

# Śrī Vijaya and Malaysia in Siṃhala Inscriptions

Over fifteen years ago the late Professor Paranavitana in a paper entitled "Ceylon and Malaysia in Mediaeval Times" attempted to show that the country called Kalinga, with which Sri Lanka had close relations from the tenth to the fifteenth century, was not the well-known Kalinga in India, but a region of that name in Malaysia.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently he announced to the learned world that he had discovered documents which removed all possible doubt about his propositions regarding Kalinga and furnished abundant material for the study of the relations between Sri Lanka and Śrī Vijaya in the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>2</sup>

The documents Paranavitana referred to are the so-called interlinear inscriptions said to be engraved as palimpsests on certain lithic records found in different parts of Sri Lanka. Some of these inter-linear inscriptions have now been published in a book on the subject under the title *Ceylon and Malaysia*. R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, who has subjected this work to a detailed examination, has commented on these inter-linear records and has come to the conclusion that "in the absence of adequate corroborative information in the historical sources of both South and South East Asia, the authenticity of these sources is open to serious doubt."<sup>3</sup>

Besides these inter-linear records Paranavitana has also published several inscriptions, which appear to furnish further evidence to support his theses regarding the connections between Sri Lanka and some countries in South East Asia. It is these inscriptions that I propose to examine in the present paper with a view to ascertaining whether in fact Paranavitana's claims for these records are justified, for they apparently contain substantial data that will go a long way to re-inforce the arguments he has advanced to sustain his theses.

The first inscription that Paranavitana has published after a fresh decipherment is the Mayilagastoṭa Pillar-inscription earlier published in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* by D. M. De Z. Wickremasinghe.<sup>4</sup> The passage material to the present inquiry has been read by Wickremasinghe as follows:<sup>5</sup>

- 19 āpā Mihinduhu
- 20 viśin Kirind-(ho)
- 21 (yam terhi) Maha-(ga-)
- 22 (-ma) uvanisā pihi-
- 23 ti siri(bara) Ma(ha-ve-)
- 24 -herna-kāhi (dam-)

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1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Ceylon Branch, New Series, Vol. VII, pp. 1-43.  
2. S. Paranavitana, "Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya," in *Essays offered to G. H. Luce in honour of his Seventy Fifth Birthday*, Vol. I, 1966, Ancona, Switzerland, p. 205.  
3. R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, "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.  
4. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, Plate II, opposite p. 60.  
5. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 61.

- 25 rad pa(ra)pur (vaṭṇu)  
 26 (povas) tamā (kā)  
 27 (-rū Uḍa) Tisa pirive-  
 28 -n (sāhāviyaṭ....)

It has to be pointed out here that Wickremasinghe's reading of the last two letters of line 24 is purely conjectural as are some other words which he has placed within brackets. The general purport of the inscription, however, is clear. It records the grant of some land together with the usual immunities to the Uḍa-Tisa Pirivena in order to maintain the succession of monks in the Mahāvihāra situated near Mahagama, i.e. to ensure that monks will live in the Mahāvihāra continuously without any interruption to their continued residence. The words *dam-rad parapura* here obviously means the descendents of the Lord of the Dhamma, i.e., Buddhist monks. The Uḍa Tisa Pirivena was a part of the Mahāvihāra Monastery and any endowment made to the former would benefit the latter as well.

Not being satisfied with this text as deciphered by Wickremasinghe, Paranavitana published a revised version of this record in 1973. The relevant portion of the record as revised by him reads as follows:<sup>6</sup>

- 18 Āpā Mihindāhu  
 19 visin Kirind-ho  
 20 vam-terhi Mahaga-  
 21 -m uvanisā pihi-  
 22 -ṭi siribar Maha(v)e-  
 23 -her-nakāhi Dāva-  
 24 -rad-parapura vaḍṇa  
 25 bā vas tamā kā-  
 26 -ra(vu) Uda-Tis-pirive-  
 27 -naṭa.....

The crucial word in Paranavitana's reading is the word *Dāva-rad* in ll. 23-24, which, as already seen, has been read by Wickremasinghe as (*dam-*)*rad*, the other parts of the record as revised by Paranavitana being not so material to the present argument.

Paranavitana has translated the relevant passage as revised by him as follows: 'By him (i.e. Āpā Mahinda) has been granted to Uda-Tis pirivena belonging to the illustrious congregation of the Mahāvihāra situated adjoining Mahagama on the left bank of the Kirind river, which (pirivena) he himself caused to be founded on account of the brother who increases the (prosperity) of the Jāva royal family....'<sup>7</sup>

It must be pointed out here that the last two letters of what Wickremasinghe has read as line 24 have been so completely effaced that no one can be sure what they are, and by no stretch of the imagination can they be read as *Dāva*,

6. *Ep. Zey*, Vol. VI, Plate 7 and p. 37.

7. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, p. 37.

even though Parānavitana has assured himself that what Wickremasinghe has read as *ma* is in fact *va*. In spite of Parānavitana's self assurance his reading *Dāva-rad* is quite out of place in the context of the relevant passage, a circumstance which is quite evident in his translation. Even if it is assumed that his reading *Dāva-rad* is correct, Parānavitana could not have translated the passage "*siribara Maha(v)ehēr-nakāhi Dāva-rad-parapur vaḍṇa bū vas tamā kāra(vū) Uda-Tis-pirivenaṭa*" as 'to Uda-Tis *pirivena* belonging to the illustrious congregation of the Mahāvihāra . . . which (*pirivena*) he himself caused to be founded on account of the brother who increases (the prosperity of) the Jāva royal family . . .' for the reason that then the words *siribara Mahaveher-nakāhi* cannot be construed as an adjectival phrase qualifying *Uda-Tis pirivena*, as has been done by Parānavitana, but must be construed as an adverbial phrase qualifying the phrase '*Dāva-rad-parapur vaḍṇa*' which immediately follows it. The two phrases, thus, can only be translated in some such form as "who increases (the prosperity of) the Java royal family in the illustrious congregation of the Mahāvihāra", Such a translation obviously makes no sense for it is inconceivable how any one could increase the prosperity of a royal family in a monastery.

However Wickremasinghe's reading *Dam-rad*, though conjectural, has the merit of being able to make good sense in the context. The word means, as pointed out above, "the Lord of the Dhamma", i.e. the Buddha. *Dam-rad-parapur* would mean "the lineage of the Buddha", and any dwelling constructed near a monastery, particularly a monastery such as the Mahāvihāra of Mahagama, which was the undisputed centre of Buddhist learning and practice in the south of Sri Lanka, can be considered as having been built for the purpose of ensuring the uninterrupted residence of monks in the monastery. It has to be pointed out here that Parānavitana has, after adopting the word *Dāva-rad*, which he evidently thought was the correct reading, has translated the passage in question to make sense, even though the order of words in his revised text militates against such a translation. The reading *Dāva-rad*, therefore has to be rejected as a reading without any foundation, and quite out of place in the context.

Parānavitana also claims to have read a reference to the Kingdom of Sri Vijaya in the Paṇḍuvasnuvara Pillar Inscription published for the first time in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Volume VI, Part I. The relevant part of the inscription as deciphered by Parānavitana is given below:<sup>8</sup>

- 17 Yuvara-baṇḍar ma-
- 18 -hapāṇan vahan-
- 19 -se Dakuṇu-pas-hi
- 20 Kapugam-bimhi ā-
- 21 vū Samund pera-tera
- 22 vū Śrī Bodhimanda pi-
- 23 -ṭi Yavajū Kali(ṅgubi)-
- 24 -mhi Palamban-pu-
- 25 -ra Suvanvarayen
- 26 ā radol piyan ha-
- 27 -ṭ Saṅgā-radūn [ha]ṭ
- 28 dun Nāgala Nāranviṭa

8. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, Plate 3 and p. 16.

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**Plate I.** Pañduvasnuvara Pillar-inscription of the reign of Udaya II

The writing in this section of the Pañduvasnuvara Pillar-inscription is not all clear and it would in deed be an unrivalled achievement in this field on the part of Paranavitana, if what he claims to have deciphered can be accepted without question. In spite of all my efforts it has not been possible for me to make out in this inscription any of the words indicating the close relations said to have existed between Sri Lanka and South East Asia, i.e., the words *Samund*, *Śrī Bodhimaṇḍa*, *Yavujū*, *Kaliṅgu*, *Palamban* and *Suvanvara*.<sup>9</sup> As Paranavitana has pointed out "the weathering that the pillar has undergone and the treatment it has received after it had been utilised for the purpose it now serves, have affected the writing which has also been obscured at places by later writings of a very small size." He has also stated that some parts of the record have been read with difficulty with the aid furnished by the context, and parallel readings in other inscriptions of the period. It is unfortunate that Paranavitana has not indicated either the parts of this record he has read with difficulty or the inscriptions where parallel readings are found. Thus while it is not possible for any one to identify the passage or passages, if any, in other inscriptions which helped Paranavitana to decipher the above passage, as far as the present writer is aware there is no inscription so far published which may have been of assistance to him in deciphering this passage, unless it be one of those inter-linear inscriptions which no one but Paranavitana has succeeded in deciphering. It must be re-iterated, however, that I have not been able to decipher even one of the names mentioned above, with even a semblance of certainty. The remoteness of the adjectival phrase *Kapugam-bimhi āvū* from the substantive *Nāgala Nāranvīta* which it qualifies casts a serious doubt about the accuracy of Paranavitana's reading of this section of the record. The use of a double dative in *piyan haṭ Saṅgā-radūn haṭ*, it must be pointed out, is quite unusual and not consistent with Sinhalese usage of the time. On the other hand I have been able to make out without any reason able doubt the words *piyangal veherū (bik)-naṭ*, in lines 26-27, (See Plate I) where Paranavitana has read the words *piyan haṭ Saṅgā-radun haṭ*. These circumstances throw considerable doubt as to the accuracy of Paranavitana's decipherment of the whole passage, particularly the names of places in South East Asia, and any data originating from this record or any conclusions arrived at on the basis of Paranavitana's decipherment of this record, particularly in regard to relations between Sri Lanka and South East Asia, have to be totally rejected. The occurrence of the name *Palamban* in this inscription as read by Paranavitana appears to be a clear anachronism. The earliest occurrence of this name which can be identified with certainty is to be found in Chau Ju-kua's well-known work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which was written in A.D. 1225.<sup>10</sup> It appears here in the form Pa-lin-fong. Though this name may have originated earlier, it is hardly likely that the place known by this name was so known as early as the latter part of the tenth century, when the Pañduvasnuvara Pillar-Inspection was set up. As late as A.D. 1068, according to Gerini, Palembang

9. *Palamban* and *Suvanvaraya* are names by which Sri Vijaya was known at the time. *Yavajū* and *Kalinga* are both names of the Island of Sumatra and so is *Samund*. For these names see, *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, footnotes 1-4.

10. *Chau Ju-Kua His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries entitled Chu-fan-chi*, edited and translated from Chinese and annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, Amsterdam, Oriental Press, 1966, p. 62. I am most grateful to Dr. J. G. de Casparis of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for sending me at my request a note on Palembang.

or Palamban as read by Paranavitana, appears to have been known as Samfo-chi or Shih-li-Fo-shih.<sup>11</sup>

According to Paranavitana another reference to Java occurs in the inscription on "Vessagiri" Slab No. 2B found at Anurādhapura.<sup>12</sup> This inscription records the donations made to a monastic building by a person whose name has been read by Paranavitana as *Jā-ambu*, who has been identified by him as the consort of King Mahinda IV. Paranavitana identifies this princess with the princess called Kaliṅgadevī referred to in the *Mahāvamsa*. He further states that the epithet *Jā* denotes the Malay people or land, his conclusion being that Kaliṅga-devī was of Malay origin.<sup>13</sup> Such a circumstance, no doubt fits in well with his theories regarding the relations between Sri Lanka and South East Asia. Wickremasinghe who published this record first<sup>14</sup> read as *Vīrambammu* the word which Paranavitana has read as *Jā-ambamu*. The former treated the whole group of words appearing after the word *veherin* up to the end of the line as one single proper name. The first letter of this group appears to be the letter *da* encircled by an oval form the lower segment of which, together with the lower part of the letter that I take to be *da* forms what appears to be the lower part of a letter *ma*. (See Plate II) It is, thus, a letter that defies identification with any certainty. The next letter appears to be the vowel *a* below the main body of which is a sign that can be deciphered as the letter *ra*. Alternatively this complex sign can be read as two letters, namely, *du* and *ra*. The last three letters are certainly *ma-ba-mu*, the first two letters forming the conjunct consonant *mba*, as both Wickremasinghe and Paranavitana have deciphered them. Thus depending on how the letters in this group are conceived by the decipherer, they can be read in several ways as (1) *daru-ambamu*, (2) *dadurambamu*, (3) *madurambamu* and (4) *mara-ambamu*, none of which can be regarded as a satisfactory reading. It is difficult to understand how Wickremasinghe could have read the first letter in the group as *vī*, as there is no sign here which can be regarded as even remotely resembling the character *vī*. His was a pure conjecture, perhaps influenced by the next letter which can be read as *ra*. As for Paranavitana's reading, *Jā-ambamu*, even if it is conceded that the first letter is *jā*, it is not possible to read this group of letters as *jā-ambamu* because such a reading would ignore the sign which appears beneath the letter which Paranavitana has read as the vowel *a*. There can, therefore, be only speculation regarding the word or words that this group of letters represents and common prudence would forbid any conclusions being made on the basis of this group of letters. The consort of Mahinda IV, therefore, still remains a lady of Indian origin from Kalinga and cannot be regarded as a lady of Javanese origin as Paranavitana attempts to do.<sup>15</sup>

Several words which assume great significance in the context of Paranavitana's views on Sri Lanka—South-East Asia relations are to be found in the Mādirigiri Slab-inscription of Mahinda VI.<sup>16</sup> The following words

11. G. E. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, London, 1909, footnote on p. 603.
12. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, Plate 6 and p. 27.
13. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, pp. 25-26.
14. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, Plate 10 and p. 38.
15. Paranavitana's attempt to locate Kalinga in South East Asia has not been convincing. See R. A. L. H. Gunawardana's paper referred to above, *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XXV, p. 64.
16. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, Plate 8 and pp. 51-52.

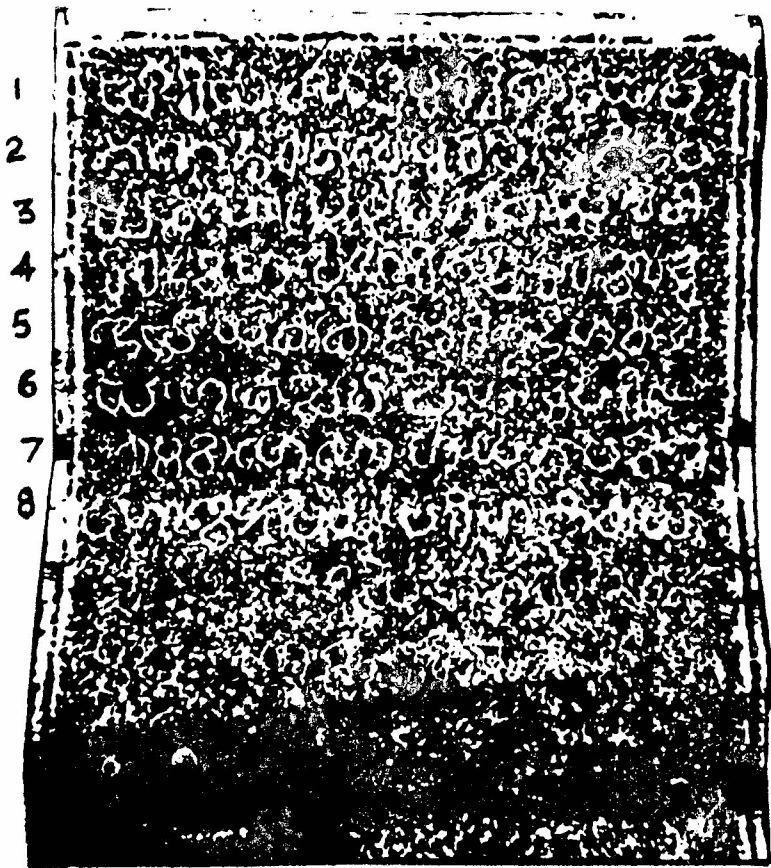


Plate II. Inscription on 'Vessagiri' slab No. 2 B

apper in this inscription as read by Paronavitana: *Malenā*, l.4; *Yavakaren*, l.4; *Vaha-diva*, l.5; *Samara-maha-rajun*, l.11; *Sama(ra-radun)*, l.26 and *Dāva-raṭ*, l.43, Wickremasinghe, who examined two inked estampages of this record when it was discovered in 1907, has stated that they would not admit of a reading good enough for publication.<sup>17</sup> Paronavitana's comments on the estampages supplied to him are as follows: "In spite of all these difficulties, prolonged and concentrated study of excellent estampages prepared by Mr. T. K. Jayasundera has enabled the present writer to read the entire text of this most important document, with doubtful decipherments restricted to only a few places."<sup>18</sup> Thus, as has been stated by both Wickremasinghe and Paronavitana, the inscription is not an easy document to decipher. The latter has, in fact, added that it was by prolonged and concentrated study that he has been able to decipher the inscription.

Of the crucial words listed above the word *Yavakaren* is explained by Paronavitana as the name by which the Malay Peninsula and the island of Sumatra were known.<sup>19</sup> This is said to occur in the phrase *Malenā Agboyā arak sayura Yavakaren* as deciphered by Paronavitana. Though he appears to have read these words with certainty it has not been possible to make out any of the words *arak*, *sayura* and *Yavakaren*. The sign *k* in the words read by Paronavitana as *arak* appears to me to be more like the letter *ma* with an appendage on the top right-hand corner bending downwards. In the word that Paronavitana has read as *sayura* the letter *ra* is not at all clear. In the word that he has read as *Yavakaren*, which admits of no certain identification, the sign for *ka* has not even a semblance of this letter which can be readily identified in line 16 in the word *kula*. The word *Vaha-diva* cannot be made out at all and so is the name *Sirimevan* which follows it. *Vaha-diva* has been explained by Paronavitana as the region called *Vr̥ṣa-dvīpa* on the island of Sumatra.<sup>20</sup> The last word in the list is *Samara-maha(rajun)* in line 11 and *Sama(raradun)* in line 26. According to Paronavitana's reading both instances of the name *Samara* appear towards the end of each line, i.e., on the right hand side of the tablet where the writing has been rendered quite illegible unlike the writing on the left-hand side. In both these lines the writing towards the end of the line has been almost completely effaced and no reliance can be placed on anything said to be deciphered in these two lines towards their end. The name *Dāva-raṭ* in line 43 can hardly be made out and can only be regarded as conjectural.<sup>21</sup>

According to this inscription, King Samara, or to give his full name, Samara Vijayottuṅga, drove away the Coḷa invaders who were occupying Sri Lanka at the time. The inscription is also credited with recording that the King Mahinda mentioned there celebrated the 1600th anniversary of the Buddha's *parinirvāna*, besides constructing an enclosing wall around the *vihāra* at Maṅḍalagiri with the aid of mariners who had come from the Yava coast of the ocean protected by *Malenā Agboyā*, *Yava* being, according to Paronavitana, the name by which the Malay Peninsula and the island of Sumatra had been known in ancient times.<sup>22</sup>

17. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 26.

18. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, p. 40.

19. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, p. 42.

20. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, p. 47.

21. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, p. 58, f.n.4. Here *Dāva-raṭ* is said to be the name of a kingdom in the north of the Malay Peninsula but in the south of modern Thailand.

22. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, pp. 42-44.



Thus, on the basis of Paranavitana's decipherment, this inscription contains very important information regarding the history of Sri Lanka and its relations with the Kingdom of Sri Vijaya and the Malay Peninsula in the eleventh century, though this information hardly finds any support in the chronicles of Sri Lanka or in the historical records of the Coġa country and the Kingdom of Sri Vijaya. Paranavitana, however, says that these items of historical information take their place in a coherent narrative contained in an extract from a historical work called the *Continuation of the Svarṇṇa-pura-vamṣa* translated into Sanskrit and inscribed as a palimpsest on other writing at the bottom of a slab on which an inscription attributed to Mahinda IV has been engraved.<sup>23</sup> So far no scholar, except Paranavitana, has claimed to have deciphered any of the so-called inter-linear inscriptions on which Paranavitana bases some very far-reaching conclusions, and no consideration, therefore, could be given to any information said to be derived from them.

In this connection it may be mentioned that providing what appears to be conclusive proof of a theory that he had earlier enunciated or of the accuracy of an interpretation of a document he had earlier advanced would seem to have been the consistent practice of Paranavitana in the last ten or fifteen years of his life. Perhaps the best example of this practice is related to the theory he enunciated in 1950 that King Kāśyapa I of Sri Lanka assumed the divinity of God Kuvera when he took up residence on the rock of Sigiri and that his abode at Sigiri was constructed in such a way as to resemble Mount Kailāśa, the abode of God Kuvera, in all its aspects.<sup>24</sup> A few years later he published an inscription found at Timbiriwāva,<sup>25</sup> which he thought would go a long way to support his theory regarding the divinity of Kāśyapa and the symbolism of Sigiri as stated by him. In this inscription Paranavitana has read in the first line the name of the donor as *mapurum . . . ya Kasabala-Alakapaya-maharaja*, but the letter *la* in the name *Kasabala* and the letters *a-la-ka* in the name *Alakapaya* cannot be traced anywhere in the space where these letters should occur. There is, thus, no justification whatsoever for Paranavitana to state that the significance of the title *Alakapaya* is explained by the *Cūlvavamṣa* when it says that Kāśyapa built on the summit of Sigiri a fine palace worthy to behold like another Ālakamandā and dwelt there like (the god) Kuvera. Paranavitana has taken what he reads as *Alakapaya* to be equivalent to Sanskrit *Alakā-pati*, lord of Alakā. If Paranavitana's reading of this inscription can be accepted without question, this would, indeed, be strong evidence in support of his theory regarding King Kāśyapa's divinity and the symbolism of Sigiri. To disarm all criticism and clinch his arguments, as it were, in 1972, Paranavitana produced the evidence of the so-called inter-linear inscriptions in *The Story of Sigiri*,<sup>26</sup> claiming to have read in these records a full account of the assumption of divine powers by King Kāśyapa and the construction of the Sigiri palace in conformity with the details of Mount Kailāśa as given in the Sanskrit poem *Meghadūta* which he had quoted in support of his theory that Sigiri was the abode of a God-King.

23. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, p. 43.

24. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Ceylon Branch, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 129-183.

25. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, Plate I and pp. 95-99.

26. S. Paranavitana, *The Story of Sigiri*, Colombo, 1972. In this book Paranavitana has reproduced the text of some of the so-called inter-linear inscriptions running to 178 pp., confirming some of the theories that he enunciated at different times. His theory regarding Sigiri being an abode of a God-King is vindicated here in a manner rarely met with in historical investigation.

In a monograph entitled *The God of Adam's Peak* Paranavitana attempted to demonstrate as a matter relevant to his main theme that the name *Piti*, occurring in some early Brāhmi inscriptions as the name, of a king and in the Chronicles as an epithet of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, was synonymous with *Yama*, the name of the god of death.<sup>27</sup>

Strangely enough an inter-linear inscription appearing in *The Story of Sigiri*, mentioned above, refers to this identification of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi with *Yama*, and the relevant passage as translated into English by Paranavitana reads as follows: "King Kāśyapa questioned the Saṃghasthavira (of the Abhayagiri) whether there would be objection from the Saṃgha if had himself proclaimed as Kuvera. The Saṃghasthavira (of the Abhayagiri) replied that there would be no objection from him, but that there would possibly be objection from the Elders of the Mahāvihāra. He further added that as King Vṛttagrāmanyabhaya had proclaimed himself as *Yama* in ancient times, the elders of the Mahāvihāra even now refer to him as a sinner."<sup>28</sup>

Yet again in 1952, in a paper entitled "The Statue near Potgul-Vehera at Poḷonnaruva, Ceylon," Paranavitana expressed the view that this well-known statue was that of a king and not that of a *ṛṣi* as was believed by some scholars, and that the object the figure held in its hands was the representation of a yoke and not that of a palm-leaf manuscript as was generally believed.<sup>29</sup> A few years later in a discussion of the Panākaḍuva Copper-Plate Charter of Vijayabāhu I Paranavitana claimed that what he read as *yahaḷa* in this charter meant either a yoke or a mace, and construed the relevant part of the text of the charter to show that King Vijayabāhu on the occasion of the grant of the charter held a yoke in his hands.<sup>30</sup> This was no doubt valid evidence in support of his view that the statue near the Potgul Vehera at Poḷonnaruva was that of a king.

In conclusion it may be added that in his discussions on the relations between Sri Lanka and countries in South East Asia, in not one single instance has Paranavitana produced epigraphical evidence, when he did so, in respect of a person or place in South East Asia that can be accepted without question. Whenever he claims to have deciphered the name of a person or place in South East Asia in an inscription, such name will invariably be found either in a inscription in which the relevant portion is so much damaged or otherwise rendered illegible that it cannot be read with an acceptable degree of certainty or in a palimpsest that no one but Paranavitana himself can read.<sup>31</sup>

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27. S. Paranavitana, *The God of Adam's Peak*, 1958, Artibus Asiae Publishers, Ansona, Switzerland, pp. 61-63.
28. S. Paranavitana, *The Story of Sigiri*, p. 68.
29. S. Paranavitana, The Statue near Potgul-Vehera at Polonnaruva, Ceylon, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XV., pp. 209-217.
30. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. V. p. 24, footnote 3. It has been subsequently shown that the word that Paranavitana has read as *yahaḷa* is in fact *yahaḷu*, which gives a completely different sense to the passage. Therefore Paranavitana's view that the statue of the Potgul-vehera at Polonnaruva holds the representation of a yoke is no longer tenable, see, P. E. F. Fernando, A Note on the Panākaḍuva Copper-Plate Charter of Vijayabāhu I in *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. I., 1975, pp. 57-59.
31. The earliest record in which Paranavitana claims to have read a reference to a South East Asian country is the Mottayakallu Brahmi Inscription, S. Paranavitana, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Volume I, Plate LII, No. 487. In this record in what Paranavitana reads as *Jhavaka*, the sign he deciphered as *jha* cannot by any means be regarded as such, it being more like the letter *pu*. See also, Senerat Paranavitana, (in Sinhalese) ed. Raṇavira Guṇavardhana and Jinadāsa Liyanaratna, Colombo, 1972, p. 56.