>26</sup> or 'endowed with long life,' and the Pāli word Āyasmanta has almost the same meaning, leading to the identification of Ābo of the Batalagodvāva Slab-Inscription with Āyasmanta of the *Mahāvamsa*. This identification would appear to be confirmed by the Sanskrit preamble to the Slab-Inscription of Sāhasamalla where Dūttāti Ābo-nā is referred to by the name Āyusmat-prtanādhīpa,<sup>27</sup> the Sanskrit Āyusmat being equivalent to the Pāli Āyasmanta and the Sin-

21. This name should read Mandi-nā. The medial i is quite clear, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, Plate 20.

22. The following passage from the Sinhalese literary work, *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* of the thirteenth century throws some light on the relative importance of the different Officers of State in mediaeval Sri Lanka:

*Rajjuruvanvahanseta kavara nila karamō da? Yuva-rajjuruvanta kavara nila karamō da? Senevi-radunta kavara nila karamō da? Lankādhikāra Dematūchikāra Mudal-pot ādi vū ē denāta kavara nila karamō dāyi vicāto ya. Sadharmaratnāvaliya*, ed. D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1936, p. 335.

23. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, p. 78.

24. Slab-Inscription of Sāhasamalla, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. 11, pp. 223-224.

25. *Cūlavamsa*, ed. Wilhelm Geiger, London, 1925, 80. 33, 34.

26. In the name Ābo-nā the second component -nā represents Sanskrit, *nātha*, lord. Thus the name Lak-Vijaya Singu Senevi Ābo-nā means Lord Lak-Vijaya Singu Ābo, the Commander-in-Chief.

27. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 222.

halese *Ābo*. The Sinhalese literary works *Pūjāvaliya* and *Rājāvaliya*, both call the general, who set up Kalyānavatī on the throne of Sri Lanka, Elalu *Ābo Senevi*.<sup>28</sup> If we accept the meaning of the name *Āti* as explained by Paranavitana, the general *Āti* mentioned in the Minipe Slab-Inscription as having been killed by the Tamil army that invaded Sri Lanka in the eighth year of Queen Kalyānavatī,<sup>29</sup> is also identical with Lak-Vijaya *Ābo Siṅgu Senevi-nā* of the Batalagoda-vāva Slab-Inscription of Queen Kalyānavatī.

The dignitary mentioned in the charter after Lak-Vijaya Siṅgu Tāvuru-nā, the Commander-in-Chief, is Laṅkādhikāra Lolupālākulu Kital-nā. It would appear that the office of Laṅkādhikāra was the highest office in the civil administration, the corresponding office in respect of the military organisation being that of *Senevi*.<sup>30</sup> The name Lolupālākulu appears to be a family name originating from the family seat of the dignitaries who used this name. Members of this family would certainly have occupied very high positions in the administration of the land even prior to the reign of King Niṣṣaṅkamalla, though it is scarcely possible to identify these dignitaries with certainty among the numerous generals mentioned in the chapters of the *Mahāvamsa* relating to the reigns of kings such as Parākramabāhu I and Niṣṣaṅkamalla. A dignitary by the name of Lolupālākulu Loko-nā is mentioned in the Doratiyāva Sannasa as being rewarded by King Niṣṣaṅkamalla with a grant of land in recognition of the skill with which he had constructed a building called Vijayaśirī Mahapaya.<sup>31</sup> Two members of this family are again mentioned in the Slab-Inscription of Sāhasamalla,<sup>32</sup> namely, Laṅkādhikāra Lolupālākulu Dūttāti *Ābo-nā* and his friend and perhaps kinsman Laṅkādhikāra Lolupālākulu Budal-nā. It is, indeed, tempting to identify Laṅkādhikāra Lolupālākulu Kital-nā with the Laṅkādhikāra named Kitti who is referred to in the *Mahāvamsa* as a doughty warrior serving under King Parākramabāhu I.<sup>33</sup>

The Totadanavu family is known from two lithic records. In the Gal-pota Slab-Inscription it is stated that the block of stone on which this record has been engraved was brought from Sāgiri by

28. *Pūjāvaliya*, ed. Vaṅṅe Dhammananda, 1924, pp. 107-108; *Rājāvaliya*, ed. B. Gunasekera, Colombo, 1953, p. 43.

29. Paranavitana explains the name *Āti* as being composed of *ā*, Sanskrit *āyus*, and *āti*, Sanskrit *-mant*. The whole compound would then mean 'one endowed with long life'. The Sinhalese word *ā-bo* has almost the same meaning, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, pp. 151-152.

30. See footnote No. 22 and *History of Ceylon*, ed. H. C. Ray, Colombo, Ceylon University Press, 1960, p. 538.

31. *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 316-318. The proper names in the Doratiyāva Sannasa which have been incorrectly deciphered can be restored with the aid of the present charter.

32. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 222-223.

33. *Cūlavamsa*, 70. 79; 72. 21, 122 and 138.

the Adhikāra Totadanavu Mand-nā.<sup>34</sup> The Ruvanvālisāya Slab-Inscription of Queen Kalyānavatī mentions a Laṅkādhikāra Totadanavu Deval-nā, who was the nephew of a dignitary named Pirivatubim Vijayā-nā who held a grand festival in honour of the Ruvanvāli Sūpa.<sup>35</sup> I am inclined to identify Adhikāra Mandi-nā of the Gal-pota Slab-Inscription with Jīvita-potthakī Mandi referred to in *Mahāvamsa* as an officer who played an important part in the military campaign of Parākramabāhu I. Sukha,<sup>36</sup> another warrior who served under Parākramabāhu I<sup>37</sup> may probably be the Totadanavu Suva-nā of the present charter. It may be that when King Niśsaṅkamalla succeeded King Vijayabāhu II whose reign lasted only for a very short time, he absorbed most of the officers who had served under Parākramabāhu I. It was perhaps the practice at the time, even as it is today, for a ruler to absorb into his service the officers who were serving under his predecessor.

The last of the dignitaries mentioned in the charter is the Sabhāpatināyaka Gajabāhu-nā, who is also mentioned in the Doratiyāva Sannasa referred to above.<sup>38</sup> According to Paranavitana, the *Sabhāpati-nāyaka* was the chief judicial officer of the State.<sup>39</sup> In the Pāli work *Sādhucaritodaya*, Gajabāhu is described as a learned and erudite man of noble character, and is stated to have been the son of a general named Vijaya who held the office of Commander-in-Chief.<sup>40</sup>

Kilingu Mahakilingam Rakal-nā was the officer who was ordered by the king to issue the charter to Helavāṇā Rak. In the Doratiyāva Sannasa too the order to prepare the *Sannasa* was given to the same officer Rakal-nā, though the editor of this *Sannasa* has misread the name as Kilingu Mahakilivara Kalnā.<sup>41</sup> It may be noted that in each team of officers sent to set up *attāni-kaṇu*, immunity pillars, recording grants of land made to monastic and other establishments and immunities conferred on lands so granted, usually there was at least one officer whose name would be

34. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 109.

35. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, p. 265. Though here, perhaps following Wickremasinghe, Paranavitana has read the first name as *Kotadanavu* it should be read as *Totadanavu*. The letter *t* is beyond any doubt.

36. See footnote No. 21. For Jīvitapothhaki Mandi, see *Cūlavamsa*, 70. 318 and 72. 161. The name Mandi in the form of Mandiya appears in the Noccipetana Pillar-Inscription and in the Ayitigevāva Pillar-Inscription, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 6 and p. 35.

37. *Cūlavamsa*, 70. 174.

38. *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 316-318.

39. *History of Ceylon*, p. 451.

40. *Sādhucaritodaya*, ed. Balapitiye Visuddhāloka, 1961, p. 271.

41. The original Doratiyāva Sannasa has been lost and only a copy has been preserved. The word that has been copied as *Kilivara* should read as *Kilingam*, the last letter *ra* being read with the next word as *Rukal-nā*.

preceded by the epithet Kiling, Mahakilingam or Kilingam Mahakilingam<sup>42</sup>. The same procedure appears to have been followed when the Panakaduva Copper-Plate Charter was granted by King Vijayabāhu I to Budal-nā, a chieftain who had helped the king when he was in exile.<sup>43</sup> The order to grant a charter to Budal-nā was given by the king to two officers,<sup>44</sup> Tārā Detu and Tun-dā Detu, but Parānavitana appears to have taken the relevant passage to mean that the matter of the need to award a grant to the chieftain was presented to the king by these two officers. But the relevant passage in each document makes it absolutely clear that it was the king who, on each occasion, gave the order to issue the charter. The phrase *dakvā vadāleyin* and *dakvā vadāla sēyin*<sup>45</sup> could have been used only in relation to the king.

The present charter, as stated above, was granted by King Niśśānkamalla to a person named Helavānā Rak for successfully carrying out an assignment for which the latter had to travel to Kalinga and to Pandūruva. Helavānā Rak is stated in the charter to have been engaged in diplomatic duties in the staff of secretaries of the Pāmul-ṭṭṭiya, the Royal Treasury.<sup>46</sup> What is probably meant here is that his substantive post was that of a

42. See, for example, Vessagiri Slab - Inscription No. 2, Kiribat - vehera Pillar - Inscription and Buddhanehāla Pillar - Inscription, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I pp. 31 - 32 - pp. 153 - 159, and pp. 194 - 196 respectively; also, Nāgama Pillar - Inscription, Ātavi-ragollāva Pillar - Inscription, Rājamāligāva Pillar - Inscription and Ambagamuva Rōck - Inscription, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol II, p. 16, pp. 45-46, p. 52 and p. 212. It would appear that in Sri Lanka in the period 10th - 13th century it was often the practice to entrust the preparation and engraving of charters and similar documents to a particular class of officer who bore one of these titles. *Keling* or *Kling* of which the Sinhalese equivalent is *Kiling* was a designation given to emigrants from India, perhaps because they usually emigrated from Kalinga. The officers who attended to the setting up of charters and similar documents in the courts of Sri Lanka may probably have emigrated from Kalinga, their descendants continuing to serve the rulers of Sri Lanka in the same capacity. A similar practice is to be noted in the Kōṭṭe period when charters were prepared by a class of officer who held the title *Tiruvarāṅgam* which indicated their origin in South India at Srī Raṅgam in Tiruchi-rapali. For *Keling*, see The Nālandā Copper - Plate Charter of Devapāladeva, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, p. 314. For *Tiruvarāṅgam*, see Demalādūva Sannasa of King Bhuvanekabāhu VII, *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XXIII, 1965, pp. 271-272. In the Malay language the name *Keling* is still an ancient synonym for emigrants from the Coromandel Coast, J. Innes Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969, p. 171.

43. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, pp. 19-20.

44. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, pp. 19-20. The relevant part of the record reads as follows:

*me vūvasthā apa siya kāta-kulehi Okāvas-ṛaja-paraṭṭura puwatnā tāk sāsana kotā denney Kilingu - Nāvini - Tārā deṭṭun me - gam - Nāvini - Tun - dā - deṭṭun dakvā vadāleyin...*

That both in the Panakaduva Copper-Plate Charter of Vijayabāhu I and in the charter under discussion it was the king who gave the order to issue the charter and not the officers is confirmed by the Inscription of Gajabāhu II from Laggala Pallēsiya Pattuva. C. E. Godakumbura in his edition of this inscription has repeated the mistake made by Parānavitana, see, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, p. 399, B 10-B 11 and p. 402, B 7-9. For a discussion of this passage, see, P. E. E. Fernando, A Note on the Panakaduva Copper-plate Charter of Vijayabāhu I, *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. I, Peradeniya, pp. 57-59.

45. In the Panakaduva Copper-Plate Charter and in the charter under discussion respectively.

46. For Pāmul-ṭṭṭiya, see, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 231, and S. Parānavitana, *Sigiri Graffiti* (2 vols.), Oxford University Press, 1956, p. CCXII and Graffito No. 320.

Secretary of the Royal Treasury, but that, on occasion, possibly on account of some special talents or experiences that he possessed, he was employed as a diplomat to attend to matters in foreign parts. The name *Helavānā* appears to be the name of the family seat of this dignitary. The *Mahāvamsa* mentions two *vihāras* named *Sālavāna* and *Bhillivāna* built by King *Dhātusena*.<sup>47</sup> Though these names are spelt with a dental *na* in the printed text edited by Geiger, the second name *sālavāna* is spelt in the printed text edited by Sumāṅgala and Batuvantudāvē with a cerebral *na*.<sup>48</sup> A *vihāra* by the name of *Salvānā-veher* is mentioned in the *Virañḍagoda* Pillar-Inscription of *Mihind Māyā*.<sup>49</sup> The Sinhalese word *vāna* as (Sk. *pāsāṇa*) means rock or stone, and names of villages with *-vāna* as the second or the last component are commonly found in Sri Lanka, e.g., *Rak-vāna*, *Ka'a-vāna*, *Radā-vāna*. *Hela* or *Hela* can also mean Sri Lanka and than *Helavāna* would be equivalent to the Pāli *Laṅkā-giri*, literally, the rock of Sri Lanka. The name *Laṅkā-giri* occurs often as a title or the name of an office held by several dignitaries during the Polonnaruva period. It may be possible that Rak, the beneficiary of the grant, too held this title or office of *Laṅkā-giri* in the reign of King *Niśśaṅkamalla*.<sup>50</sup>

The formal award of land to *Helavānā Rak* is stated in the charter to have taken in the *abhiseka-maṇḍapa*, anointing chamber, of a building known as *Tun-dā-gedora*, the Three Relic House, the only other document where this building is mentioned being again the *Doratiyāva Sannasa*. In the Polonnaruva period, the two relics of the Buddha mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* and other documents dealing with the period are the Tooth Relic and the Alms Bowl Relic. In fact it would appear to have been the practice that when a prince was anointed king, the ceremony of consecration took place in contact with these two relics.<sup>51</sup> In the troublous times preceding the accession of *Parākramabāhu I*, once when the enemy had taken these two relics away from Polonnaruva, *Parākramabāhu* ordered his general to seize them from the enemy and to bring them back to Polonnaruva<sup>52</sup> so that his consecration could take place in the manner prescribed by tradition in the presence of these two relics. There is

47. *Cūlavamsa*, 38. 49, but at 45. 45 the word is spelt with a cerebral *na*.

48. *Mahāvamsa*, ed. H. Sumāṅgala and D. A. De Silva Batuvantudāvē, Colombo, 1883, 36.49.

49. For *Sālavāna* (with cerebral *na*) see, *Cūlavamsa*, 45. 45. For *Sal-vānā-veher*, see *Virañḍagoda Pillar - Inscription*, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, p. 122.

50. For the elongation of final *a* in *Helavānā* cf. *Dāmbulā Nāvan* and *Kundasaḷā Nāvan* in *Rajamāligāva Pillar-Inscription*, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 52. Mr. H. M. Abhayaratna of the Sinhalese Dictionary Office, Department of Cultural Affairs, informs me that local residents of the village of *Ka'avanālla* pronounce the name as *Karavanā ḷilla*. For the title *Laṅkā-giri*, see *Cūlavamsa*, 72. 27, 124. 76. 250. The Sinhalese form of Pāli *nagaragiri* is *nuvāragal*, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 321 and the Tamil form is *nuvārakal*, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 252.

51. *Cūlavamsa*, 74. 106, 107.

52. *Cūlavamsa*, 74. 108, 109.

a third relic, the Hair Relic, which, however, is referred to only indirectly in the title *Kesa-dhātu*, held by several important persons during this period.<sup>53</sup> It cannot, however, be ascertained whether it was the Hair Relic together with the Tooth Relic and the Alms Bowl Relic that formed the Triad of Relics that gave rise to the name *Tunda gedora*, the Three Relic House. That there was, at least a concept of a Triad of Relics during this period is confirmed by the occurrence in the *Panākaduva Copper-Plate Charter of King Vijaya-bāhu I* of the proper name *Tun-dā-detu*, the Lord of the Three Relics.<sup>54</sup>

On the day that the land was granted to *Helvānā Rak* the king proceeded to the *Abhiseka-mandapa*, and wearing full regalia including the crown and attended upon by the two queens, the Crown Prince and the Council of Ministers, inquired whether there was any matter that needed his attention. Then, while giving his decision in respect of each matter that needed his attention, he ordered that one *yāla* of land be granted to *Helavānā Rak* as a reward for successfully accomplishing a task entrusted to him, the order to be executed by *Kiliṅg Mahakiliṅgam Rakal-nā*.

An unusual feature of the procedure adopted when the grant was made was the presence in the *Abhiseka-mandapa* of all the members of the royal family and of ministers of varying rank. This procedure is identical with that followed by the same king when the *Doratiyāva Sannasa* was granted. This ceremony too took place in the *Abhiseka-mandapa* of the Three Relic House. A similar procedure appears to have been followed in some instances in India, particularly in the south, when land grants were made. Even as early as the time of the *Śātakarṇṇi* rulers of South India, there appear to have been instances when grants of land and other property were made formally by the ruler and his queen.<sup>55</sup> In other instances the king, the queen and other members of the royal family together with high officials participated in the making of a grant. The copper-plate charter, for example, of *Madhurāntakadeva* was attested and granted by the king, *Śrī Madhurāntakadeva*, the *Rājñi Nāgala Mahādevi*, *Kumāra Kanharadeva*, *Kumāra Naika*, *Nāyaka Sūdraka*, *Kumāra Tungarāya* and the *Śrīśihī Puliyama*.<sup>56</sup> A similar procedure was followed when the *Sarangarh Plates of Mahēśudeva* were granted.<sup>57</sup> It would thus be noted that the act of offering grants of land, whether made

53. *Cū. av. m. ca*, 57. 65, 72. 2.

54. *Epigraphia Zeylonica*, Vol. V, p. 20. Also, *Iṅjīvaliya*, p. 97.

55. Cave Inscription No. 5 of *Gautam-putr Śātakarṇṇi*, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 71.

56. *Rājapura Copper-Plates of Madhurāntakadeva*, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 180.

57. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp. 283-284.

by the king or by a private person, was performed in the presence of the most powerful or the most influential persons of the locality concerned.<sup>58</sup>

The purpose for which Helavānā Rak was sent to Kalinga and Pandūruva has not been indicated in the charter. Nor has it been made clear whether Helavānā Rak visited India twice to be in the two places mentioned or visited the two places in the course of a single journey. It is known, however, in the Gal-pota Slab-Inscription that Niśśāṅkamalla despatched envoys to Kalinga to fetch princesses thence to Sri Lanka to be his own wives or to be those of his son Vīrabāhu.<sup>59</sup> Possibly on this occasion too Helavānā Rak travelled to Kalinga for a similar purpose.<sup>60</sup>

Kalinga in India is well known as a state that was situated in the present-day state of Andhrapradesh. As early as the eighth century or even earlier, Pāṇḍūr, which is situated in South India, had come to be regarded as a sacred place. In Manikkavāsagar's *Tiruvāsagam* Pāṇḍūr is described as a place 'where God has come to dwell.' In an inscription of the Cōla ruler Rājarāja the village of Pāṇḍūr is given the name Kulottuṅgasōlan Vallam, and is described as being situated in the district of Rājādhirājāvalanaḍu and to be the residence of a devotee who had offered some land to the Great Temple at Tanjore for maintaining a feeding house named Arapperunjelvi Śālai.<sup>61</sup> Quite clearly Pāṇḍūruva, as

58. M. Venkatesvaralu, Land-grants in Mediaeval Andhra, *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XX, 1949-1950, p. 15; Jethwai Plates of the Kāṣṭrakūta Queen Sila Mahādevi, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, pp. 101-102.

59. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 106.

60. Kalinga is well-known from both literary as well as epigraphical sources, and was situated on the east coast of India between the Mahanadi river and the Godavari river. On the basis of inter-linear writing said to be found engraved over some Sinhalese inscriptions and other evidence the late Professor Paranavitana attempted to show that 'the Kalinga known to the Sinhalese of the tenth to twelfth centuries was a region in the northern part of the Malay peninsula.' Professor Paranavitana's views regarding the location of Kalinga and related theses have been subject to severe criticism both in Sri Lanka and abroad. I am satisfied that the Kalinga referred to in this charter and in the lithic records of King Niśśāṅkamalla was located in India as stated above. For Paranavitana's views, see, S. Paranavitana *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Colombo, 1966. The whole question has been examined by R. A. L. H. Gunawardana in a paper entitled 'Ceylon and Malaysia: A Study of Professor Paranavitana's Research on the Relations between the Two Regions', *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-64.

61. Pāṇḍūruva is evidently the Sinhalese equivalent of the Tamil name Pāṇḍūr appearing in an inscription set up by the Cōla King Rājarāja in the Kottammar Koyil at Chidambaram, South India. The inscription records the grant of a block of land belonging to one Arayan Sri Vedavāna Perumān in the village of Pāṇḍūr also known as Kulottuṅgasōlan Vallam for maintaining a feeding house named Arapperunjelvi Śālai. For the inscription of Rājarāja, see, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. I (Madras Government Oriental Series, No. CIV), Madras, 1953, p. 32. Besides being the residence of a pious Hindu, Pāṇḍūr appears to have been a particularly sacred place to Hindus, for in the Tamil literary work *Tiruvāsakam* in reference to the Divinity, it is stated that 'In Pāṇḍūr He came to dwell', *Tiruvāsakam*, Part I, ed. N. Kandaswami Pillai, Annamalai University, 1961, p. 13 (line 70). I am grateful to Mr. V. Kovindapillai of the Department of Tamil, University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya, Peradeniya Campus, for drawing my attention to this statement in *Tiruvāsakam*.

this place is called in the charter, was a place particularly sacred to the Hindus. It may be that Helavānā Rak visited this hallowed spot to perform some kind of vow to ensure the success of his visit to Kalinga or to fulfil a vow made in the same connection. It may be recalled that on their way to Sri Lanka from Kalinga, Sāhasamalla and the envoy Mallikārjuna who had been sent to Kalinga to fetch the former, paused for some time at Gangaikondaśōlapuram<sup>62</sup> where stands the well-known temple built by King Rājendracōla. Here it is possible that some kind of ceremony was performed for the benefit of the future ruler of Sri Lanka.

The subject of the present charter is the grant of a tract of land to Helavānā Rak. The tract of land was a part of the estate known as Kanakkaravarta situated in the district of Māpisāmbi-Koṭasara in the kingdom of Piṭi which was the name at this time of the Raja-rata of an earlier period. According to an inscription of the Cōla King Rājarāja inscribed on the third tier of the south wall of the Great Temple at Tanjore, the area known as Kottiyāram in Sri Lanka was divided into two divisions known as Māppisumbu - Kottiyāram or Rājarājavalanādu and Kanakkan Kottiyāram or Vikramasōla Valanādu.<sup>63</sup> In this part of the inscription reference is made to contributions made by some villages in Sri Lanka to the Great Temple at Tanjore. It is hardly necessary to point out that Māpisāmbi-Koṭasara is the exact equivalent of Māppisumbu-Kottiyāram of the inscription of King Rājāiāja, and that Koṭasara is the equivalent of the Pāli Kotthasāra, to which reference is made not infrequently in the Pāli chronicles of Sri Lanka.

## TEXT

1. Sirivat apiriyat lehikut gu-
2. -namulin=uturat muḷu Dambadivutelehi
3. an kāt-kula pāmili-kaḷa Okāvas raja-
- 1b 4. parapuren bata kāt-osabanata aga-mehe-
5. -sun vū Lakdivu polo-yona parapuren hi-
6. -mi tumā sarāṇa-niya-rasin an-raja mundu-
7. -n bises vū saha-tedin Iru paḷa-kevi-

62. Sālb-Inscription of Sahasamalla, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 223. Wickremasinghe who edited this inscription has misread the name as *Kaha-lonḍa*, but it should be read as *Kangakonḍa*. Kangakonḍa is the equivalent of Gangaikonda (Sōlapuram).

63. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Madras, 1913, p. 427.

- 2a
1. -n Mesuru dala-däpin Ovindu raja-viritin Su-
  2. -rindu pabanda denin Dinisuru sat-setin
  3. Kitisiru pänä-sarin Suraguru somi-gune-
  4. -n Nisayuru ru-sarin Kadap kulunu-sarin
  5. Bohosat dinū sahavotunu-raja-barāna-
  6. kiraṇa-vudū ru (du) tulā-tala harā kap-turu men no-
  7. min nan-ruvan dan-vaturen nan-deseyi-
  8. -n=osala mulu dilidun sit-sayuru purami-

- 2b
1. -n mulu lovihi patala yasa-pabanda äti la-
  2. -na-sakviti Niṣamkhamalla Niskalamka
  3. Kāliṅga Parākramabāhu Cakravartti-suvāmi-
  4. -n-vahanse Tun-dā-gedorā Abhiṣeka-ma-
  5. -ndapayata vādā sahavotunu-raja-barāni-
  6. -n sādī aga-biso Subhadra mahā-devīn-vahan-
  7. -sē hā Kalyāna maha-devīn-vahansē hā yuva-
  8. raja vā sīti ureyi dā Virabāhu mahapānan-va-

- 3a
1. -hanse hā Lak Vijayasīngu senevi Tāvuru-nāva-
  2. -n hā Lamkā Adhikāra Lolupālākulu Kital-nāva-
  3. -n hā Adhikāra Totadanavu Suva-nāvan hā Adhi-
  4. -kāra Totadanavu Sātā-nāvan hā Sabhapati-nāyaka
  5. Daham-badaḥāli Gajabāhu-nāvan atulu vū ā-
  6. -māti-gaṇa pirivarā rāja-dhura vicāra āmā tānā mā
  7. kalamanā deyata byavasthā vadārana tānā pāmul-pe-
  8. -ttiye liyannavun kere dūta-mehevara kota si-

- 3b
1. -ti Niṣyamkha-Lamkēsvāra Helavānā Rak pradhā-
  2. -nīn Kaliṅgayata hā Pandūruvata hā gos tamian
  3. asā genā giya mehevara no-varadavā kala
  4. daskamata mul-biju-vata yālak panuṇu ko-
  5. -tā denneyi Kilīngu Mahakilīngam Raka-
  6. -ī-nāvan dakvā vadala sēyin Piti-raja-
  7. -ye Māpisāmbi Kotasarā āvū Kanakkara-
  8. vatten mul-biju-vata yālakata ella pā-

- 4a
1. -duni digin Kapugam-pässē Tumbāre dekata
  2. him-miyara hā mese mā Tumbāre velata di-
  3. -ya vadana āla hā mese mā Tal-vatte li-
  4. -yaddata nāngēna-hirā vana-ata hā dakunu di-
  5. -gin Ululile himā āla hā pāla digin
  6. Kasasiyā-vala-liyadda him-miyara hā utu-
  7. -ru digin Bovalukeyā kumbura hā Lāvasā-
  8. liyadde him-miyara hā Tumbāre him-mi-

1. -yara hā Lendāmbiliye kumbure hima hā me-
2. -haturehi biju-vata yalak hāl pāl pe-
3. -rā kusalan vāli-kondu niyāpeliyā ā-
- 4b 4. -tulu vū tu(vā)k tān pitat vā mehaturehi
5. biju-vata yalak tāmbra-śāsana kota dī va-
6. -dāla tānata raja-kula-kāmiyan ātu-
7. -lu vū yam mā kenakun vādā anyāya
8. nō karanu kotā hā Daladā-Pātra-dhātu-
  
1. -n-vahanseta tel dī valandanu ko-
2. -tā byavasthā kele Vīra-rāja Niśyam-
3. -khamalla Kāliṅga-Lamkendrena da-
- 5a 4. -ttam Subhadrā mahā-devīmha dattam
5. Kalyāna mahā-devīmha dattam
6. Vīrabāhu mahapānamha dattam

## TRANSLATION

His Majesty the Emperor<sup>64</sup> Niśśamkhamalla<sup>65</sup> Niskalamka Kāliṅga Parākramabāhu, who is descended from the royal line of the Okkāka dynasty; who, abounding in a wealth of illustrious, boundless and transcendental virtues, has made (members of) other Kṣatriya dynasties of India his footmen;<sup>66</sup> who is by right of descent the lord of the maiden, the land of Laṅkā-dvīpa, the chief queen of the Kṣatriya nobles; by the nails of

64. The *prāsasti* in this charter, Plate 1b, line 1 to Plate 2b, line 1, occurs with variations in several other inscriptions, see, for example, the Koṇḍavattavan Pillar-Inscription of Dappula V, and the Ellewewa Pillar-Inscription of the same ruler, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, p. 135 and p. 374, respectively; the Rajamāligāva Pillar-Inscription, the Mayilagastota Pillar-Inscription and the Rambāva Pillar-Inscription, all of King Mahinda IV, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 51, p. 60 and p. 65 respectively; the Malagaṇe Pillar-Inscription, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, p. 182; The Ambagamuva Rock-Inscription of King Vijayabāhu I, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 210-211; the Devanagala Rock-Inscription of Parākramabāhu I, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, pp. 320-321.
65. The name Niśśamkhamalla was an epithet of the Chaukya ruler Arjunadeva of Anahillapātāka, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 142. The Chaulukyas belonged to one of the more influential Rajput clans in India, Romila Thapar, *A History of India*, Vol. I Penguin Books, 1966, p. 227.
66. In this part of the charter it is difficult to assign the different adjectival phrases, which in the English translation may appear as adjectival clauses, to the respective nouns they qualify, but by comparison with other records it has been possible to ascertain the traditional usage which has been followed here. The passage, *siriṭara kātakula kot Okāvas parapuren bat sav-guna-mulīn uturat Mihind Mahayā*, in the Slab-Inscription of Udā Mahayā, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, p. 185, clearly shows that the words *sav-guna-mulīn uturat* qualify Mihind Mahayā. Likewise in the passage *Okāvas raj-parapuren bat kāt usab Siri Saṅgabo Abā Maharaj-haṭ* in the Jetavanārāma Slab-Inscription No. 2, of Mahinda IV, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, p. 218, *Okāvas raj-parapuren bat* qualifies *kāt usab Siri Saṅgabo Abā Maharaj*. The phrase *mulu Dambdivhi an kāt kula pāmīli kaḷa* in the charter is of too wide a connotation to be applied to King Niśśamkhamalla and it is more appropriately construed as an adjectival phrase qualifying *Okāvas raja-parapuren*. For the word *pāmīli*, see the gloss *pālamūlikam, pimillaku mehekaruvakhuyayi seyi, Dhampiyā-Atuvā-Gāta-padaya*, ed. D. B. Jayatilaka, 1933, p. 7.

whose feet the heads of other rulers are anointed; who surpasses the Sun in impetuosity and fiery energy; who is like Maheśvara in unconcealed aggressiveness, Upendra in overweening pride, the Chief of the Gods in kingly deportment, the Lord of Riches in abundant wealth, Kitisiru<sup>67</sup> in bestowing happiness to living beings, the preceptor of the Gods in the excellence of his wisdom, the Moon in gentleness, Kandarpa in the excellence of his physical appearance; who having mounted the massive scale pan which reflected the glitter of his royal ornaments including the diadem filled the ocean which is the hearts of the multitudes of the poor assembled from the various directions by the flow of his charity in the form of numberless and varied jewels and treasures from the wish-conferring tree which is his own person and whose fame is sung in paens of glory throughout the world,<sup>68</sup> made his way to the Consecration Chamber of the Three Relic House, and adorning himself with the royal ornaments including the diadem and accompanied by his chief queen Subhadrā-mahādevī, Kalyāna-mahādevī, his own son His Royal Highness the Heir Apparent Vīrabāhu and the Council of Ministers including General Lak-Vijaya Siṅgu Tāvuru-nā, Laṅkādhikāra Lolupālākulu Kital-nā, Adhikāra Totadanavu Suva-nā, Adhikāra Totadanavu Śātā-nā and the President of the Council Daham-badahāli Gajabāhu-nā, inquired into matters that needed his attention<sup>69</sup> and giving orders in regard to matters that had to be attended to, directed Kiliṅgu Mahakaliṅgam Rakal-nā to grant as a perpetual holding the sowing extent of one *yāla*<sup>70</sup> of sprouted paddy seed to the chief Niśśaṅka-Laṅkeśvara Heḷavāṇā Rak<sup>71</sup> who was engaged in diplomatic duties while being employed in (the staff of) clerks of the Royal Treasury, in recognition of the skill shown in carrying out a diplomatic assignment entrusted to him in the course of which he had to

67. Kitisiru is probably the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara of the Mahāyāna pantheon, see, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 324 and Vol. VI, p. 22.

68. In translating the *prāsasti* I have adopted the phraseology used by S. Paranavitana in his translation of the Devanagala-Rock Inscription of Parākramabāhu I, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 320.

69. *vāja - dhura - vicārā*, literally, inquiring into the King's yoke, i. e., the King's burden, his responsibilities, matters that needed his attention.

70. The extent of land given to Heḷavāṇā Rak is one *yāla*, i. e., the extent of land required to sow one cart load of paddy. It is interesting to note that King Parākramabāhu I offered only two *yālas* of land to his general Kit Nuvaragal, when the latter captured the Burmese city of Kosmin, see, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 321. *Mul - biju - vata*, sprouted paddy.

71. It would appear that Heḷavāṇā Rak was also offered the privilege of using the name of the King, Niśśaṅka Laṅkeśvara, "Niśśaṅka, the Lord of Laṅkā," as an honorific title. Some favoured officers of the Cola kings also had prefixes in the form of the titles of the king under whom they served. For example, two officers who served under King Rājarāja had the following titles which were also the names of the king: 1. Rājarāja Mahārājan Kṛṣṇan Rāman *alias* Mummadi Soḷa Brahmaṛājan and 2. Velan Uttama - solan *alias* Madurāntaka Muvendavelan, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Madras, 1916, (Introduction) p. 10.

visit Kalinga and Paṇḍūruva.<sup>72</sup> (Of the land so granted) from Kanakkara-vatta situated in (the district of) Māpīsāmbi Kōtasara in the territorial division of Pīti the boundaries<sup>73</sup> are as follows : on the east the boundary ridge of the two (pieces of land) Kapugam-pāssa<sup>74</sup> and Tumbāre and in like manner the channel along which water enters the field called Tumbāre and in like manner the strip of high land<sup>75</sup> to the east of Talvatte-liyadda; on the south, the channel on the boundary of Ululile; on the west, the boundary ridge of Kasasiyāvala-liyadda; and on the north, the field of Bovalukeya, the boundary ridge of Lāvasā-liyadda, the boundary ridge of Tumbāre and the boundary of the field at Lendāmbiliya. Within these (boundaries) the sowing extent of one yāla of sprouted paddy seed excluding<sup>76</sup> all that land within which are situated field (watch) huts,<sup>77</sup> land granted formerly for charitable purposes, sand ridges and niyāpeliya<sup>78</sup> (was granted).

72. This is one of the instances referred to in the lithic records of King Niṣṣāṅkamalla, when he awarded copper - plate charters to those who rendered distinguished services to the king. It is stated in these records that the king gave these grants engraved on copper plates in order that both the king's name and the donee's name may last for a long time, Kantalai Gal - Āsana Inscription and Kalinga Park Gal - Āsana Inscription, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 285 and p. 132 respectively.
73. *Ellā*, boundary, is a loan word of Tamil origin. For the Tamil word *ellai* and its synonym *elgai*, see, K. Kanapathipillai, Mankanai Inscription of Gajabāhu II, *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XX, 1962, p. 13 and *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part II, Madras, 1957, p. 1407.
74. *Pāssa* means land farthest from the tank which supplies water to the surrounding fields, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 117, footnote 1.
75. *Vana - ata* or *vanāta*, a strip of land bordering a field, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, p. 265, footnote 13.
76. When land was granted, in some instances, portions of land which had already been granted to religious orders and portions of land on which were built huts for the common use of cultivators were excluded from the land so granted. In India too it was customary to exclude such portions of land from a grant and phrases such as *ratnatraya - rāja - sambhoga - varijita* and *ratnatraya bahih* were used to indicate this exclusion. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXX, p. 45 and p. 46. The *Pikira Grant* of Simhavarman has the phrase *deva-tthoga - hāla - varriam*, with the exception of cultivated land enjoyed by the temples. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 163. In the *Rambāva Slab - Inscription* of Mahinda IV the phrase *saṅgnaṭ meyin dunnā hāra* has been used to indicate that the land granted to the *saṅgha* has been excluded from the grant. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 66. Sometimes when a piece of land was granted in its entirety, the fact that no part of the land was excluded was clearly indicated in Indian Inscriptions. In the *Umāmaheśvara - svāmin Temple Inscription* of Parakesariyarman (Madhurāntaka Uttamacōla) it is stated that the two villages granted to the temple included 'villages, sites, houses, house sites, open spaces, waste land... tanks, threshing floors etc with every kind of land where the iguanas run or the tortoise crawls, without excluding any portion of land included in the boundaries', *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part III, Madras, 1920, p. 311.
77. *Hāl - pāl*, I take this word to mean huts constructed in a field. Such huts where the cultivators could rest, have their meals, and keep their tools and implements for safety are built in fields even today. See also *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. V, p. 131.
78. *Niyāpeliya*: as far as I am aware the only other instance where this word occurs is in the phrase *deṭisā senen niyāpeliyāk* in the *Mihintale*. Tablet of Mahinda IV, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, p. 89. Wickremasinghe has left the word untranslated. *ibid.*, p. 110. Paranavitana takes the word *niyāpeliya* to mean an allotment of a piece of land to be enjoyed as a *ninda* or outright grant of land, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, p. 130. I leave the word untranslated.

It was also resolved that no person whatsoever including the King's officers shall enter this land one *yāla* in sowing extent granted by a charter inscribed on copper-plate and commit any unlawful act and that (this land) shall be enjoyed (by the donee) by offering oil to the Sacred Tooth Relic and the Sacred Alms Bowl relic.

Given by Vīra-rāja Niśyamkhamalla, the Kālinga  
Lord of Lānkā

Given - We are Subhadrā-mahādevī

Given - We are Kalyāna-mahādevī

Given - We are Virabāhu, the Heir Apparent.