

Investigation about human rights of Sri Lanka in accordance with ancient records

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In modern world, the significance of protecting human values and activities are being diminished. Although the humans hold a superior position on earth, the aforesaid fact is highly emphasized when considering the rapid expansion of horrible terrorism, war and fierce punishments. Therefore the whole world has begun to reinvestigate human rights and that of Sri Lanka, it has been revealed that there was a history for the concepts of offence & penalty as well as the methodologies used in royal orders. This provides evidences to prove that the kings who were belonged to ancient eras had performed their duties by having a clear understanding about human activities. The main objective of this paper is to investigate the ways of protecting human rights of ancient Sri Lanka in accordance with inscriptions.

Introduction

With the evolution of mankind, studies regarding human rights were also begun. Though there are special rights for the leader of a group, it is his duty to protect the rights of entire group. *Agganga Suthra*, the doctrine of the Buddha that related with the origination of world and life, provides a clear picture about the origin of royal concept. Accordingly,

counseling citizens with sense & Dhamma by investigating their moralities; and recommending appropriate punishments were taken as the main responsibilities of a king during the inceptive era¹. It means, the laws and regulations were being practiced in order to ensure equality, perfection and peace among humans with the beginning of mankind. In *Wasetta Suthra*, the Buddha had mentioned that all humans are similar in nature. Humans have just conventional differences and therefore all are similar to each other². As a result, Buddhists had tended to treat everyone with equality. New Britannica dictionary defines human rights as “**Rights** that belong to an individual or group of individuals simply for being **human**.” Furthermore, those should be equal for everyone when considering generally and universally³. Sri Lankan community which was enriched with the doctrine of the Buddha is always consisted with the quality of equality, and ancient inscriptions also provide proofs in this regard. The term “**rights**” was mentioned in many Sri Lankan records and the term “*Samwatha Pahana*” was defined as “Rights enactment” by Prof. Paranavitana⁴. There are two parts known as rights & duties; and inscriptions proved the way of setting up of rights by means of performing duties.

How laws were enforced

Laws are established by customs. Custom is a well-established tradition of a society which had been practiced for long time. Eventually, it is transformed into a law. Some laws are originated with the establishment of customs and some laws are implemented after drafting. There are clear descriptions about customs in inscriptions. For an instance, “.....*Wath Sirith Noikma*.” It means it should not go against the customs which come from generations to generation and it illustrates that how a custom became a law. Slab inscription of

king Kashyapa V of Anuradhapura stated that “*Demule bajthuwak awasak dayakayan kala niyatha pamanin wath sirith noikme wasangin sangun elwanu isa*.”⁵ The term “*wasagin*” means the end of rainy season. The entire statement defines that the customs which were being practiced continuously should be offered to monks who belong to both sects at the end of rainy season. There is a similar notice about many laws in Mihintale slab inscription of king Mihindu IV. This demonstrated the significance of maintaining laws by ordering that the customs which came from past should be practiced continuously in Chethiyagiri and Abhayagiri chapters⁶. This proves that the protecting of ancient customs can ensure the protection of individual rights. Therefore it is cleared that Sri Lankan culture had made arrangements to protect human rights as well as flora & fauna rights as a result of the influence gained by Buddhism. Mihintale slab inscription is a decent evidence mentioned the decisions taken by ancient kings regarding the protection of plants⁷. Thus, the protection of plants and animals were also ensured by laws during ancient eras.

Freedom of Religion

As stated by chronicles, the freedom of religion was already established in Sri Lanka before the establishment of Buddhism. Detailed image of religious freedom is given by Mahawamsa through the stories of king Pandukabhaya. “**A fane for Chiththaraja was built by king Pandukabhaya. An offering seat for a mare called Walawamukhi was also built. A mansion for Pashchimarajini and Wyada Deva was also built.**” This proves the aforementioned fact about the establishment of religious freedom in Sri Lanka before the appearance of Buddhism⁸. As said by Prof. Paranavitana,

Naga (cobras) and the demons attached to water were also established as free religious beliefs in here during pre-Buddhist era⁹. This condition was remained itself even after establishment of Buddhism. During the period of king Walagamba, Abayagiriya was also built on the land which contained the fane of "Giri Niganta." This was done as a penalty for the insult made by Giri Niganta when the king was running away after being defeated¹⁰. On the other hand, this was a political vengeance and violation of rights. Except this incident, there was enough freedom to live without any disturbance. Accordingly, it is clearly proved that there was enough religious freedom during this era.

According to evidences provide by inscriptions, this was remained unchanged until the end of Anuradhapura era. This is further evidenced by the Tamil inscription of king Vijayabahu I located at Palamottei (AD 1051-1106). According to that, the gods of Hinduism had also been worshiped by the king¹¹. Budumuttawa pillar inscription reveals that the king Vijayabahu II also provided enough freedom for other religions¹². The king Nissankamalla (AD 1187-1196) also esteemed other religious institutions and made many offerings to ensure religious freedom as stated by the slab inscription of Kanthale¹³. Not only the ideologies of other religions, but different principles of sects belonged to Buddhism were also allowed. Therefore, the worship of *Bodhisatwa*, a concept of Mahayana Buddhism, was also accepted as proved by Jethawanarama slab inscription of king Mihindu IV¹⁴. The worship of *Bodhisatwa* is one of the factors which differentiate the ideologies of Mahayana and Heenayana, but this denotes that either other religions or relations of other sects were not refused in Sri Lanka.

Freedom of Education

Education can be taken as a major fact when talking about human rights. According to modern concepts, both males and females should have equal rights to education without considering their language and religion. There are many inscriptions that verify aforesaid matter was existed as itself within the historic society of Sri Lanka. When analyzing the society mentioned in Waharala inscriptions, it is cleared that the society was powered with language skills including reading and writing since 5th century AD. It is further verified through the illustration of shapes using alphabet, uniqueness of inscriptions and placing those without the patronage of king.

Language and art were studied only by a limited group of people during premature eras. Therefore inscriptions belonged to these eras show a formality and clarity, but when it comes to Waharala inscription the condition was changed. Many inscriptions include details about ordinary citizens, and many contributors were just a group of ordinary people such as bricklayers. One of the Waharala inscriptions which are mentioned in flight steps of the Burrow's pavilion at Abhayagiriya premises was placed on behalf of a bricklayer¹⁵. Different patterns of characters used in inscriptions confirm that those were placed by aforesaid persons. This was further developed during the era of when "**Sigiriya graffities were written**" and people became skillful art lovers. Everyone should have right to education for this and in ancient Sri Lanka, only the king, officials and religious parties held right to education, but later this situation was changed.

It can be said that the freedom of education was limited during premature eras when analyzing the scenario in relation



with Buddhism, and the ruling period of king Wōharatissa provides many evidences for that, but it was a story included in chronicles. Moreover, setting fire to documents containing *Waithulyawada* as Ven. Mahanama thera, the author of Mahavamsa, belonged to the sect of Mahavihara during the period of king Wōharatissa can be taken as a sign which prove the lack of freedom for education at that era. This was a consequence of a struggle among sects of Buddhism. However, Mahavamsa also proves that the arrangements were made to set fire the documents of *Waithulyawada* after examining those by a minister called Kapila during that era¹⁶. Nevertheless, an inscription located at *Nagarjunakonda* of South India tells a different story in this regard. It shows that even both Mahayana and Heenayana concepts were existed on a same platform without having any conflict and it mentions that there was a separate monastery for them in *Nagarjunakonda* who belong to Abayagiriya, Jethavana and Mahavihara had stayed there¹⁷. Accordingly, setting fire to books of *Waithulyawada* can be defined as a limitation of rights to education. According to the slab inscription of king Kashyapa V of Anuradhapura (AD 920-939), there was a law which disrobed bhikkhus (monks) who made illegal attempts to get the ownership (title) of properties belonged to the monastery¹⁸. The offence was examined through a board of monks & state officials. This protected the right to free from guilt.

When studying the knowledge of bhikkhus apart from laymen, it proves that there was an advanced system of education. As said by Katharagama slab inscription of Nanda thera, bhikkhus were even allowed to learn about worldly subjects (not extramundane)¹⁹ and those bhikkhus were clever enough to extend the size of dagoba as well as to construct the

four main gates. This belongs to architecture and the bhikkhuhood was not become a barrier to practice this knowledge.

According to the slab inscription of king Nissankamalla located at Dambulla (AD 1189-1198), king had provided bhikkhus with required facilities in order to qualify them with external knowledge in addition to Buddhism²⁰ and this clearly verifies that the king had made arrangements to protect the right to education. There is a term called “**Patibanakuta**” in Brahmi inscriptions. It means intuitive or commit to memory. This term was used to prevent the memory loss of bhikkhus who had verbally memorized the doctrine of the Buddha as well as other subject matters²¹. This was also considered as one of the main duties related with the daily routine of bhikkhus. However, this can be identified as a talent of all bhikkhus that was existed with the beginning of early Buddhism which helped bhikkhus with their studies. This proves that there were equal rights to education for all. The second slab inscription of king Mihindu IV located at Mihinthale says that, laymen had also taught bhikkhus and they were offered with “*Kiriya*” as a salary for their duty²². This defines that there were laymen who were qualified to teach bhikkhus.

Freedom to live and to have a healthy life

The main vision of the state is to help people and this was the main duty which was expected from a king or ruler. Accordingly, the practices used by kings to support people to withstand against difficulties and worries were recorded in chronicles and inscriptions. Many acts were also decreed to facilitate citizens who felt difficulties. According to the records of Mahavamsa, it was required to treat blind persons,

lame persons, pregnant women as well as animals. Chronicles say that the king Upatissa I (AD 368-410)²³, king Buddhadasa (AD)²⁴, king Dappula II (AD 625-830)²⁵ and king Vijayabahu I (AD 1076-1114)²⁶ had helped both humans and animals.

Enhancing health and sanitation of citizens is one of the main duties of a ruler. Citizens also have rights to spend a healthy life. Sufficient details were recorded in chronicles to prove that ancient kings had also taken measures in this regard. For an instance, the king Dutugamunu (1611-1667 BC) had not taken any service from citizens without paying labour charges during the construction of *Ruwanweliseya* (The great dagaba). It reveals that the service provide by citizens was highly valued. Providing a satisfactory salary is a protection of human rights²⁷. King Wōharatissa had equally treated all patients belonged to five main lands as stated in Mahavamsa²⁸. Many great kings had treated patients by considering it as their duty and it verifies that there was a tradition of treating patients among kings. King Buddhadasa (AD 340-360) was a great ruler who established hospitals for humans as well as animals²⁹ and he was also a famous doctor. According to Mahavamsa, king Kashyapa V had also established hospitals in Polonnaruwa³⁰. King Parakramabahu had built a hospital and made arrangements for the maintenance also³¹.

Many evidences related with medical treatments as well as measures taken by kings to enhance the healthiness of citizens are given in inscriptions. Early Brahmi inscriptions verify that there were doctors. Details about a doctor are mentioned in the third inscription of Magul Maha Vihara³². The first inscription of Pichchandiyawa³³ also discloses the details about a doctor of king Gamini Tissa. The inscription located at Hattikuchchi vihara of Rajanganaya also mentions about a doctor³⁴.

Although there are no sufficient details about medical treatments related to Brahmi inscriptions provide details about doctors and this verifies that the service rendered by doctors had been spread all over the country.

Information regarding the privileges given for a hospital by king Kashyapa IV is mentioned by the pillar inscription of Kiribathwehera³⁵. The significance of this record is that the donations were offered by setting clear limitations and quantities to the hospital known as "*Beheth Get*." Donations were done by declaring boundaries from all four directions. There is a record about the donations made for a delivery room (*Thimbirigeya*) in the pillar inscription of king Kashyapa IV placed at Colombo Museum³⁶. It has been cleared that kings had made their continuous attention towards medical practices as well as treatments, and they considered it as a fundamental need of humans.

Records about a donation made by king Kashyapa V to a hospital constructed at Anuradhapura (*Athulu Nuwara*) are stated in a pillar inscription located at Dorabawila temple³⁷. C.E. Godakumbura believes that the *Athulu Nuwara* was belonged to Anuradhapura³⁸. The second slab inscription describes the donation of villages to a great doctor called "*Punalnawan*."³⁹ This information proves that how kings ensured the sanitation of citizens as well as the actions taken to establish a continuous maintenance system.

Medicine was transformed to a prestigious profession which was provided with many benefits and privileges as evidenced by Medirigiriya slab inscription of king Mihindu V. Further, resources were provided to maintain a hospital and doctors were not allowed to have any bribe. Officials of hospitals were permitted neither to cultivate on lands belonged

to temples nor the lands attached to hospitals. Lessees were also not required to do cultivations on behalf of hospitals, and taking gifts or money offered by lessees was also not permitted. Accordingly, the king had ordered not to take gifts or money from patients or any other persons as all the facilities were provided by the king. Further, this verifies that citizens had rights to health⁴⁰. Medirigiriya inscription says that salaries were also paid for doctors and that's why it was emphasized not to take any other gifts. Slab inscription of king Mihindu IV of Mihinthale provides a further verification for aforesaid fact. According to that, a *Dethisesenen niyapeliyak* was given for a doctor. *Niyapeliyak* from a place called *Dethisesena* and *Damiyen wasangak* (a house from a village called Damiya) had been provided. The term "Wasangak" means at the end of rainy season, but the idea is not cleared. However, it is said that an ancient doctor was given a "Paya dekak" and *Damiyen wasangak* (a house from a village called Damiya). This proves that a doctor had been given a reasonable salary⁴¹. All these were expected by kings in order to ensure the healthiness and sanitation of citizens. According to Galpotha inscription of king Nissankamalla of Polonnaruwa, it had been cleared that taking care of people who are suffering from diseases and difficulties as well as protecting them was also one of the main responsibilities of a king⁴².

Economic freedom

Maintaining a well-established economic condition is also a duty of a king or a government. Ancient kings provided needs of citizens through taxation and many stories related to taxation were also included in inscriptions. "Pathi" and "Bali" were used as similar terms for tax. Many details regarding tax

can be seen during post-Brahmi era (5th century AD). Usually, different kinds of taxes were offered to temples as described by inscriptions. Puwarasankulam cave inscription defines about the taxes of tanks and dams offered to temples⁴³. Having an equal system of taxation is also a protection of human rights and the taxation was even common for kings. At present, everyone is paying attention towards the enforcement of law equally.

According to the Anuradhapura slab inscription of king Kashyapa V, kings were accepted to increase industries in order to develop the country. Accordingly, hospitals were built to cure diseases; tanks were built to increase the harvest and reduce starvation. It means measures were taken to provide all the needs which are taken as human rights and further, citizens were also protected from thieves and robbers. Amongst human rights, providing protection for lives and properties is a responsibility of rulers and ancient kings had done their duty to the best⁴⁴. A similar incident in this regard is mentioned in the inscription of king Nissankamalla and the king had also saved the country from famine. The way of saving the country from famine is described by *Preethi daana mandalpa* inscription of Polonnaruwa⁴⁵. Further, the king had established the rule of law all over the country. Rule of law is a major requirement among human rights which should be equal for everyone⁴⁶.

Freedom of law

The concept of offence and penalty was also existed in past when compared to present. People could be killed legally as ordered by the king and for that, a judgment should be taken from the court of Dhamma. According to royal law, if someone kills somebody, he is also subjected to death penalty

and only the king had power to decree the death penalty. *Wewelketiya* inscription⁴⁷ of king Mihindu IV (AD 1026-1042) clearly describes this. Accordingly, thieves were also sentenced to death after proving charges. Further, it clearly describes that the punishment was given after adjudicating charges through a judge board. If it is unable to catch the thief within 45 days, 125 *kalans* (a small measurement) of gold should be given to the state from *Dasagamin*⁴⁸. According to Kondawattawan Pillar inscription of king Dappula IV, murderers should be placed under the custody of an officer called *Ulwadu*⁴⁹. Accordingly, ancient records of Sri Lanka clearly prove that human rights were protected decently in past and it had a greater value which is similar to that of present.

Murderer should be allowed neither to live in his hometown nor visit there as illustrated by the first pillar inscription of king Kashyapa V located at Dorabawila (AD 914-923)⁵⁰. That means, murderers had not been protected and royal punishments were inevitable for them. Lack of protection for murderers became a greater support to decree the royal punishment. This can be further verified by the second record of Kaludiyapokuna of king Mihindu IV (AD 954-970). It includes that murderers should not be permitted to enter sacred places (temples)⁵¹ and a similar order is also mentioned in Abayagiri slab inscription of king Kashyapa V (AD 929-939). If a murderer has entered into a temple⁵², he should be expelled to India⁵³. This reveals about another punishment called deportation. It means, if someone is hiding in a temple by committing a murder, he should be expelled to India⁵⁴. Further, if he has entered into a temple by committing some other offence, deportation should not be decreed and the punishment should be given only for the suspect, not for the owner of the house where the suspect was being hidden⁵⁵.

That means innocent people had been released when giving punishments. However at present, providing shelter for an offender is also an offence. According to this inscription, the house owner never protected an offender because catching offenders were also a duty of villagers (citizens). The famous pillar inscription of Badulla is also mentioned that state officials should not harass innocent villagers⁵⁶. Therefore it is cleared that citizens had rights to live independently without having any harassment of state officials.

Villagers should refrain from providing accommodations to a murderer according to Moragoda slab inscription of king Kashyapa IV, and if there is a murderer in the village, he should be expelled from the village. He should not be allowed to enter into villages after committing a murder⁵⁷. This clearly verifies that no any freedom had been given for murderers. One of the distinct methods of enforcing law which is mentioned in aforesaid inscriptions is that performing an internal defensive system in villages. There is a similar record in Medirigiriya pillar inscription of king Kashyapa V in this regard (AD 980-990). Accordingly, murderers should be expelled from the village and should not permit them to come in⁵⁸.

Rule of law should be safeguard in order to protect human rights of citizens and the law should be equal for everyone, unless some people may not obey the rule of law. There are some orders that protected the rule of law all over the country in Badulla pillar inscription which illustrates the procedures of managing Hopitigama. Fines are also collected as stated in law and officials should not break orders. Further this includes; laws should be enforced without exceeding traditions⁵⁹ and the constitution⁶⁰. laws should not be deviated when put into practice⁶¹, law should not influence villagers or residents⁶² and

the fine should be taken only from the offender, not from his dependents⁶³. Accordingly, discussion had been made about enforcing law equally and transparently any who enforce the law were also treated under the same law even for their offences⁶⁴.

Right to properties

Rights to properties of citizens should also be protected in addition to their mental and physical rights. It has been cleared that ancient kings had enforced applicable laws in order to protect aforesaid rights. According to historical records, personal rights as well as rights to properties and rights to enjoyment had also been protected. The king Subha had constructed a chapter house in Ekadorika temple after buying Uppaladonika tank by paying 500 gold coins (AD 60-67)⁶⁵. This defines that the king was not the sole owner of all the properties of country and citizens had rights to sell their properties to king. Anyone had rights to buy that tank as king had. According to Wilewewa cave inscription, tanks could also be bought as a personal property. Mother of king Gamini Abhaya had bought Kumbaragama tank by paying 4000 gold coins and offered it to monks who stayed at the temple which was constructed by her name⁶⁶. Mother of king Gamini Abhya was the daughter of king Subha⁶⁷. As stated by Mahavamsa, mother of king Gajaba had also offered many possessions to monks which was bought from many places⁶⁸. Peramiyankulama cave inscription is also one of the records that prove about the ownerships held by citizens. According to that, the son of kings' treasurer and a sailor known as 'Naka' had offered the water tax received for the portion of tank Amarathana Kethawalaka owned by his father including two other taxes to the temple⁶⁹. This proves that citizens also had rights to obtain taxes for the tanks owned by them.

Hereditary owned things were known as Praveni and this was known as "Pamunu" in inscriptions. Details related to a portion of land which was given as pamunu are mentioned in the slab inscription of king Kashyapa IV (AD 894-914) which is placed at Colombo Museum⁷⁰. Slab inscription of king Nissankamalla of Polonnaruwa is also defined the term Pamunu as hereditary owned things⁷¹. Accordingly, the ownership of the lands specified as pamunu were belonged to that generation and these lands were not hindered by the king. The king had provided them with required rights to control the land as they wished.

According to Hinguregala cave inscription, institutions also had rights to purchase lands in addition to individuals. Many people were grouped together to purchase lands on behalf of temples⁷². Lands belonged to temples were exempted from taxes. Details regarding a donation of lands to a Pirivena educational institutes of monks called Sen Senevirad is included in Rambewa pillar inscription⁷³. State officials were also not permitted to enter to the temple and rights for enjoyment were also given by exempting from income tax.

Properties which were belonged to sects of Buddhism of Anuradhapura era were named separately and kings had made arrangements for bhikkhus to possess those freely. According to Buddannehela slab inscription, rights were granted to possess properties owned by temples without having any interruption of state officials (exempted from tax)⁷⁴. Additionally, *pamunu* lands owned by temples should not be given to any other party as mentioned in Mihinthale slab inscription of king Mihindu IV⁷⁵. This verifies that the lands which were offered for temples should be used only for the betterment of temples. On the other hand, the privileges offered by state should be used with care. According to the

slab inscription of king Kashyapa V of Anuradhapura, even kings should not abduct the properties owned by temples⁷⁶. This means, the law had always held the superior position.

Rule of law

Establishment of rule of law can be taken as an important fact when considering about human rights. It should be noted that the law should be placed at the highest position. According to the evidences provided by ancient records, Sri Lankan kings had refrained from breaching the law according to their wishes and replacing existing laws with new rules. Wewelketiya inscription of king Mihindu IV verifies that kings had enforced the law⁷⁷. That means those laws were legalized and written permanently⁷⁸. *Preethi daana mandapa* inscription of king Nissankamalla also describes that legislations cannot be repeated⁷⁹ and those were written forever. The constancy of rule of law is a highly required factor of enforcing and following the law.

Conclusion

At present, the world has again focused attention on human rights. That is because of the downfall of attitudes of people towards human rights. In Sri Lanka, ancient kings had paid a higher attention towards human rights under their totalitarian. According to ancient records, kings had highly considered about human rights than their supremacy. A clear picture about establishing royal principles under the rule of law can be obtained from Sri Lanka. Accordingly, kings had always performed their duties by protecting fundamental human rights. This proves that the authority of kings who belonged to the historic era of Sri Lanka was established under the principles of law.

Footnotes

- 1 "යනුකි නාම අදින්තාදානං පඤ්ඤායිස්සති ගරභා පඤ්ඤායිස්සති, මුසාවාදො පඤ්ඤායිස්සති, දණ්ඩදානං පඤ්ඤායිස්සති. යන්තූන මයං ඒකං සන්තං සමමන්තෙය්‍යාම, යො නො සමමා බිසිතබ්බං බියෙය්‍යා, සමමා ගරහිතබ්බං ගරහෙය්‍යා, සමමා පබ්බාචෙතබ්බං පබ්බාචෙය්‍යා, මයං පනස්ස සාලිනං භාගං දස්සාමා ති" දීඝ නිකාය. තෘතිය භාගය. අග්ගඤ්ඤ සූත්‍රය. බුද්ධචර්යන්ති ත්‍රිපිටක ග්‍රන්ථ මාලා, ධර්මවක්‍ර පදනම, රේරුකාන පාර, විදාගම, බණ්ඩාරගම, 2006, පි. 156
- 2 මජ්ඣිම නිකාය, වාසෙට්ඨ සූත්‍රය. බුද්ධචර්යන්ති ත්‍රිපිටක ග්‍රන්ථ මාලා, ධර්මවක්‍ර පදනම, රේරුකාන පාර, විදාගම, බණ්ඩාරගම, 2006, පි. 705
- 3 The new Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol.06, Encyclopedia Britannica Inc. 15th Edition, U.S.A., 1997, p. 137
- 4 *..the Royal chief Secretary – the aforesaid gentlemen, inclusive of all named, having come here, this stone (bearing) a determination of Rights has been set up..* Paranavitana, S. Godakumbura C.E., Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. V, Part II, Department of Archaeology, Ceylon, 1963, p.195
- 5 Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. I, Wickramasinghe, D.M. De Z., Published for the government of Ceylon by henry frowde Oxford University press, London, 2012, p.45. Trans. p.56
- 6 ... වත්තිමයන් සෙයිරි වෙහෙරහි පෙර තිබූ සිරිත් නිජ රුස්වා ගෙන මෙ වෙහෙරට මෙ සිරිත් තුබුව වටී. Wickramasinghe, D.M. De Z., Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. I, Published for the government of Ceylon by henry frowde Oxford University press, London, 2012, p.85. Trans. p.99
- 7 ...වතු පැනට වැද අනියා නොකටයුතු ගස්කොළ නොකැපිය යුතු. -ibid- p.87. Trans. p.105
- 8 ...නුවරට නැගෙනහිර කාලවේල යක්ෂයා පිහිටවී හෝ කාලවේල යතු දෙවොළ ඉදි කළේ ය. ඒ විතු රාජයතු අභියගිරි යට බාගයෙහි වාසය කරවී. යක්ෂ යෝනියෙහි උපන්නා වූ සුර්වෝපකාරී වූ ඒ දාසිය නුවර දකුණු දිගේ දොර කෙළෙහි ගුණ දන්නා ඒ කෙම වාසය කරවී. වළවා මුඛ යකිණි රජ ගෙවුයන් ඇතුළත වැස්වී. බටහිර රජන ද වෙසවුණුයා (දෙවොල) ද වැදී දෙවියා තල් දෙවොල ද සභාග වස්තුව ද ප්‍රභේද ලෙය ද යන මෙතෙක් දෑ", මහාවංශය, 10 පරිච්ඡේදය, සිංහල පරි. හික්කඩුවේ ශ්‍රී සුමංගල හා බටුවන්තුඩාව පඬිතුමන්, බෞද්ධ සංස්කෘතික මධ්‍යස්ථානය, 125, ඇන්ඩර්සන් පාර, නැදීමාල, දෙහිවල, 2012, පි.45-46
- 9 පරණවිතාන සෙනරත්, "බුද්ධාගම පිහිටුවීම", ලංකා විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ ලංකා ඉතිහාසය, I කාණ්ඩය, I භාගය, විද්‍යාලංකාර විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ සිංහල පරිවර්තනය, විද්‍යාලංකාර විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයීය ප්‍රකාශනය, (1964) පි.133

10 ... මහා කළු සිංහලයා පලායෙයි කියා අතිශයින් හඬගෑය", මහාවංශය, 33 පරි.45 ගාථාව, සිංහල පරි. හික්කඩුවේ ශ්‍රී සුමංගල හා බටුවන්කුඩාව පඬිකුමන්, බෞද්ධ සංස්කෘතික මධ්‍යස්ථානය, 125, ඇන්ඩර්සන් පාර, නැදීමාල, දෙහිවල, 2012, පි.141

11 ..kaiḷāsam Sri Vijayarāja - ūvaram -uḍayākku.....irukkum brāhmaṇamParanavitana S. "A Tamil Slab- Inscription from Pālamōṭṭai" *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphrey Milford, Oxford university Press, Amen House, 1941&, p.194

12 ..for (maintaining) one sacred perpetual lamp given, so that it may last and burn as long as the moon and sun (endure), to the Lord Vikkiramā Calām̄cga-Isévara alias Vikkiramā-Calām̄éga-pura.. Paranavitana S." Two tamil pillar Inscriptions from Budumuttava" *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen House, E.C.1933, p.311

13 .. නිශ්ශංකේශ්වරය යන දෙව්‍යාලයක් ද කරවා මෙසේ කළ නො එක් විකුමයෙන්. Wickramasinghe Don Martino De Silva, "Kantalai Gal-Asana inscription of Kitti Nissankamallā", *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen House, E.C, 1927, p.285

14 ...විච්චන වෙහෙර්හි පහා යැළින් කරා නිල්පහාහි බොසන් පිළිබිබි කන්මුවා කර.. Wickramasinghe Don Martino De Silva, "Slab Inscription, No.1& of Mahinda IV, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen House, E.C, 1912,p.219

15 "Marayu Vahahapa Vasana ulavadha Sadeva Ganayama.. Paranavitana S. "Inscriptions Near 'Burrows Pavilion'" *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphrey Milford, Oxford university Press, Amen House,1941&,p.139

16 "...ඒ තෙමේ කපිල ඇමතියා ලවා වෛතුලයවාදය මිරිකා පාප නිග්‍රහ කරවා බුදු සස්න ද බැබලවී ය." මහාවංශය, 36 පරිච්ඡේදය, සිංහල පරි. හික්කඩුවේ ශ්‍රී සුමංගල හා බටුවන්කුඩාව පඬිකුමන්, බෞද්ධ සංස්කෘතික මධ්‍යස්ථානය, 125, ඇන්ඩර්සන් පාර, නැදීමාල, දෙහිවල, 2012, පි.157

17 "...kasmira, gamdhāra, china, chilāta, tosāli, avaramta, vamyā vanavasī, Yavana, dhamila palura thambapamni, dipa pasadakānam therīyanam thambapamnakanam sapurigahe" Vogal J.P.H., Prakrit Inscriptions from Buddhist Site at Nagarjunakonda, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vo.XX, New Delhi, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, 1983, (reprint), p.22

18 ...පිරිවෙන් ලද්දන් තමනට පිරිකැපු මෙපසමුත් පිරිවෙනැ ඇතුළු බැහැර යම් කවරි පසයක් කුමනට පිරිබොකළ සඟුන් සම්දරුවන් හින්දැ විවාරකොට අවසින් පහකරනු ඉසා.. Wickramasinghe Don Martino De Silva, "Anuradhapura Slab Inscription of kassapa V, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*,

Vol. I, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphrey Milford, Oxford university Press, Amen House, E.C, 1912,p.45

19 "...nada tera ceta vadita Akuja (k)abikujarana samatavaya catara dorahi patagaḍa atadi.." Paranavitana S.,Kataragama Slab Inscription of Nanda Thera, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Vol. II, Part II, Published by the Archaeological Survey Department of Sri Lanka, 2001, p.270

20 ...තුන් නකාහි සගරුවන් සමග කරවා... (ඇතුලත් බාහිර) ශාස්ත්‍ර ද පවත් කරවා පෙර රජු(න් දවස)... Wickramasinghe Don Martino De Silva, "Dambulla Rock Inscription of Kirti Nissankamallā", *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphrey Milford, Oxford university Press, Amen House, E.C, 1912,p.130

21 "Bata śagarakitaśa leṇe Paṭibana kuṭe śagaśa" වශයෙන් එය කුඩුම්බිල සිව්වන ශිලාලේඛනයෙහි යෙදී තිබේ. මීට අමතරව ගෝනගල තෙවන ශිලාලේඛනයෙහි හා රාජාංගණයේ හත්විකුළු විහාරයේ පළමු ශිලාලේඛනයේ ද යෙදී තිබේ. Paranavitana, S. *Inscriptions Ceylon*, Volume I, Published by the Department of Archaeology Ceylon, 1970, p.39

22 "බන් වජාරන දමිනට ඉසා ඇදුර දමිනට ඉසා දමින් සජනක්ඛට ඉසා...", "Tablets of Mahinda IV at Mihintale", *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphrey Milford, Oxford university Press, Amen House, E.C, 1912, p.89

23 "... පිළිවන් ද, වදන ගැහැනුන්ට ද, අන්ධයන්ට ද, රෝගීන්ට ද මහත් හෝග ඇති ශාලාවන් ද, දන්හල් ද කරවී..." මහාවංශය, 37 පරිච්ඡේදය, සිංහල පරි. හික්කඩුවේ ශ්‍රී සුමංගල හා බටුවන්කුඩාව පඬිකුමන්, බෞද්ධ සංස්කෘතික මධ්‍යස්ථානය, 125, ඇන්ඩර්සන් පාර, නැදීමාල, දෙහිවල, 2012, පි.171

24 "...සතුන් කෙරෙහි අනුකම්පා කළේය. මහ නුවණ ඇති ඒ රජ තෙමේ දිළින්දන් වස්තු දීමෙන් ද, සුවපත් වුවන් හෝග ජීවිත රක්ෂණයෙන් ද, සන්පුරුෂයන් සංග්‍රහයෙන් ද, අසන්පුරුෂයන් නිග්‍රහයෙන් ද, ගිලනුන් වෙදකමින් ද...", -එම- පි.167

25 ...හෝග උපදනා ගමන් යුක්ත කොට (වෛද්‍ය ශාලාවක් කරවීය). කුදුන්ට ද අන්ධයන්ට ද, ඒ ඒ තන්හි ශාලාවන් ද කරවී. -එම- 49 පරි. පි 221

26 ...හෙතෙමේ කුදුන්ට බලවී වූ ගොනුන් දින, දයාවෙන්වූ ඇඵනාවූ හේ තෙමේ කවුඩු බලු ආදීන්ටත් බත් දින... අද දනන්ට ද, පිළිවන් ද වෙන් වෙන් වශයෙන් ගම් ද දින, අනාථ වූ වැන්දඹු කුලගනන්ට සුදුසු පරිද්දෙන් ගම් බත් වත් දින, -එම- 60 පරි, පි.265

27 "...මේ මාගේ දාගැබෙහි කර්මාන්ත කරන ගිහිවූවන් තපස්වින් වහන්සේ වූවන් සිත්වූ පරිද්දෙන් මෙකී සියල්ල අනුභව කොට කළ කර්මාන්තයෙහි මිල නොගෙන නොයන්ව යි..." සිතියම් සහිත උපවංශය, ඩී.ජේ.බී.

- ච්ඡයශේකර සංස්. පී.චේ. කරුණාධාර, කරුණාධාර මුද්‍රණාලය, මරදාන, කොළඹ, 1957, පි.148
- 28 මහාවංශය, 36 පරිච්ඡේදය, සිංහල පරි. හික්කඩුවේ ශ්‍රී සුමංගල හා බටුවන්තුඩාව පඬිතුමන්, බෞද්ධ සංස්කෘතික මධ්‍යස්ථානය, 125, ඇන්ඩර්සන් පාර, නැදිමාල, දෙහිවල, 2012, පි.157
- 29 එම- පි.168
- 30 "...අනුරාධපුර පොළොන්නරුව ද උවදුරු රෝග නසන පිණිස වෙදහල් කරවී...ඒ තෙමේ නුවර ඒ ඒ තන්හි බෙහෙත් ගෙවල් කරවී.... බන්ධනගත බොහෝ තිරිසනුන් මිදවී. -එම- පි.239
- 31 "...ඉක්බිති කරුණාබර නරේශ්වර තෙමේ නොයෙක් සිය ගණන් රෝගීන්ගේ වාසයට සුදුසු වූ මහා ශාලාවක් කරවා යට කී ක්‍රමයෙන් එහි ද සියලු උපහේග සාමග්‍රිය තබාබවා සියලු රෝගීන්ට එකෙක් පාසා දිවා රාත්‍රී දෙකේ පොහොන පමණක් බෙහෙත් හා කෑ යුතු බිඳිය යුතු ආභාරාදිය ද..." -එම- 73 පරි. පි.337
- 32 "...śa puta vejha Tiśaha lene", Paranavitana S, Inscriptions of Ceylon, Vol.I, Published by the Dept. of Archaeology, Ceylon, 1970, P.51
- 33 "...Maharajhaśa Devanapiyaśa Gamiṇi Tiśaśa vejha Bamaṇa Gobutiya Leṇe śagaśa", Paranavitana S, Inscriptions of Ceylon, Vol.I, Published by the Dept. of Archaeology, Ceylon, 1970, P.83
- 34 "...Upasaka Veja Mitaha puta...", -ibid, p.98
- 35 "...වැගුණ මහා (රා)දයන් බමුණේ කුම්බරබ බෙහෙද ගෙට දුන අතුරු මෙහිරිවත්ත..." "Kiribath Vehera Pillar Inscription", Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. I, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphirey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen House, E.C, 1912, p.158
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- 37 "ඇත් නකරෙහි දෙබිසෙවැ දා කසුබ් රද්පා කරවූ වෙද්ගල බද් එළ්හම්බිම ආවූ බලලු", "Two pillar Inscriptions from Dorabawila", Godakumbura C.E., Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol.V, Part. II, published by the Government of Ceylon, 1963, p.292
- 38 -ibid- p.296
- 39 "...මෙතුඩාක් දෙනමො එක්සෙවැ මහවෙදනා පුනල්නාවනට මහකරබෑ පැයැල ආ.", "Two pillar Inscriptions from Dorabawila", Godakumbura C.E., Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol.V, Part. II, published by the Government of Ceylon, 1963, p.304

- 40 "...වෙද්ගල්කැමියන් වෙහෙර්බිමැ වෙද්ගල් කුඩින් ලවා (ගොවිකම්) නොකරවනු ඉසා, (වෙහෙර්කැමියන්) වෙද්ගල් බද් ගම්පබිමැ තමන් ගොවිකම් නොකරනු ඉසා, වෙද්ගල් (සතු ගෙ)වතු නොගන්නා ඉසා සරකයේ ගොන් මීවුන් නොගන්නා ඉසා කුඩින්ගෙන් අත්ලස් පඬුර නොගන්නා ඉසා වෙද්ගල්කැමියන්..." "Madirigiri Slab Inscription of Mahinda VI", Paranavitana S., Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. VI, Part I, Published by the Archaeological Department of Ceylon, 1973, p.49
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- 44 "...රජ් වෙද්හල් කරය් රොව් බිය සමය් පොදොනවුලු පුලුදාවුලයෙන් කෙදන් කම් සුලබ් කොට සිරිලක් ලොන්දුරුවය් සා බිය නිවය් රට් සොරන් සැන් බිය නොර නන් ජැයින් නන් සෙස්..." "Anuradhapura Slab Inscription of Kassapa V", Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. I, Wickramasinghe, D.M. De Z, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphirey Milford, Oxford university Press, Amen House, E.C, 1912, p.43
- 45 "...තුලාහාර නැගී මහා නවරන්න දානවර්ෂා පවත්(වා) දිළින්දු හය දුරු කොටැ බොහො ඇළ අවුණු වැව් බන්දවා දුර්හික්ෂෙහය දුරු කොටැ...", "Polonnaruva Priti Danaka Mandapa Inscription", Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. II, Wickramasinghe, D.M. De Z, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphirey Milford, Oxford university Press, Amen House, E.C, 1927, p.169
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- 47 "...උපන් දැයට පෑ හැකිසෙ ලියා තබා මැරුවෙහනු මරා පට්ටනු කොට ඉසා..."", "Vevalkatiya Slab Inscription of Mahinda - IV", Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. I, Wickramasinghe, D.M. De Z, Published for the

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- 48 “කඩ පලා සොරුම් ගත් අයනියෙන් නියත කළොත් තිරු කොට අයනිය (හි)මිහට ගෙනදී එල්වන් කොට ඉසා ති ර නොකළ දසගම ඇත්තන් පත්සාලිය දවසකින් සොයාගෙනැ පටිවනු කොට ඉසා සොයා නොගත දසගමින් එක්සිය පස්විසි කළන්දක් රන් රදොලටි දෙනු කොට ඉසා.” -*ibid*-
- 49 “..මරා කෙටු වරදට දඩ නොගෙනැ රට වූ උල්පාඩුවක් හට දක්වා දෙනු කොට ඉසා..”, “Kondavattavan Pillar Inscription of Dappula V”, Paranavitana S., *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol.V, Part. I, published by the Government of Ceylon,1963, p.136
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- 53 “..minI keṭū kenekun āta gamaṭ vādā ovn mā illat-mut ses ehi no pahaḷ sesu kuḍinaṭ aniyā no karan isā”, Anradhapura Sla Inscription of Kassapa V, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, Wickramasinghe, D.M. De Z, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphirey Milford, Oxford university Press, Amen House, E.C, 1912, p. 47
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- 55 “ovn mā illat-mut ses ehi no pahaḷ sesu kuḍinaṭ aniyā no karan isā”, Anradhapura Sla Inscription of Kassapa V, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, Wickramasinghe, D.M. De Z, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphirey Milford, Oxford university Press, Amen House, E.C, 1912, p. 47
- 56 “vāḷātā vana ulvāḍu kaṇakkarun gamaṭ ākula no karanu isā”, Badulla Pillar Inscription, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, Paranavitana S.,Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphirey Milford, Oxford university Press, Amen House, E.C, 1933,p.79

- 57 “me hāmhi keṭū (ke)nekun āta gāmiṇ piṭat karanu isā koṭā nannavun vādā no (gann) nā asā”, Moragoda Pillar Inscription of Kassapa IV, Wickramasinghe, D.M. De Z, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphirey Milford, Oxford university Press, Amen House, E.C, 1912, p.205/207
- 58 “(කොටා) වන් ගැමින් පිටත් කරවා ගනුත් මිසැ ගම වැදැ නොගන්නා ඉසා”, Mādirigiriya Pillar Inscription, -*ibid*- p29
- 59 “(sata)os vhanse) dasasā kaḷa sisrtak misā annāyēn karana dāyak nokarnā sātiyaṭ”, Badulla Pillar Inscription, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, Paranavitana S.,Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphirey Milford, Oxford university Press, Amen House, E.C, 1933,p.75
- 60 “hind(ā si)vū vāvasthā sirit”, -*ibid*-
- 61 “..”pere- sirit daḍa ganut misā ani(yā) no karanu isā”, *ibid*-
- 62 “..”mandraṇḍin hindā (v)itāra koṭ piri kapā dakvā dun daḍa gant misā gam vaṭā genā getirā genā daḍa no iḷvanu isā ” , *ibid*-
- 63 “..”ḷi daḍat savāmi ginut misā abu-druvan vālākme no gannā isā”, -*ibid*-
- 64 “..”me vāvastā ikmā gamaṭ radolan aniyā kaḷa sabhāye lekam gryi daruvan ṭa kiyā (a)vul haravā”, -*ibid*-, p77
- 65 Sabaraja Ekadorika viharahi pohotakara karvaya Upaladonika vavi pacasata(hiya) kiṇiya.. Paranavitana S. *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Vol.II, Part. I, Published by the department of Archaeology, Sri Lanka, 1993, p 60
- 66 ..Maharaja Gamani Abayaha mata Kubaragama – vavi tumaha dana daraya catara sahasa kahavana dariya. *ibid*- p98
- 67 ලංකා විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ ලංකා ඉතිහාසය, II හාගය, තේමවන්දරාය සංස්. විද්‍යාලංකාර විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ සිංහල පරිවර්තනය, 1972, රාජවංශ සටහන II
- 68 “...පණ්ඩිත ඒ බිසව බිම පිණිස මහා විහාරයට ලක්ෂයක් දුන්තිය. විහාරය ද කරවී,... ඒ ඒ තැනින් මිලට ගෙන සංඝ භෝග ද දුන්තිය, මු.ව. 35 පරි. 118-119 ගාථා. ශ්‍රී සුමංගල හිමි හික්කඩුවේ, දේවරක්ෂිත බටුවන්තුඩාව, සිංහල පරි. බෞද්ධ සංස්කෘතික මධ්‍යස්ථානය, දෙහිවල 8 වැනි මුද්‍රණය 2012,
- 69 “baḍakariya bata kayaha puti Ayi Sayiha navaka Nakayaha....dakapati tumaha pita sataka kotasahi eka kotasa..”, Paranavitana S. *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Vol.II, Part. I, Published by the department of Archaeology, Sri Lanka, 1993, pp 66-67
- 70 “..Gaṇagamiyehi pamṇu kābālla(d) ra(d)kolen..”, Colombo museum pillar inscription of Kassapa IV, Paranavitana S, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphirey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen House, E.C.1933, p.274

- 71 “..devel vahā sarak pamuṇu parapuru ran ridī..” “Polonnaruva – ‘Galpota’ Slab Inscription”, Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. II, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphirey Milford, Offord university Press, Amen House, E.C, 1927, p.110, he appointed ministers and other (officials) and provided them with ‘livings’ surfs, cattle, permanent grants,..-ibid- p 117
- 72 “..clasa kahavaṇa araba vahara atasamana atana ma bala gaṇa Baha...atra avaṇaha dayana kara ..” Hiṅguregala Rock inscription, Paranavitana S., Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol.V, Part. I, published by the Government of Ceylon, 1963, p.117
- 73 “..Sen seṇevirad pirivenaṭ vadāḷa Gälenduru Gomaṇḍala satar payaḷat dekam-tān-deruvanā no vadna kot...mahvar rad – kol kāmiyan no vadna kot isa..., Rāmbāva Pillar Inscription, Wickramasinghe, D.M. De Z, Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. I, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphirey Milford, Oxford university Press, Amen House, E.C, 1912, p.174
- 74 “...me sa-kiriyehi- kēbēli no gannā koṭ isā veher kēbali no gannā koṭ isā diya bedum no gannā koṭ isā ..”- ibid- p.197
- 75 “...me eherhi badtuvāk gam bim kavru pariāyēn ukas pamuṇu no diyā yutu isa gatuvan ranā no hmi koṭ veheraṭ mē navatā gate yutu isā..” – ibid- p.97
- 76 “...rj-kolen bahā Buj sasnehi anusasē bāṇḍā dun pamuṇu udahaasē no gannā isā..” – ibid- p.47
- 77 “...sam daruān visin me vāvastā karan ladi..” vevalkatiya pillar Inscription, - ibid- p.248
- 78 “...āttan hindā vicārā upan dāyaṭ pā hākisū liyā tabā..”, -ibid- p.247
- 79 “...no ek tānā Dharmmādhikaraṇa lavā anyāyan nivāraṇa koṭā tamanvahanse samṛddha koṭa lū lo vāssan anācāra koṭā no-nasnā piṇisā raja(dhāniyehi) sadācāra ūilālākha karavā..”, Wickramasinghe Don Martino De Silva, “Polonnaruva Priti-dana mandapa Rock Inscription”, Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. II, Published for the Government of Ceylon by Humphirey Milford, Offord university Press, Amen House, E.C, 1927, p.172