

SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON



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SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON

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CONTENTS

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			Pages.
Chapter	I	Geographical and Geological Connection	... 1— 8
Chapter	II	The Pre-Historic Age	... 9— 28
Chapter	III	Commercial Relationship between South India and Ceylon	... 29— 36
Chapter	VI	Ceylon and the <u>Tamil Saṅgam</u>	... 37— 42
Chapter	V	Early Invasions of Ceylon by South Indian adventurers	... 43— 50
Chapter	VI-a	Pallavas and Ceylon	... 51— 55
Chapter	VI-b	Early Pāṇḍyas and Ceylon	... 56— 61
Chapter	VI-c	The Chōḷas and Ceylon	... 62— 87
Chapter	VII	Medieval Pāṇḍyas and Ceylon	... 88—104
Chapter	VIII	Vijayanagar and Ceylon	... 105—115
Chapter	IX	The Kingdom of Jaffna	... 116—133
Chapter	X	Colonisation	... 134—145
Chapter	XI	Social Life and Institutions	... 146—170
Chapter	XII	Cultural Influence	... 171—194
Bibliography			... 195—200
Index			... i— xv

ABBREVIATIONS

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A. R. E.	:	Annual Report of Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras Govern- ment.
A. S. C. A. R.	:	Archaeological Survey of Ceylon- Annual Report.
C. H. J.	:	Ceylon Historical Journal.
C. V.	:	Cūḷavaṃśa.
E. I.	:	Epigraphia Indica.
E. Z.	:	Epigraphia Zeylanica.
I. A. (Ind. Ant.)	:	Indian Antiquary.
J. R. A. S. (Ceylon Branch)	:	Journal of the Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society (J. C. B. R. A. S.).
M. E. R.	:	Madras Epigraphic Report.
S. I. I.	:	South Indian Inscriptions.
Silap.	:	Śilappadikāram.
T. A. S.	:	Travancore Archaeological Series.

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P R E F A C E

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The lectures published here were delivered by me from 29th January to 3rd February 1962 in response to the kind invitation of the University of Madras to deliver not less than six lectures under the Sir William Meyer Endowment. I have great pleasure in thanking the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the University of Madras for giving me the privilege of delivering these lectures under this highly valued Endowment. It is also my pleasant duty to express my gratitude to the Founder of the Lectureship, Sir William Meyer, who has made a generous endowment to this University for the promotion of the study of History and Economics. I thank Dr. N. Subrahmanian for kindly preparing the Index.

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SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON

CHAPTER 1

GEOGRAPHICAL AND GEOLOGICAL CONNECTION

The location of Ceylon in close proximity to South India¹ was responsible for a large measure of mutual influence. Ceylon, the pear-shaped island, approximately 25,000 square miles in area², lies off the southern tip of India. Ceylon is separated from the southern extremity of the peninsula of India by the Gulf of Mannar and the Palk strait, the width of the intervening sea at the narrowest point (Adam's Bridge) being about 20 miles. Little wonder that Ceylon played practically the role of an outhouse of South India and that there existed close contact between the two countries. Generally the developments, political, social, religious and cultural, which appeared in one place exercised their influence on the other country.

Though the influence of the proximity was presumably mutual, yet history reveals that Ceylon was more influenced by South India, than South India was by Ceylon. This was so largely on account of two circumstances. In the first place, South India was an extensive region, itself a part of a sub-continent. An overflow of population from India to Ceylon was more natural than from Ceylon to India. In the later periods too, there were fewer instances of Ceylonese invasions of South India than of South Indian invasions of Ceylon. Secondly, being a small island, Ceylon could pursue an insular and self-contained existence through the ages. Ceylon was rarely tempted to develop schemes of political, economic or cultural expansion.

Migrations of people from South India seem to have from early times. Ceylon, the shores of which could be seen by the Indian fishermen every morning when they came to their fish, must have attracted settlers from the mainland. Understood to be the case.

The question of migrations and influence arises only in respect of historical times, for, in all probability in the pre-historic ages of old, Ceylon did not exist as a separate entity. It was but a part and parcel of South India. The geological and geographical features of both South India and Ceylon are similar in several respects⁴ on the basis of which, Wilhelm Geiger rightly concludes that, in times gone by, Ceylon was an out-stretched region of the Dekkān plateau. He says: "Ceylon is essentially a part of the Dekkān, the vast plateau of South India, and consists geologically of a solid mass of pre-cambrian crystalline rock, chiefly Biotitgneiss with bands of white crystalline limestone."⁴

That South India and Ceylon were connected with each other by land in the past is suggested also by the circumstance that Ceylon stands on a continental shelf, which at a distance of five to twenty miles from the present shore abruptly descends to the general level of the Indian Ocean. This continental shelf has an average width of about 12 miles around the island, where the main depth of water is only about 36 fathoms. Beyond that, there is a drop abruptly to 500 fathoms in two miles and 1000 fathoms in about ten miles, plunging eventually to a steep descent of 3,000 fathoms and over.⁵

It has been held by experts that the island of Ceylon is, geologically speaking, a part of peninsular India. "In most respects they resemble each other. The continental shelf is broad at Cape Comorin and includes Ceylon with an indentation pointing towards the gulf of Mannar. The island itself is built up of archæan rocks except for a narrow coastal strip. The disposition of the rocks suggests a southerly continuation of the Eastern Ghats. If we closely examine the south face of the island, the inference is irresistible that it resembles in most respects the rocks of the Dekkān core."⁶

...king. Madagascar, Ceylon and South India afford
a series of rocks of a similar nature in these
...formed part of one land
7) p. 7.
Heinz

The similarity of the flora and fauna of Ceylon with those of South India lends support to the view that the two were originally parts of the same land mass. It is true that importation of these was possible in much later times, even after Ceylon had formed itself into an island. But the remarkably close similarity is suggestive of the flora and fauna having flourished under the same unit of land in the distant past. Among trees, the *Cūlavamsa* mentions the mango tree, jack tree, the bread-fruit tree and the banana. Palm trees mentioned in the same chronicle are the cocoanut tree, the areca palm and the palmyra palm. The following various trees and shrubs are mentioned in connection with a pleasure garden laid out by Parākrama Bāhu I (A.D. 1153) : Campaka, Aśoka, Nāga, Kēṭaka, Punnāga, Sala, Pātali, Nipa or Kaḍamba, Jambu, Tamala and Kuṭaja. Most of these trees are said to have been turned about with jasmine creepers of different sorts⁷. It need hardly be added that these trees and shrubs are found in South India as well.

Of the fauna the elephant figures prominently. Lion and tiger are not indigenous to Ceylon; but they are referred to in many legends; it is not improbable that they were introduced into Ceylon from the mainland of India. Beasts of prey mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* are the panther and the bear. Buffaloes are numerous in the forests of Ceylon. Among other beasts living in the wilderness of the island are monkeys. It is stated that in the rivers and tanks, besides fish, there were plenty of man-eating crocodiles and tortoises. The cobra also abounded.

Birds, the names of which occur in the *Mahāvamsa* are the peacock, the ubiquitous crow, the parrot, the Indian cuckoo (*kōkila*) and the wild goose (*haṃsa*). It is well known that all these birds are common in South India as well.

Gold and silver were apparently found in abundance⁸ in early times, as could be gathered from the Ceylonese chronicles, though latterly they have become rare. Copper and iron are often mentioned.

7. History of Ceylon (University of Ceylon) op. cit. p. 14.

8. There is a view that the island was called *Ilam* because of the abundance of gold found there, since *Ilam* means gold in Tamil. It is difficult to be positive about this. *Ilam* might well have been derived from *Eḷu*, the language spoken by the early inhabitants of the island.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature comparable with South India is that Ceylon, too, has been famous from ancient times for its wealth of precious stones and pearls. The three kinds of gems, sapphire, emerald and ruby are enumerated in the *Mahāvamsa*. In fact Ceylon is called a mine of gems, pearls and the like. It is notable that gems and pearls were part of the royal treasure. The pearl fisheries of Tirunelveli in South India were perhaps connected with those of Ceylon. Thus a survey of the flora, fauna and mineral products of Ceylon suggests that the island was intimately connected with South India and that it was in all probability a part of the mainland of South India itself in ancient times.

The name *Tāmbapaṇṇi* applied to Ceylon in the past seems to have had connection with the river *Tāmrapaṇi* which flows through the Tirunelveli district of South India. It may be observed that the name *Tāmbapaṇṇi* was applied to the island of *Lankā*, to a Ceylonese port at the mouth of the river *Aruvi Āru* and at the same time to the river flowing near the town of Tirunelveli. Was the occurrence of the same name, in respect of the three cases mentioned above, a mere matter of chance?

Lankādīpa is said to have acquired the additional name '*Tāmbapaṇṇi*' from the circumstance that the hands of Vijaya's wearied men were reddened by the copper-coloured sand when they threw themselves down at their landing place and touched the earth. A variant of this belief is that Vijaya and his followers employed the name *Tāmbapaṇṇi* on account of the red colour of the laterite which is so characteristic of the region in which they landed. This is legendary and it seems to have been invented to explain the name *Tāmbapaṇṇi* (*Tamira* = copper). However, *Tāmbapaṇṇi* is the name for Ceylon in the *Aśōkan* inscriptions of the 3rd century B.C.

In the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C. Greek writers like Onesicritus, Megasthenes and Eraṭosthenes have called Ceylon the island of *Tāprobane* (apparently derived from *Tāmbapaṇṇi*). The *Periplus* shows that the name *Tāprobane* had been replaced by *Palacsimundu*. Be that as it may, it is noteworthy that a town *Tāmbapaṇṇinagara* is believed to have been founded by the colonist Vijaya and that the town lay probably west of *Anurādhapura*, nearer the coast. There is no historical evidence to support this belief. The question arises whether the *Tāmrapaṇi* river of

South India had flowed near this town in Lankā, a circumstance responsible for this name given to the town in the first instance and then to the whole island.⁹ This is a piece of conjecture. Perhaps the most acceptable explanation for the bestowal of the name Tāmbapaṇṇi to a town and to the island is that one group of Āryan immigrants who came to South India and thence proceeded to Lankā might have employed these names with which they had become familiar in South India. This, too, is nothing more than a tentative suggestion.

However, Ceylon's association did not stop with India; she was connected with several other countries in the neighbourhood. In fact, Ceylon's strategic position in the Indian Ocean has played a great part in influencing Ceylonese history. Through the long course of her history, people from China, Malaya, Arabia, Africa and Europe, not to speak of India, have migrated into Ceylon and worked side by side with the native inhabitants. Ceylon is, in one respect, a cosmopolitan country. As Sidney D. Bailey rightly observes: "the variety and richness of Ceylon's cultural heritage is due in a large measure to the clash of ideas from three continents".¹⁰ But while the connection with the European countries is a feature of modern times, Ceylon was closely associated with countries of South East Asia like India, Burma, Malaya and Indonesia from the distant past. There are some who think that these countries all constituted one vast mass of land in the ancient past.¹¹

This so-called Lemūrian theory holds that South India, Ceylon, New Zealand, Australia, Malaya and the neighbouring islands on the one hand and South Africa and Madagascar, on the

9. Parker: *Ancient Ceylon* (1909) Chapter VIII. p. 235. C. S. Navaratnam (*Tamils & Ceylon*, p. 26) suggests that the Tamils who migrated from the valley of the Tāmrappaṇi river of the Tinnevely district must have called their new country Tāmarappaṇi. But the name Tāmarappaṇi does not seem to be Tamilian in origin.

10. Sydney D. Bailey: 'Ceylon' (1952) p. 12. He adds: "The culture of Ceylon has been greatly influenced by its proximity to India and by the fact that many of its inhabitants have racial, religious or linguistic affinities with Indian peoples."

11. See for example Scott Elliott: "Lost Lemuria" pp. 23-38 and Sir T. W. Holderness: "Peoples and Problems of India" p. 23.

other, were all connected together by land. The upholders of this theory believe that the inroads of the sea into the mass of land were responsible for the splitting up of the various countries into separate units.

It is difficult to decide the validity of this theory. Various references to floods and deluges occur in early Tamil literature and in the Buddhist sacred lore ; perhaps, they are based upon true traditions. Geologists are also inclined to support the theory. But, even if it were true that once all these countries of South-East Asia, Australia and Africa constituted one mass of land, such a condition might have existed only in very early times. Kularatnam thinks that the Lemūrian or Gōṇḍvāna continent, as it is otherwise called, flourished only in the Paleozoic Era. He says : “ Towards the close of the Paleozoic Era, when animal as well as plant life had undergone a long period of evolution, the land comprising Ceylon formed part of a vast southern continent, to which the name Gōṇḍvāna land has been given and which included the modern peninsular India, the greater part of Africa, and Western Australia and even Brazil ”.¹² He adds : “ certain forms of flora and fauna being peculiar to Ceylon and Madagascar, and a certain degree of consanguinity which the Island has with parts of Africa, Dekkān and Western Australia in lithology, structure etc. are to be explained by these regions having been parts of one continent in remote geological times ”

But to accept this is not to accept the view that the entire Lemūrian or Gōṇḍvāna continent existed in the age of the Tamil Śaṅgam, as is sometimes believed. Some of the writers on the Tamil Śaṅgam have held that the first Tamil Academy flourished in South Madurai which, according to them, lay to the south of the tip of present South India. This view has been sought to be reinforced by the Lemūrian theory. But it is important to observe that the Lemūrian continent must have existed, if at all, long long ago. According to geologists, the dismemberment of the Lemūrian or Gōṇḍvāna continent into several units must have taken place towards the close of the Mesozoic Era. However, South India and Ceylon did not separate themselves from each other until much later, very probably in the Miocene period of

12. History of Ceylon (University of Ceylon) op. cit. p. 2.

the Tertiary Era. In fact, the conclusion arrived at is that during the Miocene period a belt of sea much wider than the Palk strait of today flooded the land between the present Madras state and the Puttalam-Jaffna coast, thus creating the island of Ceylon. This Tertiary Era is assignable to a period many thousands of years previous to the date when the first Tamil Śaṅgam could have flourished.

However, independent of the Lemūrian theory it is possible to hold that there existed a Madurai, later known as Ten Madurai to the south of Kanyākumari, perhaps not very far from it. Apart from the traditions regarding the old Tamil Śaṅgams, a piece of casual evidence is available from the Mahāvamsa. In the words of Paranavitāna, who is by no means uncritical of the antiquity of Tamil or of the Tamilians, 'according to the critically edited text of the Mahāvamsa, it was from the city of southern Madhura that Vijaya and his followers obtained their brides.'¹³ In this context, George Turnour's edition of the Mahāvamsa has the expression 'Dakhinān Madhurān' denoting southern Madhura.¹⁴ This is reinforced by the occurrence of the same expression in the Sinhalese work, 'Saddharmāṅkārā' of the 14th century, which quoting the Mahāvamsa, definitely mentions southern Madhura¹⁵, in the above-mentioned context. If this reference to southern Madurai were based on an historical fact, there is nothing to suggest the unacceptability of its association with the first Tamil Śaṅgam. One may not believe the fabulous stories described in connection with the origin and history of the first Tamil Śaṅgam, but the basic fact of its having flourished in the past in Ten Madurai cannot be dismissed easily.

Further the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Arthaśāstra mention Kāpāṭapura. Where is Kāpāṭapura now? Apparently it

13. History of Ceylon op. cit. p. 94

14. 'The Mahāvamsa' edited by George Turnour (1837) p. 51. It must be observed here that in the text of the Mahāvamsa edited by Geiger (Ch. VII. V. 49) the qualifying word meaning 'southern' does not occur. On the other hand, it is stated to be 'Madhura in southern India' and Geiger observes in a foot note that this refers to Madura in the south of the Madras Presidency.

15. The qualifying word 'Dakhinān' was used to distinguish Madura from the present Madhura of Southern India, and it does not seem to have had any relation to Uttara Madhura occurring in the Ghata Jātaka.

has been devoured by the sea some time later than the 4th century B. C. This lends support to the belief that there were three S'āṅgams, the first in Ten Madurai, the second in Kāpāṭa-puram and the third in modern Madurai. The submergence of the major part of Lemūria might have occurred in the Tertiary Era, but there was still land to the south of Cape Comorin. Since more than one flood is spoken of, it is possible that at successive stages the land to the south of Cape Comorin was devoured by the sea,

CHAPTER II

THE PRE—HISTORIC AGE

(a) Early Inhabitants of Ceylon

In respect of the study of man in the pre-historic age in Ceylon, investigations made so far have not been so thorough or systematic as in the western countries. Consequently it is not easy to correlate precisely the sequence of human activities in India and Ceylon. Nevertheless, certain relics of the pre-historic stone age have been discovered thanks to the efforts of investigators like Green, Pole, Seligmann and Wayland. These discoveries enable the formulation of a few tentative suggestions regarding the possible connections between pre-historic South India and Ceylon.

In Europe as well as in eastern countries like Malaya, Burma and India an Eolithic age is believed to have preceded the Old Stone age. It was during the Eolithic age that there appeared the earliest implements made by man when he knew very little of the art of tool-making. Did such an age exist in Ceylon? Certain experts imagine that some of the relics in the island belong to the Eolithic epoch; but it is difficult to be definite about them. It may be mentioned that, even in Europe and other countries mentioned above, the eoliths are not well defined. All that can be said is that in Ceylon, too, the eolithic epoch might have existed.

More definitely ascertainable are the details pertaining to the Lower Palaeolithic period which is reckoned to be about 50,000 years old. Some hold the view that the Palaeolithic or Old Stone age did not develop sufficiently in Ceylon as in South India because of the isolation of early stone age men in the island caused by geological disturbances and encroachments of the sea. But despite this limitation it must be admitted that there is sufficient evidence to warrant the postulation of a very general resemblance in the evolution of the palaeolithic people in Ceylon and South India. This is but natural because of the circumstance noticed earlier that in ancient times South India and Ceylon were connected with each other by land. In all probability the people

who lived in the various countries lying between Africa and Australia (including India and Ceylon) developed similar cultures although the originally connected land masses had separated themselves due to the encroachments of the sea at places. It is possible that people living in the separated regions were in contact with each other. Apart from this possibility the normal course of evolution of early people living in the same kind of climate and physical conditions could have had the same pattern of cultural development.

As evidence of the similarity of development among these people mention may be made of a variety of pebble implements which were discovered in Africa, India and Ceylon. These are found in the river gravels, open stations and caves.

It may, however, be admitted that the relics of the middle and upper Palaeolithic age in Ceylon exactly comparable with those in India and Africa have not been discovered. Nevertheless, the material collected so far helps to confirm the general notion that Palaeolithic man of Ceylon lived under very much the same conditions and circumstances as his contemporaries in other parts of the world, particularly India. But, unlike in the Western countries, in India and Ceylon, Palaeolithic man was more intent upon hunting and food gathering than on struggling to keep himself warm.¹

In respect of the succeeding Mesolithic, Neolithic and Microlithic ages, a similarity in the evolution of the people of South India and Ceylon has been noticed by archaeologists and anthropologists.² In the Mesolithic age the food gatherers of old were being gradually transformed into food producers and some form of settled life on a semi-nomadic basis had emerged.

1. History of Ceylon (University of Ceylon) Vol. I. Part I. p. 79. See also V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar: *Pre-historic South India*: pp. 76-77. "Ceylon went through both the Old Stone age and New Stone age almost like Peninsular India".

2. B. B. Lal. "Proto-historic Investigation" (*Ancient India*, Vol. 9 pp. 101-2.); A. Aiyappan: 'Mesolithic Artefacts from Sawyerpuram in the Tinnevely District in South India' *Spolia Zeylanica*, 24 pp. 145-54.

The Neolithic period, assignable to about 8000 B.C., witnessed perfectly settled life and the development of agriculture associated with animal husbandry. There was a definite improvement in the tools employed, and Neolithic man might have resorted to pecking, grinding, rubbing and polishing of stone tools.

The Microlithic period, when tiny stone implements were employed, appeared after the Neolithic epoch, but continued over varying ages in different countries. Thus they were used by primitive people up to almost modern times in Australia and Malaya. In Ceylon, too, these microlithic tools were used by the Vaddas until a few thousand years ago.

Regarding the Chalcolithic age in Ceylon, unlike in respect of India, we have little knowledge. Apparently, there was no Chalcolithic age in Ceylon similar to that in India, where it either overlapped or succeeded the Neolithic age. More or less the same is the position regarding the Iron age. There does not seem to have existed a clear-cut Iron age in Ceylon. While there are traces of iron burials belonging to the Neolithic age in South India, similar relics are not available in Ceylon. But N. D. Wijesekara says³ that excavations have revealed certain traces of iron manufacture in the island. 'Slag heaps marking the sites of ancient furnaces are also met with'. Besides, there are legends which mention the hilly districts as 'iron smelting areas'. But we have no information about the utensils used by early man of the Iron age in Ceylon.

Regarding the manner of the disposal of the dead during the Palaeolithic age in Ceylon, little positive evidence is available. Probably exposure of the dead to be eaten by vultures was common. In the Neolithic age it is likely that both cremation and burial were adopted. Certain stone monuments have been discovered, and it is probable that these were erected in order to commemorate the sites where the dead were buried or cremated. Funerary urns which probably belonged to the New Stone age have been found.

3. N. D. Wijesekara, *Peoples of Ceylon*, p. 2.

4. *History of Ceylon*. op. cit. p. 78.

Pottery was known in Ceylon as in South India from the Mesolithic times. In certain sites in the Pomparippu and Ratnapura areas pottery has been found in association with human remains.

There is thus in some respects a similarity in the development of the culture of the peoples of Ceylon and South India during the pre-historic age. N. D. Wijesekara, one of the recent writers on the prehistory of Ceylon, says that this similarity is manifest in stone implements and material remains so far discovered in Ceylon and India. "The two peoples could have followed the same technique of stone flaking. The customs, beliefs, arts and crafts could not have been different".⁵

This raises the important question whether the early inhabitants of the land were immigrants from South India. In the present state of our knowledge a definite answer is not possible to be given to this question. One thing is probable. Since, in times long gone by, Ceylon and India formed one mass of land, the normal course of human development could have been more or less the same even after the encroachment of the sea and the formation of the island. Regarding migrations it may be conjectured that on account of the vicinity of the island to South India they might have occurred in early times, as they undoubtedly occurred later, and thus influenced the development of the people there.

However, it must be observed that the pre-historic excavations and studies in Ceylon are not yet founded on quite a scientific basis. The conclusions drawn on the scanty material available must necessarily be tentative. It has been rightly said that "the story about pre-historic man (in Ceylon) will therefore have to be retold from time to time by different scholars, approaching the problems from different scientific angles".⁶

(b) Early Inhabitants of Ceylon and their Connection with South India

It may be said that the Āryan immigration into Ceylon commenced with the supposed advent of Vijaya which occurred

5. History of Ceylon, op. cit. p. 79 and V. R. R. Dikshitar : Pre-historic South India pp. 89-90 and V. D. Krishnaswamy : 'Progress in pre-history', Ancient India No. 9 p. 67.

6. History of Ceylon, op. cit. p. 81

probably about the 5th or 4th century B. C. The Āryan settlers appear to have mixed with the original inhabitants of the island, a fact which is inferred from the stories of Vijaya and his followers having married some native women.

The pre-Āryan inhabitants of Ceylon can be broadly classified under three divisions, namely (1) Vaḍḍas (2) Nāgas and (3) Yak-khas. In order to determine their possible relationship with the corresponding groups of people in South India, their physical features, religious beliefs, social organisations, habits and customs have to be considered at some length, although the information we have about them is by no means full.

(i) *The Vaḍḍas*: The Vaḍḍas, an ancient people of Ceylon¹, are fast dying out. At present there are just a few thousands of them in the jungles of the island. They still continue their traditional occupation of hunting; the time-honoured bow and arrow are still part of their outfit. Some have taken to cultivation and are found in villages of the North Central Province and Uva and the coastal regions of the Eastern province. There were three classes of Vaḍḍas; now one of them, the Wanniyas, alone continue to be Tamil speaking. The other Vaḍḍas are the coastal Vaḍḍas and the forest Vaḍḍas, who are shorter and darker than the Wanniyas. The Wanniyas dress like Tamil villagers of South India, while the others have continued to wear poor clothing consisting of mere barks and leafy twigs.

Anthropologists think that the Vaḍḍas do not belong to any single racial stock. On the contrary, the Vaḍḍas seem to constitute a racial blend, mainly of the Mediterranean and Australoid stocks². "With a brown skin, even tending to be light, a skull more long than broad, medium stature and a light frame of body, the tendency is to the Mediterranean racial type". But their nose is not of the straight Mediterranean pattern; depressed at

1. Virchow (1881), Nevill (1889), the Sarasin brothers (1893), the Seligmanns (1911) and Von Eicksteadt (1922) are some of the anthropologists who have conducted investigations on the Vaḍḍas.

2. M. D. Raghavan: "The Veddah's Social and Racial Background" published in "New Lanka" Colombo.

the root and rather broad at the base, the nose seems to be similar to that of the Australoid race. The prominent bony brow ridge with sunken eyes are also Australoid traits ³.

The pertinent fact to be noticed by us here is that the Vaḍḍa resembles certain early tribes of South India. In respect of physical features and traditional occupation, the Vaḍḍas are akin to the Malavēḍans, Irūḷas and Sholagas, the jungle tribes of South India ⁴. It is probable that certain people connected with these tribes of South India had migrated to Ceylon. The name Vaḍḍa, or its original form Vedḍa, which has affinity with the Tamil word 'Vēḍar', meaning hunters, seems to confirm the location of their original home in the Tamil land ⁵.

The Vaḍḍas were organised as totemistic clans. Their totems included the wild boar and peacock. Now it is well known that neither the Āryans nor the Dravidiāns had anything to do with totemistic organisation. It is probable that the Vaḍḍas were akin to the pre-Dravidian inhabitants of South India. /

Descent among the Vaḍḍas has been reckoned on the matrilineal basis. Concomitant to this feature, kinsmen on the mothers' side are held to be non-marriageable relations. These characteristics are common to certain pre-Dravidian and Dravidian tribes of the Malabar region.

Another feature which shows the early connection of the Vaḍḍas with South India and particularly with the Tamils is their religion. The favourite deity of the Vaḍḍas was Khande Yaka, known later as Kandaswamy, and identifiable with Muruha, who has been the distinct deity worshipped by the Tamils through the ages. The Tamils revere him as the guardian of their race. During the age of the Tamil S'āṅgam, Muruha was held as the deity particularly of the Kurinīci or hilly region. In Ceylon,

3. Wijesekera (History of Ceylon op. cit. p. 30) thinks that there was an admixture of Negrito element. But this not approved by others.

4. History of Ceylon (University of Ceylon) Vol. I. p. 30

5. H. Parker (Ancient Ceylon 1909, p. 20.) thinks that the original home of the Vaḍḍas and Yakkhas was somewhere on the hills of Southern India. But Parker's identification of the Vaḍḍas with the Yakkhas does not seem sustainable.

Kataragāma has been famous through the ages as the sacred seat of Muruha. It is believed that king Duṭugamuṇu, who vanquished Elāra, handed over the management of the temple to the Vaḍḍas in whose hands it has remained practically to this day⁶. This indicates that the Vaḍḍas were the original owners of the sacred shrine of Kataragāma. It is also significant to observe that the present 'Kapūralas' or priests of the temple claim their descent from the Vaḍḍas. At present, there are several other places in South Ceylon, like South Kalutara and Tirukkōil which are associated with the worship of Muruha. Vaḍḍa women used to adopt the name of Vaḷli, which is the name of Muruha's consort⁷.

Parker is positive that the religious concepts of the Vaḍḍas 'contain no beliefs that tend to show any connexion with other aborigines than those of South India'⁸. While this may be true, it is important to observe that the religion of the Vaḍḍas has undergone changes during the ages, probably on account of their contact with others in Ceylon. While they worshipped chiefly a Hill God, identical with Muruha, they believed in the existence of some twelve evil deities or demons who were dreaded as causing afflictions. Apparently the Vaḍḍas, like Indians, believed in the existence of ancestral spirits to whom they made offerings.

The conception of the Hill God as the chief deity has varied with the different sections of the Vaḍḍas. Some have identified the Hill God with a Gale Yaka (Demon of the Rock). The Tamil speaking Vaḍḍas speak of him as Malai Pēy, which means the same as Demon of the Rock. While the Hill God as worshipped by many of the Vaḍḍas is identifiable with Muruha, in other cases he assumed the characteristics of later Śiva.

The Village Vaḍḍas also worship a goddess known as Kiri-amma (the Hill Mother). In the villages of the interior, this

6. R. A. S. Vol. XXI. Nos. 61 to 81.

7. There is a legend in Ceylon that it was at Kataragāma that Muruha and his forces defeated the Asuras and that he also met Vaḷliyamma and married her there after she had been adopted into a Vaḍḍa family; but before her supposed marriage she was not treated as a special deity by either the Vaḍḍas or Sinhalese (Parker : *Ancient Ceylon* p. 115).

8. Parker : *Ancient Ceylon* p. 81.

goddess is held to be the most important deity, next only to the God of the Rock, whose wife she is believed to be. Could this goddess be compared with Koravai, the goddess of the south Indian Tamils? Some identify her with Pārvati, the consort of Śiva; but in reality she seems to be Mōhini, the incarnation of Viṣṇu. This suggestion is partly reinforced by the fact that in the interior of Ceylon, Ayyanār, the son of Mōhini, is worshipped as a forest god.

It is not easy to determine whether the conception of the Hill God as Śiva was brought into Ceylon by early immigrants from South India or whether it was a later importation. From the circumstance that the Sinhalese do not worship a similar deity it is probable that this religious belief was brought into Ceylon by the original immigrants. There is a legend which holds that the worship of Gale Yaka was imported from Malwara-dēsā (the country of the Hill Region) which is in all probability identical with Malabar.

In course of time some of the attributes of Rudra were associated with this Gale Yaka. Both were great healers of human woes; but Rudra differs radically from Gale Yaka, the God of the Rock, in his being a destroyer.

Some of the later ideas associated with Rudra or Śiva in India seem to have trickled down to Ceylon, though in slightly modified forms. Thus in Ceylon, Rudra was believed to have had two sons, Aiyanār, the elder brother and Iḷandāri, the younger brother. Both the sons were considered to be the protectors of the forest region. It was very much later that the elder son was identified with Pillaiyār (Gaṇapati) and the younger one with Skanda (Muruga).

In early times, their mother was not identified with Pārvati, but with Mōhini, because she was the mother of Aiyanār. She was known as Giri Amma, a name which became transformed into Kiri Amman in Tamil and thence into Kiri Amma in Sinhalese.

Later, when Rudra was clearly identified with Śiva, his consort became Pārvati, the northern form of the Hill Mother. According to one legend in the Mahābhārata, Skanda was the son of Rudra. It was perhaps on the basis of this legend that in

Ceylon, Aiyānār came to be identified with Skanda or Kanda Yaka. Consequently Ilandāri assumed the rôle of Gaṇeśa and came to be known alternatively as Piḷḷaiyār. This deity was otherwise called Biline Yaka ; Biline in Sinhalese means child.

Thus we may conclude that the Vaḍḍas were an aboriginal people perhaps related to some of the ancient tribes of Southern India.⁹ The view of ethnologists that the Vaḍḍas have predominantly Mediterranean features may be explained by subsequent admixture of these people with the Dravidians, who are believed to have come from the Mediterranean region. This is the only tentative conclusion possible in the present state of our knowledge.

Nāgas: The Nāgas were another important class of early inhabitants of Ceylon. Nāgadīpa, the original name of the island of Jaffna is perhaps derived from the Nāgas. Megāsthenēs called the people of Ceylon as Palaegoni. This is taken to have been derived from *Paḷaya* plus *nāgar* i.e. ancient nāgar, though this suggestion seems rather far-fetched.

However, the Nāgas are a mysterious, but ubiquitous people, in the history of Ceylon and India. The origin of the Nāgas is not known. Apparently they assumed the name Nāga from the totem of serpent which they might have adopted. Were they the aborigines of Ceylon or immigrants from India or from any other country? According to A. K. Mazumdar, the Nāgas were Tibeto-Burmans who were pressed down by the Āryans into South India and thence into Ceylon. But no clear evidence has been adduced in support of his view.

The Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa speak of the Nāgas in Lankā.¹⁰ ✓ The Rāmāyaṇa refers to the Nāga capital city

9. Wilhelm Geiger : Indian Historical Quarterly XI pp. 515 ff.

10. There is a recent theory that the Lankā of the epics was not Ceylon, but some other island, probably Java. The principal basis for this view is that the Buddhist chronicles and the Jātaka stories do not associate Ceylon with the accounts found in the Epics. Nor is there a Ceylon version of the Rāmāyaṇa. But these are negative arguments and are consequently undependable. The Rāmāyaṇa may not be historical, but the places mentioned in the Epic are real and true to facts. Moreover, there are a few names in Ceylon, like Sita Eliya and Sitawake which are apparently connected with Sita. Contra History of Ceylon op. cit. Vol. I. pt. I. p. 95.

in Lankā. Some of the classics of the Tamil Śaṅgam show that Nāgas inhabited Ceylon. Certain Nāga poets like Pūtan Tēvanār who belonged to Ceylon were members of the last Tamil Śaṅgam of Madurai. This may suggest that the Nāgas were connected with the Tamils or that they had adopted Tamil as their language. The original language of the Nāgas was Eḷu. Hence the Tamils who lived on the other coast called Ceylon as Eḷu land or Īlam. Before the Sinhalese language appeared, Tamil was presumably the language current in Ceylon¹¹

A suggestion has been put forward¹² that the Nāgas of Ceylon were early immigrants from Kēraḷa and that they were identical with the Nāyars. In support of this view it is pointed out that Nāya is the Prākṛit form of the term Nāga and that therefore Nāyar is derived from Nāgar¹³. In this connection it may be mentioned that the Nāyars themselves are stated to have been the descendants of an ancient tribe of Western Asia called the Nāiri. If that were so, ultimately the Nāgas of Ceylon are traceable to Western Asia, though they might have migrated to Ceylon after they had settled down in Malabar for a considerable time.

Apart from the possible connection between the terms Nāya and Nāga, which suggests affinity of the Nāyars with Nāgas, other grounds are advanced in support of this theory. In the first place, it is pointed out that the physical features of the Kandyan Sinhalese who are a more or less mixed race, resemble those of the Nāyars. Secondly, the prevalence of polyandry and the practice of remarriage of widows in the past, both among the Nāyars and the Kandyan Sinhalese, suggest affinity.¹⁴

11. It is said that 'from 'Īlam' came 'Sīlam', 'Sihaḷam' and 'Siṅhaḷam', (Rasanayagam: Ancient Jaffna. p. 102). Periplus called Ceylon as "Palaisimoundon", which according to Rasanayagam was derived from the Tamil name "Palaisīlamanḍalam".

12. Parker: Ancient Ceylon pp. 15-16.

13. Some have suggested a connection from the way Nāyar women combed their hair and made a knot of it in the front part of their head in the shape of the expanded hood of a cobra. This suggestion is rather fanciful.

14. Parker's mention of the absence of Sati (op. cit. p. 16) both among the Nāyars and the Kandyan Sinhalese as another point of similarity is not convincing, since there were many communities of people both in India and Ceylon who did not adopt Sati.

Whether the Nāgas of Ceylon were a branch of the Indian Nāgas or not, the most interesting fact about the Nāgas is that they figure prominently in the history of India at various stages and at various places. The name Nāga appears in connection with several names of places in India, as for example, Nāgpūr, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Nāgarkōil and Nāgapattinam.

There existed tribes in India which, probably because of their worship of the snake, called themselves as Nāgas. The etymology of the word Nāga may be traced to two words, *na* and *aga* which mean that which does not move i.e. a hill or mountain. Perhaps, on account of the circumstance that early man lived in caves in the hills, the occupants of these caves were called Nāgas. The word has also been sought to be derived from the word Nagna, meaning naked, since the primitive tribes had scanty clothing.¹⁵

But more reliable than these conjectures is the fact that the Nāgas were a totemistic people, with the serpent as their totem. Nāga is a Sanskrit word and it is not known by which name the Nāgas were known before they came to be called so in Sanskrit. Perhaps some of the pre-Āryan tribes including some of those who belonged to the Indus valley culture were Nāgas or nāga worshippers. Among the finds at Harappā is a faience tablet where a seated deity is worshipped on either side by a kneeling man. Behind each worshipper is seen the representation of a cobra with its head raised and hood expanded, which suggests that the serpent was also adoring the deity. Moreover, on some of the pots unearthed at Harappā snakes are found painted. These indicate that the serpent was associated with worship among the Indus valley people.

In the Purāṇas and Epics of India the Nāgas are designated by a few other synonymous expressions like Pannāga, Sarpa, Uraga, Bhujāṅga and Ajagara. They are said to have been residing in Nāgaloka or Pātālā in the bowels of the earth. The capital of Pātālā was Bhōgavati, perhaps because it was considered to be a place of perpetual enjoyment. The identification of

15. Hiralal: "The Nāgas of Central India" in the Maharaja's College Magazine, Vizianagaram V. P. 2. I am indebted to Dr. T. V. Mahalingam for indicating certain sources of information regarding the Nāgas.

Pātāla is by no means easy. According to the Mahābhārata it was a subterranean realm. Some locate Pātāla in the Punjab and Sindh, others in the Gangetic area and still others in the Podiyil Hill.

Apparently during the early period the Nāgas had spread themselves over a large part of India. They have been associated, for example, with Kashmir and Magadha, Malwa and the Dekkān. The Pāṇḍavas are stated to have been the grandsons of the grandson of Nāga Āryaka. The Yādavas, too, were of Nāga origin. Krishna was also a Nāga, while his elder brother was considered to be a part of Nāga sēsha.

During the early centuries of the Christian era Nāga dynasties appear to have ruled in Vidisa, Kāntipura, Mathura, Padmāvati, Tāxila, Ayōdhya and in a number of other places. An important dynasty of Nāgas is known to have appeared on the ruins of the Kūshan Empire. Later, Candragupta II, the son of Samudragupta, married Kubēra Nāga, a Nāga princess.

Generally speaking, Ceylon, South India and the Dekkān are rich in their Nāga associations from early times. If the Rāmāyaṇa mentions that Ceylon and South India were peopled by the Rākshasas, the Mahāvamsa says that Ceylon was the home of the Nāgas and Yakshas. It is stated that Vijaya was met by them when he landed in Ceylon. Buddhist tradition has it that Nāgadīpa (North Ceylon) had a number of Nāga kingdoms during the life time of the Buddha. It is said that the Buddha visited Nāgadīpa three times, first in the ninth month, second in the fifth year and lastly in the eighth year after he attained Buddhahood. The Mahāvamsa says that the Buddha converted a number of Nāgas to Buddhism.

The Nāgas are mentioned in some of the Sāṅgam classics. The Pattuppāṭṭu contains interesting details about a prince called Tiraiyar who was washed to the Indian shore by the waves of the sea.¹⁶ The commentator explains this by referring to a legend according to which a Chōla chief of Nāgapattinam went to Pātāla and fell in love with a Nāga lady of the place. Later, she

16. Peruṃpāṇāruppaḍai : 11. 30-31.

sent to him the child of their union floating on the waves (tirai) of the sea¹⁷. The Maṇimēkalai mentions the story of the Chōla king Neḍumkiḷḷi, the ruler of Kāverippūmpaṭṭiṇam, who fell in love with a Nāga lady whom he met by chance in a grove near his capital. She disappeared after a month. Sometime later, she sent to the king the son born to them in a ship. But a fierce storm broke out near the coast and the ship sank. When Neḍumkiḷḷi heard of it he felt miserable. He was so much absorbed in searching for the child that he forgot to perform the annual Indra festival. This neglect infuriated the gods who ordered the waves to destroy the city¹⁸. The Maṇimēkalai refers to another story according to which a Tamiḷian Cheṭṭi named Saduvan who wanted to trade with Vanga was driven to the shore of the Nāgas. Fortunately, he escaped from the island because he knew the language of the Nāgas¹⁹. Whether these stories are reliable or not, one thing is clear: the northern part of Ceylon was the land of the Nāgas in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the dawn of the Christian era.

A view has been advanced²⁰ that the southern portion or the South Indian peninsula was in early times subject to the authority of the Nāga kings of Maṇipuram. It is added that Maṇipuram, the capital, was itself called after Maṇipur in Assam. But except for the verbal similarity of the names of the two cities there is little else in support of this view²¹

The early Tamil literary works suggest that Kāverippūmpaṭṭiṇam, the Chōla capital, was in more ancient times the capital of Nāganāḍu belonging to the Nāgas²². Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, situated not far away from Kāverippūmpaṭṭiṇam, is suggestive of the existence of Nāgas in that locality. A confirmation of the circumstance that the heart of the Tamil country was under the Nāgas in early times is evident from the fact that the Vaḍugas

17. Pattuppaṭṭu (V. Swaminatha Aiyar's edition) p. 153.

18. Maṇimēkalai XXIV 11 23-43, XXV 11. 178-192.

19. Ibid. XVI. 11. 60-61.

20. Rasanayakam : Ancient Jaffna : p. 43.

21. Rasanayakam who favours this theory (Ancient Jaffna p. 44) thinks that the Nāgas were probably emigrants from Bengal and Assam.

22. S'ilappadikaram Canto I. 11. 19-20

called the Tamil-speaking people as Aravar ; and it is well known that 'Aravar' means Nāgas in Tamil. If this were true, it is not possible to determine whether the Nāgas in the Tamilnāḍ of South India were closely connected with those in Nāgadīpa of Ceylon.

However, several other dynasties which established their rule in South India had Nāga associations. The Pallavas who belonged to a period later than the Mūvendar or the kings of three dynasties, Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya, have had connection with the Nāgas. The Velūrpālayam Plates of the 9th century say that Virakurcha, the first well-known Pallava king obtained a kingdom by marrying a Nāga princess²³. This alliance and its importance reveal the powerful position of the Nāgas in South India at that time.

The Cūṭus or Cūṭu-nāgas of the Dekkān seem to have belonged to the Nāga category. Again, some of the Śātavāhana kings and queens, as for example, Nāhapāna and Nāganika had their names with the Nāga prefix. These suggest that there was a large Nāga element in the population of the Dekkān. The Śātavāhanas themselves are believed to have been brāhmins with an admixture of Nāga blood.

The Nāgas in Ceylon seem to have mixed freely with the other inhabitants of the island. Marriage alliances of Sinhalese kings with Nāga princesses are mentioned. Thus, the daughter of a Nāga king is said to have been the mother of Duṭṭhagamani, one of Ceylon's great kings of early times. Gajabāhu II, who introduced the famous Pattini cult into the island, had married a Nāga princess from Jaffna.

To conclude : it is clear that the Nāgas were an ancient people in Ceylon. They appear to have been more advanced than the Vaḍḍas. Perhaps the Nāgas became amalgamated with the Tamils and other South Indian peoples in early times. In any case there is no doubt that the Nāgas had adopted the Tamil language before the early centuries of the Christian era and that there were some Nāga poets associated with the Tamil Saṅgam.

23. S. I. I. II. p. 502. See also Ep. Indica Vol. V., p. 52.

The Yakkhas or Yakshas: The Yakkhas formed another class of the early inhabitants of Ceylon. Some writers have confused them with Nāgas. The Mahāvamsa, however, is clear, for it says that about the 6th century B. C. the Yakkhas were confined to the centre of the island, while the Nāgas dominated the western and northern parts of it.²⁴

The Yakkhas or Yakshas or Rākshasas were called so by the later Āryans in contempt, for these terms meant demons or blood-thirsty creatures. Apparently the Yakkhas were of a dark complexion, and this was also responsible for the Āryans having dubbed the uncomplimentary name of Yakkhas or Rākshasas on them. The Rāmāyaṇa describes the Yakkhas of Ceylon and of South India as the traditional enemies of the Āryans. This suggests that the Yakkhas of Ceylon had their counterparts in South India. It is believed that the Yakkhas of Ceylon are now extinct; perhaps they became mixed with the Nāgas. Regarding the Yakkhas of South India little is known. Perhaps they, too, had become fused with the aborigines of the land. In respect of physical characteristics, they resemble people of the Australoid stock.

The late V. Kanakasabhai thought that the Yakkhas belonged to the ancient Yuechi or yellow race. But there is little convincing evidence in support of this view. Parker held that the Vaḍḍas of Ceylon were the survivors of the ancient Yakkhas. This, too, does not seem acceptable, for, in the early period, the Yakkhas were quite distinct from the Vaḍḍas. In early Buddhist literature and traditions, too, we hear of the Yakkhas as distinct from the Vaḍḍas. Virchow, on the other hand, thinks that, while the Vaḍḍas were akin to the pre-Dravidian inhabitants of India, the Yakkhas were natives of Ceylon who resisted the invasion and settlement of the Āryans. On the whole this view seems acceptable.

But, as stated earlier, it is very likely that the Yakkhas became fused with other people in course of time. They seem to have been absorbed among the Nāgas, Kalingas, Tamils and other Dravidian tribes from South India who penetrated into Ceylon from time to time either as conquerors or as immigrants. Even

24. Mahāvamsa : VII. V. 32.

the Āryans appear to have mixed with the Yakkhas as is evident from the legend that Vijaya himself accepted as his wife Kuvēṇi, the princess of the Yakkha clan²⁵ and that she bore him two children. This indicates that the Yakkhas were not barbarous as the ancient Buddhist chronicles depicted them; on the other hand, they must have attained a certain level of culture and refinement.

If the Yakkhas described by the Rāmāyaṇa are identical with these early people of Ceylon, there is no doubt that they had attained a certain measure of civilisation. There were palatial buildings and numerous towns in Lankāpura, the capital city. The Rāmāyaṇa describes Lankāpura with 40,00,000 streets of the Yakkhas. Obviously this is an exaggeration. The palace of Rāvaṇa and his army have received elaborate descriptions at the hands of Vālmiki. It is doubtful whether they could all be accepted as historical. But if there did not exist some type of orderly government it is not likely that the poet would have drawn the picture from his imagination unrelated to facts.

In reality we have exaggerations on both sides.²⁶ The Buddhist chronicles and the Jātaka stories speak of the Yakkhas contemptuously as non-human man-eaters, while the Rāmāyaṇa, describing their barbarous activities, speaks nevertheless of the material progress attained by them in several directions. The truth lies in between these exaggerated accounts. Vālmiki might have provided an overdrawn picture of the might and wealth of Lankā in order to import glory for the conqueror, Rāma. On the other hand, the Buddhist sources might have depicted the position of the Yakkhas in dark colours in order to throw into relief the merits of their own religion.

In reality the Yakkhas were an aboriginal people of Ceylon. They seem to have mixed with other early inhabitants of the island. They were neither barbarous cannibalists²⁷ nor a highly

25. Some think that Kuvēṇi was a Nāga princess but the traditional version that she belonged to the Yakkha clan seems to be true.

26. See History of Ceylon op. cit. Vol. I. pt. I, p. 95. Parānavitana says: "The views held by some people today about a highly developed Rākshasa civilisation in Ceylon are based on nothing but imagination".

27. It is not improbable that stories about man-eating Rākshasas were set afloat by the early settlers, perhaps in order to ward off fresh adventurers who might intrude into the island and disturb the monopolistic control over the precious stones which the island abounded in-Parker: Ancient Ceylon; p. 12.

civilised people. They might have had a kingdom, an army, buildings and streets of houses. In any case the sources of our knowledge are anything but historical, and it is unjustifiable to draw sweeping conclusions about their culture and way of life from the available sources.

(c) Advent of Vijaya and the Āryans :

As observed earlier, there is a great deal of uncertainty about the original inhabitants of Ceylon and the early immigrants who entered the island. Our knowledge about the early history of Ceylon becomes a little more clear, though by no means definite, when we come to the period of Āryan immigration. The story connected with Vijaya and his followers, described in the Mahāvamsa, does not seem to be historical. On the other hand, the story may be taken to represent the immigration of a body of Āryans into Ceylon. Vijaya was no more than the eponymous leader of the first group of Āryan colonists.

The Mahāvamsa assigns the advent of Vijaya and his followers to the 6th century B.C., while the Yālpāṇa Vaibhava Mālai takes it to the 8th century B.C. But neither of these sources has based its account on historically acceptable data. Proceeding from certain known facts the Āryan migration may be dated to earlier than the 3rd century B.C. and possibly to some period during the 5th or 4th century B.C.

The earliest Brāhmī inscriptions found in the caverns of Ceylon and South India belong to the 3rd century B.C. They show clearly Buddhist and Prākṛit influence, and therefore, Āryans should have come to South India and Ceylon prior to the 3rd century B.C.²⁸ But it is not possible to determine how far earlier than the 3rd century B.C. they had come.

One piece of negative evidence is that Pāṇini, assignable to about the 6th century B.C., does not mention these places. But Kātyāyana who is believed to have lived in the 4th century B.C. mentions South India for the first time. Therefore, it is not too much to infer that the Āryan migrants had come to South India

28. It can reasonably be surmised that there was not a large interval of time between the Āryan immigrations into South India and Ceylon.

during or prior to the 4th century B.C. Proceeding on this piece of slender evidence, the suggestion may be advanced that the Āryans had come to South India and Ceylon some time between the 6th and 4th centuries B.C.

From which place Vijaya and his followers, or rather, the first batch of Āryan emigrants originally came, it is not possible to state definitely. There is a great deal of controversy on the subject. Broadly speaking, two divergent views have appeared ; one assigns the original home of Vijaya to Bengal and the other to Lala or Laṭa near Gujarat. A third view, which is a slight variation of the first one, is that Vijaya was descended from a Vaṅga (Bengal) king on the male line and a Kaliṅga princess through the female line. The Mahāvamśa states that the grandmother of Vijaya was the daughter of a Vaṅga prince born of a Kaliṅga princess. But in this legend itself there is a commingling of the Lala or Laṭa association, because the Mahāvamśa speaks of the elopement of a Kaliṅga princess with a robber chief of Lala by name Siṃha. It is noteworthy that in the 12th century, a Ceylon king of Kaliṅga lineage proclaimed that the Siṃhapura from which he hailed was identical with the city of that name from which Vijaya came to Ceylon.²⁹ In this connection it may be observed that there exists a small town called Siṃhapura in Orissa and that appears to be the place in the Kaliṅga country, claimed to have been founded by Vijaya's father.³⁰

The Tamil literary sources, too, support the association of Siṃhapura with Kaliṅga. The Śilappadikāram refers to Siṃhapura twice.³¹ The Maṇimēkalai also speaks of Siṃhapura as a Kaliṅga town.³² Aḍiyārkunallār, the famous commentator of Śilappadikāram, who wrote about the 14th century A.D., describes Siṃhapura as a town in the Kaliṅga country.

But several modern writers think that the evidence in favour of Vijaya and his followers having come from the western seaboard

29. E.Z. II. p. 115.

30. The suggestion that Siṃhapura of Vijaya may be identified with a place called Singur in Western Bengal, seems rather far-fetched.

31. Silap. preface l. 47 and Silap. Canto XXIII, ll. 138 and 140.

32. Map XXVI ll. 15 & 17 (Kaliṅga nannāṭṭuc chiṅgapuram).

is stronger.³³ Perhaps there were two streams of immigration of Āryan-speaking peoples into Ceylon, one from the west and another from the east of Āryavarta.³⁴ However, the tradition that Vijaya and his men traced their ancestry to Kalinga cannot be easily brushed aside.

Let us now consider the relations of Vijaya with the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The Mahāvamsa says that Vijaya and his followers espoused certain maids from the Pāṇḍya country and that they took with them to Ceylon a thousand families of eighteen guilds from the land of the Pāṇḍyas. In this context it has been suggested that the Pāṇḍyas were themselves Āryans and that they traced their origin to the Pāṇḍavas of epic fame.³⁵ In support of this contention it has been pointed out that the name Pāṇḍya was derived from the Pāṇḍavas, the heroes of the Mahābhārata war, and that the family priest of the Pāṇḍyas was Agastya, the accredited pioneer in the matter of extending Āryan culture to the south. Both these grounds are questionable. A verbal similarity between the names 'Pāṇḍya' and 'Pāṇḍu' does not take us far in supporting the theory of Āryan origin of the Pāṇḍyas.³⁶ The Chēras, one of whose early kings claims to have fed the warriors engaged in the Mahābhārata war did not assume a name associated with the Pāṇḍavas. As regards Agastya, it is difficult to say the last word; far too many incredible legends have been associated with him, and they are all later and fanciful inventions.

Regarding the location of the Pāṇḍyan capital from which the maids of the Pāṇḍyan country were espoused by Vijaya, as mentioned earlier, the suggestion has been advanced that it was identical with Ten Madurai, the accredited seat of the first Tamil Saṅgam. Probably this suggestion is based on an historical fact.

33. History of Ceylon (University of Ceylon) vol. I pt. I. p. 85 and A. L. Basham "Prince Vijaya and Āryanisation of Ceylon." Ceylon Historical Journal. I pp. 163-71.

34. Ceylon Historical Journal I. p. 606. Paranavitana's suggestion that they came after having lived under the Harappan civilization, evidence for which he seeks in the early Brahmi inscriptions of Ceylon (History of Ceylon op. cit. p. 97) seems to be venturesome.

35. History of Ceylon. op. cit. Vol. I; Part I. p. 94.

36. It is true that the Pāṇḍyas developed traditions which traced their descent to the Moon and then to the Five Pāṇḍavas. But it is important to observe that they were all traditions invented later to glorify them.

The Mahāvamsa is known to have taken shape about the 4th century A.D., and its author could have heard about the existence of Ten Madurai a few centuries prior to their time. Whether actually Vijaya or the early Āryan immigrants had married women from the Pāṇḍyan country is not the question. Could the authors of the Mahāvamsa have invented an association with the Pāṇḍyas of Ten Madurai if a place known by that description had not existed at all?⁸⁷

37. Paranavitana thinks that the shifting of the Pāṇḍyan capital to the present Madurai occurred probably about the beginning of the Christian era. (*History of Ceylon* op. cit. Vol. I, pt I, p. 94). This is supported by the known positions of towns in the first two centuries of the Christian era, as located by Greek writers. Kāpāpuram was in existence in the 4th century B.C. Therefore, Kāpāpuram was engulfed by the sea between the 4th century B.C. and 1st century A.D. Ten Madurai might have been the Pāṇḍyan capital before the 4th or 5th Century B.C. How long this original capital of the Pāṇḍyas had existed it is not possible to divine.

CHAPTER III

COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON

By virtue of its central position in the Indian Ocean, Ceylon played an important rôle in foreign trade beginning from early times. It was not only with India that Ceylon had commercial relationship, but also with other countries of South East Asia on the one hand and with Europe on the other. Besides its central position in the Indian Ocean and the contiguity to South India, the shallow waters of North Ceylon provided another advantage for sea-borne commerce. Ancient mariners and merchants found in suitable places in North Ceylon safe anchorage and protection from the storms of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. These meeting places contributed in due course to the development of Ceylon into the emporium of the East. Little wonder that the marts in Ceylon served as a centre of commercial intercourse between the East and the West. Cosmos Indicopleustus, of the early part of the 6th century A.D., states thus :—

“As its position is central, the island is the resort of ships from all parts of India, Persia and Ethiopia, and in like manner many are despatched from it. From the inner countries, I mean China and other emporiums, it receives silk, aloes, cloves, clove wood, chandana and whatever else they produce. These it again transmits to the outer ports, I mean to Male (Malabar) whence the pepper comes, to Kalliyāṇa, where there is brass and sesamine wood and materials for dress (for it is also a place of great trade) and to Sindon, where they get musk, castor and androstachum, to Persia, the Homeric coasts and Adule. Receiving in return the exports of these emporiums, Tāprobane exchanges them in the inner ports (to the east of Cape Comorin) sending her own produce along with them to each”.¹

In addition to acting as a distributing centre, Ceylon also exported its own products to the countries of the East as well as to those of the West.

1. Quoted by Tennent in “Ceylon” vol. I. p. 569.

In early times when mariners could not safely venture far out to sea, but were compelled to hug the coast, the ships sailing from Malabar to the northern places of the Coromandel coast had no other alternative but to pass via Dhanushkōṭi or through the straits of Mannār, as it was difficult to go round the south of the island of Ceylon, without undue delay and precariousness caused by the monsoon.

The exact period of time when the foreign commerce of Ceylon commenced is not possible to be determined. One thing is certain. The Āryans who migrated to Ceylon about the 5th or 4th century B.C. were principally attracted by the commercial objective. Some of the earliest Brāhmi inscriptions in the island show that members of the royal family bore the title of *gamaṇi*. The literary references also suggest that the early rulers of Ceylon were heads of mercantile corporations. Besides, the fact that the early nobles assumed the title of *Paramukha* equivalent to the Sanskrit term *Pramukha*, supports this view.

The Arthaśāstra which is assigned to the 4th century B.C. indicates that there was commercial relationship between North India on the one hand and South India and Ceylon on the other. It refers in particular to the two kinds of pearls, namely the 'Pāṇḍyakavāṭa' and the 'Tāmrapaṇṇika'. Therefore, it is evident that the trade with North India had commenced in the 4th century B.C., if not earlier. Obviously the commercial relationship between South India and Ceylon must have arisen considerably earlier than this period.

The Brāhmi inscriptions of Ceylon belonging to the 3rd century B. C. speak of Tamil merchants. Some of the donors mentioned in the Brāhmi inscriptions are specifically stated to have belonged to the Dameda or Tamil race.²

The exports from Ceylon to South India and from there to the western countries as well as the exports to North India included pearls, ivory, muslins, tortoise shells and elephants.

If the account furnished by Megāsthenes is reliable there was active commercial relationship between Ceylon and the Kalinga

2. Journal of the Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society XXXV, pp. 54-56.

country in his time. Aelian, on the basis of the account furnished by Megāsthenes, states that elephants from Tāprobane (Ceylon) were exported to 'the mainland opposite in boats which they construct expressly for this traffic, from wood supplied by the thickets of the island, and they dispose of their cargoes to the king of Kalingai'. That elephants were conveyed in specially constructed crafts is confirmed by the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela, which speaks of 'elephant ships' among the king's trophies. Paṭṭinappalai, the Śāṅgam work, refers to food stuffs imported from Ceylon into Kāverippaṭṭiṇam. However, cinnamon, for which the island became famous later, does not figure among the articles exported from Ceylon in the early period.

Of the later period, i.e. of the 12th century A.D., we have evidence that textiles from Ceylon were in demand in South India. The *Manasollāsa*, an encyclopaedic work, composed during the reign of Chālukya Sōmēśvara III (A.D. 1126-38), in giving a list of fabrics imported for the use of the king, mentions textiles from Ceylon.

The imports into Ceylon were mainly gold and silver, copper, glass and coral. The imports to South India and Ceylon must have been more or less the same. It is noteworthy that horses were imported from outside and that in connection with the trade on horses, there is a mention in the Mahāvamsa of the Dameḷas or people of the Draviḍian stock. South India was not known for its horse trade. Apparently the Tamils of South India imported horses from Arabia and Persia and sold them to the kings and nobles of Ceylon.

We hear of corporations of traders in Ceylon from the 3rd century B.C. Some of these corporations were composed of Tamil merchants of South India. Commercial corporations are found functioning in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. Some of them consisted of traders from the Dekkan. "The corporation of merchants known as the Valaṇṇiār, Balaṇṇi, Banajiya or Baliya, who had extensive ramifications over a large part of the Dekkān, has left a number of inscriptions in Tamil at places so far separated from each other as Vāhalkaḍa, Padavi, a village near Heṭṭipola and Moragolla in the Mātālē district."⁸ The fact that these

inscriptions are in Tamil is significant. It shows that the merchants were Tamilians.

One mercantile corporation is stated to have furnished a contingent to the Vēlaikkāra regiment.⁴ Another corporation was composed of *Nanādēśi* merchants, and the name indicates that it consisted of traders from different countries.⁵ Colonies of foreign merchants, including those from the Tamil region of South India, had settled themselves at the principal ports as well as in the capital city. It may be mentioned that there was a colony of Nestorian Persians in Ceylon. The principal carriers of the sea-borne trade were the South Indian Tamils and Arabs.⁶ There is little doubt that groups of Arabs had settled themselves both in South India and in Ceylon for the purpose of carrying on trade with the countries of the West. These Arabs in the Tamil land were called *Marakkalayas* (People of the ships)⁷ by the Sinhalese.

What were the principal ports of Ceylon which carried on the trade with South India and other countries? In respect of this question certain speculative suggestions have appeared which demand close scrutiny. There is little doubt that Mahātiṭṭha (Mātōṭa) was a prominent port of Ceylon. But the question arises whether it is identical with Māntai, mentioned in the literary works of the Tamil Śaṅgam. The view held by the commentators of the Tamil classics is that Māntai was a port on the west coast of Kēraḷa. This is sought to be reinforced by the description of Māntai occurring in Kuṟuntogai⁸ as “Kuṭṭuvan Māntai”, which means Māntai belonging to Kuṭṭuvan, very probably to Chēran Cheṅguṭṭuvan. But C. Rasanayagam is at great pains to show that Māntai mentioned in Kuṟuntogai was none other than

4. E.Z. II, p. 254 ff.

5. For carrying on internal trade there were other corporations in Ceylon. One of these corporations is known to have flourished in the 10th century A.D. It was empowered to levy fines, arrest murderers and assist the royal administration in other ways, too (The Badulla Pillar Inscription. E.Z. III, pp. 78 f.)

6. Rasanayagam (Ancient Jaffna op. cit. p. 124) states that the Nāgas also were merchantmen. But he does not indicate the basis for his statement.

7. In Tamil *Marakkalam* means a ship. Perhaps it is as a derivative from this word that the term ‘*Marakkāyar*’, common in South India, has arisen.

8. Kuṟuntogai. v. 34.

Mahātīṭṭha of Ceylon.⁹ Moreover, he identifies it with **Eyilpaṭṭiṇam** mentioned by the commentators of **S'irupāṇāruppaḍai** as the great fortified town of Nalliyakkōḍan. But this view of his is built upon the hypothesis that **Māvilāṅgai** occurring in **S'irupāṇāruppaḍai**¹⁰ is identical with the great **Laṅkā** or Ceylon. This is hardly convincing, especially because there existed in **Tamiḷaham** of old several **Māvilāṅgais** such as **Kiḷmāvilāṅgai**, meaning east or lower **Māvilāṅgai** and **Naḍunaṭṭu Māvilāṅgai** or **Māvilāṅgai** of the central region. These qualifications applied to **Māvilāṅgai** suggest that there existed another **Māvilāṅgai** in **Tamiḷnāḍ** itself.

Apart from this, the description of **Māntai** as **Kuṭṭuvan Māntai** naturally suggests that its location must be sought within the **Chēra** dominion. But it has been argued that the **Māntai** of **Laṅkā** was conquered by the mighty **Chēran Cheṅguṭṭuvan**, though positive proof of this achievement is lacking.¹¹ Perhaps the only basis for the suggestion that **Kuṭṭuvan Māntai** was the **Māntai** of **Laṅkā** is the view that the occurrence of the qualification is indicative of his ownership outside his own territory. Other towns which belonged to **Kuṭṭuvan** are not described with this qualification, and therefore it may be construed that it was with a view to proclaim the prowess of the king in having captured this port which belonged to others that the name **Kuṭṭuvan Māntai** was employed. Tentatively, therefore, it may be concluded that **Māntai** occurring in the classics is identical with the port known subsequently as **Mahātīṭṭha** or **Mātoṭṭam** of Ceylon.

Be that as it may, the attempt made by **Rasanayagam** to identify **Māntai** of **Jaffna** with **Sopatma** of the **Periplus** is clearly unacceptable. **Sopatma** or **Sopaṭṭiṇa** means fortified sea port. On the other hand, according to the **Periplus** it has to be located on the **Coromandel** coast of **South India**, and it seems to be identifiable with **Marakkāṇam**. Perhaps **Sopaṭṭiṇam** was the same as **Eyirpaṭṭiṇam** (**Eyilpaṭṭiṇam**) of the **S'irupāṇāruppaḍai**. The inscriptions in the **Bhūmisvara Mahādeva** temple

9. **C. Rasanayagam**: **Ancient Jaffna** p. 14 ff.

10. **S'irupāṇāruppaḍai** line 119. It is more appropriately identifiable with 'Malāṅga' of **Ptolemy**. See **Indian Antiquary** vol. XLVI, p. 72.

11. A verse in **Padiṇruppattu** (V. 41 11.25-27) shows that he won a victory over an enemy kingdom.

in Marakkāṇam which indicate its commercial and political importance strengthen the suggested identification of Eyir-paṭṭiṇam with Marakkāṇam.

Equally far-fetched is the attempt made by Rasanayagam to identify the 'Podouke' of the Periplus and 'Podouke emporion' of Ptolemy with Pūnakari in Jaffna.¹² He seems to have built up his scheme of identifications on a fallacious basis, ingeniously ascribing to Ceylon several of the ports on the Coromandel coast of South India. Just as he has tried to show that Sopatma is Māntai or Mātoṭṭa of Ceylon, he has attempted to identify Podouke with Pūnakari, and on top of these he has held that Kamara is Kadiramalai. On the contrary, it is unquestionably settled that Kamara is identical with Kāverippaṭṭiṇam, the celebrated 'Puhār' of S'ilappadikāram and Paṭṭiṇappālai. Periplus described it as 'Kamara' while Ptolemy spoke of it as the 'khaberis emporion.'

Related to this scheme of identifications of places mentioned in the early Tamil classics with those in Jaffna is the identification of the Kadambas with a people of the same name in the Peninsula. Rasanayagam states¹³ that the people of the Tamil tribe who lived in and around its headquarters at the mouth of the Aripo river, which according to him was then known as the Kadamba river, were the ancestors of the Kadambas of Banavasi in South India. There is little doubt that the people called Kadamba had taken to piracy. Pliny has referred to the fact that the Indian seas were infested with piracy. More specifically, Chēran Chen-guṭṭuvan is credited with having crushed the Kadambas who had taken to piracy.¹⁴ While there is no doubt that the Kadamba pirates were vanquished by the Chēra ruler, the theory that they were originally inhabitants of Ceylon remains to be proved. It

12. Rasanayagam: Ancient Jaffna p. 114. An ingenious comparison is instituted. He holds that originally the place was known as Pudukki from which Podouke was derived. And it was called Pudukki, because on royal visits triumphal arches decorated with garlands of flowers (pū meaning flower) were erected there. Obviously this is far-fetched.

13. Rasanayagam: Ancient Jaffna. op. cit p. 123.

14. Paṭṭirupattu. V. 12, line 3; Paṭṭirupattu V. 17. ll. 4-5 and S'ilappadikāram XXIX (Vāṭṭukkāḍai).

depends entirely on the identification of the river Aripo with the Kadamba river, for which, no proof is provided.¹⁵

Thus, certain views advanced in respect of the location of sea-ports and of the identification of certain maritime tribes of Ceylon appear to be far-fetched and unsustainable. However, coins discovered in Ceylon throw light on the commerce that flourished from time to time between the island and South India. Kanterōḍai was one of the early ports of Ceylon, second in importance only to Mātoṭṭha. In Kanterōḍai some old punch-marked coins were discovered by Sir Paul E. Pieris in 1918 and 1919. These coins are adjudged to have been Dravidian in their origin and to have belonged to the Tamil country in South India. Some Buddhist coins were also found in the collections. It is not possible to determine whence these coins came into Ceylon. To ascribe them to South India, as has been done by a recent writer, on the mere basis that South India was once under Buddhist influence is a venturesome suggestion based on slender evidence.¹⁶

Another hoard of coins discovered at Kalpatiya in 1839 contained among others, some with the fish emblems, which were characteristic of the Pāṇḍyan dynasty.¹⁷ These coins which have been ascribed by numismatists to the 9th century A.D. show that during this period the commercial contact between South India and Ceylon continued. It is not surprising that many Chōla coins of the 11th century were found in the island. That was the period of active political and commercial relationship.

In South India certain coins have been found which are described by Prinsep and Elliot as coins of the 'Ceylon type'.¹⁸ The obverse of these coins presents a standing human figure and the reverse a seated one. The 'Ceylon type' of coins was common from the reign of Rāja Rāja I to that of Kulōttunga I.

15. The Talagunḍu inscription of Kākutsthavarman which speaks of the origin and early history of the Kadambas of Vanavāsi mentions nothing about the Ceylonese origin. On the contrary we learn from the inscription that they were called Kadambas because a Kadamba tree grew near their house.

16. C. S. Navaratnam : "Tamils and Ceylon." p. 29.

17. R.A.S. Vol. I. No. 3 p. 149.

18. Elliot : Coins of South India p. 108. The designation 'Ceylon type' explains that similar coins were in vogue in Ceylon and the Chōla coins might have been issued in imitation of them. ✓

It is interesting to observe that the Āryachakravartis of Jaffna introduced a change in the 'Ceylon type' of coins by having the legend *sētu* in Tamil characters. This is an indication of the association of Rāmēsvaram with the Āryachakravartis.

The Pāṇḍyan coins of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya who reigned about the middle of the 13th century A.D. have been unearthed in Ceylon and they indicate the continuance of commercial relationship during this period.

An unit of coinage which is distinctively South Indian in origin was introduced into Ceylon in the 14th century A.D. This was called the *paṇam*, obviously a Tamil designation; for the first time we hear of it in the Gaḍalādeni inscription¹⁹ of the reign of Bhuvanāikabāhu IV (A.D. 1341-1354). But it is not possible to determine when originally it came into vogue in Ceylon. The *paṇam* is 'a thin circular gold or silver coin of an average diameter of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch and a weight of 5.8 grains, with devices consisting of dots, straight and curved lines on the obverse as well as the reverse'.²⁰ In its features it resembles the *paṇam* of South India.

Belonging to a still later period are the coins of the Vijayanagar emperors and of the Gajapati rulers of Orissa which have been found in Ceylon. The Vijayanagar coin *varaḥam* and the Orissa coin *pagōḍa* are among the hoards of coins discovered.

Compared to the number and variety of South Indian coins found in Ceylon, the coins of Ceylon discovered in South India are but a few. We hear of the Īlakkāśu in the early Chōḷa period. As early as the time of Parāntaka I the Īlakkāśu, the Ceylon coin, was legal tender in the Chōḷa country; we find Īlakkāśu referred to in one of his inscriptions. On the whole, the numismatic evidence supports the known facts of active commercial contact between South India and Ceylon.

19. E.Z. IV. p. 106. The Gaḍalādeni inscription is assignable to A.D. 1344.

20. History of Ceylon op. cit. Vol. I. pt II. p. 725.

CHAPTER IV

CEYLON AND THE TAMIL ŚAṆGAM

Some Tamil scholars think that during the Śaṅgam age the culture of the people of Jaffna, particularly of the Nāgas, was similar to that of the Tamilians in South India. The social and economic conditions as well as the literary development of the people of both these lands are stated to have been more or less the same. In support of this view certain pieces of evidence are adduced.

In the first place, some of the poets who have composed poems and presented to the Tamil academies called the Śaṅgams had Nāga prefixes or suffixes attached to their proper names. This indicates their Nāga descent. It is not known what the original language of the Nāgas was.¹ However, on account of their close contact with Tamils of South India and the Tamil colonists of Ceylon, it is presumed that the Nāgas attained a remarkable proficiency in Tamil.

Murañjiyūr Muḍināgar, a poet of the first Tamil Śaṅgam, is believed to have been a king of the Nāgas in Jaffna.² There were fifteen poets of the third or last Tamil Śaṅgam, who bore the Nāga name.³

In the classics of the third Śaṅgam, like Ahanānūru, Narrai and Kuṇtugai there are on the whole seven verses composed by one Īlattu Pūḍandēvanār. This poet is believed to have gone to Madurai (north Madurai or present Madurai) from Ceylon and presented these verses at the Academy. Among the poets of the third Śaṅgam, Īlanāganār was probably a ruler of Jaffna who listened to the exposition of Irayinār Ahapporu! Urai. Tradition

1. Perhaps the Nāgas spoke Eḷu in early times. Eḷu might have become merged with Tamil in due course.

2. It is held by some that the rulers of Ceylon before the advent of Vijaya were known as Nāgarāyar (Tamilian Antiquary Vol. II. no. 1.) But the grounds for this view are not indisputably clear.

3. Some of the Nāga poets of this epoch were the following: (1) Pūtan Īlanāganār (2) Mārudan Īlanāganār (3) Attan Veṇ Nāganār (4) Veṇ Nāganār (5) Nān Nāganār of Virichiyūr (6) Nāganār of Vellaikkudi (7) Pon Nāgan (8) Tinmatī Nāgan (9) Nāgan Devanār and (10) Nān Nāgaiyar who was a poetess.

speaks of one Nilakaṇṭanār of Muśiri,⁴ another native of Jaffna who had proceeded to Madurai and listened to the exposition of Irayinār Ahapporuḷ Urai there. It is true that all these traditions cannot be accepted as historically reliable in respect of details.⁵ But the names of the personages might not have been fanciful inventions.

Secondly, among proper names of persons, both in Jaffna and the Tamil country of South India, there are names with Nāga association, as for instance, Nāgam, Nāgi, Nāgamuttu, Nāgamaṇi and Nāgammāl. The names of certain places also show the Nāga affiliation. These might suggest early relationship between the Nāgas of Ceylon and the Tamils of South India.

But it is a moot point whether the similarity of names of persons or places go far in proving the relationship of people of these two regions. It is important to remember in this connection that there are a number of other places in India like Nāgapuri Nāgarcot and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa which bear names associated with Nāgas. Therefore, similarity in proper names cannot be taken to be a piece of unimpeachable evidence, though there is a *prima facie* case for the assumption of close relationship of the people concerned.

However, it is learnt from the Mahāvamsa that Nāgadīpa was one of the two islands which constituted the Jaffna peninsula. According to the Mahāvamsa⁶, in the 6th century B. C. there existed Nāga strongholds at Nāgadīpa under Mahōdara, a Nāga king. His nephew Culōdara was the ruler of Kandamadanam near Rāmēśvaram. A conflict arose between Mahōdara and Culōdara concerning the ownership of a gem-set throne. A great war ensued; but it is said that peace was restored through the intervention of the Lord Buddha himself. This account of the Mahāvamsa cannot be taken as historical. But one fact is derivable from the account,

4. Muśiri is the name of a village in Ceylon. It may be noted that the same name is borne also by more than one village in Tamiḷaṇḍam of South India.

5. The Irayinār Ahapporuḷ Urai is of comparatively late origin. Judged from the available data it cannot be assigned to a date earlier than the 8th century A.D.

6. Mahāvamsa. i.

and that is that Nāgadīpa was under the rule of a Nāga king in early times.

The above story appearing in the Mahāvamsa is found corroborated in the Tamil epic, Maṇimēkalai⁷. Maṇipallavam is the country where the scenes and the settings are laid by Śittalai Śāttanār, the author of Maṇimēkalai. The Nāgadīpa of the Mahāvamsa is in all probability identical with Maṇipallavam.⁸

The epic Maṇimēkalai states that a Chōḷa prince Killi Vaḷavan made love to Pili Vaḷai⁹, the daughter of Valai Vānan, the Nāga ruler of Maṇipallavam. The loss of Killi Vaḷavan's son by Pili Vaḷai on his way to the Chōḷa country grieved the king so much that he neglected to celebrate the annual festival of Indra at Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṇam. Incensed at this omission, Maṇimēkalai, the goddess of the sea, cursed the city, and accordingly Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṇam was engulfed by the sea. The association of the Nāga ruler of Maṇipallavam with this story is of interest to us in so far as it strengthens the view that the ruling line of Maṇipallavam or Jaffna at that time was connected by marital relationship with the Chōḷas of South India.

Thirdly, among the personalities sung about in the Śaṅgam works, some appear to have belonged to Jaffna. Kudiraimalai was the seat of chieftains like Yeḷini and Piṭṭankorran about whom certain verses appear in the Puranānūru anthology.¹⁰ No Kudiraimalai other than the one in Ceylon is known to have existed, and therefore, the suggestion that the rulers of Kudiraimalai figuring in Tamil literature belonged to Ceylon is acceptable.

The above-mentioned considerations suggest that during the Śaṅgam age Jaffna was culturally connected with Tamiḷaham or

7. Maṇimēkalai: Canto VIII lines 1-2 and 43-63.

8. In early times this peninsula was also known by various other names like Nāganaḍu, Maṇipuram, Maṇavur, Maṇalūr and Maṇipallavam.

9. Maṇimekhalai canto XXIV and XXV. Maṇimekalai: Atirai pichai iṭṭa Kāḍai (ஆதிரை பிச்சையிட்ட காடை) refers to nude Nāgas in an island as “ நகை சாரணர் நாசர் குருமகன் ” Does it mean that some Nāgas were nude?

10. Puram 158 & 168. Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya's suggestion that Kudiraimalai may be identified with 'Kudiramukkumalai' in the southern Kannada country is far-fetched. Bud Ahanānūru 143 mentions Piṭṭankorran as a Chera general. This may reinforce Venkayya's suggestion.

South India. But it is not possible to hold that Jaffna was part of Tamiḷaham during the period of the second or third Tamil S'aṅgam. According to Tolkāppiyam, Tamiḷaham of that time was bounded by Vēṅkaḍam in the north and Kumari in the south. Panampāraṇār, the author of the commendatory verse on Tolkāppiyam clearly fixes these limits of Tamiḷaham. It is surprising why he did not indicate the eastern and western boundaries. The obvious explanation is that on the east and the west the land was bounded by the sea. Therefore, it is impossible to consider Jaffna as a part of Tamiḷaham in the days of Tolkāppiyar. Is it likely that during the epoch of the first S'aṅgam which was located in Southern Madura, Jaffna and Ceylon were connected by land with the mainland of India and that it was as a consequence of the deluge which destroyed Ten Madurai that they got separated from Tamiḷaham? Perhaps it is so.

It is important to observe in this connection that several Tamil words found in early S'aṅgam literature, but which are no longer in active usage in the Tamil Nad of South India at present, are now current in Jaffna. Such words as *aitu* and *atar* are cases in point. Again some usages which are found in the S'aṅgam works persist in Jaffna, while they have disappeared from Tamiḷaham of South India. The medial demonstrative *u*, which is exemplified in words like *utu*, and *uvan*, and the interrogative termination *-ē*, occurring in such words as *vantarē*, are not now in vogue in South India. Among the Jaffna people an endearing form of addressing one's young son is by using the expression *mahanē*. It is significant that this usage is mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam*.

Moreover, the Tamil spoken by the Tamils of Jaffna is conspicuously free from the admixture of Sanskrit words. It is worthy of note in this connection that in the S'aṅgam classics there occur only a small percentage of Sanskrit words and that even these are used only in conformity with certain rules of Tamil phonology laid down in the Tolkāppiyam, according to which, for instance, the consonant *r* should not be used at the beginning of a word unless it is preceded by an appropriate vowel. Even at present the people of Jaffna, including illiterate villagers, scrupulously adopt this usage. For instance, Sanskrit words like *ruci* and *raktam* are pronounced by them as *uruṣi* and *irattam* respectively. In the Law of *Tēṣavaḷamai* which is current in Jaffna, such pure

words as *mutusam* and *tēḍiya tēttam* are used instead of the Sanskrit terms employed for these legal concepts by the Tamils of South India.¹¹ Moreover, such words like *Kaḥyum*, *Nallavaṇṇam*, *Iraçchi*, *Ninnai*, *Aṅḡaḍi*, *Purattirku*, *Pili*, *Pulaikal*, *Ūṇ*, and *Kanni* which are in usage in Jaffna are old Śaṅgam words.¹² All these reveal that the archaic Tamil of the Śaṅgam days was prevalent at one time in Jaffna. It strengthens the suggestion that during the age of the first Tamil Śaṅgam, Ceylon and South India were connected with each other by land.

But whether Ceylon formed part of Tamiḷaham during the epoch of the 1st Śaṅgam or not, there was ample scope for the inflow of Tamiḷian population and Tamiḷian culture into the northern-most part of Ceylon which lay very near the mainland of Tamiḷaham. Commerce might have brought on its wake colonisation. In due course the Nāgas, the principal inhabitants of the region, could have imbibed Tamil language and culture.

As in Tamiḷnāḍ of those days, in Jaffna also, agriculture was the principal occupation. Proficiency in weaving was attained in Tamiḷaham and in Jaffna as well. A verse¹³ in *S'irupāṇāṟruppaḍai* reveals that an Āyi chieftain offered to the diety (Śiva) under the banyan tree a piece of excellent muslin which had been given to him by one Nila Nāga. Probably Nila Nāga was a ruler of the Nāgas in Jaffna.

The religious beliefs and practices of the Tamils in the mainland of India and of the Nāgas in Jaffna of the Śaṅgam age had many common features. Śiva, Māyōṇ (Viṣṇu) Muruha and Koṟṟavai were the principal deities worshipped. In all probability there existed certain temples in Jaffna in the Śaṅgam Age. The *Vaipavamālai* states that when Vijaya landed in Ceylon he found the ancient temple of Tirukkētiśvaram in ruins and that he renovated it. Whether one believes or not in the tradition concerning Vijaya, the story makes it probable that the temple of Tirukkētiśvaram has had a long history, going back to a period anterior to the arrival of the Āryans in Ceylon.¹⁴

11. History of Ceylon. op. cit. pp. 43-44.

12. I am indebted to Sri M. D. Raghavan, Emeritus Ethnologist of Ceylon and Mrs. Navaratnam of Jaffna for these suggestions.

13. *S'irupāṇāṟruppaḍai* 11. 95-97.

14. It may be observed here that the Dēvāram hymnists, Sambandar and Sundarar have sung on the glories of Tirukkētiśvaram and Tirukkōṇamālai. The fact that names like Mātōttam (Māntai), Palavi, Tirukkētiśvaram and Tirukkōṇamālai figure in Dēvāram hymns shows that these places were inhabited by the Tamils much earlier than the days of the Dēvāram hymns.

The introduction of the Pattini cult by Gajabāhu into Ceylon is not a myth. The Rājāvali states that Gajabāhu brought from the Chōla country of South India "the foot ornaments of Pattini Dewey, the arms of the four gods and the patra Lawtoo of Buddhu which had been taken away during the time of the former king".¹⁵ This statement of Rājāvali provides confirmation of the account given by Śilappadikāram that Gajabāhu introduced the Kaṇṇagi worship into Ceylon. Though the epic Śilappadikāram might have been produced at a later date, the statement contained in it regarding the institution of the Pattini cult might pertain to the 2nd century A.D. As is well known, Gajabāhu instituted festivals in honour of Kaṇṇagi including processions along the streets on Mondays in the month of Āḍi (July-August). It was believed that the worship of this goddess would dispel all ills and misfortunes. These facts suggest that the religious ideas of the time in Ceylon were not radically different from those in South India.

Further, both in South India and in Jaffna the worship of and sacrifices to demons existed side by side with the worship of gods of the Hindu pantheon. It was believed that the anger of certain demons brought down misery and suffering on people; hence they were appeased by offerings and sacrifices. It is noteworthy that even to this day the charms and spells used in the propitiation of demons in Ceylon are essentially in Tamil language. This is so not only in Jaffna but also in the rest of Ceylon. This suggests that probably the system of demonology was introduced by either the Tamil settlers into Jaffna or by the Nāgas who had imbibed it from the Tamils of South India. Dandris de Silva Gunaratne Mudaliyar, in his "Demonology and Witch craft in Ceylon" says : "Many fresh additions were made to demonism, both in the number of demons and especially in the introduction of a large number of charms or spells recited at every demon ceremony now; so much indeed does this appear to have been the case that more than seven-eighths of the charms, belonging to Sinhalese necromancy, are in the Tamil language, a circumstance which has led many to believe that demonism is altogether an importation from the continent."¹⁶

15. Rājāvali, p. 231. See *infra* the Prehera.

16. J.C.B.R.A.S, vol. IV, No. 13 pp. 1-117.

CHAPTER V

EARLY INVASIONS OF CEYLON BY SOUTH INDIAN ADVENTURERS

There is no doubt that by the 3rd century B.C. the Āryans had established their control over the island of Ceylon. Devānampiya Tissa was one of the outstanding kings of this early period. It was during the course of his reign that Buddhism was formally introduced into the island. After the time of Devānampiya Tissa there occurred certain invasions of Ceylon by adventurers from the Tamil country in South India.

Accounts of these invasions appear in the Ceylonese chronicles, but we do not have any contemporary Indian sources regarding them. Nevertheless, since the Ceylonese chronicles are not likely to have fabricated incidents which do not redound to the glory of Ceylon, we may well believe the historicity of these events.

(i) **Invasion of Sena and Guttaka (c. 177-55 B.C.)**

After Devānampiya Tissa, three of his younger brothers ruled Ceylon, each for ten years, one after the other. The youngest of these brothers was Sūratissa, who proved himself to be a weak king. During his rule two Tamil adventurers, Sena and Guttaka, who were professional traders on horses, brought over to the island a large army and soon succeeded in depriving the king of the throne of Anurāddhapura. Sena and Guttaka together ruled the island for twenty-two years. They proved themselves to be just rulers, and in particular, they were not guilty of any hostility towards Buddhism. They believed in the doctrine that sins are washed away by water, and therefore, it is said that in order to carry out their sacred ablutions very near their residence they diverted the course of the river Kadamba-nadi (Malvatu Oya) to run by the side of the city of Anurāddhapura. After twenty-two years these Tamil adventurers were ousted by Asela, an younger brother of Devānampiya Tissa.

It is not possible to determine the circumstances which had prompted Sena and Guttaka to invade Ceylon. In all probability the Sinhalese king hired a few soldiers, partly to serve

as a ceremonial bodyguard and partly to defend the coast from any possible invader. Having thus found their way to Ceylon, these two men thought that it would be easy to conquer the people whom they were employed to defend.

(ii) Invasion of Eḷāra

Asela ruled for ten years, when he, in his turn, was expelled by a Tamil nobleman, Eḷāra, from the Chōḷa country. The traditional chronology of the period as recorded in the Mahāvamsa seems to be unreliable. For instance, the assignment of the round figure of ten years to the rule of each one of the four brothers of Devānampiya Tissa is strikingly artificial and consequently incredible. But in spite of the chronological inaccuracies, the historicity of the personalities and events recorded is not open to dispute. One thing is clear. Devānampiya Tissa's house lost control of the northern half of the island, and with that, the hold of Buddhism on the people suffered a set-back. The Tamil adventurers took courage to attack Ceylon, probably because of the decline of the Mauryan empire after the death of Aśoka, who had supported Devānampiya Tissa. However, Eḷāra, like Sena and Guttaka before him, did not prove hostile to Buddhism.

As mentioned above, ten years after Asela had set up his rule there appeared in Ceylon a Chōḷa nobleman, who has been called Eḷāra in the Ceylonese chronicles, but is known as Elala in Tamil legends. Eḷāra expelled Asela and succeeded in establishing his authority over the northern part of Ceylon. His beneficent rule lasted for forty-four years. He was remarkably fair in his treatment of Buddhism, Buddhist monks and monasteries, though it cannot be said that the same liberal attitude was adopted by all his followers. Both Tamil tradition and the Ceylonese chronicles testify to his toleration, wisdom and to the benign nature of his administration. No wonder that Eḷāra, though a Tamilian, became one of the heroes of Sinhalese history. The Mahāvamsa has nothing but praise for him. It is said that on one occasion he accidentally damaged a dagaba with the yoke of his chariot. He flung himself on the ground and asked the monks to kill him by running the chariot over him. The monks, however, told him that such an extreme step would not be pleasing to the Buddha; and therefore, instead of that, he contented himself with repairing the dam at a cost of 15,000 coins.

But some of the stories narrated regarding his love of justice cannot be accepted as literally true. For instance, it is stated that his love of justice was so intense as to compel the Heaven to rain in the appropriate season. Again, the same story that has been associated with Manu-niti-kaṇḍa Chōḷa of South India is reiterated in respect of Eḷāra. Despite the incredibility of such stories, it is presumable that they would have been associated with him only because he had won for himself a reputation for fairness and impartiality.

We learn from the Mahāvaṃsa that Eḷāra was not indifferent about the proper defence of the island which he had acquired for himself. It is said that he built 32 forts in his kingdom and that he strengthened his position, apparently apprehending rebellions of the members of the native dynasty.

The great national hero of the the Sinhalese who vanquished Eḷāra was Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the son of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, who was himself a descendant of the line of Devānaṃpiya Tissa¹. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi resolved early in his life to liberate the country from the rule of the Tāṃils. When he grew of age, he consolidated his position in Rohaṇa and made preparations for the conflict with Eḷāra. At the outset he subdued the Tamil chiefs in the districts immediately adjoining Rohaṇa. Next he proceeded and tried to cross the Mahāvaḷi Ganga, but the ferry was so effectively guarded by the Tāṃils that it took Duṭṭhagāmaṇi four months of fighting before he could cross the river. It is said that ultimately Duṭṭhagāmaṇi achieved his object by exploiting the Tamil commander's weakness for women. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's mother, Vihāradēvi, herself is stated to have played the rôle of an accomplice in the trap laid to ensnare the general of the Tāṃils.

Meanwhile, Eḷāra's agents intrigued with the elder brother of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in order to strengthen their position against the threatened attack. No doubt this led to some bitterness between

1. There had arisen two rival Kshatriya families in Rohaṇa before the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. But Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the son of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa and Vihāra Dēvi, combined in himself the right of descent of both the families and thus he became in the first instance the king of Rohaṇa, the southern part of Ceylon. In due course, he became the beloved king of the entire people of Ceylon.

the two brothers, but eventually they came to an amicable settlement, and that enabled Duṭṭhagamaṇi to prosecute his campaigns against the Tamils vigorously.

The Ceylonese chronicles describe the campaigns at great length and euologise the valiant deeds of Duṭṭhagamaṇi's generals. The account presents such an overdrawn picture that one doubts their reliability. But some details connected with the campaigns as well as the names of the generals are found mentioned in certain contemporary inscriptions, which show that excepting for the embellishments and euologies the basic facts are dependable. Duṭṭhagamaṇi's army had ten commanders. Nandimitta whose personal name was Abhaya (also known as Mita or Mitta) was the chief commander and a reference to him is found in a cave inscription at Situlpavu². Another general of note was Phussadēva who is mentioned in a Brāhmī inscription at Valaellugoda in the Badulla district.³

Duṭṭhagamaṇi was astute and he made the conflict assume the character of a holy war, for he appealed to the soldiers by proclaiming that it was for saving Buddhism that the campaigns were undertaken. In order to give a touch of reality to this appeal he asked a band of *bhikkhus* to accompany the army.

After crossing the Mahāvaḷi Ganga, Duṭṭhagamaṇi and his army proceeded northwards along the right bank of the river. Vijitapura was the next important stronghold of the Tamils which confronted the advancing army. It had a strong fort surrounded by three moats⁴. The Tamils presented a stout opposition and it took the Sinhalese four months before they could break open the fortress and make their entry.

The next important place where the Tamils offered a stout resistance was Mahelanagara. The fortress here, too, was well defended by a triple trench and an outgrowth of thorny creepers. Duṭṭhagamaṇi was not able to capture the fortress in an open conflict and he had to resort to bribery⁵.

2. J.C.B.R.A.S. (New series) II, p. 130 Inscription No. 21.

3. ASCAR., 1940-45. p. 40, Plate XIV.

4. Parkar (Ancient Ceylon, pp. 237-9) is inclined to locate Vijitapura in the famous Polonnaru itself or a place in its immediate neighbourhood.

5. The chronicle states that he achieved his object by means of *Manta-yuddha* (diplomatic warfare).

Finally Duṭṭhagamaṇi reached Anurāddhapura, and taking his position on an adjoining hill, waited for Eḷāra to take the offensive. Eḷāra sent his able general Dighajantu, who evinced great valour in his attack. He achieved a remarkable success in breaking through the defences of Duṭṭhagamaṇi, but was unfortunately killed by Suranimila, the Sinhalese captain. With the fall of their leader the Tamil soldiers lost heart and took to flight. Eḷāra had joined in the fight but, on account of the confusion in the army, fled from the field of battle. A terrible rout of the Tamil army ensued.

Duṭṭhagamaṇi was anxious to encounter Eḷāra in a direct combat with him, and with that idea pursued him up to Anurāddhapura and challenged him to a duel. Eḷāra, the man of honour, accepted the challenge and there ensued a conflict of the two heroes, both mounted on elephants. The combat was swift and decisive. Both fought bravely, but the decisive blow came from Duṭṭhagamaṇi which proved fatal to Eḷāra.

Duṭṭhagamaṇi treated the fallen foe with great respect. He arranged for an honourable burial to be given to Eḷāra's body befitting his status. Later, Duṭṭhagamaṇi had a monument erected on the spot where Eḷāra had been buried. Further, in commemoration of the fallen foe the Sinhalese king issued a decree that processions which pass that spot should silence all music as a mark of respect to the memory of Eḷāra.⁶ Even as late as 1818, when the Kandyan chief, Pilame Talawe, passed that way while escaping from the British, he got down from his litter and walked past the spot.

Duṭṭhagamaṇi's struggle with the Tamils was not ended by the disappearance of Eḷāra, for a Tamil army arrived from South India with the object of helping him in the conflict. Soon after the fall of Vijitapura, Eḷāra had made an appeal for help to

6. In the commentary on the *Mahāvamsa* (*Vamsatthappakāsini*) it is stated that near the monument there was an image-house of Eḷāra. At present the relics of such a structure are not traceable; but it is likely that Eḷāra was deified and worshipped by the Tamils. A suggestion has appeared that the practice of Tamil labourers calling out *Ēlēlo-Ēlēlo* in the midst of strenuous toil is after the memory of this valiant hero. But it is difficult to be sure of the genesis of the practice.

a South Indian Tamil chief named Bhalluka, a nephew of Dighajantu. Bhalluka took up the matter earnestly and arrived in Ceylon with an army of 60,000 men ; but it was too late, for Eḷāra had been killed seven days prior to their arrival. Nevertheless, Bhalluka proceeded to attack Anurāddhapura ; but Duṭṭhagamaṇi inflicted a crushing defeat on him with the valorous aid of his general, Phussadēva. Duṭṭhagamaṇi thus triumphed (c. 161 B.C.) and became the undisputed master of Ceylon. He devoted the rest of his life (c. 161-137 B.C.) for the regeneration and glorification of Buddhism in the land.

(iii) Invasion of Seven Tamil chiefs (c. 43-29 B.C.)

For over half a century after the death of Eḷāra, Ceylon enjoyed peace. But when Vaṭṭagamaṇi (Valgam Bahu) ascended the throne about 43 B.C. invasions from the Tamil country commenced again. It was a period of trial for Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, because, besides the Tamil invaders he had to face simultaneously a rebel named Tiya who belonged to Nakulanagara in Rohaṇa. Perhaps it was this revolt that prompted a group of seven Tamil chiefs to invade the land. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi tried a diplomatic game by playing one enemy against another. He promised Tiya the throne of Ceylon if he would drive away the Tamil invaders. Tiya agreed, but in the struggle which ensued with the Tamils, he was vanquished.

The Tamil chiefs, encouraged by their success, marched against Anurāddhapura, the capital city. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi encountered them at Kolambahālaka but was thoroughly routed, and he fled for his life. Among the seven Tamil chieftains one is said to have returned home to his native country with Sōmadēvi, the queen of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, since Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was not able to rescue her at the time of his escape. Another chieftain is believed to have found the Bowl relic, which was a handsome reward for his participation in the campaigns, and with that he returned home. Five of the chieftains remained behind and ruled at Anurāddhapura one after the other.

Pulahattha reigned for three years after which he was killed by his commander-in-chief Bāhiya who ruled for two years. Bāhiya, in his turn, was murdered by the Tamil chief called Panayamāra who ruled for seven years. His reign was the

longest among those of this group of Tamil chieftains. Panayamāra lost his life at the hands of the other chief, Pilayamāra who ruled only for seven months. His commander-in-chief Dāthika slew Pilayamāra. Thus these Tamil chieftains ruled over Anurāddhapura only for a period of fourteen years and seven months. By this time Vaṭṭagāmiṇī recovered his strength, and defeating the remaining Tamil army, regained his throne.

From the names of Panayamāra and Pilayamāra it may be suggested that they were connected with the ruling line of the Pāṇdyas of South India. But no epigraphic or literary evidence of such proper names as Pilayamāra or Panayamāra is to be found in the line of Pāṇḍya rulers. Perhaps they were adventurers from the Pāṇḍya country who assumed the royal surnames after they became rulers. Regarding the other chiefs who had accompanied them, little more can be said than that they also probably hailed from the Pāṇḍya country. It may be mentioned in passing that the Pāli commentaries which were written sometime before the Mahāvamsa do not mention anything about these Tamil rulers. No satisfactory explanation can be offered for this omission.

(iv) Invasion of Pāṇḍu and five others (A.D. 431—60)

Once again when the Ceylonese power became weak there appeared a group of invaders from the Tamil country of South India. The king Mahānāma (A.D. 406—28) of the Lambakaṇṇa dynasty died without leaving a direct heir to the throne. Sotthisena, his son, who was born of a Tamil consort, became the ruler. But his claim was contested, and he was killed by a half-sister, born of Mahāsēna's queen. This led to confusion, and it was during this unsettled time that Tamil adventurers from South India found another opportunity for intruding into Ceylon and establishing their rule for about a quarter of a century.

Pāṇḍu is the name of the leader of this group, and it suggests that he and his followers came from the Pāṇḍyan country. But the *Pūjāvali* and *Rājāvali* state that these adventurers belonged to the Chōḷa country. As mentioned earlier, it is not safe to rely much on the verbal similarity of names. Perhaps the statement of the Sinhalese chronicles is reliable. Whether these adventurers came out of their native land on account of the confusion caused

by the Kaḷabhra invasion, as has been suggested⁷, it is not possible to state for certain.

Pāṇḍu easily set aside the members of the ruling power in Anurāddhapura and established his authority, which, however, was confined to north and central Ceylon. His rule lasted for a few years and thereafter five others of the same group ruled in succession.

Pāṇḍu's son Pārinda reigned for three years and was succeeded by an younger son of Pāṇḍu called Khuddapārinda. Dhātusēna, a member of the Sinhalese line of kings made an attempt at reestablishing the ruler of the legitimate kings. But the opposition from the Tamil adventurer was so strong that Dhātusēna had to give up his attempt for the time being.

Khuddapārinda was succeeded by Tiritara who ruled barely for two months; then he was defeated by Dhātusēna. Dāṭhiya who succeeded Tiritara ruled for three years at the end of which period, he too, was defeated by Dhātusēna. Finally, the last of the Tamil adventurers, Piṭhiya by name, who ruled after Dāṭhiya, was defeated; but his rule lasted only for seven months. Meanwhile, the indefatigable Dhātusēna made preparations for a final attack, and this time he vanquished Piṭhiya and succeeded in exterminating completely the authority of the Tamil rulers. Details concerning the relationship of Khuddapārinda with Pāṇḍu or with Tiritara, Dāṭhiya and Piṭhiya are not known, nor do we have any information regarding the nature and events of their rule. We have to rely exclusively on the Ceylonese chronicles for information regarding them; but they furnish little more than the barest outline of their rule.

There is a controversy over the extent of sway of these Tamil adventurers. The Cūḷavamsa says that the Tamil rule during this period did not extend to Rohaṇa, the southern part of Ceylon. On the other hand, there is an inscription in Kataragāma which records apparently the names of the Tamil rulers Dāṭhiya and Tiritara.⁸ This suggests that at least for a time the Tamil rule had extended over Rohaṇa.

7. History of Ceylon op. cit. vol. I. part I. p. 292.

8. E.Z. IV. pp. 113-114. The names of Mahadali Mahana and his father Sarataraya occurring in the inscription have been identified with Dāṭhiya and Tiritara respectively. See History of Ceylon op. cit. Vol. I. part I. p. 293.

CHAPTER VI (a)
PALLAVAS AND CEYLON

From about the 3rd century B.C. down to roughly the 7th century A.D., the religious contact between South India and Ceylon was intimate. Ceylon was an important seat of Buddhism. At the same time there existed several Buddhist stations in South India from the Kṛṣṇa valley down to the extreme South. Monks appear to have frequently exchanged visits between these places in South India and Ceylon. An inscription of the 3rd century A.D. at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa records the foundation of a monastery named Sihalavihāra and the dedication of a *Cetiya* in Tambapaṇṇi dīpa (Ceylon). Evidently the Buddhist monks at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa had taken a leading part in the foundation of this institution in Ceylon.

Kāñchi was doubtless the most prominent seat of Buddhism in South India. It was so even before the Pallavas made it their capital city and it remained so for a considerable time after they established their power in South India.

The Pallavas had connections with the Sinhalese country and its rulers at certain periods of their history. The earliest contact appears to have occurred in the time of Simhaviṣṇu. But before we take up that for consideration, a supposed contact of an earlier period has to be examined.

It is said¹ that a connection with the Pallava country appeared as early as the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (c. 161—57 B.C.). During his rule there occurred a consecration of the Great Stupa in Ceylon and the Mahāvamsa states² that Mahādēva came from Pallavabhogga with 460,000 bhikkhus to attend the ceremony of consecration. The number of bhikkhus given in the account is a palpable exaggeration; nor is the attempt at identifying the place Pallavabhogga quite convincing. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri thinks that it might have been a fief of the Pallavas and as such a place in South India. But the question arises as to whether there existed any such place as early as the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. Nothing is heard of the Pallavas before the 3rd century A.D., in the south, and therefore, it is fantastic to institute any connection of this Pallavabhogga with the Pallavas known to history.

1. History of Ceylon, op. cit. vol. I, part I, p. 274.

2. Mahāvamsa XXIV, v. 39.

Only one of two explanations is possible; either Pallavabhogga refers to some place which has no connection with the Pallavas of South Indian history, or it would have to be suggested that the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi appeared several centuries after the time assigned to it in the Mahāvamsa. There is no plausible ground in favour of the latter suggestion. Therefore, the best explanation seems to be that Pallavabhogga had no connection with the Pallavas known to history.

On the other hand a connection between the Pallavas and Ceylon may be said to have appeared in the reign of Siṃhaviṣṇu (A.D. 575-600) who played a great part in expelling the Kaḷabhras from Tamiḷam. Siṃhaviṣṇu is stated to have won victories³ over the Kaḷabhras, Mālavas, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Siṃhaḷa kings. But no further details are available regarding these exploits. Apparently his principal enemies were the Chōḷas.⁴ In attempting to overcome them he defeated their allies, the Pāṇḍya and Siṃhaḷa kings. It is not possible to know the name of the Siṃhaḷa king who had gone to the help of the Chōḷas and got defeated at the hands of Siṃhaviṣṇu Pallava.

The next connection between the Pallavas and the Sinhalese appeared during the time of Narasiṃhavarman I Pallava (A.D. 630-660) and Mānavamman, the son of Kassapa II of Ceylon. On account of quarrels with his brother, Mānavamman and his wife were obliged to live for a time in retirement in the Uttaradēsa. When they were discovered by Hatthadāṭha, the ruling sovereign, Mānavamman and his wife took refuge in the court of the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman.⁵ However, it must be observed that the Cūḷavaṃsa in this context is not quite clear in its reference to Mānavamman. Though it mentions earlier in the text that the eldest son of Kassapa II was called Mānaka,⁶ it is not possible to be sure that Mānaka was identical with Mānavamman; at may rate, the author of the Cūḷavaṃsa does not make it indisputably clear.

Mānavamman was young at the time of his father's death. Therefore, Hatthadāṭha, probably a brother of Kassapa ascended the throne and assumed the name Dathōpatissa II. It was on

3. The Kas'akkuḍi Plates S.I.I. Vol. II, p. 356, v. 20.

4. The Velūrpāḷayam Plates S.I.I. Vol. II, p. 510, v. 10.

5. C.v. XLVII, v. 3; E.Z. V, pp. 100-103.

6. C.v. XLV, v. 6.

hearing of this that Mānavamman and his wife had gone into retirement. When they were discovered, they went to the court of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I and sought his help. Mānavamman was received as an equal by Narasimhavarman I and treated properly.

Mānavamman became much attached to Narasimhavarman and is said to have assisted the Pallava king in his wars against Pulakēśin II, the Chālukya king. The Cūḷavaṃsa describes at length the warm friendship that arose between Mānavamman and Narasimhavarman. Once, when the Chālukya king attacked the Pallava territory, Narasimhavarman left Mānavamman at the capital city and proceeded to meet the enemy. Mānavamman was so affectionate to the Pallava king that after a time he rushed from the capital to participate in the battle in which his bosom friend was engaged. This action on the part of the Ceylon prince served to enhance Narasimhavarman's esteem for him. Little wonder that he went all out to help his friend recover the position which he had lost in Ceylon.

Sometime after A.D. 642 Narasimhavarman I sent a naval expedition to Ceylon to help Mānavamman secure the throne. But this expedition was not successful, because within a short time of the landing of the expedition in Ceylon, news of the sudden illness of Narasimhavarman reached his soldiers, who consequently returned to their country.

Sometime after the king had recovered from his illness a second expedition was sent with a larger army and this time Narasimhavarman himself accompanied the invading host which sailed to Ceylon from Mahābalipuram. This second expedition proved successful and Mānavamman was enabled to capture Anurāddhapura and establish his rule there.⁷

But Mānavamman was not left in peace. Many years later, he was once again driven into exile, and as before, he sought refuge in the Pallava court, probably during the reign of Narasimhavarman II. Mānavamman received help from this Pallava king also and returned to Ceylon (c.A.D. 684) when Hatthadāṭha was

7. L.S. Perera, writing in the History of Ceylon, p. 317, does not mention this second expedition. He confuses this with the 3rd expedition which was undertaken twenty years later. On the other hand, the Kaṣakkuḍi Plates specifically speak of the second and successful expedition of Narasimhavarman I. S.I.I. vol. II, p. 343.

ruling the island. Mānavamman had a large army, furnished probably by Narasimhavarman II. From the time he landed in Ceylon Mānavamman swept everything before him. First he consolidated his position in Uttaradēśa. The two armies clashed in a fierce battle and ultimately the king Hatthadāṭha fled from the field when defeat for him was found to be certain. He was eventually killed and his head was taken to Mānavamman. Thus once again Mānavamman became king in Anurādhapura in A. D. 684 with Pallava help.

Mānavamman died in c. A. D. 718 and was succeeded by his son Aggabodhi. He and the succeeding two rulers were brothers, presumably the sons of Mānavamman, and had been with him in exile in the court of Narasimhavarman I. The Pallava influence in the court of the Sinhalese kings must date from this time, because in the first place, these rulers were well acquainted with the customs and traditions of the Pallava court, and secondly, these Sinhalese monarchs kept up an active contact with their friends in the Pallava court. Generally speaking the Sinhalese kings went to the aid of the Pallavas whenever the latter were involved in conflicts with the Pāṇḍyas.

Aggabodhi was succeeded by his brother Kassapa III in A. D. 724. A short rock inscription at Garandigala⁸ recording a grant of land is attributed to the reign of Kassapa III. He is identified as the Sirisangabo, mentioned in the inscription, for it states that he was born in India (Dambdiv-dunu) and that he had a *yuvārāja* whose name was Mahinda. Being a son of Mānavamman he was probably born in the court of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I, and his *yuvārāja* must have been his brother who became king later as Mahinda I.

The next occasion when there was relationship between the Pallavas and the Sinhalese was during the invasion of the Pāṇḍyan territory in the time of Sena II. A claimant to the Pāṇḍya throne, probably identical with the Māyapāṇḍya⁹ of the larger Śinnamanūr Plates, had approached the Ceylonese king Sena II for help against the ruling Pāṇḍya sovereign, Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha. Sena readily agreed to help the Pāṇḍyan rebel, and before he set out with his army to South India he arranged

8. E.Z. III, No. 19, pp. 195-99.

9. See later—In all probability this Māyapāṇḍya was none other than Varaguṇa Varman the eldest son of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha.

an alliance with Nṛpatuṅga, the Pallava ruler. The Pallava army was immediately ordered to march against the Pāṇḍyas and the latter were defeated on the bank of the river Aricī¹⁰. About the same time the Sinhalese army marched against Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha and defeated him completely.

The intimate political connection that certain Ceylon kings of the 7th century had with the Pallavas was bound to have brought on its wake social, commercial and cultural influences. Since Mahābalipuram is known to have flourished as a port, voyages from South India to Ceylon might have been frequent. Commercial intercourse was apparently well developed. The Takūpua inscription shows that during this age commercial corporations of South India had established themselves in Siam and other places in the Far East. Obviously Ceylon which is situated very near South India must have had active commercial contact with this region. It has been suggested that Narasimhavarman created a naval base at Mahābalipuram for purposes of extending the commerce of his kingdom to Ceylon and to other distant countries.

The fact that Mānavamman and his sons stayed for some years in the Pallava country is important. They would have carried with them certain ideas of social life and more particularly ideas pertaining to art and architecture. It is said that the Isurumuniya Vihāra on the bund of Tisā Vava in Anurāddhapura bears unmistakable traces of Pallava influence. Modelled after the Buddhist cave temples of India, this is an edifice hewn out of solid rock reminding one of the famous cave temples of Tiruchirāppalli and Sittāṇṇavāsāl, inspired by that imaginative Pallava king, Mahēndravarmān. "Not only is there similarity in the structure of the temples but the sculptures also resemble the Pallava sculptures on the mainland." ¹¹

The stone carvings in the panels of the terrace on which the temple stands resemble those of Mahābalipuram. The sculptures of elephants are suggestive of those appearing in "Descent of the Ganges" at Mahābalipuram.

10. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Pandyan Kingdom p. 74 n.) thinks that Nṛpatuṅga allied himself with the Pāṇḍyas and fought against the Chōlas. But the Bāhur plates do not lend support for this view.

11. G. C. Pattabhiram: "Pallava Influence in Ceylon Architecture" Free India, (March 12, 1961.)

EARLY PĀṆDYAS AND CEYLON

The Mahāvam̐sa speaks of Vijaya marrying a Pāṇḍyan princess after discarding his early Yakkha wife Kuvēṇi. It adds that the Pāṇḍyan king who gave his daughter in marriage to Vijaya sent along with her to Ceylon a retinue of 699 (one less than seven hundred) daughters of his nobility, together with eighteen officers of state and seventy-five menial servants, besides elephants, horses and chariots.¹ But this appears to be a legend and not an historical fact. At best it can only be taken to be an allegorical representation of the intermarriage of Āryan settlers of Ceylon with the Tamils of South India. One wonders whether there is any connection between this story and that of Arjuna marrying Alliarasāṇi of Lankā. Perhaps the two stories are similar in respect of their genesis.

Invasion of Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha: Apart from this legendary association, the earliest connection between Pāṇḍyās and Ceylon arose during the time of Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha. Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha, the early Pāṇḍyan king (c. 815-62) undertook an invasion of Ceylon after he had successfully attacked the neighbouring kingdoms of South India. This fact is learnt from the larger Śinnamanūr Plates. The details connected with the campaign in Ceylon including those which do not redound to the credit of the island are found narrated at length in the Mahāvam̐sa. Thus the historicity of the event is beyond dispute.

Sena I (c. A.D. 833-853) was the king of Ceylon in whose time Śrīvallabha's invasion took place. Both the Sanskrit and the Tamil portions of the larger Śinnamanūr Plates speak of the Pāṇḍyan king's victories over the kings of Ceylon and of South India, as a result of which Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha is said to have assumed the high-sounding title of 'Parachakrakolāhala' (confounder of the circle of his enemies).

The Cūḷavam̐sa, providing vivid details of the Ceylonese campaign, begins by stating that a large army arrived from South India and soon captured the whole of Uttaradēśa. The decisive battle was fought at Mahātālitaḡāma where the Ceylonese

1. The Mahavamso: Ed. by The Hon. George Turnour p. 51.

king was completely routed. Following this triumphant victory, the Pāṇḍyan army caused enormous destruction of men and property throughout the island. It is said that Sena I, the king of Ceylon, deserted his capital and took shelter in the Malaya country. Yuvarāja Mahinda, a brother of Sena I, dreading disgrace, committed suicide. The Pāṇḍyan king ordered that the body of the prince should be honoured with a decent cremation befitting his royal status. Prince Kassapa, another brother of Sena I, tried to organise a final resistance to the Pāṇḍyan forces, but failing in his effort, he eventually took to flight. After the Pāṇḍyans had helped themselves to as much booty as they could lay hands on, the Pāṇḍyan monarch entered into a treaty with the fugitive king Sena, restoring the country to him. Sena, however, had to surrender all his jewels and part of his remaining treasures. The latter part of Sena's reign was devoted to the work of reorganising the country and redeeming it from the havoc caused by the Pāṇḍyan invasion. Sena I died in A.D. 842 after a reign of 20 years.

There is a reference in a Sinhalese work that Sena I was converted to the Śaiva faith by an ascetic. The Nikaya Saṃgrahava,² a Sinhalese chronicle, records that Sena I, the Sinhalese king, was converted to the Śaiva faith and that his daughter was cured of her dumbness by an ascetic clad in the robes of a priest. It is quite probable that the ascetic mentioned in this connection was Māṇikkavāṣagar, because in the legends connected with the career of this saint described in the Tiruvātavūrār Purāṇam it is stated that he converted a Buddhist king of Ceylon to Śaivism and that he cured the king's daughter of dumbness. The story runs that the Ceylonese king had gone with his dumb daughter to Cidambaram to witness the religious controversy between the Buddhist priests of Ceylon and Māṇikkavāṣagar and that when the saint performed the miracle of enabling the dumb princess to obtain her power of speech, the king and his followers, including the Buddhist priests, all became Hindus. One may not believe the supernatural element involved in the story. But the coincidence of the story itself in the Tamil Tiruvātavūrār Purāṇam and the Sinhalese Nikaya Saṃgrahava is striking. It is quite

2. Nikaya Saṃgrahava p. 18. See also Navaratnam's *Tamils and Ceylon*, p. 95 and *Rasanayakam Ancient Jaffna* pp. 253—4.

likely that a religious controversy had been held between Maṇikkavāṣagar and certain Buddhist priests in the time of Sena I. If so, it helps the determination of the date of Maṇikkavāṣagar. He must have lived in the 1st half of the 9th century A.D.

Ceylonese invasion of the Pāṇḍya country :— During the reign of Sena II (A.D. 842–77) the revenge on the Pāṇḍyan king followed. We have a full account of this expedition in the Cūḷavamsa. Soon after his accession Sena II is said to have made up his mind to wreak his vengeance on the Pāṇḍyas for the harm that they had caused Ceylon during the reign of his uncle Sena I. It is stated that sometime after he became king, he saw the empty pedestal of the image of the Buddha at Ratnapasada and learnt that the golden image of the Buddha had been desecrated and carried away by the Pāṇḍyas.³

When he was contemplating an invasion of the Pāṇḍya country, fortunately for him, a disaffected member of the Pāṇḍyan royal family⁴ appeared in Ceylon and sought the help of the king against the Pāṇḍyan monarch. Sena welcomed the opportunity and himself proceeded to the Pāṇḍyan country with an army. As observed earlier, in order to ensure success in his venture Sena had entered into an alliance with Nṛpatuṅga, the Pallava sovereign of the time. The combined forces attacked the Pāṇḍyan kingdom simultaneously from the north and the south. The Pāṇḍya sovereign first marched north to meet the invaders but was severely defeated at the battle of Aricit.

Meanwhile another Ceylonese army under the general Kuṭṭhaka was sent to the Pāṇḍyan country. This invading host caused much havoc in the country side, and proceeding to the capital city Madurai, captured it and massacred the garrison. Śrīmāra rushed to defend the capital but was overwhelmed and killed in the battle.

Kuṭṭhaka and his men plundered the city and appropriated the valuable treasures of the palace including those which had

3. This story might well be a later invention, for, though he was young when his father and uncle were killed in the Pāṇḍyan conflict, he had known about the havoc caused by the invasion and did not have to wait for a visit to Ratnapasada for making a resolve to retaliate on the Pāṇḍyas.

4. Probably he is the 'Mayapāṇḍya' mentioned in the larger S'innamanār Plates.

been removed from Ceylon in the reign of Sena I. On behalf of the King Sena II, the general Kuṭṭhaka placed on the throne the prince who came to be known as Varaguṇavarman II.⁵

There are difficulties in accepting completely this account furnished by the Cūḷavaṃsa. In the first place there is a piece of chronological incongruity. The accepted date for Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha is A.D. 814–862. But the traditional dates assigned for Sena I are A.D. 846 to 866 and for Sena II A.D. 866–901. Under this scheme the invasion of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom from Ceylon should have taken place not in the reign of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, but in that of his successor. This does not fit in with the account given by the Cūḷavaṃsa. Therefore, it has been suggested⁶ that a correction of 24 years must be introduced into the Cūḷavaṃsa chronology of this period in the light of the more acceptable dates of Pāṇḍyan history.⁷ This correction will give the approximate dates A.D. 822 to 842 and 842 to 877 for the reigns of Sena I and Sena II respectively.⁸

Nor does the chronological discrepancy constitute the only difficulty. The account concerning Māyapāṇḍya which appears in the larger Śinnamanūr Plates reads differently from that of the Ceylonese chronicle. According to the Pāṇḍyan record, Māyapāṇḍya failed in his revolt against the ruling king, while the Ceylonese source states that the attempt of the Pāṇḍyan rebel prince proved to be a brilliant success with the aid of the Ceylonese help. It is difficult to decide which of these divergent accounts is reliable. Perhaps Māyapāṇḍya mentioned in the Śinnamanūr Plates is identical with Varaguṇavarman because the Mahāvamsa states that after the war the Sinhalese crowned the Pāṇḍyan prince who had sought their help. That Māyapāṇḍya had rebelled is stated by the Plates which might well have fabricated the triumph of the ruling king. The Pāṇḍyan record

5. In all probability, as mentioned earlier, he is identical with the rebel prince called Māyapāṇḍya in the larger Śinnamanūr plates. He was the eldest son of Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha and had rebelled against his father earlier.

6. Dubreuil : The Pallavas pp. 70–71.

7. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. The Pandyan Kingdom—pp. 70–71.

8. Various suggestions have been made, for e.g. Geiger assigns A.D. 831-51 and 851-85 respectively while the History of Ceylon op. cit. gives A.D. 833-53 and 853-88. All these are more or less pieces of guess.

apparently wanted to give a coloured picture of the glory of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha's reign, and therefore glossed over Māyapāṇḍya's victory won with the aid of the Ceylonese king.' Though the Cūlavamsa is a 'highly embellished and poetic account of the history of Ceylon', it does not seem to have fabricated facts or glossed over inconvenient data. For example, the details of the havoc caused by Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha's invasion of Ceylon are faithfully recorded by the chronicle. It does not seem reasonable to imagine that the invasion of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom by Sena II would have been a fabricated account. The larger Śinnamanūr plates themselves indulge in fulsome praise of the Pāṇḍyan kings. Moreover, the donor of the larger Śinnamanūr Plates was Māravarman Rājasimha II, the son of Viranārayaṇa, who was the brother of Varaguṇavarman. Therefore, it is likely that Rājasimha would not have liked to picture his uncle Varaguṇavarman as an erstwhile rebel who owed his position to the Ceylonese help. On the whole it may be concluded that the Cūlavamsa account of the Ceylon invasion by Sena II is reliable.

Rajasimha II and Ceylon :—In the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, after Varaguṇa Varman's rule, there appeared that of his brother, Parāntaka Viranārāyaṇa (c. A. D. 880—900), who was succeeded by his son Māravarman Rājasimha II. During the reign of this Rājasimha II (c. A. D. 900—20) there was active relationship of the Pāṇḍya power with that of Ceylon. It arose on account of the Chōḷa attack of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The ambitious Chōḷa monarch Parāntaka I (A. D. 907—55) began a career of conquest and the Pāṇḍyas were the earliest to be attacked. Rājasimha II was defeated and Madurai was captured.¹⁰

Rājasimha made an appeal to Kassapa V (A. D. 913—23) the king of Ceylon, who readily responded. A huge army was collected and sent to South India¹¹. But Parāntaka defeated the

9. Contra. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. *The Pandyan Kingdom* pp. 71-72.

10. We find that Parāntaka describes himself as Maduraikoṇḍa as early as the third year of his reign.

11. A vivid description of the Ceylonese army which marched to help Rājasimha I is found in the *Mahāvamsa* (cv. ch. 52, vv. 70 ff.) as well as in the *Udayendiram Plates of Prithvipati* (S.I.I. II, No. 76.)

combined forces of the Pāṇḍyas and the Ceylonese at Vellūr¹². (A. D. 915).

This was a terrible blow for Rājasimha and for his dynasty. Eventually, out of despair he fled to Ceylon. The Cūḷavaṃsa records a vivid description of the fervent appeal made by the Pāṇḍyan king and the active response of the Ceylonese monarch¹³. An army was despatched to South India but unfortunately a plague broke out in which the Ceylonese commander was killed. This led to the recall of the Ceylonese army.¹⁴

Unable to find any other means of withstanding the Chōḷa attack, Rājasimha took to flight and reached Ceylon. The ruler Dappula IV (A. D. 923—34) was eager to assist him but unfortunately the nobles of the country were not all for providing help to Rājasimha. Therefore, the Pāṇḍyan king leaving behind his crown and regalia betook himself to Kēraḷa, the land of his mother.¹⁵ It is noteworthy in this connection that during this period the rulers of Ceylon were in such close alliance with the Chōḷas that Rājasimha instinctively thought of appealing to Ceylon, failing which, he thought of resorting to aid from Kēraḷa.

12. According to the Cūḷavaṃsa the Ceylonese king did not come to South India, while an inscription (S.I.I. III No. 99) suggests that he participated in the battle. In all probability the Mahāvaṃsa account is correct.

13. Cūḷavaṃsa ch. 53. v.v. 5 ff.

14. The reference to the plague in the Cūḷavaṃsa does not find corroboration in any of the inscriptions of South India; probably the appearance of the plague is a fact.

15. This account of the Cūḷavaṃsa is confirmed by that of the Tiruvallaṅgaḍu Plate No. 51.

CHAPTER VI (c)

The Chōlas and Ceylon

Parāntaka I (A.D. 907–55) and Ceylon :

From inscriptions we learn that the earliest of the Chōla monarchs who had dealings with Ceylon was Parāntaka I. As observed earlier, Parāntaka I came into conflict with Ceylon only indirectly. He attacked the Pāṇḍyan king Rājasimha II who sought the help of the Ceylonese monarch. The help was given and the Ceylonese army, combining with that of the Pāṇḍyas, encountered the Chōlas at the battle of Vellūr (A.D. 915). The battle ended in a victory for Parāntaka and the Ceylonese army returned home.

We have seen how the later efforts on the part of Rājasimha II, the Pāṇḍyan king, to repulse the Chōlas failed and that Rājasimha himself took refuge in Ceylon. Unable to secure any more help from Ceylon, he left his crown and necklace in the island in despair and proceeded to Kēraḷa, his mother's country.

Several years afterwards, Parāntaka I thought of celebrating his triumph over the Pāṇḍyas by holding a coronation ceremony at Madurai. It was then that he learnt about the Pāṇḍyan crown and the king's necklace having been left in Ceylon by Rājasimha II. Therefore, Parāntaka thought of recovering them from Ceylon. The Cūḷavamsa provides a vivid account of Parāntaka's effort.¹

At the outset Parāntaka sent messengers to the Ceylon king asking for the surrender of the Pāṇḍyan crown and the necklace. Udaya IV, whose reign extended from A.D. 945 to 953, was notorious for his indolence and intemperance. He did not pay any heed to the request of the Chōla king, who therefore equipped a large army and sent it to Ceylon in order to secure the Pāṇḍyan crown and necklace by force. The Chōla army progressed well at first and succeeded in killing the Sinhalese Senāpati in battle. But soon after, Udaya, taking the Pāṇḍyan crown, proceeded to Rohaṇa. The Chōla troops tried to march against Rohaṇa but finding it difficult to enter that territory,

1. Cūḷavamsa Ch. 53 vv 41 ff.

turned back and returned to their own country. Thus Parāntaka's effort to secure the Pāṇḍyan crown and the necklace of the king ended in failure².

Sundara Chōla Parāntaka II (A. D. 957-73) and Ceylon:— Sundara Chōla Parāntaka II, a grandson of Parāntaka I was involved in a struggle with Vira Pāṇḍya who declared his independence. In this move Vira Pāṇḍya was helped by Mahinda IV, the contemporary ruler of Ceylon, and in all probability a Ceylonese army had come to help Vira Pāṇḍya. But Sundara Chōla succeeded in defeating the combined forces in two battles and it is said that Vira Pāṇḍya himself was killed by Āditya during the second battle.³ In retaliation for the help rendered by the Ceylonese to Vira Pāṇḍya, Sundara Chōla's forces invaded Ceylon. Śīṛiyavēlār, the Chōla general, was sent with an army to attack the Ceylonese king but he was killed in the fight with the Sinhalese army⁴.

The Cūḷavaṃsa gives a detailed description of the triumph of the Sinhalese king through the valour of his general Sena and adds that the Chōla army was obliged to make a friendly treaty with the king of Lankā⁵.

*Rāja Rāja I (A. D. 985-1014) and Ceylon:—*Rāja Rāja the great attacked and subdued Ceylon. Though the exact date of the invasion is not known there is epigraphic evidence to show that it must have occurred before A. D. 993⁶. The Cūḷavaṃsa is silent about Rāja Rāja's invasion. Perhaps this was on account of the confusion caused by a military rising in the reign of Mahinda V of Ceylon in whose time Rāja Rāja's conquest took place. On the other hand, the epigraphic evidence of South India bears testimony to the successful invasion. The Tiru-

2. Parāntaka's attempt was made, as the Cūḷavaṃsa states, sometimes towards the last years of Parāntaka's reign. But neither the Cūḷavaṃsa nor the known Chōla epigraphs indicate the exact date.

3. The Tiruvāṅgaṇḍu Plates state that Vira Pāṇḍya was killed by Āditya, but the Leyden grant does not state so. The Karandai Plates (vv 24-5) say that after his defeat Vira Pāṇḍya was compelled to seek refuge in the Sahyādri hills. Perhaps this is correct.

4. A.R.E. 1914 II and EI xii p. 124 ff.

5. E.Z. I, pp. 29 ff.

6. A.R.E. 261 of 1910 and SII vol. III. 4.

vālaṅkādu Plates state that a powerful army crossed the ocean by ships and burnt up the king of Lankā. There is no doubt that it was a naval expedition and that a huge army had been taken by the Chōlas to Ceylon. But there is no clear proof that the Ceylonese king was killed in the conflict.

On the basis of the data available in the Cūlavamsa it has been reckoned that Mahinda V ascended the throne of Ceylon about A. D. 981. He appears to have continued as the ruler even during the time of Rājendra I, the son and successor of Rāja Rāja. During the reign of Rāja Rāja, Mahinda was in a sad plight on account of the rebellion among his fighting forces and had betaken himself to Rohaṇa, the hilly country in the south-east of Ceylon. No wonder that when Rāja Rāja's troops landed in Ceylon there was little resistance; and the Chōlas easily acquired sovereignty over northern Ceylon⁷. (Anurāddhapura, the capital, was destroyed and Polonnaruva, situated to the south-east of Anurāddhapura, was made the new capital. Polonnaruva was located in a more central place than Anurāddhapura. Rāja Rāja apparently aimed at establishing the Chōla supremacy over the whole island and that was probably the reason why this central place was pitched upon as the capital. Polonnaruva was rechristened as Jananāthamaṅgalam, obviously after the title Jananātha which name Rāja Rāja had assumed earlier.⁸ Probably, on account of his preoccupations nearer home, he had to leave the complete conquest of the island to his successor.

It is not known definitely whether a thorough reorganisation of the conquered part of Ceylon followed immediately. From the circumstance that it was created as a new maṇḍalam of the Chōla empire it is presumable that an administrative system similar to that in other maṇḍalams was instituted. However, there is epigraphic evidence to show that during the reign of Rāja Rāja itself, temples of the South Indian pattern were erected in Ceylon. Rāja Rāja had a stone temple of Śiva constructed in Polonnaruva.⁹

7. There is no evidence that Rāja Rāja himself had led the army unless the figurative comparison instituted by the Tiruvālaṅkādu plates between Rāmā's conquest of Ceylon and Rājarāja's expedition to the country is taken too literally.

8. A.R.E. 132 of 1910.

9. Archaeological Survey Report, Ceylon 1906 pp 17 ff.

In respect of its structure and architectural style it resembles the Chōla temples of the 11th century. Another Śiva temple called Rājarājesvara was erected at Mahātiṭṭha (Māntōṭa) by Taḷi Kumaran, a Chōla officer.¹⁰ Apparently it was built in honour of the Chōla king and the place itself was renamed as Rājarājapura. Moreover, some villages in Ceylon were bestowed by Rāja Rāja on the celebrated Brihadīśvara temple which he had constructed in Tanjāvūr.¹¹

It is not known why Rāja Rāja did not recover the crown and necklace of the Pāṇḍya king left behind in Ceylon by Rājasimha II. Probably he did not consider them important enough to demand his immediate attention or he thought that they could be recovered after defeating the ruling sovereign in open battle and later did not have time to devote his attention to it.

Rājendra Chōla I (A.D. 1012–1044) and Ceylon :

What was left unfinished by Rāja Rāja I in Ceylon was completed by his worthy son Rājendra I. That portion of the island which had not been conquered by Rāja Rāja was acquired by Rājendra. It is very likely that Rājendra's Ceylon campaign was undertaken in the 5th year of his reign, because some of his inscriptions of that year mention his triumph in Ceylon, while others, apparently the earlier ones of that year (A.D. 1017–18), do not say anything about it. The Cūḷavaṃsa records that Rājendra Chōla completed the conquest of Ceylon in the 36th year of Mahinda, which falls also in A.D. 1017.¹²

The Cūḷavaṃsa gives a surprisingly vivid account of the conquest of Ceylon and the consequent pillage and plunder.¹³ "In the six and thirtieth year of the king's (Mahinda V's) reign the Chōlas seized the mahesī, the jewels, the diadem that he had inherited, the whole of the (royal) ornaments, the priceless diamond bracelet, a gift of the gods, the unbreakable sword and the relic of the torn strip of the cloth. But the ruler himself, who had fled in

10. S. I. I. IV 1412.

11. S. I. I. II 92 paras 12-15.

12. Cūḷavaṃsa II. p. XIII.

13. Cūḷavaṃsa ch. 55 VV 16 ff. It shows that the chronicle was not reluctant to record fully even sad occurrences, which did not redound to the credit of the Sinhalese.

fear to the jungle, they captured alive, with the pretence of making a treaty. Thereupon they sent the Monarch and all the treasures which had fallen into their hands at once to the Chōla Monarch. In the three fraternities and in all Lankā (breaking open) the relic chambers (they carried away) many costly images of gold etc. and while they violently destroyed here and there all the monasteries, like blood-sucking Yakkhās, they took all the treasures of Lankā for themselves. With Pulathinagara as base, the Chōlas held sway over Rājaraṭṭha as far as the locality known as Rakkhapāsāṇakaṇṭha. People in the kingdom took the young prince Kassapa and brought him up, carefully protecting him through fear of the Chōlas. When the Chōla king heard that the boy had reached his twelfth year, he sent high officials with a large force to seize him. They brought with them warriors a hundred thousand less five hundred (in number) and they ransacked the whole province of Rohaṇa in every direction. A court official called Kiṭṭi, . . . and a minister named Buddha. . . , these two valiant men, well versed in the ways of war, made the resolve to destroy the Chōla army completely. At a place called Paḷuṭṭhagiri they took up fortified positions, carried on war for six months and killed a great number of Damiḷas. The Chōlas who had survived the slaughter in this fight, seized with fear, fled and took up their abode as before in Pulatthinagara. King Mahinda dwelt twelve years in the Chōla land and entered into heaven in the fortyeighth year (from his ascent of the throne)."

Some of these details other than those pertaining to the pillage of Ceylon are recorded in an inscription of Rājendra.¹⁴ He states how he captured the crown of the kings of Ceylon, the crowns of their queens, the old Pāṇḍyan crown and the whole of Īlamanḍalam. Another inscription belonging to the 7th year of his reign¹⁵ states that Mahinda submitted to the king and was transported to South India. It is probably true that he was captured and taken to the Chōla country, where he remained a captive for twelve years until his death. There are certain in-

14. S. I. I. Vol. p. 28 and the Karandai Plates vv 58-9.

15. A.R.E. 642 of 1909. According to the Cūḷavamsa Mahinda was treacherously captured under the pretence of an invitation for concluding a treaty. Though the Chōla inscriptions are silent about the treachery, the Cūḷavamsa account seems to have been based on fact.

scriptions of Rājendra with the 'tirumanni vaḷara' introduction in Polonnaruva and in the Colombo museum¹⁶. These provide additional testimony to the conquest and rule of Ceylon by Rājendra. There appeared several Hindu temples of the Chōḷa style near Polonnaruva and it is quite likely that many of them were constructed during the period of Chōḷa rule under Rājendra I.

But the Chōḷa rule in Ceylon was a short-lived affair. According to the Cūḷavaṃsa, twelve years after Rājendra's conquest i.e. in A. D. 1029, there was a great national rising in Ceylon against the Chōḷas. It is probably true that the Ceylonese refrained from rebellion so long as the consecrated Sinhalese monarch remained a prisoner under the Chōḷas. The news of his death marked the rise of a rebellion of the people, particularly of Rohaṇa. ~~This~~ rebellion was secretly fomented by Kassapa, the son of Mahinda V. Kassapa who had escaped capture when his parents were taken captive and was brought up in secret in Rohaṇa, now conducted a war for six months with the Tamils in the island and killed many of them. The Chōḷa viceroy at Polonnaruva made a strenuous attempt in A.D. 1029 to capture Kassapa, but failed. Eventually he procured the independence of Rohaṇa from the Tamil province of the Chōḷas in Ceylon and ruled Rohaṇa under the name of Vikkamabāhu I for about 12 years. (A.D. 1029-41)¹⁷. The Chōḷa Pāṇḍya Viceroys were appointed in the extreme south by Rājendra I because the Pāṇḍyas were reviving their power and proving rebellious. The Chōḷa Pāṇḍya viceroys seem to have made common cause with the rulers of Ceylon who had become dejected and demoralised on account of the Chōḷa conquest of the island.

During this period it is not improbable that several princes of the Ceylonese and Pāṇḍya royal families bore identical names; perhaps this is an indication of close dynastic relations which existed between the aggrieved parties which were opposed to the Chōḷas. One difficulty is that the Cūḷavaṃsa account and the

16. This typical form of praśasti of Rājendra continued to expand as Rājendra's conquests extended. Though only some of his inscriptions of the 3rd year contain this praśasti, those of the 5th and subsequent years have it generally.

17. Cūḷavaṃsa ch. 56. VV 1-6 Kassapa's war of independence took place about A.D. 1029.

inscriptions of the Chōlas regarding the events of the period are at great variance and at times irreconcilable. They become frequently partisan accounts.

Rājādhirāja I (A.D. 1018-54) and Ceylon :

It is very likely that Rājādhirāja, the eldest son of Rājendra, had participated in the Chōla war with Kassapa which lasted for six months, since by this time he had become the joint ruler with his father. Moreover, certain Chōla inscriptions¹⁸ state that Rājādhirāja captured the throne of Vikkamabāhu and killed him as well as the king of Kannakkurichiyār (Kanauj) in battle. This shows that Rājādhirāja might have been engaged in the conflict with Vikkamabāhu for a long time. But it is not possible to be certain whether Vikkamabāhu lost his life at the hands of Rājādhirāja, because the Cūlavamsa says that Vikkamabāhu died of some disease at Dēvanagara, the southern-most point of Ceylon, about 12 years after his accession. Which of these versions is true it is not possible to state definitely. But it must be mentioned that the Cūlavamsa admits that Vikkamabāhu's crown had been captured by the Chōlas earlier¹⁹. Perhaps the Chōla inscriptions exaggerated this misfortune of the Sinhalese by adding that the king himself was slain. The Cūlavamsa version seems to be more acceptable than that of the inscriptions in this matter.

Regarding the Ceylon wars of Rājādhirāja there are other discrepancies, too, between the accounts given by the inscriptions and the Cūlavamsa. In respect of certain details there is coincidence, while in respect of others there is irreconcilable disparity. We will state the information furnished by the two sources and then try to arrive at the possible conclusions.

The elaborate data gathered from Rājādhirāja's inscriptions are given below in the words of the editor, Dr. Hultzsch.²⁰

"With a single unequalled army (Rājādhirāja) took the crown of Vikkamabāhu, the king of the people of Lankā on the tempestuous ocean; the crown of large jewels (belonging to) the lord of Lankā; Vikrama Pāṇḍyan, who, having lost the whole

18. 92 of 1892, 221 of 1844 and S. I. I. III, 28 p. 56.

19. Cūlavamsa II, p. XXI.

20. S. I. I. III 28 p. 56.

of the southern Tamil country out of fear of himself had entered Īlam (surrounded by) the seven oceans; the beautiful golden crown of the king of Siṃhaḷa, Viraśālāmeghan, who, believing that Īlam was superior to the beautiful Kannakkuchi (Kanyakubja) which belonged to him had entered the island with his relatives and those of his countrymen who were willing (to go with him) and had put on the brilliant crown; who, having been defeated on the battlefield and having lost his black elephant, had fled ignominiously; who, when the (Chōḷa) king seized his elder sister along with his wife (or daughter) and cut off the nose of his mother, had returned in order to remove the disgrace (caused) thereby, and having fought hard with the sword, had withered in a hot battle; and the extremely brilliant crown of large jewels (belonging to) Śrī Vallavan (Śrī Vallabhā) Madanarājan, who had come of the family of Kannaran (Kṛṣṇa) and had become the proud king of Īlam ”.

Briefly put, the inscriptions state that the Chōḷas defeated (1) Vikramabāhu, the king of Lankā (2) Vikrama Pāṇḍya, the lord of Lankā (3) Vira Śālāmeghan of Kannakkuchi who had become king of Siṃhaḷa and (4) Śrī Vallavan Madanarājan who had become king of Īlam.

The Cūḷavaṃsa account may be summarised as follows: Sometime after Rājendra's annexation of Ceylon to the Chōḷa Empire, there appeared several rebellions. The most serious of these risings occurred in A. D. 1029 and centred around Kassapa, the son of Mahinda V who had been captured and deported to the Chōḷa country. The rebels killed many Damiḷas and forced the rest to take refuge in Polonnaruva. After a successful warfare which lasted for six months, Kassapa established his rule in the south-eastern part called Rohaṇa. On his accession in A. D. 1029 Kassapa assumed the name of Vikkamabāhu.²¹

After a reign of 12 years (A. D. 1029-41) Vikkamabāhu died of a mortal disease while he was engaged in preparing for a fresh

21. Though Rājendra I was still the Chōḷa emperor, it is likely that the Yuvarāja Rājaditya took part in the Ceylonese campaign undertaken to suppress the rebellions and the rise of Kassapa.

conflict with the Chōlas.²² Rohaṇa did not fall into the hands of the Chōlas, for one Kittī succeeded Vikkamabāhu, but he ruled only for eight days. He was deposed and killed by the 'mighty Mahālānakitti' who ruled Rohaṇa for three years (A. D. 1041-44). Mahālānakitti was defeated by the Chōlas, and unable to put up with the consequent disgrace, he committed suicide.²³

The Cūlavamsa goes on to state that Vikkamapāṇḍu, the only son of Mahālānakitti, having left his native country through fear of the Chōlas reached Rohaṇa when he heard about the death of his father. Vikkamapāṇḍu ruled for a short while and was attacked and killed by Jagatipāla, who is described by the Cūlavamsa as a 'sovereign's son' from Ayōdhya.²⁴ It is added that Jagatipāla ruled over Rohaṇa as a powerful sovereign for four years (A.D. 1047-51). Eventually the Chōlas killed him in battle, and capturing his queen and daughter, transported them and their property to the Chōla country in South India.

Lastly the Cūlavamsa mentions one Parākkama who was engaged for a time in a conflict with the Chōlas and was finally killed by them in battle.²⁵

Conclusion :

Thus we find that in some details there are differences between the Cūlavamsa account and the epigraphical data. But

22. Certain inscriptions (92 of 1892 and 221 of 1894) claim that the Chōlas killed Vikkamabāhu in battle and captured his crown; perhaps the Chōla claim is an exaggeration.

23. Cūlavamsa ii, vv 8-10. Perhaps he was slain in battle by the Chōlas.

24. It is a moot question whether this Jagatipāla, mentioned by the Cūlavamsa is identical with Vira Śālaameghan of Kannakuchi mentioned by the Chōla inscriptions (S. I. I. iii, p. 53). Apart from differences in their native places (Kanauj and Ayōdhya), there is difference in the description of the activities of the two kings. Chronological discrepancy is another factor. According to the inscriptions his death occurred in A.D. 1046 while, as per the Cūlavamsa his rule began in A.D. 1047. Contra History of Ceylon Vol. I, part II, pp. 419-420.

25. Cūlavamsa 56. v. 16. Hultzsch first (S.I.I. iii p.56) identified Parākkama with Madanarāja of the inscriptions. This was given up by him (JRAS 1913 pp. 519-21) for valid reasons. Parākkama was the son of Vikkama Pāṇḍya while Madanarāja was a Vallabha, a descendant of the line of Kamara. Further the death of Parākkama occurred about A.D. 1053, nearly 7 years after the death-date of Rajadhirāja's inscription in which Madanarāja is mentioned.

at the same time the coincidence of the information furnished by the two sources is also remarkable. Broadly speaking, the following acceptable conclusions can be drawn by reconciling the data furnished by the two sources.

(i) After Rājendra I's completion of the conquest of Ceylon in A.D. 1017, the Chōḷa supremacy remained unassailed only till A.D. 1029. In A.D. 1029 there occurred a successful rebellion headed by Kassapa, the son of Mahinda V. Kassapa assumed the name of Vikkama Bāhu and ruled Rohaṇa for 12 years (A.D. 1029-41).

(ii) Vikkamabāhu died in A.D. 1041 probably due to illness. After one Kittī who succeeded him and ruled only for eight days, there reigned in Rohaṇa one Mahālānakitti for three years (A.D. 1041-44). On account of disgrace from defeat at the hands of Chōḷas, he committed suicide. It is inexplicable why this Mahālānakitti is not mentioned in the Chōḷa inscriptions, especially because he was defeated by the Chōḷas according to the Cūḷavaṃsa.

(iii) Vikrama Pāṇḍya of the inscriptions, identical with Vikkama Pāṇḍu of the Cūḷavaṃsa, was the son of Mahālānakitti through a Pāṇḍyan queen. Vikrama Pāṇḍya who had rebelled against the Chōḷas in South India was expelled by them from there. Possibly he spent some time as a refugee in the Duḷu (Tuḷu) country and when his father died, came to Ceylon. After a short rule (c. A. D. 1044-47) however, Vikrama Pāṇḍya was killed by one Jagatipāla in A. D. 1047.

(iv) Jagatipāla, mentioned only in the Cūḷavaṃsa, was probably a disaffected prince of Ayōdhya who sought an adventurous career in Ceylon. Killing Vikrama Pāṇḍya, Jagatipāla probably ruled Rohaṇa (A. D. 1047-51). He was also killed in the battle by the Chōḷas and his queen, daughter and property were transported to the Chōḷa country. While there are serious difficulties in accepting the attempted identification of Jagatipāla with Vira-Śālāmeghan it is inexplicable why the Chōḷa inscriptions should have failed to mention Jagatipāla.

(v) Vira Śālā Meghan was an adventurer from Kanyakubja (Kānauj) or more probably from Kalinga, since he is described

also as king of the Kalingas of the strong army.²⁶ While his native place is not definitely settled, there is no doubt that he was an adventurer, who tried to fish in the troubled waters of Ceylon. However, he was worsted in the struggle with the Chōlas though he continued to be an opponent of the Chōlas down to A. D. 1055 (4th year of Rājendra II) when he was defeated and beheaded. Attempts made to identify Vira Śāla megha with Jagatipāla are fruitless.

(vi) Parākkama, mentioned in the Cūlavamsa, was the son of Vikrama Paṇḍya. He carried on the struggle with the Chōlas probably after the death of Jagatipāla. Parākkama appears to have been killed by the Chōlas about A. D. 1053. An attempt made earlier by Dr. Hultzsch²⁷ to identify Parākkama with Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja of the inscriptions was abandoned later by the same epigraphist. There is little in common with them except their hostility to the Chōlas. Further, as noticed already, Parākkama lived till A. D. 1053 while Madanarāja was killed in the Chōla war earlier.

(vii) Sri Vallabha Madanarājan was probably the last of the kings subdued by Rājādhirāja in Ceylon. Madanarājan, who hailed from the family of Kannara or Kṛṣṇa, cannot be identified with Parākkama. Perhaps he was an adventurous member of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty²⁸, and gaining control over some part of Ceylon, had ruled between A.D. 1051 and 1052.

Rājendra II (A.D. 1052-64) and Ceylon :

An inscription²⁹ of the 4th year of Rājendra II, corresponding to A.D. 1055, states :

“(The king) despatched a warlike army into the southern region, captured in Lanka (surrounded by) the black ocean, Viraśālameghan, the king of the Kalingas (who had) a powerful army, with(his) elephants (which resembled) the ocean, caused to be cut

26. Kannakkuchiyar Kavaln and Kanyakubja may perhaps refer to places in the Kalinga country.

27. S.I.I. iii p. 53.

28. The facts that he was of the Vallabha dynasty and that he belonged to the family of Kannara (Kṛṣṇa) indicate that he was a member of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty.

29. S. I. I. vol. III, no. 29.

off (his head which wore) a brilliant crown, and seized on the battle field the two sons of Mānābharaṇa, the king of the people of Lanka.

It is difficult to identify the two kings Vira Salameghan and Mānābharaṇa mentioned in this inscription. We have heard of one Vira Śalāmeghan who is stated to have migrated to Ceylon from Kanyakubja and had been killed by Rājādhirāja I and of one Mānābharaṇa who was decapitated by the same Chōla king³⁰. Can it be that these two kings referred to by Rājendra II's record are identical with those mentioned in Rājādhirāja's inscription? But there are obvious difficulties against this identification. In the first place, the native land of Vira Śalāmeghan is given differently in the two inscriptions; one states that he came from Kanyakubja and the other says that he hailed from Kaṭiṅga. Secondly, Vira Śalāmeghan of Kanyākubja is said to have been killed by Rājādhirāja. Therefore, either Rājādhirāja or Rājendra II has put forward an empty boast or there were two different Vira Śalāmeghans. In all probability there was only one Vira Śalāmeghan and he was defeated both by Rājādhirāja I and Rājendra II; the account of his defeat in the time of Rājādhirāja I might have been exaggerated to include the loss of his life. Regarding the native land itself the mention of Rājendra's inscription seems more acceptable. In other words the king might have hailed from the Kaṭiṅga country which had connection with Ceylon at many stages in her history³¹.

One Mānābharaṇa was decapitated by Rājādhirāja I and it is likely that his two sons were now taken prisoners by Rājendra II.³² Whether Mānābharaṇa was a king of the Pāṇḍya country or of Ceylon has been discussed, but the Mānābharaṇa of Rājendra II's inscription was undoubtedly a king of Ceylon and it is likely that the Mānābharaṇa of Rājādhirāja's record is identical with him. Sometime when Rājendra II was ruling the Chōla empire,

30. S. I. I. Vol. III no. 30.

31. It may be observed that the queen of Vijayabahu I, called Tilōka-sundari, was a princess of Kaṭiṅga.

32. The Cūḷavamsa speaks of one Mānābharaṇa I and Kittisirimegha but they cannot be identified with Mānābharaṇa and Vira Śalāmeghan of this inscription. See S. I. I. Vol. III p. 59.

there rose to prominence in Ceylon a prince Kitti of the old royal family of Mānavamma. He had to face many difficulties in his youth, but he overcame them all with courage and determination. He assumed the name of Vijayabāhu in A.D. 1055 in the 17th year of his age and at first he had Kataragāma as the seat of his power. After Vijayabāhu's coronation the Chōla power was practically confined to Rājaraṭṭha, the northern part of Ceylon. The Chōla viceroy at Polonnaruva sent an army to subdue the rebellions in Rohaṇa including the rising power of Vijayabāhu. When Kataragāma was attacked by the Chōlas, Vijayabāhu did not defend it because he realised that the opposing army was far too strong for him. The Chōlas sacked Kataragāma and carried away much booty. Though the Chōlas triumphed for the moment, Vijayabāhu was slowly and steadily preparing himself for the final struggle with the Chōlas.

Vīrarājendra (A. D. 1063-69) and Ceylon :

During the period of Vīrarājendra Chola's rule Vijayabāhu I of Ceylon steadily built up his power. Though he was worsted in some of the battles with the Chōlas, by the end of Vīrarājendra's reign Vijayabāhu emerged as the powerful leader of Ceylon, ready to bring about the liberation of the country from foreign rule.

After his reverse at Kataragāma during the reign of Rājendra II, Vijayabāhu quietly moved down into the plains and by degrees built up his material resources. He restored order in the region under his control and reorganised the government. He transferred his seat of power to Tambalagāma from Kataragāma. He established trade connection with Burma (Rāmañña). During this period the Chōlas did not interfere with the affairs in Ceylon and that afforded a splendid opportunity for Vijayabāhu to strengthen his power and influence.

Within two years of the accession of Vīrarājendra there appeared rebellions in Rājaraṭṭha, which was under the direct control of the Chōlas. It is not easy to determine the causes of these revolts. Perhaps the astute Vijayabāhu I had a hand in them, but no positive evidence of his connection with them is available. Further, the popular discontent and the consequent rumblings heard in Rohaṇa must have had their reaction in

Rājaraṭṭha. The hope of liberation from foreign yoke might have made the people of Rājaraṭṭha restless.

However, reprisals on the part of the Chōlas followed. The Chōla army subdued the rebels with utter ruthlessness. The triumphant Chōla army further marched into Rohaṇa in order to crush rebellions there. But two chiefs of Rohaṇa by name Ravidēva and Cala, who were faithful friends of Vijayabāhu, deserted him and went over to the side of the Chōlas. Despite this adverse turn of events, Vijayabāhu entrenched himself securely in the stronghold of Palutthagiri and awaited attack.

As expected, the Chōlas marched against Palutthagiri, but were defeated and the Chōla general himself was put to flight and subsequently killed. Vijayabāhu captured much booty. This infused great courage and confidence into Vijayabāhu who planned an attack on Polonnaruva, the seat of the Chōla power. Without losing time Vijayabāhu marched against Polonnaruva and captured it easily to the utter dismay of the Chōlas.

This calamity roused Virarājendra to activity. A large army was collected and despatched to Ceylon in order to help retrieve the lost position. An inscription of the 5th year of Virarājendra (A. D. 1067) found at Tirumukkūḍal shows that the Chōla army encountered Vijayabāhu and vanquished him. It runs thus: “ (Putting forth) a number of ships (laden with) excessively large forces on the over-swelling and highly protected sea, and without attempting to ford it, he (the Chōla king) began to wage a war in Īlam (Ceylon), which cast a gloom on that army of the Sinhalese, wherein Kurukulattaraiyan, who wore a golden anklet, and another feudatory whose anger was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (the charge of the Chōlas), with the result that Vijayabāhu, the king (of the island), took to flight without knowing even the directions, and (the Chōla king) took his queen captive, conquered...carried away immeasurably large family gems along with fine crowns and made Lankā with its impregnable walls his own ”³³.

The account furnished by the Cūlavamsa does not materially differ from that of the inscription. The Cūlavamsa says that the Chōḷa army landing in Mahātiṭṭha 'slew many people there and subdued the inhabitants of Rājaraṭṭha'. Subsequently the Chōḷa army marched into Rohaṇa where some of the faithless followers of Vijayabāhu deserted his camp and went over to the Chōḷa side. Vijayabāhu, realising his helplessness gave up his effort and escaped capture by his enemies. Whether the Chōḷas took the queen of Vijayabāhu as captive cannot be positively ascertained; perhaps it is an exaggerated claim registered by the Chōḷas. However, the statement that the whole of Iankā had been conquered by their victory is obviously a piece of poetic exaggeration. Vijayabāhu had bent before the storm, but he was by no means crushed.

Soon there appeared a revolt in Rohaṇa against Vijayabāhu. It was headed by the brother of Kassapa, whom Vijayabāhu had killed earlier in A.D. 1053. Vijayabāhu promptly pursued the rebel leader until he sought refuge in Rājaraṭṭha. But the Chōḷas did not reap the fruits of their victory. They did not continue their efforts to crush Vijayabāhu. For one thing, subsequent to A.D. 1067 it was impossible for Virarājendra to send reinforcements to Ceylon. He was engrossed in the struggle with the Western Chālukyas. This afforded a great opportunity for Vijayabāhu to strengthen his position. He established himself once again at Tambalagāma where he erected a strong fortification. He reorganised his forces and equipped himself for the final struggle.

Adhirājendra, the successor of Virarājendra, does not seem to have had active relations with Ceylon. But an inscription dated in the 3rd year of his reign (A.D. 1070) is found in the island. This inscription does not furnish any new information, but it is important as the last of the Chōḷa inscriptions in Ceylon.

Kulōttuṅga I (A.D. 1070-1120) and Ceylon:

In A.D. 1070 Adhirājendra was succeeded on the Chōḷa throne by the Eastern Chālukya prince Kulōttuṅga. The reign of Kulōttuṅga I (A.D. 1070-1120) is important in the history of relations between the Chōḷas and Ceylon, because Chōḷa rule in the island ended during this period, and Ceylon became independent.

In the early part of the reign of Kulottuṅga Chōla I, Vijayabāhu I accomplished his life's ambition and secured the deliverance of his country from foreign yoke. The Cūḷavaṃsa forms the only source of information regarding this struggle of Vijayabāhu. No inscription of Kulōttuṅga I mentions anything about the Chōla-Ceylonese war.

Vijayabāhu I continued the preparations begun earlier for the conflict with the Chōlas. During the early years of his rule, the Chōla Emperor Kulottuṅga I was engaged in his struggle with Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya ruler. This circumstance provided a welcome opportunity for Vijayabāhu I. In A.D. 1070 Vijayabāhu shifted his residence to the strong fortress on the Paluttha mountain. The Chōla governor at Polonnaruva sent an army against the fortress, and in the fight which ensued, Vijayabāhu was able to repulse the Chōla attack.

In response to an appeal for help the Chōlas received in a short time a fresh contingent of troops near Anurāddhapura from the homeland. This proved to be a fierce battle in which the Chōlas became victorious. Vijayabāhu was obliged to flee from the field of battle and take refuge at Vātagiri in the Kagella district.³⁴

The Chōlas stirred up a rebellion against Vijayabāhu in the region to the south of Vātagiri but the attempts did not prove fruitful, because by that time Vijayabāhu recovered his strength, moved against the rebels and suppressed them. He was able to drive away the rebel leader who was obliged to take shelter in the Chōla camp.

Vijayabāhu now moved to 'Tambalagāma where he erected a new stronghold,' and planned a two-pronged attack on the Chōlas, one army to march against Polonnaruva and the other against Anurāddhapura. The plan was carried out efficiently and the advancing forces captured several fortresses on their way. In both the places Vijayabāhu's forces proved triumphant and both Polonnaruva and Anurāddhapura fell into the hands of the Sinhalese. Vijayabāhu himself had joined the army which

marched against Polonnaruva and conducted the operations effectively. The desperate Chōḷas shut themselves up within the fortress in Polonnaruva but were besieged by Vijayabāhu and compelled to surrender after a fierce siege of one and half months. The capture of Anurāddhapura which had been achieved by the other section of the Sinhalese army resulted in the severance of all communications of the Chōḷas with South India. It prevented the vanquished Chōḷas of Ceylon from retreating to their homeland. Vijayabāhu marched triumphantly into Anurāddhapura, the traditional capital of the Sinhalese.

Regarding the dating of this event there is a slight discrepancy of three years. According to Geiger's reckoning on the basis of the Cūḷavaṃsa the entry into Anurāddhapura took place in the 15th year of his rule at Rohaṇa and 33rd year of his life. If the assumption of Gieger that Vijayabāhu assumed power at Rohaṇa in his 17th year, corresponding to A.D. 1058, is acceptable, the entry into Anurāddhapura may be dated in A.D. 1073. But C. W. Nicholas, writing in the recently published History of Ceylon says:³⁵ "In the annals maintained in the court of the kings of Ceylon, Vijayabāhu's regnal years were recorded as beginning in 1055/56, the year in which he assumed the rulership of Rohaṇa." If this is so, Vijayabāhu's capture of Anurāddhapura has to be placed in A.D. 1070.

Soon after Vijayabāhu's triumphant entry into Anurāddhapura there appeared a rebellion against him headed by one Ādimālaya; but Vijayabāhu suppressed it easily. However, this revolt was responsible for the delay in his coronation which took place in the 18th year of his rule, in other words on the basis of the court annals, in A.D. 1073/74.³⁶

Even after he had seated himself firmly on the Sinhalese throne, the far-sighted Vijayabāhu adopted certain measures intended to guard Ceylon against any possible invasion by the Chōḷas from South India. In the first place, he established strong stations of defence on the western sea-coast. Secondly,

35. History of Ceylon op. cit. Vol. I, pt. II, p. 428-Contra K. A. N. Sastri Colas (2nd edn.) pp. 253 and 310.

36. K. A. N. Sastri dates the coronation at A.D. 1073 on p. 310 (Cōḷas). and in A.D. 1076-7 on p. 311 of the same book. See EZ II, p. 207.

in spite of sentimental attachment to Anurāddhapura he shifted his capital to Polonnaruva, which was farther away from the Chōla coast than Anurāddhapura was. The capital was renamed as Vijayarājapura.³⁷ Thirdly, the matrimonial alliances which he concluded suggest a political objective. He took as his first queen (mahesi) Lilāvati, the daughter of Jagatipāla of Ayōdhya³⁸ and later, he married Tilōkasundari, a princess of the royal house of Kalinga. He gave his younger sister Mitta in marriage to a Pāṇḍyan prince.³⁹ One Virapperumāl, a Sinhalese prince married Suttamalliyar, a daughter of Kulōttuṅga I.

Kulōttuṅga I reconciled himself to the loss of Ceylon and tried to maintain a show of friendliness to Vijayabāhu I. Kulōttuṅga's object in seeking the hand of Vijayabāhu's sister in marriage for himself was apparently intended to be a stroke of policy, but the proposed matrimonial alliance did not materialise. Moreover, certain events occurred which embittered the Chōla-Sinhalese relationship.

After the coronation of Vijayabāhu I had taken place, Kulōttuṅga I as well as Vikramāditya VI had sent embassies to the court of Vijayabāhu. In response to this friendly gesture Vijayabāhu despatched envoys to the Chōla and Chālukya courts. On their way through the Chōla country the Sinhalese envoys to Vikramāditya were molested by certain citizens of the Chōla empire. They tortured the envoys and cut off their noses and ears. The unfortunate victims of this rude attack returned to Ceylon and complained to Vijayabāhu. Wild with rage, the Sinhalese king despatched a challenge to Kulōttuṅga through the Chōla ambassadors who were sent dressed in women's clothes. The following message was ordered to be delivered to the Chōla king. "Beyond earshot, on a lonely island in the midst of the ocean shall a trial of the strength of our arms take place in single combat, or, after arming the whole forces of thy kingdom

37. S. I. I, Vol. IV 1396 l. 17.

38. See supra-Lilāvati and her mother had been confined to captivity by the Chōlas in South India.

39. It is said that Kulōttuṅga had sought the hand of Mitta earlier. But Vijayabāhu decided upon the Pāṇḍya alliance. The Pāṇḍyas had proved themselves to be allies of the Sinhalese against the Chōlas during the Chōla-Ceylonese conflict.

and of mine a battle shall be fought at a spot to be determined by thee; exactly in the manner I have said it shall ye report to your master." The *Cūḷavaṃsa* adds: "The king did not lose sight of the aim he had set himself of fighting with the Chōḷa (king) and in the forty-fifth year (of his reign) he marched with the war-equipped troops to the port on the sea and stayed there sometime awaiting his arrival. But as the Chōḷa (king) did not appear, the king dismissed his envoys, returned to Pulathinagara and resided there a considerable time." There is no information from the Chōḷa side regarding this; but perhaps the account of the *Cūḷavaṃsa* is reliable.

Meanwhile, the *Vēḷaikkāra*⁴⁰ section of the army, who formed the bodyguard of the king, revolted on account of their reluctance to fight their countrymen. The rebels killed two of the Ceylonese generals, captured the king's sister and her three sons and burnt the palace. Not content with these, the *Vēḷaikkāras* attacked the common people and plundered the region round Polonnaruva. Vijayabāhu who was taken aback by this unexpected rising of the *Vēḷaikkāras*, took shelter in the old fortress of Vakirigala. Soon, however, he collected his army, and marching against the rebels, subdued them. Severe punishment was meted out to the ring leaders of the rebellion. The other *Vēḷaikkāras* submitted and agreed to serve the king loyally. At their request the Buddhist Tooth Relic temple at Polonnaruva was placed under their protection. The famous inscription at Polonnaruva records this solemn pledge⁴¹ of the *Vēḷaikkāras*. Endowments made to a Śiva temple at Kantalay were placed under the care of the *Vēḷaikkāras*.⁴²

No invasion of the Chōḷa country by the Sinhalese occurred in the reign of Vijayabāhu I; nor was there any invasion of Ceylon on the part of the Chōḷas. There was apparently a threat of Chōḷa attack on Ceylon about A.D. 1100, because the *Cūḷavaṃsa* states that Vijayabāhu marched with his army to the seaport,

40. *Vēḷaikkāra* regiments were probably instituted by Vijayabāhu I on the model of the personal bodyguard maintained by the Chōḷa Viceroy in Ceylon. They were a body of foreign mercenaries sworn to serve the king loyally and protect him from danger.

41. E.Z. II. p. 242-56.

42. E.Z. IV. p. 191-96.

(probably Mahātiṭṭha) and waited there for a time ready to meet the expected arrival of the Chōlas. But the Chōlas did not turn up and Vijayabāhu returned to Polonnaruva. Practically, therefore, the conflict between the Chōlas and the Sinhalese may be taken to have ended in A.D. 1070.⁴³

The nature and effects of the Chōla rule in Ceylon :

Theoretically the Chōla rule in Ceylon may be said to have lasted for about 77 years⁴⁴ (A.D. 993 to 1070). Though, the beginning of the Chōla supremacy may be in a sense dated to A. D. 915, when Parāntaka I won the important victory at Veḷḷūr, it does not by any means mark the establishment of Chōla rule in the island. It was a military triumph without political results. Nor was the victory decisive because Parāntaka I could not recover the crown of Rājasimha II, which he was keen on getting. Therefore, it is proper that the establishment of Chōla authority in Ceylon must be dated from A.D. 993, by which time Rāja Rāja I had acquired a dominant position in Ceylon.

He organised Ceylon into one of the maṇḍalams of the Chōla empire. It was called Mummiḍiśōḷa maṇḍalam, apparently after one of the names adopted by Rāja Rāja for himself. The constitution of Ceylon as a maṇḍalam indicates that Rāja Rāja wanted to treat Ceylon as part and parcel of his empire. Mummiḍiśōḷa maṇḍalam itself was divided into Vaḷanāḍus like Rājarāja vaḷanāḍu and Vikramaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu. Whether each vaḷanāḍu was subdivided into Kōṭṭams as in the mainland, it is not possible to determine. Presumably it was.

43. It was believed that the Tirukkajukunram inscription (I.A. XXI, pp. 281 ff) of Kulōttuṅga states that he despatched an expedition to Ceylon, though it could not achieve any tangible success. But a proper edition of that inscription (S.I.I. III. 75) shows that no such claim has been registered by the Chōla king. The word occurring in line 43 of the text is really *siṅgaṇam* and not *siṅhaḷam* as was misread by the editor Kanakasabhai in editing the inscription in Indian Antiquary.

44. Two indigenous works of Ceylon, the *Nikaya-saṃgraha* (Tr. p. 19) and the *Pūjāvali* (Tr. p. 33) reckon the period of Chōla rule from A.D. 984, the 3rd year of Mahinda V, and therefore they hold that the rule lasted for 86 years. This is by no means acceptable. Either A.D. 915, the date of the battle of Veḷḷūr, or more correctly A.D. 993 by which time Rāja Rāja I had established his power in Ceylon is the proper date of the commencement of Chōla rule.

But the day-to-day life of the common people was not touched by the establishment of the imperial authority. Except for the disturbances and plunders caused by the wars, which were not infrequent, the routine life of the people in the villages continued as of old.

There was a Chōḷa Governor at Polonnaruva, which had been established as the new capital. In fact the transfer of capital from Anurādhapura to Polonnaruva was an important change in the history of Ceylon, because sometime after the liberation of Ceylon from the Chōḷa power, Polonnaruva was once again made the capital. The Chōḷa governor at Polonnaruva was assisted by a number of officials. In all probability the organisation of the court and the administration under the governor must have been modelled on those of the imperial counterpart in the mainland. In an inscription of the reign of the emperor Rājendra, perhaps Rājendra II, an endowment is recorded to have been made to the Tiruviramīśvaram temple by an officer designated as *paṇimakan* who belonged to the *perundanam* rank. These are names occurring in other Chōḷa inscriptions. The same record speaks of *Verrilai, vāṇiyar* (dealers in betel leaf), *vāḷaikkāy-vāṇiyar* (dealers in plantain fruit) and *śaṅkarappāḍiyar* (probably oil mongers).⁴⁵ These designations suggest a similarity with designations appearing in the epigraphs of the mainland. Whether the *Olainayakam, Uttaramantri, Karumi* and other officers mentioned in the Chōḷa records of South India existed under the Chōḷa government in Ceylon it is not possible to determine from the available records. But the argument from silence cannot be pressed too far in this case.

However, Rāja Rāja's authority had been established only in the northern part of Ceylon known as Rājaraṭṭha. He had not subdued the south and this was accomplished by Rājendra I in A.D. 1017. In one sense, therefore, it is from A.D. 1017 that the establishment of Chōḷa authority over the whole of Ceylon could be stated to have commenced.

But the south, known as the province of Rohaṇa, was a source of endless trouble for the Chōḷas. From A. D. 1029 down

to the final collapse of the Chōla power in A. D. 1070, Rohaṇa proved to be the hot-bed of rebellions. The Sinhalese viewed the foreign rule with sullen discontent, and little wonder that Rohaṇa witnessed frequent risings and reprisals.

But apart from the troubles in Rohaṇa, the rest of the island, too, did not form a closely integrated part of the empire. Excepting for the payment of the annual tribute and the supplies of men and money to meet specified demands the local government of old was left undisturbed.

Revenue System :

Judged from the system prevalent in the mainland under the Chōlas, land revenue was collected in kind or in cash or in both. It is learnt from an inscription that five villages in Ceylon which were granted to the Brihadīśvara temple at Tanjāvūr were required to remit the dues to the temple in paddy, money and *iluppaippal* (milk of the Iluppai tree) required for burning lamps in the temple. The State's demand seems to have been one-third of the gross produce in the time of Rāja Rāja I ; probably this rate was adopted in Ceylon throughout the period of Chōla rule. The unit of measurement of paddy or *iluppaippāl* was the *marakkal* which was commonly used in the mainland of South India.

Coinage :

Kāśu, the standard Chōla coin, appears to have been in use in Ceylon during the period of Chōla rule. The Chōla coins discovered in Ceylon include those of Rājādhirāja I and Rājendra II."

Army :

Chōla armies were stationed in Polonnaruva and other important towns in Ceylon. The army consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephants. Care was taken to secure the proper training and discipline of the troops.

The Chōla army was guilty of cruel treatment of their enemies in Ceylon. Occasionally there occurred brutal treatment of the

enemies through the adoption of severe steps such as decapitation, mutilation and transportation. Mutilation of even the women members of the royal family took place. But these were exceptional cases and generally the Chōla imperialism was mild in its incidence.

Certain Buddhist vihāras were demolished by the Chōla invaders. The Ceylonese chronicles provide rather exaggerated descriptions of the havoc caused by the Chōlas to the Buddhist institutions. But it is undeniable that the Chōla soldiers were guilty of some acts of vandalism. In this connection it is important to observe that the Tamil followers of the Chōlas were also liberal enough to make endowments to Buddhist shrines. Certain inscriptions in the Trincomalee district reveal that donations were made by Tamils to a Buddhist sanctuary. It is recorded that the shrine itself was rechristened as Rājarājapperrumpalli after the great Rājarāja I ^{46a}.

The Vēlaikkāra contingent was introduced into Ceylon probably during the time of Vijayabāhu I. Thus this institution of bodyguards who constituted an element of the royal fighting forces was an outcome of the Chōla contact with Ceylon. The Vēlaikkāras constituted a body of foreign mercenaries, and during the Chōla period they were mainly Tamils. This institution was continued by the monarchs in Ceylon for nearly a century after the reign of Vijayabāhu I⁴⁷. Generally they served their masters loyally⁴⁸.

It is remarkable, as noticed earlier, that in spite of the fact that they were Hindus, the Vēlaikkāras of Vijayabāhu I came forward to take special care of the Buddhist Tooth Relic temple. Perhaps this was a token of their repentance for having rebelled against the king. Nevertheless, their attachment to their own religion was not affected by this. The Vēlaikkāras were entrusted with the management of the charitable endowments made to the

46-a. ASCAR 1953 pp. 9-12.

47. E.Z. II. pp. 250 ff.

48. In the time of Vijayabāhu I and later during the reigns of Gajabāhu II and of Parakramabāhu, the Vēlaikkāras proved faithless. Loyalty to their country of origin dominated over loyalty to the sovereign. But these were exceptional instances.

Śiva temple at Kantalay, which was a village inhabited largely by brahmins. It is noteworthy that this temple was called Vijayarāja Īśvaram which indicates that it was either constructed by Vijayabāhu I or patronised by him⁴⁹.

Generally speaking, religious hostility was not a primary consideration which governed the mutual relationship of the Sinhalese and Chōlas. It is true that several Buddhist vihāras were attacked and plundered by the invading hosts of the Chōlas. But the motive force does not appear to have been religious rancour. This may be inferred from the patronage extended by the Chōlas to the old Buddhist shrine known as the Velgam-vihāra in the Trincomale district. Under the Chōlas, probably during the time of Rāja Rāja I, this vihāra was rebuilt in the traditional Hindu style and renamed after the Chōla sovereign as Rājarājapperumpalli. This Buddhist shrine contains inscriptions in Tamil dated in the reigns of Rāja Rāja I and Rājendra I⁵⁰. They record gifts made to the vihāra.

At the same time the Chōlas constructed several Hindu shrines in Ceylon. Some of them were dedicated to Śiva and others to Vishnu. In Polonnaruva (Jananāthamaṅgalam) Rāja Rāja constructed the beautiful stone temple of Śiva, which fortunately continues to remain in a good state of preservation. The architectural style of the temple resembles that of its counterparts of the 10th and 11th centuries in the mainland⁵¹. We have also noticed earlier how one Tāli Kumaran, a Chōla officer, erected another Śiva temple at Mahātiṭṭha (Māntōṭa) and named it Rājarājēśvaram.

There is a temple at Polonnaruva called Vānavanmādevi Īśvaram. Since Vānavan Mādevi was the name of the chief queen of Rājarāja I, this temple was obviously constructed in her honour. No inscription of Rāja Rāja I appears here but it contains the epigraphs of Rājendra I and of Adhirājendra. Therefore, it is probable that the temple was erected by

49. E.Z. IV. pp. 191 ff.

50. ASCAR. 1953, pp. 9-12.

51. ASC, 1906, pp. 17 ff.

Rājendra I. Some other Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite temples arose in the vicinity of Polonnaruva during the time of Rājendra I.

These temples contained many bronze and copper images of deities like those of Naṭarāja, Pārvati, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmi, Bālakṛṣṇa, Hanumān, Sūrya and Kārtikēya and of saints like Tiruṇāṇa sambandar, Appar, Sundaramūrti and Māṇikkavāṣagar. It is not possible to determine whether they were carved by sculptors of the Chōla country or by those who had migrated to Ceylon. However, there is no doubt that their workmanship is in no way inferior to those found in the mainland.

Invasion of Vira Deva (1112 A.D.)

Within a short time of the liberation of Ceylon from the Chōla yoke, there was confusion in the land. Vijayabāhu, the great hero of the Sinhalese, died about 1111 A. D. and soon there arose dissension among his relatives. Vikramabāhu, the son of Vijayabāhu, was ruling as *adipada* in Rohaṇa at the time of his father's death. But other members of the royal family including Mitta (Vijayabahu's sister and wife of a Pāṇḍyan prince) and her three sons, the ministers, high officials and the chief monks conspired to keep Vikramabāhu in the dark about his father's death and consecrated Jayabāhu (a brother of Vijayabāhu) as king and appointed Prince Mānābharāṇa (the eldest son of the princess Mitta) as *uparāja*. Thus the move was to keep out Vikramabāhu. With a view to destroying any possible opposition, the party headed by Jayabāhu moved against Vikramabāhu at Rohaṇa. But Vikramabāhu rose equal to the occasion, and mobilising his forces, encountered the advancing army in the Buttala district. Several engagements were fought in which Vikramabāhu was successful. He marched against Polonnaruva and captured it. But his rivals seized Rohaṇa. Naturally a fierce civil war broke out again, and marches and counter marches of armies took place. It was at this stage that a new enemy appeared on the scene.

Taking advantage of the confusion in Ceylon, one adventurer, Viradēva by name, landed in the island with an army. It is not known to which part of India Viradēva belonged. The Cūlavamsa describes him as a 'lord of the Āriya country and sole sovereign

of Paḷandīpa⁵². We do not hear of any sovereign of the mainland who suits this description. Perhaps he was a chieftain of some power in South India.

However, Viradēva landed with a large army in Mahātiṭṭha (Mātōṭṭa). Vikramabāhu, in the midst of his other difficulties, felt the need for combating this new foe and hastened to Mannār in order to resist Viradēva's onward march. But Vikramabāhu was defeated severely and compelled to flee for his life. Viradēva triumphantly captured the commander-in-chief of the army besides killing two princes of the royal family. Vikramabāhu fled to the south and ultimately reached the Koṭṭhasara region where Viradēva pursued him. But the region was marshy and unsuited for rapid movement. Here in the swampy wilderness of the Kotthasara district, Viradēva was compelled to fight Vikramabāhu. This time the Sinhalese king was able to turn the tables on the invader. Viradēva suffered a terrible rout and was killed in the battle. Vikramabāhu triumphantly returned to Polannaruva and reestablished his authority.

CHAPTER VII

MEDIEVAL PĀNDYAS AND CEYLON

The decline of the Imperial Chōḷa power was a gradual process. It may be said to have started from the end of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I (A. D. 1070—1120); and it proceeded step by step during the course of the 12th and 13th centuries. The period which saw the decline of the Chōḷas was marked by the revival of the Pāṇdyas and what is known as the second Pāṇḍyan Empire appeared during this epoch. The rising Pāṇdyas had to contend with the Chōḷas who still formed a powerful factor in South India. Generally speaking, in the struggle against the Chōḷas, the Pāṇdyas received help from the Kēraḷas and Sinhalaṣas. This pattern of alliance against the Chōḷas had taken shape during the time of Rājādhiraḷa I (A. D. 1018—54) and it continued to operate during the succeeding two centuries. It came to prominence in the latter part of the 12th century A. D. in connection with a civil war which broke out among the Pāṇḍyan princes. This civil war originally began between Kulaśēkhara, probably a son of Māravarman Śrivalḷabha who ruled about A. D. 1160 and Parākrama Pāṇḍya who was perhaps ruling in the northern part of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.

Parākrama Pāṇḍya applied to Parākramabāhu I of Ceylon for help and he readily agreed to send an army to support him. The sources of our information regarding this civil war, however, vary with each other in respect of certain details, and therefore, they have to be examined at length. The Cūḷavaṃsa gives a very elaborate account of the civil war, and in particular of the campaigns undertaken by the Ceylonese armies in aid of their allies. Inscriptions of South India, particularly of the Chōḷas, corroborate in many respects the narrative of the Cūḷavaṃsa, while in regard to others they have a different story to tell. The accounts furnished by the Cūḷavaṃsa and the inscriptions should be therefore narrated before the acceptable conclusions can be drawn from them.

The Cūḷavaṃsa Account:—The Cūḷavaṃsa account opens with the siege of Madura by the Pāṇḍyan prince Kulaśēkhara when Madura was in the possession of Parākrama Pāṇḍya.

Parākrama Pāṇḍya's request to the Sinhalese king Parākramabāhu I (A. D. 1153-86) for help resulted in the despatch of an army under the general Lankāpura.¹

But before the Ceylonese army sailed from Mahātiṭṭha information was received that Kulaśekhara had succeeded in capturing Madura and killing Parākrama Pāṇḍya, his queen and some of his children. Parākramabāhu had, however, made up his mind to support the cause of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, and therefore he sent word to Lankāpura that the campaign should be conducted and not abandoned. He wanted that Kulaśekhara should be deposed and the nearest relative of Parākrama Pāṇḍya installed on the throne of Madura.

The Ceylonese army sailed, and within twenty-four hours landed at Taladilla on the South Indian coast, in spite of stout resistance from the defenders of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. Lankāpura led his army to Rāmēśvaram and thence to Kuṇḍukala where he erected a fort of stone walls. It is noteworthy that Lankāpura renamed Kuṇḍukala as Parākramapura in honour of the Sinhalese king. In his marches further ahead, Lankāpura was frequently confronted by Kulaśekhara's forces. There was stiff fighting and the Cūlavamsa, after describing the various battles of the first stage, states that Lankāpura 'returned and be-took himself to Parākramapura to satisfy his troops by the distribution of food and pay'.² This is perhaps an euphemistic way of admitting a retreat. The Cūlavamsa in the course of its description of the campaigns occasionally adverts to such retreats on the part of the advancing Sinhalese army. This indicates that it was defeated at times, but the chronicle does not seem to have recorded explicitly those circumstances which did not redound to the credit of the Sinhalese.

1. This occurred in A.D. 1166 or 1169, more probably in A.D. 1166. According to the Cūlavamsa the civil war began in the 16th year of Parākramabāhu I's reign, i.e. sometime in A.D. 1168.69. But the Ārpākkam inscription of Rājādhirāja I which refers to this war is dated in his 5th regnal year, which corresponds to A.D. 1167. Therefore, the war appears to have commenced before that date, possibly in A.D. 1166. The discrepancy has arisen on account of an error in the reckoning of dates either by the Cūlavamsa or by the Ārpākkam inscription. It is difficult to decide definitely as to which date is correct.

2. Cv. lxxvi, vv. 133.34.

Kulaśekhara then attacked Erukkatta, one of the stations held by Lankāpura, but was repulsed by the Sinhalese troops. The several defeats of Kulaśekhara made him 'surrender his throne, his umbrella, ornaments and all else' to the Sinhalese general.³

The Cūlavamsa states at more than one place in the course of its description of Lankāpura's campaigns that during the conflict some Pāṇḍyan leaders were won over to the Sinhalese side by means of presents and titles. This shows that there was strong resistance to the advance of Lankāpura and that he was occasionally obliged to resort to bribery in order to win over soldiers and officers from the opposite camp.

Lankāpura and his men were marching towards Madura fighting many battles on the way. When they were within a few miles of Madura they heard that Vira Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya was still alive, having fortunately escaped the fate of his father and other relatives. Lankāpura informed Parākramabāhu about this circumstance and sought his advice as to how Vira Pāṇḍya was to be treated. The Sinhalese king promptly replied that Vira Pāṇḍya must be taken under his protection and if possible enthroned as the Pāṇḍyan King.

Lankāpura sent a message to Vira Pāṇḍya intimating to him the decision of the Sinhalese king and accordingly Vira Pāṇḍya reached the camp of Lankāpura. Having been driven to penury for sometime he was in a forlorn condition. Lankāpura presented him with new garments, jewels, ornaments and other articles of gold and silver which had been sent by the Sinhalese king himself for the use of Vira Pāṇḍya.

Lankāpura and Vira Pāṇḍya won over many deserters from Kulaśekhara's camp by the employment of force as well as diplomacy. Then they captured places like Anwalakkōṭṭa, Añcukōṭṭa, Toṇḍi and Pāśa all of which have been identified with villages in the modern Ramnad District. The important fortress of Śemponmari was next captured.

A counter attack organised by the Maṇavar and Kaḷḷar on behalf of Kulaśekhara encountered the Sinhalese force, but was

3. Cv. lxxvi, v. 166. In the light of the subsequent course of the war this seems to be an exaggeration.

defeated by Lankāpura. Meanwhile, Parākramabāhu had sent Jagadvijaya, another able general, to help Lankāpura in his campaigns against Kulaśekhara. A victory at Kurundankuḍi was won by the Sinhalese force, but about the same time, Siriyavala and Śemponmāri were recaptured by Kulaśekhara's army. When Lankāpura rushed back to Śemponmāri he found the place deserted. Neṭṭūru, another important station near Śemponmāri, was made by Lankāpura a base of attack.

Lankāpura sent Jagadvijaya to Ceylon in order to procure reinforcements. These were promptly supplied by the Sinhalese king and with their aid, victories were won by Lankāpura at Mundranannadhāna, Kīlakōṭṭa, Maṅgalama and Orittiyūrtombama. About the same time Jagadvijaya captured the forts of Madhuramamanavīra, Pattanallūru and Sorandakkōṭṭa and returned to Neṭṭūru. After a short while, Lankāpura who was on his way to meet Jagadvijaya was intercepted by the enemy at Tirippalūru and was apparently compelled to remain at the place for a time.⁴

Shortly after this, Kulaśekhara was besieged by the combined forces of Lankāpura and Jagadvijaya in the strong fortress of Rajina. A tough fight followed in which Kulaśekhara was thoroughly defeated and driven away. Kulaśekhara took refuge in the mountain fortress which belonged to Toṇḍamāna, one of his faithful vassals.

Soon, troubles arose from the Pāṇḍya supporters of Kulaśekhara who was now actively helped by the Chōḷas. A combined army of the Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas was defeated by Lankāpura at Ponnamarāvati.

Meanwhile, the Pāṇḍya leaders in the camp of Lankāpura persuaded him to perform the coronation ceremony of Vīra Pāṇḍya at Madura. The request was complied with, and thereafter, for some time Lankāpura, Jagadvijaya and the Sinhalese troops resided in Madura.

Kulaśekhara came out of the mountain fortress in which he had taken refuge, and with the aid of troops from Trinavēli (Tirunelvēli), Palamkōṭṭa and Koṅgu, took up a strong position

4. The Cūḷavamsa does not mention the cause of his detention, but in all probability he was overwhelmed and restrained by the enemy.

at Śāntanēri. With great difficulty the Sinhalese generals captured Śāntanēri and the neighbouring places. They attacked Pāḷamkōṭṭa, where Kulaśēkhara had taken refuge, and captured it. From there Kulaśēkhara escaped to Madura.⁵

Lankāpura and Jagadvijaya marched against Madura with their troops, but hearing that Kulaśēkhara had fled to the Chōḷa country, made preparations for meeting the enemies. A battle was fought at Kilenilaya in which the combined armies of the Chōḷas and Kulaśēkhara were routed. Following up their victory the Sinhalese plundered and set fire to the neighbouring villages. Kulaśēkhara's forces were again defeated at Veḷankuṇḍi. Lankāpura then proceeded to Niyama, reorganised the administration of the province placing it under the direct control of Vira Pāṇḍya. Everywhere in the Pāṇḍyan country, the Ceylon coinage, stamped with the name of Parākramabāhu, was introduced. The captured booty, together with the prisoners of war, horses and elephants, were sent to the Sinhalese King. Parākramabāhu, it is said, celebrated the conquest of the Pāṇḍya country by providing alms for brahmans and by founding a new village named Pāṇḍuvijayagama⁶.

On the face of it, this account of the Cūḷavaṃsa, speaking of a continuous string of victories for the Sinhalese, is one-sided. It is apparently given to an exaggeration of their victories and suppression of details concerning their defeats and losses. In particular, the history of the campaigns after Lankāpura's victories does not find a place in the Cūḷavaṃsa. There is an abrupt ending of the Cūḷavaṃsa account. Geiger, the editor of this Ceylonese chronicle, makes the following pertinent observations. "One is faced by a series of questions which remain unanswered. What becomes of Kulaśēkhara? What of the great coalition of South Indian princes, Chōḷas and Pāṇḍus, of whom at the most only a few individuals were conquered? Does Vira Pāṇḍu succeed in maintaining his power? Since Kulaśēkhara did not fall in battle, he would scarcely have left his rival in

5. How it was possible for Kulaśēkhara to secure Madura which is stated to have been under the Sinhalese is not mentioned by the Cūḷavaṃsa. Probably Lankāpura had in the meanwhile lost control over Madura.

6. Cv. lxxvii, v. 70.

peace. What is Lankāpura's after-fate? It is curious that his return to Ceylon is never mentioned and that there is no word about the distinctions bestowed on him by Parākramabāhu. It is pretty clear that the chronicler has concealed the failure which overtook the expedition after its initial success. The ideal figure of Parākrama which he has in mind must not be dimmed by association with any misfortune⁷.

Chōla inscriptions:—Fortunately certain Chōla inscriptions throw light on these events. In respect of some details they differ from the data provided by the Cūḷavaṃsa. But the inscriptions themselves are not fully reliable because they, too, contain exaggerations of victories and suppressions of defeats. Therefore, one has to proceed warily in evaluating the data of the inscriptions. However, in one important respect, the inscriptions are more valuable than the Cūḷavaṃsa; they trace the course of the war between the Sinhalese and the Chōlas to a period much later than that provided by the Cūḷavaṃsa. While the Ceylonese chronicle inexplicably stops with the account of Lankāpura's victory, the Chōla records take the story of their wars with the Sinhalese to a much later period, down to the end of Kulōttunga III's reign.

The earliest of these epigraphs is the Ārpākkam inscription of the 5th year of Rājādhirāja II⁸ (c. A. D. 1171), which states that the Sinhalese army, after capturing Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and expelling Kulaśekhara from Madura, marched against the Chōla feudatories in the region of Toṇḍi and Pāsi and won victories. The triumphs of the Sinhalese forces caused panic among the people of Chōla-maṇḍalam. At this juncture Edirliśōla Sambuvarāya, one of the Chōla feudatories, implored divine mercy through the aid of a saintly person, Svāmidēvar, known also as Umāpatidēva or Jnānaśivadēva, who belonged to Dakṣimalada in Gaudadēśa. Edirliśōla Sambuvarāya entreated him to ward off the threatened invasion of the Chōla country by the wicked Sinhalese which was bound to cause havoc on the temples and brahmins of the land. Svāmidēvar complied with the request especially because he felt that the Sinhalese who had caused damage to the sacred

7. Cv. Tr. II; p. 100, n. 1.

8. S.I.I. vol. VI, No. 456.

temple of Rāmēśvaram should be prevented from doing similar harm to other temples, and he agreed to seek divine intervention. Accordingly he performed pūjā for twenty-eight days. Meanwhile, the happy news of a Chōḷa victory over the Sinhalese army reached Sambuvarāya. In token of his gratitude Sambuvarāya presented the village of Ārpakkam (Chingleput District) to Svāmīdēvar.

The second Chōḷa record connected with the Pāṇḍyan civil war and the intervention of the Chōḷa and Sinhalese powers in it is the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription belonging to the 8th year of Rājādhirāja II (about A. D. 1174).⁹ It states that Kulaśēkhara, having been vanquished and expelled by the Sinhalese who had placed Vira Pāṇḍya on the throne of Madura, appealed for Chōḷa help. The Chōḷa emperor readily agreed to help him and despatched an army under his general Pallavarāyar alias Tiruchitram-balamudaiya Perumānambi against the Sinhalese forces in Madura. It is stated that the Chōḷa general was ordered by the Emperor to attack and defeat the Sinhalese army, capture their leaders and nail their heads to the gates of Madura and finally to restore Kulaśēkhara to the Pāṇḍyan throne. The inscription adds that the Chōḷa general carried out the orders of his master to the very letter. The Sinhalese forces were defeated. The heads of Lankāpuri daṇḍanāyaka and other leaders were nailed to the gates of Madura. The Pāṇḍyan kingdom was settled on Kulaśēkhara and thus the threatened conversion of the Pāṇḍya country into a province of Ceylon was averted.

Now the question arises whether these two Chōḷa inscriptions contain a faithful record of the events. The story that Svāmīdēvar's prayers were responsible for the Chōḷa victory can be discounted. But the fact of the victory itself does not seem to be open to doubt.

Regarding the data furnished by the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription, again, Kulaśēkhara's appeal for Chōḷa help, the consequent move on the part of the Chōḷas and their victory over the Sinhalese appear to be historical. Whether or not the heads of Lankāpuri daṇḍanāyaka and other leaders were nailed to the

9. 433 of 1924; E.I. vol. XXI, pp. 184-93.

gates of the city of Madura, it is difficult to determine. An inscription of the 12th year of Rājādhirāja II, as we shall see presently, states that Kulaśēkhara fighting with Sinhalese help, removed the heads of these generals from the gates of Madura. This is certainly not creditable to the Chōlas and a fabrication which does not redound to their credit would not have found a place in a Chōla inscription. On the whole, it seems probable that the dastardly act of fixing the heads on the gates of Madura had been committed by Pāllavarāyar and that later Kulaśēkhara had them removed. Generally speaking, these Chōla inscriptions are more reliable than the Cūlavamsa in respect of the campaigns connected with the Pāṇḍyan civil war.

The third Chōla inscription, which carries the account of the civil war to a further stage is the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu inscription of Rājādhirāja II,¹⁰ dated in the 12th year of his reign (c.A.D. 1178). It states that the Sinhalese king Parākramabāhu was making elaborate arrangements for attacking the Chōlas and was mustering his forces in Urathurai, Pulaicēri, Mātottam, Vallikamam, Mattival (perhaps identical with Mattuvil near Jaffna) and other places. Hearing this, the Chōla king, or rather his general Annan Pallavarāyan, organised an expedition against Parākramabāhu as a counter move. The Chōlas availed themselves of the presence in their country of one S'rivallabha, a nephew of Parākramabāhu and a rival claimant to the throne of Ceylon and sent their expedition under his leadership. It is said that S'rivallabha and the Chōlas reached Ceylon and succeeded in destroying several places including some of those where Parākramabāhu's forces were mustered for the attack on the Chōlas. Moreover, many Sinhalese chieftains were killed, or taken captive, many elephants were captured and much land was laid waste. The Chōlas returned home triumphantly with large booty. One immediate result of this expedition was that Parākramabāhu had to give up his scheme of invasion of the Chōla country.

But about this time there occurred a change in the alignment of parties. Parākramabāhu planned to create a rift in the alliance between Kulaśēkhara and the Chōlas. He realized that his intervention on behalf of the rival of Kulaśēkhara had not led to

10. E.I. vol. xxii, pp. 86-92.

fruitful results. Therefore, he tried to win over Kulaśekhara and his men by sending them rich presents. The Tiruvālaṅkāḍu inscription speaks of the ungrateful defection of Kulaśekhara and the sudden attacks he made on certain loyal feudatories of the Chōḷa emperor. Marching on Madura, he removed the heads of the Sinhalese generals that had been nailed by the Chōḷas earlier. Certain presents sent by Parākramabāhu to Kulaśekhara fell into the hands of Chōḷa generals and that confirmed the Sinhalese king's concerted plan.¹¹

The Chōḷa emperor retaliated by championing the cause of Vira Pāṇḍya, the rival of Kulaśekhara. Anna Pallavarāyar, the loyal Chōḷa general was entrusted with the duty of installing Vira Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍyan throne, and he accomplished it, for which he received a grant of ten *vēlis* of *iraiyili* land. Rājādhirāja, in his later inscriptions assumed the title of 'Maduraiyum Īlamum Koṇḍa' emperor. Apparently, the claim is based on the installation of his protegee Vira Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍyan throne. The inclusion of Īlam (Ceylon) among the conquered places is perhaps to be explained only by the fact that the Sinhalese king's ally Kulaśekhara was defeated. We cannot read more than this into the boastful claim of Rājādhirāja.

On the other side, Nissamkamalla, the king of Polonnaruva, claims to have defeated the Pāṇḍyas towards the end of the 12th century A. D. The inscription which registers this claim does not provide details regarding the identity of the Pāṇḍya king defeated by Nissamkamalla. It states that Nissamkamalla built a tank called Pāṇḍivijaya kuḷama in commemoration of his successful expedition to the Pāṇḍyan country. More details about the Pāṇḍya King or the struggle are not provided.

But there is no doubt that in the Pāṇḍyan civil war (A.D. 1169 to 1178) during the time of Parākramabāhu I the

11. Whether Kulaśekhara actually received help for an expedition against the Chōḷas is not ascertainable. K.A.N. Sastri (Cōḷas p. 371) suggests that the threat of an invasion and the apprehended danger to the temples in the 11th year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II mentioned in an inscription (ARE No. 171 of 1925) of the 6th year of Kulōttunga III are references to the invasion of Parākramabāhu and Kulaśekhara. But the data furnished by the inscription are too vague to permit of such an inference.

Chōlas on the whole emerged triumphant. It is their proteges who proved successful at one time or another. Parākramabāhu lost heavily in men and money and his effort was on the whole a wild goose chase. The view that the 'traditional alliance among the southern powers—Vēṇād, Pāṇḍya and Ceylon—against the Chōla monarch was too firmly established to be shaken by considerations of gratitude for help received at a critical juncture'¹² is too general and inapplicable to this particular epoch. The change-over of Kulasekhara seems to have been accidental; if Vira Pāṇḍya had proved efficient, Parākramabāhu might not have tried to win over Kulasekhara, who was earlier a staunch ally of the Chōlas. It is too much to state, as has been done, that in the course of the civil war the Pāṇḍyas were always looking up to Ceylon for the purpose of opposing the Chōlas.¹³ In fact, the Pāṇḍya princes merely cared for their immediate advantage; there were occasions when one or the other of them allied with the Chōlas to gain their objective. Further, it must be observed that Vēṇād did not play a prominent part in organising an alliance against the Chōlas during the course of this Pāṇḍyan civil war.

The Chōla power became increasingly weak beginning from the latter part of Kulōttuṅga's rule. In A.D. 1216 Rājaraṇya became heir-apparent and during the reign of this Rājaraṇya III the process of decline continued. Feudatories increased in number and strength, and some open rebellions against the imperial authority appeared. Therefore, the Chōlas were not in a position to pursue their usual aggressive policy against Ceylon.

The most important of the rebellions was that headed by the Kāḍava chieftain Kōpperuṇṅiṅga. He attacked and imprisoned Rājaraṇya III and subsequently released him. Kōpperuṇṅiṅga is known to have received substantial help in his rebellious activities from the contemporary ruler of Ceylon. The inscription at Tiruvēndipuram which describes the rebellion of Kōpperuṇṅiṅga states, amongst other details, that one Parākramabāhu, the king of Ceylon, had collaborated with Kōpperuṇṅiṅga, and that later he lost his life at the hands of the Hoysala generals

12. K.A. Nilakanta Sāstri, *Colas* p. 379.

13. *History of Ceylon*, op. cit. vol. I, Part II, p. 485.

who had come to the aid of Rājarāja III. Thus it is clear that Parākramabāhu had tried to take advantage of the difficulties of the Chōḷa emperor. But little else is known about this Parākramabāhu. One fact is positive. He cannot be identified with Parākramabāhu II who ascended the throne only in A.D. 1236, because the Ceylonese prince who co-operated with Kōpperuñjiṅga is known to have met with his death in A.D. 1230¹⁴. Perhaps this Parākramabāhu who tried to interfere in the affairs of the Chōḷas was a junior prince of the Sinhalese ruling line. However, to the best of our knowledge, this is the last occasion when the Ceylonese involved themselves in a struggle with the Chōḷas.

During the period when the Chōḷa imperial power was declining, there occurred the gradual revival of the Pāṇdyas. There appeared during the 13th century the rejuvenated second Pāṇḍyan Empire which brought a large part of South India under its sway. As observed earlier, the intermittent conflict between the Chōḷas and the Ceylonese power was one of the contributory factors which helped the revival of the Pāṇdyas.

But with the eclipse of the Chōḷa power the relationship between the Pāṇdyas and Ceylon underwent a change. Instead of being the allies of the Sinhalese, the Pāṇdyas now became hostile to them and occasionally invaded their country. The first of these invasions under the Second Pāṇḍyan Empire occurred during the rule of the famous Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya who had ascended the throne in A.D. 1251. Subduing the Chōḷas, Hoysalas and the Kōṅgu rulers, Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya succeeded in bringing practically the whole of South India under his power. Then he attacked Ceylon and received tribute from the Sinhalese king. An inscription of the 7th year of his reign found at Tiruppūnduritti in the Tanjore District¹⁵ furnishes in its long historical introduction a vivid account of his activities till that date (A.D. 1258). Amidst other conquests, it is said that he undertook the invasion of Ceylon. The exact date of this exploit is not known; it must have taken place sometime between A.D.

14. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. The Cholas pp. 423-4. The attempt of S. Paranavitana (History of Ceylon p. 622) to identify this Parakramabahu with Parakramabahu Nissankamalla who has left a Tamil inscription, palaeographically assignable to this period, is not fool proof.

15. A.R.E. 166 of 1894,

1251 and 1258. Nor are details of the campaign ascertainable. All that we gather from the epigraphic record is that Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya compelled the ruler of Ceylon to submit and pay tribute¹⁶ as well as give the Pāṇḍyan king presents like pearls and elephants. Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's contemporary on the throne of Ceylon was Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1236-70) and, therefore, it was this ruler who had to submit to the Pāṇḍyan monarch and recognise his overlordship. By virtue of his conquest of Ceylon Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya called himself a second Rāma.¹⁷

Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya and Ceylon : Within a few years of the invasion of Ceylon by Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya there followed another by Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya who ascended the throne in A.D. 1253, two years after Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya had become king. In fact, for a considerable time the two kings were contemporary rulers. It is not known whether it was a conjoint rule or whether there was a division of the kingdom into north and south over which each one ruled. However, some of Vira-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions speak of his triumph over Ceylon. His inscription¹⁸ mentions his conquest of Īlam, Koṅgu and the Choḷa kingdom. A fuller account of this invasion of Ceylon is found in the introduction or praśasti beginning with the words 'Tirumagaḷ vaḷara'. From this introduction¹⁹ it is gathered that Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya 'killed (in fight) one of the two kings of Ceylon, captured his army, chariots, treasures, throne, crown, necklaces, bracelets, parasols and other royal possessions, plated the Pāṇḍya flag with the double fish on the Kōṇamalai and the high peaks of the Trikūṭagiri mountain and received elephants as tribute from the other king of Ceylon (whom, perhaps he raised to the throne).'

Regarding the places specified in the introduction, apparently Kōṇamalai is identical with Tirukkōṇamalai, the sacred hill mentioned in the Dēvāram, and Tirukūṭagiri is the same as the

16. A.R.E. 166 of 1894.

17. K.V.S. Aiyar 'Ancient Dekhan' p. 167, says that this king was called Kōḍaṇḍarāma. This is a mistake. Actually the title Kōḍaṇḍarāma was borne by a later Sundara Pāṇḍya.

18. A.R.E. 185 of 1895.

19. See A.R.E. 1912, Part II, para 39.

three-headed mountain in the Kandiyan country. Thus these are places in Ceylon captured by Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya during the expedition.

But it is not easy to explain the existence of two kings in Ceylon at the time of Vira Pāṇḍya's invasion. One was captured and killed, and the other was subdued and probably raised to the throne. The Ceylonese chronicles do not mention either this expedition or the kings defeated by Vira Pāṇḍya.

But the same historical introduction mentioned above, seems to provide some clue. It states that one Sāvanmaindan (apparently a son or prince of Jāva) who was at first defiant, eventually submitted to Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya. An inscription of the 10th year of his reign shows that Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya 'took the crown and the crowned head of Sāvaka'.²⁰ This record also indicated that Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya undertook the campaign in the island on the appeal of a Ceylon minister. Very probably the minister had solicited the aid of the Pāṇḍyan monarch to remove the threat caused by the Jāvaka prince known as Chandrabhānu. Another inscription²¹ says that the son of the Jāvaka king (Sāvakan maindan) submitted to Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya and was appointed as the king of Ceylon, which was once ruled by his father. Therefore, the ruling king of Ceylon was captured and killed and the prince of Java who had also a right to the Ceylonese throne was probably appointed as the ruler of Ceylon, subordinate to the sovereignty of Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya. In the present state of our knowledge this surmise seems acceptable.

Invasion of Ceylon in the time of Māvarman Kulaśekhara:— An inscription²² of the 20th year of the Pāṇḍyan king Māvarman Kulaśekhara states that he took among other countries Ilam also. It is difficult to say how far this claim was real, especially because there are several inscriptions of this monarch describing him as 'one who conquered all countries.' But there is a reference in

20. A.R.E. 588 of 1916. In all probability this Jāvaka prince was Chandrabānu who is known to have invaded Ceylon earlier, in the 11th year of Parakramabahu (History of Ceylon p. 622 & p. 627).

21. A.R.E. 356 of 1906.

22. A.R.E. 692 of 1916.

the Cūlavamsa that soon after the accession of Bhuvanaikabāhu I to the Ceylonese throne some 'Damiḷa foes like Kaliṅgarāyara and Chōḷagaṅgadēva and the rest' invaded the island, but were driven back. Could it be that Kaliṅgarāyara and Chōḷagaṅgadēva were generals of Māravarman Kulaśekhara? A Kaliṅgarāyar figures as the minister of three Pāṇḍya Kings - Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-80), Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya II, (A.D. 1254-75) and Māravarman Kulaśekhara (A.D. 1268-1310). It is likely that Kaliṅgarāyar and Chōḷagaṅga were generals of Māravarman Kulaśekhara.²³ Whatever the status of Kaliṅgarāyar and Chōḷagaṅga, it seems likely that they were defeated in Ceylon. This inference is possible from the fact that the Cūlavamsa which does not mention the invasions of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya or of Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya, specifies this invasion in the account.

Invasion of A.D. 1284 :—Next we hear of a Pāṇḍyan invasion of Ceylon about A.D. 1284 subsequent to the death of Bhuvanaikabāhu, the king of the island. According to the Cūlavamsa a famine appeared in Ceylon soon after the death of Bhuvanaikabāhu, and taking advantage of it, the five brothers who were ruling the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom at the time sent an army against Ceylon under a general named Āryachakravarti.

The cause of the invasion does not appear to have been so simple as what the Cūlavamsa makes it out to be. For one thing, the Ceylonese chronicle speaks strikingly favourably about the chief Pāṇḍyan king Kulaśekhara who was primarily responsible for this invasion of Ceylon. For instance, the Cūlavamsa speaking of the Pāṇḍyan ruler, says: 'King Kulaśekhara who was as the sun of the lotus blossom of the stem of the great kings of the Pāṇḍus'²⁴. It is unusual for the Cūlavamsa to speak of a hostile ruler in such complimentary terms. Not only that. The invaders who had seized some of the sacred treasures of the Buddhists are not spoken of with indignation as one might naturally expect. The doubt arises therefore whether the Pāṇḍyan invasion was welcomed by the Ceylonese or at least by a certain section of them.

23. Contra—K.A. Nilakanta Sastri in History of Ceylon p. 685—Note 6.

24. Cv. xc, v. 47.

In this connection it may be noticed that the Jāvaka, Chandrabhānu's son, was aiming at interference in the Ceylonese affairs, apparently in order to avenge his father's defeat. In support of the view that the Jāvaka prince was a menace to the independence of Ceylon and that it was to save the island from the danger arising from him that the Pāṇḍya invasion was welcomed, Parānavitana²⁵ adopts the following view. Agreeing with Tennent, he states that Marco Polo's mention that the ruler of Ceylon about A.D. 1292 was 'Sandemain' is identical with 'Chandrabhānu' which, he holds was more of a title than a personal name. Therefore, Parānavitana thinks that it was probably for getting rid of him that the Sinhalese nobles had appealed for help to the Pāṇḍyan emperor.

Though this seems plausible the available evidence does not indubitably prove the validity of this suggestion put forward by Parānavitana. The circumstance that the Cūḷavaṃsa does not speak contemptuously of the Pāṇḍya invaders and that praise is bestowed on Kuḷaśekhara are not convincing arguments for the view adopted. Above all it is not clear why the Ceylonese should have preferred one class of invaders to another. In the present state of our knowledge it seems venturesome to read more into the motive of the Pāṇḍyan invasion other than the spirit of of aggression on the part of the Pāṇḍyas.

That the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was ruled during this period by five kings, probably five brothers, is found mentioned not only in the Cūḷavaṃsa but also in Marco Polo's account. Marco Polo who travelled in the Pāṇḍyan country towards the close of the 13th century speaks of 'five royal brothers' and five crowned kings of the province of Ma'bar. Contemporary Chinese sources also speak of 'the five brothers who were Sultans' of this kingdom. Several princes like Sundara Pāṇḍya, Vira Pāṇḍya, a Māravarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya, two Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas and a Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya and some others like Māravarman Śrīvallabha and Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha are Pāṇḍyan princes of the time.²⁶ But it is not possible to ascertain who the four copartners during the time of Kuḷaśekhara were. Nor is it

25. History of Ceylon op. cit .p. 632.

26. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. The Pāṇḍyan kingdom p. 180.

possible to determine the accuracy of the statements of Marco Polo and of the Chinese sources that they were all brothers. Perhaps these sources of information are but vague descriptions rather than exact accounts of their relationships.

Regarding the events of the Pāṇḍyan invasion the details provided by the Cūlavamsa seem reliable. Āryachakravarti, the 'Damiḷa' general sent by the Pāṇḍyas plundered and destroyed many places in the island of Ceylon and captured the town of Yapavu (Subhagiti) and its fortress.²⁷ More important was Āryachakravarti's capture of the sacred Tooth Relic and costly treasures. On his return he is stated to have presented them all to the Pāṇḍyan monarch Kulaśekhara.²⁸

Was this Tamil general Āryachakravarti connected in any way with the Āryachakravartis of Jaffna? The general's personal name was Matituṅgan and he belonged to Chakravartinallūr in Sevvirukkaināḍu of the Pāṇḍyan country.²⁹ Āryachakravarti was his family title and perhaps he was connected in his father's line with the royal family of Āryachakravatis in Jaffna.

Whatever the relationship between this Āryachakravarti who invaded Ceylon and the Āryachakravartis of Jaffna, there is reason to think that the result of his invasion enhanced the prestige of the Āryachakravartis of Jaffna. They took pride in claiming themselves to be the representatives of the Pāṇḍyan authority in Ceylon; and they were always loyal to the Pāṇḍyan monarchs.

27. Cv. vc—vv. 43-47. Perhaps this Ārya Chakravarti is identical with the Ārya Chakravarti mentioned in a mutilated inscription of the 37th year of the Pāṇḍyan king Maravarman Kulaśekhara at Tiruppullāṇi. (ARE No. 110 of 1903.) There is little doubt that the Ārya Chakravarti who invaded Ceylon was a Hindu and a Tamilian and not a Muslim as suggested by K. V. Subramanya Aiyar in his Historical Sketches of the Ancient Dekhan pp. 120-71.

28. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri suggests (Foreign Notices of South India (1939) pp. 153-55) that though the Cūlavamsa does not expressly state that the Bowl Relic was also taken away to the Pāṇḍyan country, it should have been carried, because in earlier references to the removal of the Tooth Relic from place to place, the Bowl Relic is also associated with it. But this is just a surmise. Normally one has reason to expect that it would have been mentioned if it had been taken away.

29. ARE No. 110 of 1903. ARE for 1936.37 Part II Para 40.

After Bhuvanaikabāhu, Parākramabāhu II ascended the throne of Ceylon. He was keen on recovering the sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha. According to the Cūḷavam̐sa, Parākramabāhu III realized the difficulty of achieving his object through war and therefore he was obliged to resort to peaceful methods of request. He met the 'ruler of the Pāṇḍus' (apparently Māravarman Kulśekhara) and 'by daily conversations he inclined him favourably and got back the Tooth Relic from him.'³⁰

While this appears to be reliable, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's statement that 'Āryachakravartī's invasion of Ceylon and Parākramabāhu's visit to the Pāṇḍyan court obviously marked the commencement of the Pāṇḍya domination over Ceylon' seems to be an exaggeration. There is no evidence to show that either Parākramabāhu III or his successors paid tribute to or recognised the overlordship of the Pāṇḍyas. In fact, it is unwarranted to assume that Āryachakravartī's invasion was more permanent in its effects than a merely successful military raid. However, by A.D. 1310 the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was raided by Malik Kafur and its position was weakened. Sundara Pāṇḍya, the ruling sovereign vanquished by the Muslims sought the help of the ruling Ārya Chakravartī of Jaffna. But in spite of the best will Ārya Chakravartī was not in a position to render effective help to Sundara Pāṇḍya.

³⁰. It is significant that even at this stage Cūḷavam̐sa does not speak of the Bowl Relic.

CHAPTER VIII

VIJAYANAGAR AND CEYLON

From about the middle of the 14th century down to practically the end of the 17th century, the outstanding power of South India was that of the Vijayanagar Empire. Rising in A.D. 1336 on the banks of the Tungabhadra as a bulwark against the growing tide of Muslim power in South India, Vijayanagar steadily strengthened its position and carved out an empire for itself. During the period when it concentrated its attention on acquiring a position of supremacy in South India it came into contact with Ceylon also. It was inevitable in the nature of the political conditions of that age that an aggressive South Indian power should come into collision with Ceylon.

A largescale conquest of South India was undertaken for the first time in the history of Vijayanagar by Kumāra Kampana, the son of Bukka I (A.D. 1356-77). A daring soldier and an ambitious conqueror, Kumāra Kampana succeeded in bringing a considerable part of South India under his sway. One of his important achievements was the destruction of the Madura Sultanate which had been established in A.D. 1334. He defeated the Muslims in Trichinopoly and Madura and ultimately vanquished and expelled the Sultan of Madura. Proceeding further south, he compelled the Pāṇḍya rulers of the extreme south to acknowledge his sway. Now the question arises whether or not Kumāra Kampana came into contact with Ceylon.

Ferishta, speaking about the position of Vijayanagar about A.D. 1378, says that 'the Rājas of Malabār, Ceylon and other countries kept ambassadors at his (the king of Vijayanagara's) court and sent annually rich presents.^{1a} Some are inclined to think that the presents sent to Vijayanagar by the Ceylon monarch were actually in the nature of tributes to the emperor and that, therefore, Kumāra Kampana had conquered Ceylon.^{1b} But the evidence in favour of such a conclusion is not adequate. The sending of presents by neighbouring powers by itself does not necessarily show political subordination. Further, there is no

1. (a) Briggs:—Ferishta II, p. 377-8.

(b) K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. History of Ceylon op. cit. vol. I. Part II. pp. 686-7.

mention anywhere of an expedition against Ceylon undertaken by Kumāra Kampaṇa or his generals.

Maduravijayam, a laudatory poem composed in honour of Kumāra Kampaṇa by his wife Gaṅgādēvi, does not speak of Kampaṇa's victory over Ceylon. In fact, in Canto 4, lines 17 to 35 which describe Kumāra Kampaṇa's starting on the campaign against the Sambuvarāya country, states that he was accompanied by the Chōḷa, Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya kings. No mention is made of the king of Ceylon in this connection. There is every reason to expect the mention of the Sinhalese monarch also in this context if he were a subordinate of the Vijayanagar power at this time.

However, there is one reference in the poem to Simhala which suggests that its king was a subordinate vassal of the Vijayanagar Emperor. Verse 9 of Canto V says: "The royal threshold was always besieged by crowds of Kings, such as of Magadha, Maḷava, Sevuna, Simhala, Dramiḷa, Kēraḷa and Gauḍa, waiting for an opportunity to pay their homage.' But this reads like a hyperbole. There is absolutely no evidence of the kings of Magadha or Māḷava having been subdued by Kumāra Kampaṇa or by any other early Vijayanagar rulers. Simhala, too, mentioned in this context, represents one of those powers included in the fanciful description of the subordinate vassals of the Vijayanagar emperor. On the whole, we have to take it that adequate evidence is wanting to prove that Ceylon had been conquered and brought under the sway of Vijayanagar by the time of Kumāra Kampaṇa.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that active relations with Ceylon commenced during the rule of the Vijayanagar Emperor Harihara II (A.D. 1377-1404). His son Virūpāksha who was appointed as the Viceroy of the south, undertook successful campaigns against the Tundira, Chōḷas and Pāṇḍya countries and also against Ceylon. This is learnt from the Ariyūr Plates² issued in A.D. 1390 by Virūpāksha I of Vijayanagar. These plates add that Virūpāksha I planted a pillar of victory in Simhala³. This

2. I.A. xxxviii, p. 12.

3. Virūpāksha composed a poem called 'Nārayaṇi-Vilasam' which also states that he erected a pillar of victory in Simhala.

invasion of Ceylon must have taken place between A.D. 1386 and 1390, because, while the Ariyūr Plates speak of his triumph in Siṃhala, his Soraikkavūr Plates⁴ of A.D. 1386 do not mention anything about his relationship with Ceylon. On the other hand, the Soraikkavūr Plates state that he had become master of the Tundira, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries.

Both the Ariyūr and the Soraikkavūr Plates state that Virūpaksha weighed himself against gold in the presence of God Rāmanātha at Rāmēśvaram. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's view that 'Virūpaksha's weighing himself against gold before the deity of Rāmēśvaram was apparently to express his grateful thanks to the lord for his success against Ceylon and Jaffna' is obviously a piece of guess, especially because, as observed earlier, the invasion of Ceylon took place after the issue of the Soraikkavūr plates⁵.

Nor is there any definite basis for K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's observation that Virūpaksha had conquered only the northern part of Ceylon including the Jaffna peninsula. None of the inscriptions quoted above nor the Nārayaṇivilāsam composed by Virūpaksha states so. On the other hand, they refer to his triumph over Siṃhala. Presumably Harihara II would not have described himself as master of the Eastern, Western and Southern seas (Pūrva Paschima dakṣhiṇa samudrādhiśvara) in his Nallūr inscription of A.D. 1399⁶ if he had left southern Ceylon unconquered.

In this connection it may be observed that the Rājāvali, the indigenous account of Ceylon, refers to the invasion of Mahā Dēśa Rāja, in which Vijaya Bāhu, the king of Gaṃpola was captured and four of his brothers killed⁷. No invasion of Ceylon from Malabar is known to have taken place about this time. Perhaps the Rājāvali's reference to the defeat and capture of Vijayabāhu

4. E.I. vol. VIII. pp. 300-1.

5. The observation of Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler, confirms that Ceylon was successfully invaded by Virūpaksha, though he does not specify the date of the event. He states that Ajaras (probably Virūpaksha Rāja) took 'Goa and Chaul, and Dabul and Caillao and all the country of Chāramandell,' which had all rebelled after the first destruction of this kingdom. Caillao is apparently the name of Ceylon.

6. E.I. vol. III. p. 125.

7. Rājāvali p. 263.

has only a bearing on Virūpāksha's invasion. It was probably Virūpāksha who, after capturing Vijaya Bāhu established one Sojawna Sēva Rāja as the viceroy in Kandy. In any case evidence is lacking for the assumption that Virūpāksha invaded only Jaffna and north Ceylon.

No information is available regarding the relationship between Vijayanagar and Ceylon for some years after Virūpāksha's invasion, which, as noticed earlier, took place towards the close of the 14th century. Perhaps Ceylon, including Jaffna, continued to pay tribute to Vijayanagar.

There is, however, evidence to show that religious connection was maintained during this period between Rāmēśvaram and Jaffna. We learn from the inscriptions of one Pararājasēkharan that he was ruling in Jaffna about A.D. 1414; there were certain inscriptions of his on the base of the principal temple at Rāmēśvaram which recorded that the shrines there were built by Pararājasēkharan in Saka 1336^s. It is learnt that stones were hewn and shaped at Trincomalle and then carried by boats to Rāmēśvaram where they were utilised for the construction of the shrines.

After the invasion of Virūpāksha, the next military contact of Vijayanagar with Ceylon occurred during the reign of the Vijayanagar King Dēva Rāya II (A.D. 1422—46). There was an invasion of Ceylon by the Vijayanagar troops and this invasion must have occurred during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI who ascended the throne according to the Cūlavamsa in A.D. 1410 and in A.D. 1415 according to the Rājāvali. Which of these views is correct, it is not easy to determine, though H. C. P. Bell and Rasanayagam approve of the Rājāvali version. If that is accepted, Parākrama Bāhu's reign, which lasted 52 years, must have ranged between A.D. 1415 and 1467. However, the invasion by Vijayanagar troops took place about A.D. 1435.

Lakkanna Daṇḍanāyaka, the general of Dēva Rāya II at Madura, undertook an expedition to Ceylon about A.D. 1435 for the purpose of attacking certain specified places there like Yaḷpāṇam, Nāpaṭamaṇam and Iḷam. This is learnt from a Vijayanagara inscription dated in Saka 1357 (A.D. 1435) which states

that the Vijayanagara general at Madura set out to Ceylon with a cavalry force for destroying the above-mentioned places. The inscription adds that an endowment was made as *samudraya-tradana* (gift for enabling the maritime journey) for the conduct of the expedition⁹. Apparently he succeeded in achieving his object, for he assumed the title of 'Dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati'¹⁰ (master of the southern ocean). It is further confirmed by an inscription of Saka 1362 (A.D. 1440) which speaks of Dēva Rāya II as having acquired the title of *Īlam tīrai koṇḍa*¹¹ (one who received tribute from Īlam i.e. Ceylon). Nuniz says that the king of Ceylon (Ceylao) paid tribute to Dēvarāya II¹². There is no room for doubt whether it was Jaffna alone or the whole of Ceylon that was conquered by Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka. Apparently the ruler of Jaffna Kanagasūriya Siṅgai Ariyan as well as Parākramabāhu VI, the king of Koṭṭē at that time acknowledged the supremacy of Vijayanagar; the claim, that Parākramabāhu VI was able to repulse the invaders, is not substantiated by authentic evidence.

But Lakkaṇṇa was obliged to undertake a second expedition to Ceylon. This is learnt from the account of Abdur Razzak, the Persian visitor to the court of Devarāya II in the year A.D. 1443. He says that Lakkaṇṇa had 'gone on a voyage to the frontiers of Ceylon' in the previous year (i.e. A.D. 1442). This refers to an invasion at least seven years later than the one undertaken by Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka about A.D. 1435. And it does not seem probable that Abdur Razzak mistook the earlier expedition for that of A.D. 1442. But the causes for the second expedition are not known from any source. Probably there appeared a revolt on the part of some Ceylon monarch against the authority of Vijayanagar or there was remissness in the payment of tribute. This expedition however, seems to have been sent against Jaffna, for Abdur Razzak clearly states that the voyage of Lakkaṇṇa was directed to the frontiers of Ceylon. Perhaps the ruler of Jaffna had defied the power of Vijayanagar or withheld the promised tribute. There is no indication as to what happened to

9. S.I.I. vol. VII. No. 778.

10. S.I.I. vol. VIII. No. 428.

11. ARE. 144 of 1916.

12. Sewell — A Forgotten Empire p. 302.

Lakkaṇṇa's efforts. Neither the account of Abdur Razzak nor any other source throws light on this question. But since Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka was obliged to return to Vijayanagar in A.D. 1443 on account of a palace revolution causing danger to the life of Dēvarāya II, it is possible that he did not achieve his object. In fact, we do not have clear information from any of the sources about the relations between Vijayanagar and Ceylon after the expedition of Daṇḍanāyaka which was undertaken about A.D. 1435.

During the middle of the 15th century A.D. there arose conflicts between Ceylon and the Tamil powers of South India which were still under the sway of Vijayanagar. A conflict arose between a local chieftain of Tanjāvūr, named Maḷavarāya and the Ceylonese king Parākramabāhu. The cause of the rupture was the unlawful capture of a Ceylonese ship laden with cinnamon by Maḷavarāya and his men. In retaliation of this act the Ceylonese king Parākramabāhu sent an expedition to the port named Ativīrarāma-ṣaṭṭaṇa (Adirāmpet in Tanjore Dt). It is learnt from the Rājāvali that Maḷavarāyan (who bore the title of Varakūr-udaiyan) was slain by the invading army and that the port itself was stormed by the Ceylonese and that enormous booty was taken. As a consequence of the successful attack, the Ceylonese government received annual tribute from the four villages near Adirāmpēt. The Vijayanagar forces were not in a position to interfere in this struggle.

Invasion of Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya :—Nor did the Vijayanagar Empire actively help Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya, the ruler of the extreme south, in his expedition against Ceylon. Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1422 to 61) was one of the powerful kings among the later Pāṇḍyas who reigned with Tenkāśi as their capital. This Pāṇḍyan king claims in his inscriptions to have vanquished the Chēras and the Ceylonese in a number of battles. An inscription belonging to the 28th year of his reign in the Viśvanāthasvāmi temple at Tenkāśi states that Arikēsari Parākrama saw 'the backs of his enemies at Siṅgai, Anurai, Irasai, Senbai, Vindai, Mudalai, Virai and Vaipparu,¹³ Another inscription shows that he won a great victory in the battle of

Vindai¹⁴. Some of these battle fields are located in Ceylon. Singai was apparently the capital of Jaffna and Anurai was Anuraddhapura¹⁵. But the rest of the battle fields mentioned in the inscriptions are probably places in the Chēra country on the west coast of India. Arikēsari Parākrama is known to have been engaged in a conflict with the ruler of Vēṇāḍ. The campaigns in Ceylon and Vēṇāḍ are assignable to sometime before A.D. 1450.

Raṣanayagam thinks that since no mention of any such Pāṇḍyan invasion or conquest is made either in the Sinhalese chronicles or in the Vaipavamālai, the inscription may have been merely an empty boast¹⁶. But this piece of negative evidence cannot be considered as a reliable basis; events which are not favourable or creditable to their own country are not infrequently omitted. Further, it is probable that this invasion of Arikēsari-Parākrama Pāṇḍya was that mentioned by Philatales in his History of Ceylon as having taken place in A.D. 1451. The Pāṇḍyan king was able and warlike, and there is no reason to doubt the possibility of his successful invasion of Ceylon.

A doubt has been raised as to whether or not it was during the reign of Dēvarāya II that Arikēsari Parākrama undertook this invasion¹⁷. If it took place in the reign of Dēvarāya II, the campaign should have been undertaken in the company of Lakkaṇṇa daṇḍanāyaka. But, as observed earlier, Arikēsari's invasion is likely to have taken place about A.D. 1450, four years after the death of Dēva Rāya II. Therefore, it is certain that the Pāṇḍyan king undertook the Ceylonese campaign independently.

Though the power of the Pāṇḍya king increased in strength from the reign of Arikēsari Parākrama onwards, it is not known whether his successors maintained their hold on Ceylon. The Vijayanagar emperors after Dēvarāya II found it generally difficult to maintain their authority over the Pāṇḍyas. Therefore, after the Sāḷuva usurpation in A.D. 1485, Narasa Nāyaka, the imperial general undertook an expedition to the extreme south

14. *Ibid* No. 3.

15. Anurai can not be identified with the whole of Ceylon Contra-Codrington History of Ceylon p. 92.

16. C. Rasamayagam Ancient Jaffna p. 367

17. K.A.N. Sastri in the History of Ceylon op. cit. p. 689,

with the object of re-establishing the Vijayanagar ascendancy over that region. Narasa Nāyaka won victories over the Chōlas and Pāṇdyas. Certain inscriptions state that the general built 'a bridge across the Kāveri, captured Śriraṅgaṭṭaṇam, defeated (and killed) the Chōla, captured Madhura and conquered the Pāṇdyas as also Manabhūsha, the Lord of Madhura.'¹⁸ These details provided by the inscriptions are corroborated by those found in certain literary works like *Acyutarāyabhyudayam* of Varadāmba, *Pārijātapaharaṇamu* of Muggu Timmana and *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* of Tirumalamba. The literary works as well as the inscriptions agree in stating that the Chōla and Pāṇḍyan kings were vanquished. The difficulty arises only in respect of 'Madhuravallabham Manabhūsham.' The reference to this in inscriptions and in the *Pārijātapaharaṇa* suggests that he was different from the Pāṇḍyan king. Could Manabhūsham be identified with the contemporary king of Jaffna, as K. A. Nilakanta Sastri suggests?¹⁹ On the basis that the kings of Jaffna assumed the title *Mānabharana* he makes a surmise that they also bore the title of *Manabhūshana*. Apart from this piece of guess being unacceptable, it is difficult to explain how the king of Jaffna could be described as 'Madhuravallabham.' In truth it would seem that 'Madhuravallabham' Mānabhūshaṇam referred only to the Pāṇḍyan king. It was applicable either to Kulaśekhara, the contemporary Pāṇḍyan king of Tenkāśi²⁰ or to a Pāṇḍya prince ruling in Madura. If the defeat of the Chōla could be mentioned as an achievement of Narasa Nāyaka it need not be surprising that the victory over a Pāṇḍyan prince in Madura was also mentioned as an achievement. In any case Narasa Nāyaka's triumph over the king of Jaffna is by no means proved, and to state that, since then, the northern part of Ceylon appears to have come under the control of Vijayanagara is not warranted. Nor can it be said in support of the view that the northern part of Ceylon came under the sway of Vijayanagar since that date is found in the evidence furnished by Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna, who, while giving an account of the city of Vijayanagara between A.D. 1503 and 1507 says that the Vijayanagara Empire

18. *Epigraphia Carnatica* vol. VIII. No. 34.

19. *History of Ceylon*. op. cit. pp. 689-90.

20. It is significant that Arikēsari Parākrama bore the title of Mānabhūshaṇa. Probably his successors also adopted the same title.

extended as far as Ceylon. This must be taken only as a reference to the theoretical supremacy which had been acknowledged since the time of Dēvarāya II. This theoretical supremacy can be said to have ended only with the establishment of the Portuguese ascendancy in the island. The Portuguese landed in Colombo in A.D. 1505 and entered the arena as a powerful factor not only in the trade with Ceylon but also in the politics of the island.

Several of the later kings of Vijayanagara claim to have conquered Ceylon. Krishna Dēva Rāya, the great ruler (A.D. 1509-30), states in his inscriptions of the year 1528 found at Pirāṇmalai that he conquered the island of Ceylon²¹ (in A.D. 1522). His successor Achyuta Rāya (A.D. 1530-42) also registers a similar claim. An inscription in the Rājagōpāla Perumāḷ Temple in Tanjore dated A.D. 1539 states that Achyuta Rāya conquered Īlam (Ceylon). There is no doubt that he came down to South India, planted a pillar of victory at Tāmraparṇi and married a daughter of the Pāṇḍya king.²² But it is extremely doubtful whether Krishna Dēva Rāya and Achyuta Rāya actually proceeded to Ceylon or sent their armies to conquer Ceylon. Apparently the kings of Ceylon continued to pay tribute to the Vijayanagar rulers who claimed that they had conquered the island. None of the inscriptions nor any of the other sources furnish details of the campaigns undertaken against Ceylon. This conclusion is reinforced by the inscriptions of Sadāśiva Rāya (A.D. 1542-65) which claim that he was the conqueror of all countries and of Ceylon.²³ Sadāśiva Rāya was not a great conqueror. Obviously it had become a convention to register such claims.

Krishnappa Nāyaka I and his invasion of Ceylon:—Kumāra Krishnappa Nāyaka I of Madura (A.D. 1564-72), the son of Visvantāha Nāyak is stated to have undertaken an invasion of Kandy. The source of our information regarding this event is the

21. Ind. Ant. vol. xliii, p. 45; M.E.R. of 1904 No. 149 of 1903.

22. Ind. Ant. vol. xliii p. 186; M.E.R. No. 40 of 1897 and Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900.

23. Ind. Ant. vol. xliii, p. 230 Note. In an incomplete record of this king at Tiruttani he boasts of having looted Ceylon (451 of 1905). It is not possible to be certain whether this was based on actual facts.

Telugu work called *Simhaḷadvīpa Kāṭha*²⁴. According to this, the ruler of Kandy had given offence to Krishṇappa Nāyaka by speaking disparagingly of him. The king of Kandy was a friend of Tumbichi Nāyaka who had organised a rebellion against Krishṇappa Nāyaka. It was in his capacity as a friend of Tumbichi Nāyaka that the king of Kandy had spoken of Krishṇappa Nāyaka in uncomplimentary terms.

Deciding to take vengeance, Krishṇappa Nāyaka collected an army of his Pōlegars and reached Ceylon. A message was sent to the king of Kandy demanding his homage. But he was not prepared to adopt any conciliatory method and he called out his troops to arrest the further progress of the invader. A battle was fought at Puttaḷam in which the Kandian army was defeated. But the king of Kandy continued the struggle and sustained further losses. Krishṇappa Nāyaka, however, did not succeed in capturing the king alive. Eventually the king was killed while fighting. Krishṇappa Nāyaka treated the members of the Kandy king's family with due consideration. After appointing his brother-in-law Vijayagōpāla Nāyaka as his viceroy in Ceylon and arranging for the regular payment of tribute, Krishṇappa Nāyaka returned to Madura.

Now, the above account seems to be rather one-sided in character. It was apparently written by one of the subordinates or admirers of the Nāyaks. Throughout Krishṇappa Nāyaka is depicted as faultless. The cause of the invasion itself as given in the account is unreliable. Probably the withholding of the tribute paid formerly to Vijayanagara was the real cause. Nor can we accept the truth of the continuous military success of Krishṇappa Nāyaka. But we do not possess any account from the Ceylonese side about the struggle. The appointment of a Viceroy after the war is also part of the exaggeration. In all probability the king of Kandy agreed to pay tribute to the Nāyak.

The exact date of Krishṇappa Nāyaka's invasion of Ceylon is not ascertainable. Probably it occurred in the early part of his rule. That is inferred from the circumstance that the *Sīṅgala*

24. Taylor :—Catalogue Raisonné vol. III. p. 183 6.

dvīpa Kāṭha associates the invasion with Tumbichi Nāyaka's revolt which occurred soon after Krishṇappa Nāyaka succeeded his father to the Nāyakship of Madura.

An inscription of A.D. 1567 discovered at Tāramangalam²⁵ speaks of an invasion by Vīra Vasanta Rāya 'who conquered Ceylon'. There is no means of ascertaining the details of this expedition. It must have occurred either as part of Krishṇappa Nāyaka's invasion of Ceylon or a little before that. The Cūḷavamsa is entirely silent both about this and the expedition of Krishṇappa Nāyaka.

CHAPTER IX

THE KINGDOM OF JAFFNA

During the medieval times Jaffna was constituted into a separate and independent kingdom. It had close connections with South India. Regarding the origin of the kings of Jaffna certain traditions are found embodied in the quasi-historical works like the *Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai* and *Kailāya Mālai*. The *Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai* states that “in 717 *Salivāhana* (A.D. 795) *Ugra Siṅga*, a prince of the dynasty founded by king *Vijaya*’s brother, made a descent upon Lanka with a numerous force from *Vaḍa-thēśam* (India) and after a severe struggle possessed himself of one half of *Lankā* which had been lost to his dynasty for a long time. He reigned at *Kadiramalai* while another king reigned over the southern territories.” *Ugra Siṅga* is stated to have belonged to the dynasty of *Pāṇḍuvāsa*, *Vijaya*’s nephew. Thus he is taken to have been a descendant of one of those original *Kaliṅga* colonists who had come with *Vijaya* and settled down at *Siṅgai Nagar* or *Śimhapura*.¹ According to tradition *Ugra Siṅga* is said to have subsequently transferred his capital from *Kadiramalai* to *Siṅgai Nagar*.² *Ugra Siṅga* was thus the progenitor of the ‘*Ārya Chakravartis*’ of Jaffna and the ‘*Kaliṅga Chakravartis*’ of *Polonnaruva*.³

1. *Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai* has by mistake called this place as *Sengadaga Nagar* (another name for Kandy) instead of *Siṅgai Nagar*.

2. *Kailāya Mālai* identifies *Kataragama* with *Kadira Mālai*. This is clearly wrong. *Kataragama* is situated in the south, while *Kadira Mālai* is in the north.

3. A legend that *Yālpāṇa*, the minstrel from *Tamilnad* of South India, was the founder of the kingdom of Jaffna is found in the *Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai*, *Kailāya Mālai*, *Vaiyapal* and *Dakshina Kailāsa Purāṇam*. There are certain variations in the accounts furnished by them. One tradition is that *Yālpāṇa* himself was made the first ruler of Jaffna, and that there was an interregnum after him and that later *Ugra Siṅga* was invited to become king. The *Kailāya Mālai*, however, states that it was during the reign of *Jeyatūṅga Vara Raja Siṅga*, the son and successor of *Ugra Siṅga* that *Yālpāṇa* came to the court of *Siṅgai Nagar* from South India, not as king but as a minstrel. Fr. *Gnanapragasar* thinks that ‘*Yāpane*’ meaning good village in Sinhalese, came into use only in the 15th century A.D. He adds that the earlier place *Nallur* was converted into *Yāpane* and that it had nothing to do with the minstrel or king. On the whole, it is doubtful whether the legend regarding *Yālpāṇa* is trustworthy. It might have been invented to explain the name of the island.

The Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai states that Ugra Siṅgan, sometime after he had established himself at Kadiramalai fell in love with a Chōḷa princess Marutappiravikavalli who had gone on a pilgrimage to Kīrimalai. It is added that Ugra Siṅgan carried her off by force and married her. Whether this is an allegoric representation of a matrimonial alliance concluded with the political motive of enhancing the prestige of the ruling line, it is not possible to determine.

However, it is stated that the new king and queen built a temple for Kandaswāmy at Māviṭṭapuram and that on the request of the queen her father sent a brāhmin priest known as Periamanathulār belonging to Chidambaram.

The Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai is not consistent in the treatment of the personal history of Ugra Siṅgan. In another place, the same work describes the first king of Jaffna as son of a Siṅgha Kētu, who was a son of Tiśai Ugra Chōḷan, the father of Marutapiravikavalli. According to this Marutapiravikavalli would have been an aunt and not wife of the founder of the Jaffna kingdom.

But the Kailāya Mālai holds that the first king of Jaffna was a Pāṇḍyan prince who had been fetched from South India by Paṇḍi Maḷavan, who was a Veḷḷaḷa chieftain and an earlier colonist in Ceylon. This Pāṇḍyan prince who was brought to Jaffna according to the Kailāya Mālai was known variously as Sēgarājas (Segarājasēkharan) and Siṅgai Ariyan and was later called as Vijaya Kulankai Chakravarti on account of a defect in one of his arms. Obviously some of these are incredible legends which had been jumbled together along with certain known historical data. One thing seems to be clear. The line of Jaffna kings beginning with Ugra Siṅgan in A.D. 795 came to be designated as that of Ārya Chakravartis sometime before the 12th century A.D.

It is also definite that these kings of Jaffna, beginning with Ugra Siṅgan, came to be called Kaliṅgas. This, coupled with the tradition that the founder Ugra Siṅgan was descended from Vijaya, the original colonist of Ceylon, tends to strengthen the fact that Ugra Siṅgan came from Kaliṅga. More specifically, the kings of Jaffna themselves claimed to belong to

the Gaṅga Vamśa⁴. In this connection it is significant to observe that the reverse of the coins belonging to the Jaffna kings contained the crest and emblem in imitation of the coins issued by the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga. The recumbent bull is found on both the types of coins.

Both of the Tamil epics, Śilappadikāram and Maṇimēkhalai^{4a} refer to Simhapura as a town in the Kalinga country. The founders of the kingdom of Jaffna might have given the name Simhapura to the town which they built in the new land of their occupation.

This view is strengthened by a statement in the Cūḷavaṃsa which says that Mahinda IV (A.D. 952-68) married a princess of the Kalinga Chakravarti race⁵. Apparently the appellation 'Kalinga Chakravarti race' in the 10th century A.D. denoted the Kalinga dynasty which ruled in Jaffna.

There is yet another reference in the Cūḷavaṃsa to an alliance with the Kalinga line of Jaffna. It is stated that in order to prolong his lineage Vijayabāhu I (A.D. 1054-1109) effected a matrimonial alliance with one Tilakasundari, a princess of the Kalinga race⁶. Though the Cūḷavaṃsa does not specify that Tilakasundari hailed from Jaffna, the mention of the Kalinga race in this connection seems to have a bearing on the Kalinga dynasty

4. See C. Rasanayagam. Ancient Jaffna p. 304. F. N., where the following quotations are reproduced in support of the Ganga connection :—

(a) Segarajasekaram Sirappuppayiram V. has the following line :

“ கந்தமகையாரியர்கோன் செகராச சேகரமன் கங்கைநாடன் ”

(b) Raghuvamśam of Arasakesari of Nallur has the following lines :

“ கங்கையாரியன் பதுமத்தான் ”—(Canto. X, v. 223)

“ மன்று கண்டருளுங் கங்கையாரியன் விடையின் வானி ”

—(Canto XIII, v. 107)

(c) Dakṣiṇa Kailasa Puraṇam, Sirappuppayiram has the line :

“ கங்கைநாடன் கற்றவர் திலகன் ”

4a.

(i) “ கடிபொழிலுடுத்த கலிங்க நன்னாட்டு

தீம்புனற்பழனச சிங்கபுரத்தினும் ”—(Silap. canto xxiii, 11 138-40)

(ii) “ காசில் பூம்பொழிற் கலிங்கநன்னாட்டுச

சிங்கபுரம் ”—(Maṇi. canto xxvi, 11. 15-17)

5. Cūḷavaṃsa ch. LIV—vv. 7-16

6. Cūḷavaṃsa ch. LIX—vv. 29-30

of Jaffna and not on any race ruling at that time in Kalinga proper (Orissa). Normally if the reference were to a dynasty in Kalinga, the fact that it was from a country other than Ceylon would have been specified. Here, as it is, the reference is made only to the Kalinga race and not to the Kalinga country. Therefore, it is not too much to suppose that Tilakasundari hailed from the Kalinga race ruling in Jaffna.

There is evidence to the effect that during the 10th and 11th centuries A.D., several Sinhalese rulers and princes also married from the Kalinga dynasty of Jaffna. Mahinda IV (A.D. 956-72), for instance, married a Kalinga princess. Again, his grandson Vikkamabāhu I (A.D. 1029-41) married Lōkita, the daughter of Mahinda's brother-in-law. As noticed earlier, Vijaya Bahu I (A.D. 1070-1114), the grandson of Vikkama Bahu I, married the Kalinga princess Tilakasundari. Vikkama Bahu II, the son of Vijaya Bahu I, married a relative of Tilaksundari. Vijaya Bahu I, however, gave his sister Mitta in marriage to a Paṇḍyan prince. Thus matrimonial alliances of Sinhalese rulers with Kalinga princesses of Jaffna and occasionally with princesses of the mainland of South India were adopted from the 10th and 11th century onwards.

However, in spite of matrimonial alliances, the Sinhalese and Jaffna rulers were at times engaged in conflict with each other. The war between Bhuvanēka Bāhu I (A.D. 1273-84) and Kanagasūriya Siṅgai Āriyan, the contemporary Āryachakravarti of Jaffna, over pearl-fishing has been already noticed. Later, about A. D. 1450 there occurred a largescale invasion of Jaffna by the Sinhalese ruler. Parākrama Bāhu VI Sapumal, his son, was sent to invade Jaffna. The first invasion was not successful. But in the second attempt Sapumal entered the city of Siṅgai Nagar triumphantly after crushing all opposition. Kanagasūriya Siṅgai Āriyan, the contemporary ruler of Jaffna, abdicated his throne and fled to India in quest of help. In A.D. 1467 Kanagasūriya returned with the forces provided by South Indian rulers, defeated the Sinhalese and recovered his kingdom⁷.

Regarding the relationship that the kings of Jaffna had with South Indian rulers a question has been raised as to whether

Saḍayappa Mudali, the patron of the famous Tamil poet Kambar, was a contemporary of one Pararājasīṅgan, the ruler of Jaffna during the 12th century A. D. A Tamil work called *Chōla maṇḍala satakam*, belonging to a comparatively modern period, has a laudatory verse on the liberal gift given by one S'ankaran Saḍayan to Pararājasīṅgan, the king of Kandy, at a time of famine and distress. Saḍayan is said to have sent a thousand boat-loads of paddy in order to alleviate the sufferings of the famine-stricken people. It is now generally accepted that Saḍayappa Vallal, the patron of the celebrated poet Kambar, lived in the 12th century A. D. It is very likely that Pararājasīṅgan, the beneficiary of Saḍayappa's munificence was really a king of Jaffna and not of Kandy as the verse in question, states. Rasanayagam rightly points out⁸ that Kandy was famous as the capital of Ceylon at the period when the *Chōlamaṇḍala sadagam* was composed. Therefore, the author probably ascribed Pararājasīṅgan erroneously to the rulership of Kandy. Pararājasīṅgan was not a proper name but a common name, since several other kings of Jaffna had that designation. For instance, Jayatuṅga, one of the earliest kings of this dynasty, was himself known as Pararājasīṅgan.

Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether in respect of this account, the *Chōlamaṇḍala satakam* has recorded a historical fact. For the major part, this work indulges in myths and legends current at the time, recording in their midst certain known historical facts. It is by no means easy to sift genuine history from the mass of miscellaneous material furnished by it. In these circumstances it is not safe to assert that Pararājasīṅgan, the patron of Saḍayappamudali, was a ruler of the Jaffna peninsula belonging to the 12th century A. D.

Nor can the Pararāja mentioned in the historical introduction of an inscription of the 20th year of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1216—41) be unquestionably taken to have been a king of Jaffna. The introduction in the inscription states that Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya vanquished the Chōla king, drove him to the forest and cut off the head of one Pararāja and went to Chidambaram, Rasanayagam thinks that the Pararājan, mentioned in the inscription, is a Pararājasīṅgan or Pararājasēkharan of Jaffna. It is true that the kings of Jaffna from

8. C. Rasanayagam: *Ancient Jaffna* pp. 287-8

about the beginning of the 12th century called themselves alternatively as Pararājasēkharans and Sēgarājgsekharans. But that by itself is not enough to prove that the Pararāja figuring in the above-mentioned inscription was a Jaffna king. It is possible that Pararāja is used here as a common name denoting the 'hostile' king.

Despite these limitations, the theory that the line of Jaffna kings established by Ugra Singan was of the Kalinga country seems acceptable. The question arises why these kings came to be called Ārya Chakravartis. In their records beginning from about the 10th century A.D., these kings styled themselves as Ārya Chakravartis.⁹ It is presumed that this association with 'Ārya' must have arisen after the 10th century A.D., probably through matrimonial alliance, for there is little doubt that Kalinga, like the rest of South India, was originally the stronghold of the Dravidians, and there is no evidence that Ugra Singan belonged or claimed to belong to the Ārya stock.

There is a longstanding tradition that the kings of Jaffna claimed themselves to be descended from two Brāhmin kings who were appointed by the epic hero Rama himself. Obviously this is a myth invented later. The Ārya Chakravartis are known to have worn the sacred thread, though it is not possible to ascertain the date from which this practice was begun. Some of the portraits of the later kings have this feature. The brāhmin connection in all probability arose through matrimonial alliance. De Quieroz, the Portuguese historian, probably basing his view on current tradition states thus: "In process of time there came some brāhmins, natives of Quzerat, called Ārus and with the favour of Nāyak of Madura, got the temple of Ramānacōr, whence they came for trade and friendship with the kings of Jaffna and one of them married a daughter of that king and finally his

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9. See the quotations from Segarajasēkharam, Raghuvamsa etc. given as foot notes on p. 296, Rasanayagam : Ancient Jaffna, some of which are the following :

- (a) " வென்றிசேரிய வாரியர் குலாதிபன் "—(Sega A., p. 69 v. 9)
 (b) " மன்னர்மன்னு செகராச சேகரன் மணவையாரிய வரோதயன் " —(Ibid. p. 69 v. 10)
 (c) " சீரிய செயற் பரராச சேகர வாரியன்றடம்புகள் "—(Raghuvamsa Canto VII v. 63)

descendants, became heirs of that kingdom.”¹⁰ Simon Casie Chetty, on the other hand, says thus : “ Some accounts represent Siṅgha Āriya as sprung from the stock of Chōḷa by a brāhmin female of Manavy in Ramnad and hence he is said to have assumed the ambiguous title of Āriya to signify both sides of his parentage, for the word ‘ Āriya ’ is a synonym for the Chōḷa kings as well as for the brāhmins.”¹¹ Obviously there are some palpable mistakes in Simon Casie Chetty’s account. For one thing, the title ‘ Āriya ’ could by no means be considered as a synonym for Chōḷa : nor could Maṇavy be located in Ramnad. The Chōḷa association with the dynasty of the Jaffna kings might have been derived from the legendary account found in the Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai. But the matrimonial alliance with brāhmins as having been the genesis of the title ‘ Ārya Chakravarti ’ is plausible.

In this connection it may be observed that the kings of Jaffna used the legend ‘ Sētu ’ as their emblem which can be seen from the Kōṭagama inscription¹² and from the coins issued by the Kings¹³. Further, in the list of “ Doubtful coins of Southern India ”, published by Robert Sewell,¹⁴ three are found to have been issued by the Kings of Jaffna. On these coins the legend ‘ Sētu ’ is written with the letter ‘ tu ’ above the ‘ se ’ with a line between them.

These facts suggest that the Ārya Chakravartis had connection with Rāmeśvaram which had been associated with Sētu for ages. Rasanayagam concludes that “ a brāhman of Rāmeśvaram married a princess of the Kalinga dynasty of Ugra Siṅgan in Jaffna, and his descendants adopted the patronymic of ‘ Ārya ’ and the ‘ Sētu ’ crest but retained their maternal *vaṁśa* name and the insignia of royalty.” Though this conclusion seems plausible, it cannot be claimed to have provided indubitable proof of the origin of the name Āryachakravarti adopted by the kings of Jaffna. If the brāhmin matrimonial alliance was sought to be

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10. Quieroz—Translation by Rev. S. Gnanapragasar—quoted by Rasanayagam on p. 297 of his “ Ancient Jaffna ”.
 11. J. C. B. R. A. S. Vol. I. p. 76, note.
 12. Bell : Inscription slab in the Colombo Museum quoted by C. Rasanayagam in Ancient Jaffna p. 300.
 13. Rev. S. Gnanapragasar : “ Forgotten coinage of the kings of Jaffna ”.
 14. Indian Antiquary Vol. XXXII. pp. 314 ff.

emphasised by the term, then the appellation 'brāhmaṇa chakravarti' would have been more appropriate and specific, because 'Ārya' may denote the race and not caste, and therefore it may denote Kshatriya as much as Brāhmaṇa. All that can be said in the present state of our knowledge is that the matrimonial alliance of Āryas, probably of Brāhmins or Kṣatriyas with the ruling line of Jaffna might have accounted for the genesis of the appellation Ārya Chakravarti, applied to the kings of Jaffna.

The exact date when the Jaffna kings began to call themselves as Ārya Chakravartis is not ascertainable, although the lower limit can be fixed approximately. It is found that Puhaḷēndi, the Tamil poet of Naḷaverṇbā fame, has sung on Ārya Sēgaran of Singai who had presented him with thousand pieces of gold and an elephant. Puhaḷēndi has composed two songs on this king, one on the monarch's generosity and another expressing the poet's grief over the demise of the king, his patron. Puhaḷēndi is known to have been a contemporary of the poet Oṭṭakkūttan who was the court poet of Vikrama Chōḷa and of two other monarchs who succeeded him. It is certain that Vikrama Chōḷa reigned from A.D. 1118 to 1143; therefore, Puhaḷēndi must have lived early in the 12th century. Obviously, the title Ārya Chakravarti or Ārya was adopted by the kings of Jaffna before the 12th century A.D., for Puhaḷēndi uses the appellation 'Singai Āriya Śēkharan' in one song and 'Ārya Kōmān' in another. But, as stated earlier, only the lower limit can be fixed; in other words, it can be said for certain that it was in vogue in the 12th century A.D. How long ago it had appeared is not known definitely at present.

The earliest mention of the Āryas of Jaffna in the Ceylonese chronicles occurs in connection with the account of the Sinhalese king Vikrama Bāhu I (A.D. 1121-42). During his reign there appeared the invasion of the mainland of Ceylon by Vira Dēva who was born in the country of the Āryas. This invasion is referred to in the Cūlavamsa, and therefore, it can be held that the appellations, Ārya and Ārya Chakravarti came into vogue in the early part of the 12th century A.D. or perhaps a little earlier.

S. Natesan, writing on the history of the Northern Kingdom in the History of Ceylon,¹⁵ offers an interesting suggestion regarding the origin of the Ārya Chakravartis. He thinks that they

15. History of Ceylon op. cit. Vol. I. part II, p. 691.

were Chōḍagaṅgas. He seems to have combined the data found in the Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai and the Sēgarājasēkhara Mālai, for the former states, as noticed before, that the first Ārya king of Jaffna was a Chōḷa prince, while the latter holds the Ārya kings of Jaffna belonged to the Gaṅga dynasty. According to Natesan 'the first Āryan king of the Jaffna was a Chōḍagaṅga who belonged to the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Kālīṅga which had matrimonial alliances with the Chōḷas of Tanjore and which came to be known as the Chōḍagaṅga dynasty'.¹⁶ He adds that Chōḍagaṅgas had settled themselves not only in Jaffna but also in Rāmēśvaram and when they entered into matrimonial alliance with the Brāhmins there, they called themselves as Āryas as a mark of distinction. Thus according to him the Ārya Chakrartis of Jaffna were descended from the Chōḍagaṅga line which had entered into matrimonial alliance with certain brāhmins of Rāmēśvaram.

While this suggestion seems to provide a satisfactory explanation for the adoption of the appellation 'Ārya Chakravarti' it does not explain the origin of the Kālīṅga kings of Jaffna. As seen earlier, the Ārya Chakravartis were called by that appellation only about the early part of the 12th century A.D. The Chōḍagaṅgas known to South Indian history are also heard of only in the 12th century A.D. The original dynasty of the line of Jaffna kings, as we have seen, is traceable to A.D. 795 and the Chōḍagaṅga cum Rāmēśvaram genesis of the Ārya Chakravarti line attempted by Natesan does not offer an explanation for the rise of the earlier Kālīṅga line of kings in Jaffna.

Secondly there is no historical basis for the settlement of any group of Chōḍagaṅgas in Rāmēśvaram. Where was the need for it? On the other hand, the Chōḷas had gone north and attacked the Kālīṅga country and as a result of the Chōḷa alliance with the Gaṅgas, the Chōḍagaṅga line arose there.

On the whole, the most reasonable conclusions on the basis of the available data are the following. The Gaṅgas of the

16. It may be observed in this connection that among the kings of Polonnaruwa belonging to the Kālīṅga line of Nissamkamalla there was a ruler called Chōḍagaṅga. It is stated that he was a nephew (sister's son) of Nissamkamalla. But it is not possible to be certain whether this name Chōḍagaṅga was a proper name only or it denoted a dynasty to which he originally belonged.

Kaliṅga country were the ancestors of the line of Jaffna kings who established their power in A.D. 795. Sometime about the 12th century A.D., probably on account of matrimonial alliances with some brāhmins or kṣatriyas of Rāmeśvaram, these kings described themselves as Ārya Charavartis.

Apart from the kings of Jaffna who traced their descent to Kaliṅga there was a line of kings of Polonnaruva who also claimed kingship with Kaliṅga. King Nissamkamalla, the greatest monarch of Polonnaruva after Parākramabāhu I, claimed himself to be a Kaliṅga prince, for his original home was Simhapura in Kaliṅga.¹⁷ According to his own inscriptions, he was invited from Kaliṅga to assume royalty in Ceylon¹⁸ in succession to Vijayabāhu II who was the first Kaliṅga prince. One of Nissamkamalla's chief queens was called Kaliṅga Subhadra. It is notable that Nissamkamalla often took delight in proclaiming that he belonged to the line of Vijaya, indicating thereby his claim to the throne of Lankā. Not only that. He declared that kings belonging to the line of Vijaya had a special claim to be rulers of Ceylon. He added that in a Buddhist country, non-Buddhists like the Kēraḷas and Chōḷas should not be chosen as kings.

Later, when there was confusion in the land and disputes arose over the succession to the throne, the ministers of the kingdom once again invited a member of the Kaliṅga royal family, a prince called Sāhasamalla, who was a half-brother of Nissamkamalla. The date of Sāhasamalla's accession to the throne is reckoned to have been August 23, A.D. 1200¹⁹.

It may be noticed in passing that some of the kings of Ceylon traced their descent to the early Ikshvāhu family of India. Dappula V was the earliest to do so. Mahinda V and Vijayabāhu I also described themselves as members of the same family. Later, the Kaliṅga kings, Nissamkamalla and Sāhasamalla too, claimed that they belonged to the Ikshvāhu family. This was probably the result of a tendency to glorify the ruling line by association

17. EZ II. p. 80; p. 85. Recent attempts made by writers like Parana-vitana to show that Nissamkamalla was not descended from Kaliṅga of India, are not convincing.

18. EZ II. p. 115

19. EZ II p. 220

with ancient dynasties. One has to be cautious in interpreting these claims.

Frequently the Ārya Chakravartis had dealings with Tamil Nad of South India and particularly with the Pāṇḍyan kings during several stages of their history. To start with, the first of the Ārya Chakravartis known to history according to Yālpāṇa Vaipavamālai, namely Vijaya Kulāṅgai Chakravarti²⁰, is said to have brought down some Vellāḷa chieftains with their families and dependents from the Tamil kingdoms of South India, and settled them in Jaffna. Perhaps it was for strengthening the hold of the Ārya Chakravartis in Jaffna that they resorted to this measure.

Vijaya Kulāṅgai Chakravarti was an ardent Hindu. The Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai states that he built several temples like those of Kandasvāmi and Kailāyanāthar in Jaffna.

The Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai states that during the reign of Virōdaya Siṅgai Ariyan, one of Vijaya Kulāṅgai Chakravarti's successors, a Pāṇḍyan king Chandrasēkharan, who had been expelled from his country by his enemies, went to Jaffna and sought the help of the king of the place. Virōdaya accompanied him to Madura with an army, defeated his enemies and helped Chandrasēkharan to recover his throne. But we find no corroboration of this in any of the Pāṇḍyan records. Nor do we hear of a prince of that name in the line of the Pāṇḍyas. It is not certain, therefore, whether the account given by the Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai in this respect is reliable or not.

Later, the Jaffna king, Jayavīra Siṅgai Ariyan, fought with Bhuvanaikabāhu, the Sinhalese king, over the control of pearl fisheries and defeated him. For twelve years the Ārya Chakravarti was able to exercise supremacy over the whole island. It is said that the intercession of a Pāṇḍyan king was responsible for the restoration of the Sinhalese throne to Parākramabāhu III, the successor of Bhuvanaikabāhu. The Pāṇḍyan king who interceded in the affair was probably Kulasēkhara who was the contemporary of Parākramabāhu III.

20. According to the Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai Kulāṅgai was called so because he had a deformed arm (Kulāṅgai). Rasanayagam and Fr. Gnanaprakasara think that Kulāṅgai was an accidental misreading for Kalinga and that Vijaya Kulāṅgai Chakravarti was a Kalinga king. The latter view seems plausible.

A still later king of Jaffna was Kuṇavīra Siṅgai Ariyan who is stated to have been an ally of the Nāyaks of Madura. Probably the Nāyaks of Madura who were attempting to defy the Vijayanagar authority and establish themselves independent of them received help from the Ārya Chakravarti who was himself hostile to Vijayanagar. But the kings of Jaffna were not in a position to render effective aid against Vijayanagar; a successor of Kuṇavīra Siṅgai Ariyan, viz., Kanagasūriya Siṅgai Ariyan, as observed earlier, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vijayanagar empire after a fruitless struggle.

However, the friendship between the Nāyaks of Madura and the Ārya Chakravartis continued. It is said that Kanagasūriya Siṅgai Ariyan sought the help of the Madura Nāyak in his struggle with a Sinhalese Vijayabāhu. The Nāyaka sent a large army to his help and with it Kanagasūriya fought against and defeated the enemy and recovered his kingdom.

The Ārya Chakravarti Pararājasēkharan, the son of Kanagasūriya was a great patron of Tamil learning in Jaffna. An academy known as the Tamil Śaṅgam was established which succeeded in producing certain valuable works in Tamil. It was under the patronage of this Pararājasēkharan that a medical treatise known as *Pararājasēkharam* was produced.

Generally the Ārya Chakravartis were friendly with the Pāṇḍyan king and on occasions of difficulties, they helped each other. One of the Ārya Chakravartis (probably Kulaśekhara or his successor Kulōttuṅga) is stated to have helped Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in fighting against a Posala (Hoysala) king and defeating him. This piece of information is provided by the *Sēgarājasēkaramālai*. The battle referred to was that of Kaṇṇanūr-koppam (A.D. 1264) in which Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya defeated the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara.

Similarly the Pāṇḍyan king, Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya who ascended the throne in A.D. 1253, had gone to the help of his contemporary Ārya Chakravarti against Chandrabāhu, the Jāvaka adventurer who attacked Jaffna.

The *Sēgarājasēkaramālai* also refers to another battle fought by an Ārya Chakravarti against a Kaṇṇaṭaka king at Antaravalli. There was no direct cause of conflict between the Kaṇṇaṭaka kings

and Ārya Chakravartis. Probably therefore, this battle at Antaravalli was also connected with the help rendered by the Ārya Chakravartis to the Pāṇḍyan kings in their conflicts with the Hoysala rulers.

One Varōdaya Siṅgai Āriyan, the Ārya Chakravarti king of Jaffna during the early part of the 14th century A.D., was requested by Sundara Pāṇḍya to help him in his struggle with his rival and half-brother, Vira Pāṇḍya, for the throne of Madura. The Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai says that the Ārya Chakravarti whose help was sought by the Pāṇḍyan prince was Vīrōdaya. As pointed out by Natesan, this appears to have been a mistake for the name Varōdaya, because the *Śēgarājasēkaramālai* which was produced under the patronage of Varōdaya speaks of the help rendered by him to a Pāṇḍya king who had sought his aid.

It is noteworthy that the Kalinga affiliation to the Jaffna line of kings was seen particularly in the name adopted by the the descendants of the later kings of Jaffna. According to the Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai, the descendants of the last kings of Jaffna were called Maḍapaḷḷis. This was a title created by Saṅgily (Senior) the Jaffna ruler, who was vanquished by the Portuguese, in order to appease the disappointed heirs to the throne. The significant fact to be noticed in this connection is that Maḍapaḷḷi was a country in Kalinga. It is, therefore, likely that the relatives of the last kings of Jaffna were designated by a name connected with the original home of the royal house of Jaffna.

On the whole, the Ārya Chakravartis of Jaffna were bound by ties of loyalty to the Pāṇḍyas of South India. The rulers of these two dynasties aided each other in times of trouble. The *Śēgarājasēkaramālai* provides testimony to the bond of alliance that existed between the Ārya Chakravatis of Jaffna and the Pāṇḍyas of South India. We have seen the reference in the *Śēgarājasēkaramālai* to the help rendered at Kaṇṇanūr Koppam by the Ārya Chakravarti to the Pāṇḍyan king against the Hoysalas. Later, in A.D. 1282, the Pāṇḍyas invaded Ceylon on behalf of the contemporary Ārya Chakravarti and defeated the Sinhalese king. Perhaps the Pāṇḍyan invasion mentioned by the *Cūḷavamsa* is different from this. According to the *Cūḷavamsa* one Ārya Charavarti, a minister of five Pāṇḍyan kings of Madura,

was sent by them to invade Ceylon and he carried away the Tooth Relic from Yapavu which was then the capital of the island. Regarding the identity of this Ārya Chakravarti there has arisen a controversy. Some writers have thought that he was one of the kings of Jaffna, but a South Indian inscription²¹ shows that his personal name was Matituṅga and that his native village was Chakravartinallūr in Servirukkaināḍu of the Pāṇḍyan country. Ārya Chakravarti was the title assumed by his family. It is not known whether his family was connected with that of the Ārya Chakravartis of Jaffna.

However, there is no doubt that this invasion of Ceylon by the Pāṇḍya minister Ārya Chakravarti raised the prestige and influence of the contemporary ruler of Jaffna. In fact, the Ārya Chakravartis of Jaffna, who were the constant allies of the Pāṇḍyan dynasty, became, as it were, the representatives of the Pāṇḍyan authority in Ceylon.

The Tooth Relic which had been taken away to Madura was recovered by Parākramabāhu III from the Pāṇḍya ruler Māravarman Kuḷaśekhara (A.D. 1268—1310). Perhaps Māravarman Kuḷaśekhara had interceded on behalf of the Ārya Chakravarti against the Sinhalese ruler, Bhuvanaikabāhu, in their dispute over the pearl-fisheries and it was probably as a retaliation against this that Parākramabāhu I, invaded the Pāṇḍyan country and recovered the Tooth Relic.

Later, in 1311, when the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was in the throes of internal dissension and foreign Muslim aggression, Sundara Pāṇḍya is said to have sought the help of the contemporary Ārya Chakravarti of Jaffna. Though little came out of it, this confirms the fact that intimate relationship existed between the Ārya Chakravartis and the Pāṇḍyas.

It was not only in the political sphere that there existed a close contact between the Ārya Chakravartis of Jaffna and the Pāṇḍyas of South India; it extended to the cultural sphere as well. During the reign of one Pararājaśekharan, the Ārya Chakravarti, a Tamil academy was established at Jaffna, by his brother, Śegarājaśekharan. It is said that Śegarājaśekharan,

21. A.R.E for 1904 No. 110 of 1903. See A.R.E. 1936-37 Part II Para 40.

who was himself an author of works on astrology and medicine, brought a large collection of Tamil manuscripts from South India and founded the academy. There is little doubt that the manuscripts must have been taken from the Pāṇḍyan territory which was then the seat of Tamil culture and learning. Many of the Ārya Chakravartis, particularly Varōdaya Sēgarājasēkharan, were great patrons of Tamil literature.

The Ārya Chakravartis were ardent Śaivites. They had the figure of Nandi, the couchant bull, engraved on their coins, along with the legend *Sētu*, which indicated the association of the Ārya Chakravartis with Rāmēśvaram.

South Indian invasions of the 13th century:—As noticed earlier, Nissamkamalla was the greatest king of Polonnaruva after Parākramabāhu I. An inscription on the bund of the Galmaṭṭiyānavava states that Nissamkamalla undertook an invasion of the Pāṇḍya country and that in commemoration of his victory there, he built a tank and called it Pāṇḍyaviṇyakulama. The inscription adds that the construction of the tank was completed within one day. Obviously this is an exaggeration. It is not unlikely that the tank was already in existence and that he effected some repairs to it in a short period. However, there is no reason to disbelieve his claim that he had undertaken a successful expedition against the Pāṇḍya country, though we do not have corroboration of this from any other source.²²

In Ceylon after the death of Nissamkamalla there was a confused state of affairs for several years. Weak rulers supported by king-makers followed in quick succession. At times this condition provided opportunities for adventurers from the Tamil country of South India to undertake invasions of the island.

Nissamkamalla was succeeded by his son Virabāhu I. But he was assassinated within a day of his accession. Then followed Vikramabāhu II who was overthrown after three months. The next ruler, Cōḍagaṅga, probably a nephew of Nissamkamalla, was deposed by Kittī who placed Līlāvati on the throne. Līlāvati was the queen of Parākramabāhu I. It is interesting to observe

22. See the discussion on his Pāṇḍyan expeditions. *History of Ceylon*, pp. 521-4.

that Līlavati on the paternal side belonged to the Pāṇḍya line.²³ Līlavati and her supporters were overthrown after a rule of three years.

Now Sāhasamalla, a half-brother of Nissamkamalla was invited in A.D. 1200 from Kalinga to become the ruler. After a reign of two years Sāhasamalla was deposed by a general named Ayasmanta who installed on the throne Kalyāṇavati, the second queen of Nissamkamalla. She ruled for six years and during her reign there was a Tamil invasion,²⁴ as a consequence of which, she was deposed by Ayasmanta. The inscription which gives this information is fragmentary and no other details regarding the Tamil invasion are known.

But another Tamil invasion in the eighth year of Kalyāṇavati is mentioned in the Minipe slab inscription.²⁵ Was it the same as the invasion of her sixth year recorded in the Bopitiya slab inscription or a different one? Though the Cūlavamsa, Pūjāvali and Rājāvali state that Kalyāṇavati's reign lasted only for six years, the information furnished by the Minipe inscription cannot be brushed aside. Perhaps there were two invasions, one in the sixth year of her reign and another in the eighth; really her reign seems to have terminated after six years of rule. According to the Cūlavamsa one Arikanga who had collected a Chōḷa army invaded Ceylon in the second year of Dharmasōka. Therefore, it is likely that this was mentioned as the 8th year of Kalyāṇavati. Apparently the Minipe inscription, instead of dating in the second year of Dharmasōka continued to date it in the reign of his predecessor. However, the Cūlavamsa and the Minipe inscription state that Ayasmanta was killed in the conflict with the Tamil army.

After some confusion once again Līlavati, the queen of Parākramabāhu I was placed on the throne. She reigned hardly for one year, before which she was set aside by Lōkēśvara who invaded Ceylon with a Tamil army. Lōkēśvara appears to have been a native of Kalinga; though it is not known whether he

23. She was the daughter of S'rivallabha who in turn was the son of a Pāṇḍyan prince.

24. EZ II. pp. 190.2 (No. 32 Bopitiya Slab inscription of Kalyāṇavati)

25. EZ V. pp. 159 ff.

was connected with the ruling dynasty of Kalinga of the day. It is true that he described himself in one of his inscriptions ²⁶ as an ornament to the Kalinga dynasty. But this does not appear to have been a bonafide claim. Apparently he posed himself as a legitimate ruler of the Kalinga dynasty, which had established its line of sovereigns in Ceylon for a time.

From the circumstance that Lokēśvara led a Tamil army it would seem that he was just a military adventurer. He succeeded in getting possession of the throne of Ceylon and carried on effective rule for a time. It is evident that the Tamilian army which he led was not a Chōḷa army, because according to the inscription mentioned above, he fought against the Chōḷas as well.

In spite of his military valour Lōkēśvara could not exercise sway for a long time. The antipathy of the people to the Kalinga dynasty was mounting up. Since Lokēśvara hailed from Kalinga, there was *opposition* to him in the island. Parākrama, one of the generals of Ceylon, exploited this feeling, attacked and crushed Lōkēśvara and re-established on the throne Lilāvati for the third time. She did not have a peaceful reign for long. The Cūḷavaṃsa says that in the seventh month of Lilāvati's reign a Pāṇḍyan king Parākrama invaded the island and deposing her, ruled the kingdom himself. Parākrama ruled over Ceylon for three years, at the end of which one Magha from Kalinga invaded Ceylon with an army consisting of Kēraḷa soldiers and vanquished the Pāṇḍya. Parākrama was blinded and deprived of the throne.

But the problem which defies solution is the identification of this Parākrama Pāṇḍya. As far as the available sources of our knowledge go, there was no Pāṇḍya sovereign of that name in the first quarter of the 13th century A.D. Perhaps he was an adventurer belonging to the Pāṇḍya royal family about whom nothing is known from the South Indian sources.

Kalingarāyara's Invasion and Cōḍagangadēva:— After the death of the Sinhalese ruler Vijayabāhu IV (A.D. 1270-72) there was confusion in the country. The rule of his successor,

Bhuvanaikabāhu I (A.D. 1273–84) did not prove strong enough to arrest the forces of disorder. There was a palace revolution and a military revolt. This chaotic state of affairs once again proved an attraction for certain military adventurers of South India who attacked the island with their soldiers. Seven Tamil armies invaded Ceylon; they seem to have operated in collusion with Mitta, a traitor in the camp of the Ceylonese king. The two leading commanders of these invading armies were Kaliṅgarāyara and Cōdagāṅga or Chōḷagāṅgadēva. The invading forces attacked the island fiercely, but encountered a stout resistance as a result of which they were repulsed and driven back to their native country.

There is little evidence regarding the specific identity of these military adventurers. The Cūḷavaṃsa speaks of them as Damiḷas (Tamils) but the names of the leaders suggest that they belonged to the Kaliṅga country. Perhaps the term 'Damiḷas' was employed by the chronicle to describe indiscriminately all people from South India.

Some writers think that Kaliṅgarāyara was a Pāṇḍya general. In an inscription of his 11th year (A.D. 1280) Māravarman Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya claims to have conquered Īlam. It is possible that the Pāṇḍyan general associated with this triumph was Kaliṅgarāyara, because a certain Kaliṅgarāyarar is known to have served as a minister of three Pāṇḍyan kings, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, (A.D. 1251–80), Jaṭāvarman Vira Pāṇḍya II, (A.D. 1254–75), and Māravarman Kulaśēkhara (A.D. 1261–1310). Perhaps the Kaliṅgarāya who invaded Ceylon in the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu I was identical with the minister of the three Pāṇḍyan kings mentioned above. Nothing, however, is known of Chōḷagāṅga.

According to the Cūḷavaṃsa the Pāṇḍyan army did not win any victory. Probably Māravarman Kulaśēkhara's claim was an empty boast.

CHAPTER X

COLONISATION

Beginning from pre-historic times till recently there have occurred movements of people from India to Ceylon. On account of the geographical position it was mostly from South India that colonists proceeded and settled in Ceylon. It is very rarely that people from Jaffna or the rest of Ceylon came to India in order to settle down here. There is, however, one instance of people from Ceylon having been brought to South India.

Karikāla the early Chōla king is stated to have taken 12,000 Ceylonese as prisoners of war, and settling them in his dominion, employed them on the irrigation works of the Kāvēri.¹ But it is not certain whether this reference in the poem *Porunarāruppaḍai* is based on authentic facts. Several incredible things are associated with the king Karikāla by the poet Muḍattāmakkaṇṇiyār that it is difficult to sift the truth from fiction. Karikāla's invasion of Ceylon and his victory over the king of the island might well have been historical; but that he took back with him 12,000 Ceylonese as prisoners of war seems either an exaggeration or a fabrication.

Apart from this semi-legendary event connected with Karikāla Chōla, there were a few cases of voluntary migrations of people from Ceylon to South India. During times of internal trouble and consequent confusion in Jaffna, some natives of the peninsula left their home-land for settlement in South India. Both the Vaipava Mālai and Kailāya Mālai speak of such a movement of people from Jaffna on the eve of the invitation to Siṅgai Ariyan to assume the rulership of the peninsula. It is said that a Vellāḷa, Pandy Maḷavan by name, who originally belonged to Ponpattiyūr in Tamilaham had settled down in Jaffna. When he found the land in the throes of political chaos he went over to South India with his relatives and persuaded Siṅgai Āriyan, the prince of Kalinga, to assume control over the kingdom of Jaffna,

1. *Porunarāruppaḍai* 11.

This is confirmed by the *Rājavaliya* p. 47

A woman who was weeping said 'I wept because among the 12,000 persons taken captive by the S'ōli king were my two sons'.

and he acceded to the request. It is, however, difficult to determine the historicity of the event. But it indicates the probability of certain people of Jaffna having moved out to South India during times of disorder and trouble in the native land. However, excepting for this reference in connection with the arrival of certain persons on the eve of the selection of the Kalinga prince for the throne of Jaffna, no other migration of people from Ceylon to South India is known to have taken place.

On the other hand, the migration of people from South India to Jaffna began very early and continued intermittently for a long time. There is a great probability that even before Vijaya's advent into Ceylon, Tamils from South India had crossed the narrow sea and settled in Ceylon and particularly in Jaffna. Beginning almost from the time when people of South India had learnt the art of sailing they might have had contact with Ceylon. As seen earlier, at the narrowest point the sea dividing Ceylon from South India is little more than twenty miles in width at the nearest point. South Indians must have gone to Ceylon as peaceful sailors and traders at the outset. It is notable that old (Purāṇa) coins have been discovered at Kanterōḍai. This suggests that either for the sake of trade or other peaceful pursuits Indians might have settled down in Jaffna at an early date. In course of time some might have migrated and mixed with the Nāgas and other earlier inhabitants of north Ceylon.

The earliest definitely known occasion when a settlement of Tamils in Ceylon took place was connected with the invasion and rule of Eḷāra. We have noticed already that Eḷāra and Bhalluka had to fight against Duṭṭhagāmaṇi the Ceylonese ruler, who ultimately triumphed in the contest. It is very likely that the Tamils who fought valiantly against Duṭṭhagāmaṇi under Eḷāra and Bhalluka retreated to the peninsula of Jaffna, and mixing with the native population, settled down in the country. There is no evidence of their total extermination or of their expulsion to the mainland of India.

Names like Nāgarkoīl, Vallipuram and Kovaḷam which are found both in Tamiḻaṁ of South India and on the coasts of Jaffna are suggestive of the establishment of peaceful colonists from Tamiḻnāḍ. It is also noteworthy that these villages contain ancient Hindu temples.

The establishment of Hindu temples in Jaffna was often accompanied by the immigration of brāhmin priests. One of the known instances of such immigration is said to have occurred in the time of Ugra Siṅgan. Ugra Siṅgan and his Chōla queen, it is said, founded the Kandaswāmy temple at Māvīṭṭapuram. The queen is reported to have made a special request to her father to send a brāhmin priest called Periyamanathulār of Chidambaram to officiate as the priest of the temple. The request was complied with and Periyamanathulār, sometime after his settlement married Valambikai, the daughter of one Śāmbaśiva Aiyar, and continued as priest of the temple.

Apart from priests who were enlisted for service in temples, brāhmins were brought to Jaffna from time to time for rendering specific kinds of aid to members of the royal family. One of the early references to such settlements is heard of in connection with the reign of Pāṇḍuvasudēva. It is said that for the purpose of curing the illness of the king, certain brāhmins were brought from South India and that they were settled in the capital.

During the Kurunāgala period certain brāhmins were brought as captives in order to take the place of the traditional palanquin bearers who had proved refractory². It is not possible to test the accuracy of this statement. But whatever the reliability of the particular incident, the tradition is based upon the settlement of brāhmins from the mainland of Tamilaham.

Non-brāhmin priests of the Śaiva Vellāla caste called Śaiva Kurukkaḷs were brought from South India from time to time and settled at Varany, Navalay, Chūlipuram and Vaṇṇārponnai. They performed the rites and ceremonies in the smaller shrines of the big temples. The smaller temples were often under their exclusive care.

Certain saints and mystics were honoured particularly during times of trouble and chaos. Some of these saints came from South India. For instance, Supathiḍḍamunivar was received at the court of Pararājasēkharan (A.D. 1478-1519). He warned the king against evil portents and certain ceremonies were conducted to ward them off. Chittaiyar of Sittankeri was a specialist in

curing the effects of snake-bite and he was a disciple of Supathidda munivar. Sometime later there came a saint called Kottanār. Still later, a highly reputed saint by name Periyathamby Aiyar was invited to Jaffna and he lived at Vaṇṇārponnai to a ripe old age of 120 years.

During the epoch of Chōḷa imperialism in Ceylon, besides priests, members of the temple establishment like pipers, drummers and dancers were brought and settled. The famous temple at Munnēs'varam received from South India groups of Tamil colonists consisting of artisans, drummers and pipers besides priests. They were settled in one or the other of the sixty-four villages which belonged to the Munnēs'varam temple.³ Munnēs'varam consisted of Chilaw and Puttaḷam, and it is significant that the names of the villages in these two Districts are generally Tamil. Munnēs'varam itself is said to have been once an independent principality ruled by a Brāhmin. Perhaps Munnēs'varam was one of the early colonies of the Tamils from South India.

There is a belief that as a measure of retaliation for the Chōḷa invasion of Ceylon by Karikāla, the Ceylon king Gajabāhu (A.D. 174-96) took 12,000 captives of war to Ceylon, and settled them in the island. The places in which they were settled are stated to have been Harispattu, Tumpane, Alutukuruwa, Udunuwara, Yatinuwar, Sarasiya pattuva etc.⁴ There is no reason to disbelieve the historicity of this account of the settlements given by the Rājāvaliya, although the number of people settled was perhaps exaggerated.

Later, a group of Tamil Udayas migrated to and settled in the north, central and north-western provinces of Ceylon⁵. During the time of Rājasen, a large band of Tamil Vanniyas went and settled in the district of Nuwarakalawiya⁶.

Chāliyās formed another group of immigrants into Ceylon from South India. They were weavers by profession and they

3. Pieris Sir Paul E. Ceylon and the Portuguese Era. II, p. 476.

4. Rājāvaliya (B. Gunasekhara) (p. 48.49)—states that Gajabāhu in order to wreak his vengeance brought twice the number taken by Karikāla; thus Gajabāhu brought and settled in Ceylon 24,000 men

5. R.A.S. Vol. XXX. No. 80 p. 306.

6. R.A.S. Vol. III. No. 9, p. 149.

developed the weaving industry in their new homes. There is a tradition that Chāliyas went from South India to Ceylon as early as the time of Devānampiya Tissa⁷, particularly for weaving gold tissues for the royal households. This tradition is recorded in a petition presented by the Chāliyas to the Portuguese Captain-general in A.D. 1638. The petition states that the Chāliyas proceeded in a boat of the Moors and settled in Chāla at the outset⁸. Gradually the population of the colony increased. Subsequently other groups of Chāliyas immigrated into Ceylon.

It is said that some hereditary serfs of the Pāṇḍya kings were once captured as prisoners of war by a Sinhalese king and settled in the hill districts of Ceylon. Their descendants are now known as Paduwos.⁹

According to the Rājāvali, Kalinga Mitsen, the Karalsora king brought 7,000 Tamils from the Śoli country and settled them in Ceylon.¹⁰ During the period of Chōla rule, Tamils were found in many villages. The Rājaratnākara states that in the 9th and 10th centuries the Tamils were found in every town and village.¹¹ Though this is a piece of exaggeration the fact that Tamils found their way into many places of north and central Ceylon may be accepted as historical. Much later, i.e. in A.D. 1590, several princes belonging to Malabār, along with their followers who were defeated by their local enemies escaped to Ceylon and sought the protection of the ruling king. They were received and treated well. They were settled in the region near Pomparipu and the Vanni.¹²

On certain occasions, besides weavers, other artisans also were brought from South India to settle down and pursue their respective occupations in Jaffna. We learn that the king Guṇapūṣhaṇa Siṅgai Āriyan, surnamed Sēgarājasēkharan is said to have brought during his rule weavers from Kānchipuram and the Āndhradēśa and settled them in the village of Vannārponnai. Guṇapūṣhaṇa Siṅgai Āriyan was actively interested in improving

7. Sir Emerson Tennet: Ceylon. part 4, p. 453.

8. Sir Paul E. Pieris: Ceylon and the Portuguese Era p. 226.

9. Ibid., p. 554.

10. Rājāvali p. 55.

11. R.A.S. Vol. X, p. 117.

12. R.A.S. Vol. XXX No. 80 p. 321.

the economic conditions of his people, and he established various industries in his kingdom.

A large-scale movement of colonists from Madura to Jaffna occurred as a consequence of the attack of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom by the Muslims early in the 14th century A.D. Even after the destruction of the Madura Sultanate by the Vijayanagar generals, migration of Tamils from the Pāṇḍyan kingdom to Jaffna continued. When the Vijayanagar generals conquered the Tamil kingdoms of the south and reorganised the administration of the land, they appointed their own officers for the important administrative posts. These changes were distasteful to the influential sections of the native people, particularly of the Vellāḷa caste in the Pāṇḍyan country. Consequently many of them gave up their hearth and home in South India and proceeded to settle down in Jaffna. Both the Vaipava Mālai and Kailāya Mālai speak at length about these settlements. The Vaipava Mālai gives a list of the colonies founded in Jaffna and the names of the leading members of each colony. The names of the colonists show that they belonged to the Vellāḷa caste.¹⁸ There is a great probability that the Vellāḷa landlords were accompanied by others like artisans and labourers. It is stated in particular that Paḷḷas who were attached to the landowners as serfs accompanied them as colonists to Jaffna.

From early times merchants from South India seem to have gone to Ceylon and settled down there. In Colombo certain highways are named as Cheṭṭy Street, and New Cheṭṭy Street. Chekku Street is another name which shows that it was the residential quarter of the oil monger class. But it is not easy to

13. Chief Colonist:

Name of the Colony founded.

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| 1. Mennāḍukoṇḍa Mudali | Irupālai |
| 2. Kanagavaḷavan and brothers | Puloly |
| 3. Thanināyagam | Delft |
| 4. Pāṇḍi Maḷavan and his brothers | Tirunelvēli |
| 5. Narasingathevan | My leḍḍy |
| 6. Senpakamāpānan and Kanagarāyan Chetti | Tellipallai |
| 7. Perāiyiramudaiyān | Inuvil |
| 8. Nilankaṭṭan and brothers | Pachilappaḷli |
| 9. Kūpakarājendran and Puṇyapūpālan | Tholpuram |
| 10. Devaradan | Koyilakaṇḍi. |

determine when the chettis and oil-mongers settled in Colombo. There is a probability that these people are all descendants of colonists of an early period. It is known that in the 10th century A.D. trade in Ceylon was largely in the hands of Muslims and that there were settlements of Arabs in the island. This is learnt from certain Arab inscriptions in Colombo,¹⁴ Trincomalee and the island of Puliantiru.¹⁵

But the Tamils seem to have appeared as the rivals of the Muslims at an early date, perhaps earlier than the 10th century A.D. The *Kōkila Sandēsa*, a work of the 15th century A.D. states that there were Tamil settlements *nōt* far removed from those of the Muslims. In the 16th century the Portuguese levied a tax called 'seḍḍivari' (Xaro de Cheṭivary) on the merchants in Galle. This indicates that Tamils had become traders in that region considerably earlier than the 16th century A.D. The Chetties of South India have had long traditions of commercial contact with Ceylon, though it is wide of the mark to say that 'from the days of Sena and Guttika to the present day the Tamils were playing an important role in the economic life of the country' ¹⁶.

We have seen how brāhmins of South India were employed as priests in temples. Besides, other brāhmins were invited to go to Ceylon for service as royal preceptors or purōhīts. It is important to remember that in early times the Purōhit was one of the ministers of the King; often he was the chief minister himself.

It is said that purōhīts from the early times were brāhmins. Vijaya's purōhita was Upatissa, a brāhmin. Pāṇḍukābhaya appointed a brāhmin by name Chanda as his chaplain. Devānampiya Tissa's purōhita was a brāhmin and he is said to have accompanied the king's nephew on an embassy to Aśōka. But a pertinent question arises in this connection. Were all the brāhmin purohīts of the early period of Ceylon history natives of South India? Perhaps they were; but there is no positive evidence to prove that all of them belonged to South India. There are other

14. R.A.S. Vol. I, p. 538.

15. A.S.C. Annual Report for 1912.13 p. 8.

16. Navaratnam: Tamils and Ceylon p. 254.

alternative possibilities ; some of the brāhmins might have been invited from other parts of India or some might have been indigenous to Jaffna, because fairly early in the history of Ceylon the caste system had taken root. Be that as it may, so far as the later history of Ceylon (after the 6th century A.D.) is concerned, it is known that the preference of the Ceylonese kings was for the South Indian brāhmin for employment as royal purōhita.

Occasionally even Buddhist preceptors were got down from South India. In the 5th century A.D. Buddhaghōsha from India visited Ceylon. He has been considered as the second founder of Buddhism in the island. He rewrote in Pali the Sinhalese commentaries. Parākrama Bāhu IV (A.D. 1302-26) appointed as a royal teacher a grand Thēra from the Chōḷa country. The Cūlavamsa says that this scholar rendered 350 Jātakas from Pāli into the Sinhalese language.

There are certain instances of South Indians having been appointed as ministers of Kings in Ceylon. In the Gampōla-period, Alagakkonāra, the illustrious minister of Vikrama Bāhu III of the 14th century A.D. is stated to have hailed from Kāñchipuraṁ.^{16a} He played an important part in casting aside the yoke of the kings of Jaffna. Alagakkonāra's descendants intermarried with the Sinhalese nobility and held some high appointments such as those of the prime-ministers and commanders in-chief of the army under successive kings.

Certain ministers and officers of the Ceylonese kings bore Tamil names. But it is not possible to ascertain whether they hailed from South India or Jaffna. Bhuvanēka Bāhu VII employed one Sellappu Ārāchchi on an embassy to the king of Portugal. The name Sellappu Ārāchchi seems to be Tamil. In the Portuguese documents the ambassador of Bhuvanēka Bāhu is called 'Paṇḍither', the Tamil form being used instead of the Sinhalese 'Paṇḍita'. Again, the royal decrees (sannas) issued by the kings of Kōṭṭe were attested by Sannas Tiruvarāhan Perumāḷ. Probably it was a mistaken form of Tiruvaraṅga-perumāḷ.¹⁷ It is significant that for about two hundred years

16a. Another view is that the Alagakkonara family hailed from Malabar. In any case, they belonged to South India.

17. Navaratnam : Tamils and Ceylon p. 225.

the name 'Tiruvārāhan' is found in the Koṭṭe Sannas which shows that Tamils were employed as ministers of the King. Apparently the Sannas minister's office was held by members of one family.

So late as the 18th century, king Narēndra Siṅha (1707-39) asked the contemporary Pāṇḍyan king for the hand of his daughter in marriage and two princes from his house to be appointed as ministers. The Pāṇḍyan king willingly complied with his requests and sent his daughter Sumitava and two princes Svāminātha and Hēmanātha to be ministers of the Sinhalese king.¹⁸

Tamil sailors : More than administrators and priests, sailors and captains of naval command were brought in large numbers from the Tamil country by the Sinhalese, who did not take enthusiastically to the sea. The Tamils of the east coast of South India as well as those who had settled down in Jaffna became active sailors and fighters at sea. They were employed in the fleet of the Ceylonese kings.

It is said that king Moggolana I (A.D. 496-513) was the first to organise a national marine force, and since there were few Sinhalese experienced in naval warfare, he secured the services of competent Tamil sailors.¹⁹ A Brāhmī inscription assignable to sometime between between 3rd century B.C. and 1st century A.D.²⁰ refers to an assembly hall of Tamils in Anurādhapura, the chief of whom was a ship captain. Though in the early times Tamil sailors and captains were employed by the Sinhalese government, in due course, natives of the land acquired proficiency in naval warfare.

But pearl fishing in the Gulf of Mannar continued to be in the hands of Tamils for ages. Kāpātapuram and Kāyal on the Indian side were as famous for pearl fishing as Mannar was on the Ceylon side and it is very likely that this industry was in the hands of Tamils who belonged to South India and to Jaffna.

Dirole in his book "Four thousand years under the sea" says: "Like the Cretans, the Tamils were great divers in the

18. R.A.S. Vol. XXX No. 80, p. 321.

19. Sir Emerson Tennet; Ceylon; Part 4, p. 441.

20. R.A.S. XXXV, No. 93, pp. 54-55.

world".²¹ He goes on to add that in the vessels carrying on trade between China, India and the Persian Gulf, there used to be invariably a group of Tamil divers who were entrusted with the responsibility of inspecting hulls and carrying out the necessary repairs. It is not known whether the divers and those engaged in pearl-fishing belonged to the Coromandel coast or to Jaffna. Māntai had become a centre of pirates. This shows that fairly early the sailors had acquired skill in the sea. Nevertheless, the inspiration and initial experience would have been derived from the Tamils of the Coromandal coast, because they seem to have taken to the sea very early in their history.

South Indian soldiers :— The armies of the Sinhalese and Jaffna kings were to a considerable extent recruited from South India. There are inscriptions of the medieval period which speak of royal endowments of lands to Tamil soldiers.²² Marco Polo says that the people of Ceylon were rather unwarlike and that therefore soldiers were generally brought from the Malabar coast.

King Abhaya Nāga (A.D. 291—99) Mānavamma (A.D. 676—711) and Dathasīva I (A.D. 639—50) had Tamil soldiers under them. Mahinda V (A.D. 981—1017) employed Kannaḍa and Kēraḷa soldiers. Parākrama Bāhu VI (A.D. 1412—67) employed a large number of Tamil soldiers in his fighting force. It is said that Alagakkonāra enlisted the services of Tamil soldiers for the defence of Kotte against the attacks of Ārya Chakkravarti and obviously these Tamil soldiers must have been recruited from the mainland of South India.

Frequently Tamil generals were appointed as supreme commanders of the army of the Sinhalese kings. In the 7th century A.D. Pottha Kuṭṭha, a Tamil general played the role of a king-maker. He set up two kings in succession at Anurādhapura; but they were little more than figure heads, for the actual power was in the hands of the general. In the reign of Kassapa IV (A.D. 896—913) there lived a Tamil Adhikāri Utur Pandiradun²³ who was very probably the Superintendent of lands granted to Tamil soldiers. Parākrama Bāhu I (A.D. 1153—86) had the able services of a Tamil general known as Daṁṣadhikārin Rakkha who had laboured hard to enhance the prestige of the king.

21. Quoted by Navaratnam: 'Tamil and Ceylon' p. 231.

22. E. Z. III, p. 143 and Idem IV p. 44.

23. E. Z. III p. 270 lines 8-11.

Vēlaikkāras : A peculiar contingent of troops was that of the *Vēlaikkāras*. This was an institution organized by the *Chōlas*, probably for the first time in the time of *Rājendra I*. It found its way into Ceylon, where, even after the termination of the *Chōla* rule, it was continued. There has appeared some difference of views in respect of the genesis of this institution. It has been conjectured that the *Vēlaikkāras* were volunteers enlisted on particular occasions (*Vēlai*)²⁴. But really it does not seem to be so. Far from being temporary, they formed a permanent element of the fighting force. They constituted as it were a body-guard of the king and were prepared to defend the king even with their lives when the occasion (*vēlai*) arose.²⁵

After the departure of the *Chōlas* from Ceylon, the remaining *Vēlaikkāras* stayed behind and served in the armies of the Sinhalese kings. But occasionally they felt that they were not trusted by the Sinhalese kings and this made them rebel against their masters. They gave trouble particularly to the Sinhalese monarchs, *Vijaya Bāhu I*, *Gaja Bāhu II* and *Parākrama Bāhu* the great.

The earliest and most formidable rebellion of the *Vēlaikkāras* in Ceylon appeared in the time of *Vijaya Bāhu I*, the liberator of the country from *Chōla* rule. *Kulōttuṅga I*, the *Chōla* emperor could not reconcile himself to the loss of the *Chōla* power in Ceylon and was waiting for an opportunity to retaliate on the Sinhalese ruler. As mentioned earlier, the *Chōlas* maimed the noses of the Sinhalese messengers. On hearing this, *Vijayabāhu* ordered the preparation for war against the *Chōlas*. But the *Vēlaikkāra* section of his army which had sentimental ties of attachment to the *Chōlas* refused to march against their own homeland and rebelled in A.D. 1084. At first they massacred the generals who were to lead the expedition against the *Chōlas*. Then they attacked and captured some of the members of the royal family and set fire to the palace. *Vijayabāhu* was taken aback and had to flee for his life. But after retreating for a while and making the necessary preparations, he returned and curbed the rebels. Though for a time he gave up the idea of attacking the *Chōlas*, he kept the *Vēlaikkāras* well under control.

24. S. I. I. II, Intn. p. 10.

25. See Gibb: *Ibn Batuta* pp. 287—8.

Later, when there was trouble in the Chōḷa country, Vijaya-bāhu (A.D. 1070—1114) availed himself of the opportunity and succeeded in expelling the Chōḷas out of Ceylon. The Vēḷaikkāras became reconciled to the situation and swore to serve the Sinhalese king loyally. In particular, they came forward to take care of the celebrated Tooth Relic. There is a well-preserved stone inscription which records their pledge to safeguard the Tooth Relic. The inscription is engraved in Tamil which shows the influence which Tamil language had in the court of Polonnaruva at the time.

Amidst other guarantees of Vēḷaikkāras recorded in the inscription one is that they swore to “protect the Villages, servants and revenues of, and those who take sanctuary in this shrine, although we may suffer and die. We shall repair all damages and shall always do every thing necessary for (the maintenance of) this (shrine) as long as we exist as a body.

.. .. .
He who contravenes this declaration, or he who induces another to contravene, or he who is guilty of complicity in such contravention, shall enter the hell intended for him who offends against the Matantra, and this becomes an enemy of the army, for him who commits the five graver sins, for the cruel sinner who misappropriates the property donated to the gods, spirits (Bhūtās), and the priesthood and for him who has offended against the three gems Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha forget not charity.”

It is important to note that the custody of the temple of Tooth Relic was transferred to the Vēḷaikkāras by no less a person than the highpriest and royal preceptor, the Mahāthera Moggalana who was “learned in all the Śāstras and Āgamas and perfect in the practice of all the virtues.”

To the best of our knowledge, the Vēḷaikkāras thereafter proved themselves loyal to the ruling house. They served not only Vijaya Bāhu I in the latter part of his reign but also the later kings, Gajabāhu II and Vikrama Bāhu II, the successor of Nissamkamalla. However, thereafter we do not hear of them. Perhaps the later Sinhalese kings absorbed them in the regular standing army.

CHAPTER XI

Social Life and Institutions

The pattern of social life among the people of Ceylon was in some respects different from that of South India. On account of Ceylon's insular position and on account of the dominant influence of Buddhism, the social conditions of the island developed on a pattern slightly different from those of South India. Nevertheless, the close contact of Ceylon with the Tamil country of South India had an important influence in the development of social customs and institutions. This was more so in respect of Jaffna than of the central and southern regions of Ceylon.

Caste has been the dominant social institution of South India through the ages, and it exercised its influence in Ceylon and particularly in Jaffna. It has been observed earlier that during the Śaṅgam age there was an intimate contact of Nāgadīpa (Jaffna) with Tamiḷaham of South India. Whether or not Nāgadīpa was a part of Tamiḷaham during the epoch of the first Tamil Śaṅgam, there is little doubt that it was closely connected with the Tamil country of South India. The basic features of social life prevalent during the epoch of the first Śaṅgam seem to have to been similar in both Jaffna and Tamiḷaham of South India.

Some pattern of social division based on the regional and occupational distribution was prevalent in the Śaṅgam age. Names of castes like those of Tuḍiyan, Pāṇan, Paṛayan and Kadamban are based on occupations.¹ The people of the hill tribes were described as Irūḷar and Kuṛavar, while those of the forest regions included Kōvalar, Iḍaiyar, Āyar and Poduvar. In the desert there were the Yeinar and Maṛavar, in the Neydal the Timiḷar, Nuḷaiyar and Paradavar, while in the Marudam or cultivated tracts there lived the Uḷavar, Kaḷamar and Kaḍayar.

The advent of the Āryans into South India and Ceylon introduced a new element of social division based on colour (varṇa). In due course the regional and occupational distribution became fused with the distinction based on colour and all the three

1. Puṇanānūṇu, 335.

operated together to bring about the complex system of caste with numerous sub-castes. The multiplication of castes and sub-castes is as much a striking phenomenon of the medieval and modern epochs of South Indian history, as of the history of Jaffna.

These tendencies had their repurcussions on Jaffna. The Pāṇḍya, Pallava and Chōḷa contacts with Ceylon brought on their wake social influences. The South Indian pattern of caste influenced remarkably the social organisation in Jaffna with the result that we find more or less the same groupings and sub-divisions in modern times as in the Tamil country of South India. In the begining of the 17th century, about forty castes are stated to have flourished in Jaffna. Besides Brāhmans and Vellālas there were Agambadiyas, Barbers, Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Coppersmiths, Carpenters, Cheṭṭies, Maṛavas, Mukkuvar, Vanniyas, Washermen, Weavers and so on. It is significant that most of these castes have been designated by Tamil names. But there were a few like the Kōviyas, Naḷaver, Maḍapaḷlis and Maḷavas which were designations of castes distinctly peculiar to Jaffna.

It is not known from the available sources whether the division of society into right hand and left hand castes had appeared in Jaffna. In South India, from about the 11th century down to about the 19th century this peculiar basis of grouping castes was prevalent. There is no evidence that this had penetrated into Jaffna. But among the Vēḷaikkāra contingent of forces employed by the Sinhalese kings the distinction of right hand and left hand castes is known to have existed. This feature might have been imported into Ceylon by the original Vēḷaikkāra army which went from the Chōḷa country.

Among the castes in Jaffna as in South India, the caste of Vellālas was the preeminently agricultural class. They were of two sub-divisions: the *Uḷuvittunpōr*, i.e. those who had their lands ploughed by others and *Uḷutunpōr* i.e. those who were themselves cultivators of the soil. Agriculture was considered a noble occupation. Possession of land was deemed to confer a status in society, and Vellālas, particularly the *Uḷuvittunpōr* were held in high social esteem. The monarchs themselves are said to have occasionally married from the Vellāla caste. Vellālas were frequently employed as commanders of armies and officers of state.

The high position occupied by the agriculturists is a time-honoured feature in South India and in Jaffna. The early classics like Paṭṭinappālai and Tirukkuraḷ as well as later works like the Kambarāmāyaṇam associate the virtues of honesty, hospitality and piety with the Vellālas. It is not too much to suppose that these traits of the Vellāla community in South India were shared by their counterpart in Jaffna.

Rev. Baldens, the Protestant Missionary, writing in 1658 about the Vellālas in Jaffna, says: "They live upon husbandry and are rich in cattle, such as cows, oxen for the plough, sheep, goats and buffaloes. Their habitations are both convenient and neat with pleasant gardens, well planted with beṭel and furnished with excellent springs".²

On the whole, there is little doubt that the caste system in Jaffna was a replica of the South Indian institution. It is noteworthy that in Tamiḻaham of South India as in Jaffna, there is scant mention of the kṣatriya class as a distinct group, while the Vaiśya, too, does not find a prominent place. The Cheṭṭies and traders, though known as Vaiśyas, were for all practical purposes considered to be of the same level as the Sūdras. These features resemble those in South India but are conspicuously different from those of North India.

The question arises whether the caste system found its way into the rest of Ceylon, outside Jaffna. It is well known that Buddhism in its origin was opposed to the institution of caste. Nevertheless, on account of the South Indian contact and the Āryan immigration, certain features of the caste system penetrated into the entire island. The Mahāvamsa says that craftsmen and a thousand families of 18 guilds were sent by the Pāṇḍu king to his son-in-law Vijaya. Further, it is learnt from the same source that Pāṇḍukābhaya, while planning for the lay-out of the city of Anurādhapura set apart a street for huntsmen and separate quarters for the residence of Brāhmins. For the purpose of burying the dead, watching the cemetery and cleaning the sewers, Pāṇḍukābhaya employed Chaṇḍālas.

2. Quoted by Navaratnam: "Tamilis and Ceylon" p. 192.

Later, Vijayābāhu I is stated to have built on Adam's Peak a lower terrace from which people of the lower classes could offer worship. This was obviously the result of Hindu influence and in all probability the importation of this distinction was from South India. Thus caste distinctions have also entered the Buddhist social organisation of Ceylon, though they have never been so rigid as among the Hindus of South India. The Tamil caste divisions had their counterparts in the Sinhalese social system. For example, the Vellālas were identical with the Goigamas and the Sēliyar or Chāliyar (weavers of South India) were the same as Chāligama of Ceylon. Similarly the washerman, the potter, the blacksmith, the barber and the chunnam-bearer, all formed different castes on the South Indian pattern.^{3a}

The Tamilians who had settled down in different parts of Ceylon from time to time continued to preserve their own social and religious institutions. Thus we hear of a deity called Kammāradēva, the god of the blacksmiths, worshipped by certain people in the reign of Devanāmpiya Tissa. Kammāra Dēva is apparently identical with Kammāḷathēvan, meaning the deity worshipped by the blacksmiths. A Tamil inscription, probably of the 12th century A.D., and found in the Kurunagala District^{3b}, speaks of the settlement of a dispute between washermen and blacksmiths. Since the epigraph is inscribed in Tamil, it is evident that the quarrel was between these two groups of Tamils.

Social customs :—Certain distinctive social customs are common to the Tamils of Jaffna, the Sinhalese of Ceylon and the Tamils of South India. A ceremony in connection with the attainment of puberty of girls, usually before marriage, is common among all these people. The invitees to this ceremony generally present the girl with a saree.

At all important ceremonies like those of wedding and death, the barber and washermen of the village are present and they attend to their allotted duties for which they are paid the customary remuneration. On occasions of ceremonies betel is served to the guests. When cash presents are made to those on whose

3a. History of Ceylon: Op. cit. p. 561

3b. EZ. III pp. 302—12

behalf the ceremonies are conducted, the presents are placed on betel leaves and given. These customs are common in South India. When visiting the house of a woman in confinement it is the practice in Jaffna for the visitors to take presents of betel and arecanuts. In South India, there is a slight variation of this practice ; here, usually some sweets, sugar, delicacies or fruits are taken.

Funerary ceremonies in South India and Jaffna bear a certain measure of similarity. Neighbours, friends and relatives take it as their duty to render free service in connection with the funeral ceremony. Soon after a death occurs, the people of the locality and particularly the relatives of the deceased gather themselves at the house and render help in the conduct of the funerary rites. After the funeral in the customary fashion all those who attend the function take bath before entering their respective houses. This practice is prevalent in South India as well. But in Jaffna another custom prevails. Neighbours or near relatives of the deceased send cooked meals to the members of the bereaved house-hold. Sometimes this practice is continued for weeks. This usage, though not common in South India, is found prevalent among the Tamils and the Sinhalese of Ceylon. It is, therefore, probable that the Tamils of the island had adopted this custom from their Sinhalese neighbours.

In fact, there are several social customs and traditions which are common to both the Tamils and Sinhalese of Ceylon. For instance, both peoples have belief in the same kind of omens. Astrology of more or less the same pattern is believed in by the Sinhalese and Tamils of Ceylon. Many of the national games of both the communities are identical.

It is interesting to observe that the New Year day which falls on April 13th or 14th is celebrated both by the Tamils and the Sinhalese. When the British were ruling the island, that day was called the Hindu New Year day, but now it is known as the Sinhalese and Tamil New Year day. In this connection it may be noted that the New Year day celebrated in most of the South East Asian countries falls about the same time, viz. 13 or 14th of April. It is very probably an indication that Tamilians and their customs had spread among the people of various countries in South East Asia.

Like the Hindus of India the Jaffna Tamils celebrated several festivals during the year. These festivals were connected with religion on the one hand and with their principal occupation, viz. agriculture. Many of their festivals as well as their marriage celebrations took place during the bright summer months after their harvests in January or February.

Th Tai Poṅgal occurring about the 13th or 14th January is a harvest festival. The Paddipoṅgal (Māttupoṅgal), which is a cattle festival, is celebrated on the day following the Poṅgal. The Tai Poṅgal is an occasion for a thorough cleansing of the house and the casting off of old pots and pans. There is little doubt that the Poṅgal festivals were copied from the Tamils of South India. Poṅgal is also a festive day among many Sinhalese.

Other festivals like Sarasvati Pūja and Dipāvali are common to the Hindu community in Ceylon and in the whole of India. The Sarasvati or Āyudha Pūja is celebrated in September-October when the Goddess of learning is propitiated for nine days. At the end of the period, on Vijayadaśami day, children of about five years of age are first initiated into the art of learning.

On Dipāvali, which falls in October-November when the cold season sets in with the North-east monsoon, there is merriment and festivity. It is preeminently a festival of lighting when crackers and explosives are employed to enliven the celebration. Oil baths, feasts and wearing of new clothes are other features of the celebration. Though this is celebrated all over India and Ceylon, the Jaffna pattern of festivity resembles in detail the Tamil festival of South India. It is notable that the Sinhalese too, like the Jains in India, celebrate the festival, because it has become associated with business and trade and the settlement of annual accounts.

There are several celebrations connected with seasonal changes based on astronomical calculations. Thus the natural phenomena of New Moon, Full Moon, the eclipses, the equinoxes and the solstices are all considered holy days. These are by no means confined to the Tamils alone, for all Hindus observe them in India and Ceylon. It is notable that the Buddhist Sinhalese, too, observe them. They are apparently the result of commingling of the Āryan and Dravidian beliefs.

In respect of the adoption of names there is a similarity among the Sinhalese and Tamils of Ceylon. The practice in the Sinhalese family is that the father, father's elder brother and younger brother are called by the same name with appropriate prefixes, 'lōku' and 'puñchi' (meaning respectively big and small). The Tamils of Ceylon adopt a similar practice. The name of the father is prefixed with 'periya' (big). His younger brothers are called by the same name with the prefix of Kuñchi Śinna (small). This is rarely the practice among the Tamils of South India. Obviously the Tamils of Ceylon have adopted it from their Sinhalese neighbours.

Cross-cousin marriages are common among both the Sinhalese and the Tamils. The joint family system as well as the laws of inheritance and of adoption are conspicuously similar among the Sinhalese, the Tamils of Ceylon and the Tamils of South India. H. W. Thambiah, in his study of the 'Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon' says that the three concepts, adoption, joint family and inheritance may be discussed in Kandyan Law with a view to show that the fundamental concepts of Kandyan law and the customary laws of the Tamils of Ceylon and India are the same.'⁴

Religion:—In the sphere of religious development there was a certain measure of affinity between South India and Ceylon; but there were differences, too. In South India, Hinduism which emerged as a result of the fusion of the Āryan and Dravidian beliefs came into vogue, as early as the Śaṅgam age. From about the 3rd century B.C. Buddhist and Jain influences penetrated into the land. Several Tamils of South India embraced Buddhism or Jainism, while the bulk of the people continued to maintain their faith in Hinduism. During the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., there was acute rivalry between these religions in South India. It may be said that ultimately by the 9th century A.D. Hinduism triumphed in a large measure.

In Ceylon, on the other hand, the bulk of the people were converted to Buddhism beginning from the 3rd century B.C. The

4. H. W. Thambiah: "The Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon".
p. 144

island, excepting the northern part of it, adopted Buddhism and became a powerful seat of the new religion. But in Jaffna the majority of the people continued to be enthusiastic patrons of Hinduism.

A remarkable feature is that the religious practices and beliefs of the Hindus and Buddhists exercised a certain measure of mutual influence. Vishṇu was worshipped by the Buddhists as well. The Sinhalese worshipped Varuṇa, the Hindu deity of old. They described him as Udakapāla Varuṇan which became in due course corrupted into Upulvan. Udakapāla means ruler of the sea. That Dappula a king of Rohaṇa in the 7th century A.D. worshipped Upulvan is mentioned in the inscription of the king. Worship of Upulvan was common in Ceylon till the 1st half of the 15th century A.D. A temple of Upulvan existed in Devundara town in Ceylon.

Surprisingly Upulvan became transformed into Vishṇu. This came about by giving the meaning to Udakapāla Varuṇan as the god with the colour of blue lotus. When the Portuguese destroyed the temple, the Kaṇḍy King Rājasimha II constructed a Vishṇu temple on the spot.

It is inexplicable how and when the worship of Varuṇa entered the Buddhist land. Seenī Venkataswami, discussing this question at some length, thinks¹ that the Buddhists of Ceylon might have adopted the worship of Varuṇa from the Tamils of South India, for in the days of Tolkāppiyar, the Tamils of Neydal region worshipped Varuṇa. But Varuṇa was worshipped by the Āryans in the Rīg Vēdic age. Therefore, the Ceylonese Buddhists might have adopted the worship of Varuṇa from the Āryan Hindus or more likely from the Tamils of South India who were nearer their country and with whom there was scope for active contact.

However, there is little doubt that there existed considerable toleration among the devotees of the two religions (Hinduism and Buddhism) in Ceylon. It is true that during the course of invasions and of political hostility, the Tamil kings and the generals of South India were guilty of some acts of vandalism. Certain Buddhist Vihāras were desecrated during the period of Chōḷa

imperialism. But these cases of intolerance were few and far between, and were actuated by political and not religious motives. As against this we have several instances of Hindu kings bestowing gifts on Buddhist vihāras. The queen of Khudda Pārinda, one of the Tamil Kings of the 5th century, is stated to have given donations to a Vihāra.⁶ An inscription at Aragama shows that Pārinda, a predecessor of Khudda Pārinda bestowed donations on a Buddhist monastery.⁷ Dathiya, son of Teritara, gave donations to Kiri Vihāra at Kataragāma.⁸

A Tamilian by name Mahākanda, a high official in the reign of Agbo IV, built a *pariveṇa* named after him.⁹ Potta Kuṭṭha, another Tamilian, who lived during the same reign erected a religious house called 'Matambiya'. He is also stated to have erected *pasadas* in many Buddhist *vihāras*. Damiḷadēvi bestowed her income from property on the temple known as Isurumuniya.¹⁰

On the other hand, several Buddhist kings also made endowments to Hindu temples, though the Buddhist religion suffered a set-back during the period of Chōḷa occupation. The Ceylonese chronicles describe them as inveterate enemies of Buddhism who sacked many vihāras. But there is some evidence of Tamil kings having given donations to Buddhist shrines. An inscription belonging to the reign of Rājendra I found in the Trincomalee District¹¹ records donations made by the Tamils to a Buddhist sanctuary. We have seen earlier how the shrine itself was renamed as Rājārājapperumpallī after the great Chōḷa emperor Rāja Rāja I.

It has been observed already how the Vēḷaikkāra troops under Vijayabāhu I agreed to protect the temple of Tooth Relic¹². Further, there were Buddhist organisations at Kāñchi and Nāga-paṭṭiṇam in South India and it is known that there was frequent

6. EZ. IV. p. 114

7. EZ. IV. p. 113

8. EZ. III. p. 218

9. Cūḷavamsa (Geiger) ch. 46. v. 24

10. R. A. S. XXVI, No. 71, p. 145

11. C.S.C. II. p. 199 and also p. 185

12. EZ. II. p. 254

intercourse between the Buddhists of Ceylon and those in the two places of South India mentioned above.

The religious institutions of the Hindus and the Buddhists in Ceylon as in India were centres of religious and social activities. Festivals and ceremonies were conducted there besides the daily services. They were seats of learning and religious discourses.

The early temples in Jaffna were those dedicated to Śiva and Muruha. The Kataragāma temple of Muruha is of great antiquity and fame. It is significant that even Buddhists offer worship in this temple. The worship of the goddess corresponding to Kālī was popular from the beginning. Later, the worship of Kaṇṇagi was adopted. In course of time the Kaṇṇagi shrines were converted into Amman temples.

In respect of antiquity and fame, next only to the Kataragāma shrine came the temples of Koṇēśvaramalai and Trikkētiśvaram. The Dēvāram hymnist Sambandar has sung on the deity at Koṇēśvaramalai, while Sundarar has sung on the deity at Tirukkētiśvaram. The fact that these saints of South India have sung on the deities in Ceylon shows the intimate religious connection of the Hindus of the island with those of South India.

Sometime about the 8th century A.D. temples dedicated to Gaṇēśa became popular in Jaffna. This is attributable to South Indian influence. It is now believed that the worship of Gaṇēśa was introduced into Tamiḷaḥam from Vatāpi. Perhaps, after the capture of Vatāpi, the Western Chālukya capital, by Pallava Narasimhavarmān I., the Pallavas brought an image of Gaṇēśa and installed it in their country. This accounts for the very familiar song beginning with the words "Vatāpiṅgaṇapatim..." Neither earlier inscriptions nor literature of South India refers to Gaṇēśa. Nor do we have any reference to this deity in Ceylon before the 7th century A.D. But as in South India, in Jaffna too, after the 7th century A.D. the worship of Gaṇēśa became popular and many temples dedicated to him were erected throughout the country. Gaṇēśa was associated with the power of warding off obstacles and troubles. In Jaffna he was considered as the guardian of the crops and therefore the Vellālas, the agriculturists, had many shrines of Gaṇēśa erected in the neighbourhood of their paddy fields.

It is believed that Karuṇākara Tonḍaimān, the famous general of Kulōttuṅga I (A.D. 1070–1118) went to Jaffna, and that amidst other activities, he erected a temple for Lord Gaṇeśa near his residence at Inuvil in Jaffna. This is known as the Karuṇākara Piḷḷaiyār Temple down to this day.

Some kings of Ceylon performed rites and ceremonies of the Hindu type. During the life of Parākrama Bāhu I whose mother was a Tamil queen, various Hindu ceremonies were meticulously adopted. Before his birth the 'Homa sacrifice was performed by the house priest and other Brāhmins versed in the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas'.¹³ On the birth of the prince, the birth rites were performed in the orthodox Hindu manner. Later, his father had the ceremony of the piercing of ears and the ceremony of feeding him for the first time with rice.¹⁴ These are clearly Tamil customs.

Still later, the Upanayana ceremony was performed in the South Indian fashion.¹⁵ This brāhmin custom was performed in the case of Parākrama Bāhu I because he belonged to the Jaffna royal dynasty, members of which, tracing their descent at once to the Kalinga dynasty and the Brāhmin royal dynasty of Rāmēśvaram, wore the sacred thread.

Village Administration:—Since the temple was the pivot of the village in Jaffna, no less than in South India, the life of the villagers in the past assumed a set pattern. The village was a unit of administration, and after the contact with the Chōḷas, Jaffna adopted a system of local government similar to that of South India. The Ūr was the generic name of the village in both Jaffna and South India. The headman known as Talamaikkāran was in charge of the administration of the village. A higher official who supervised the work of several headmen was called the Aḍigar. The Aḍigars were appointed by the king but not paid by him. Their remuneration was made up by the contribution of the citizens of the village. The dues to the king were, however, collected by royal officers, the Paṇḍarappillai (tax collectors), as

13. Cūḷavaṃsa chap. 62—v. 33

14. Cūḷavaṃsa chap. 62—v. 53

15. Cūḷavaṃsa chap. 64—v. 13

they were called, since all land was supposed to belong to the king. For specific services rendered the king granted lands to individuals or institutions free of tax. This practice was similar to that adopted in South India. But one peculiar feature in Jaffna was the levy of licence fee for the cremation of the dead. This tax was called the 'Marāḷa'.

People of the lower castes were expected to render certain pieces of free service to the government. They had to work on public utility services for twelve days in the year. Failure to conform to this requisition was punished by the levy of fines. This practice of rendering free service was prevalent in South India as well. But there was one difference. In South India, the *Ūḷiyam*, as the duty of rendering free service was called, was expected not only of the lower castes but of the higher sections as well, excepting the brāhmins.

The village pañchāyat, which has had a glorious history in South India, had its counterpart in Jaffna as also in the rest of Ceylon. The Pañchāyat consisted of the elders of the village. Justice was administered by the Pañchāyat. Punishments were often severe even for trivial offences. Appeals from the decisions of the Pañchāyat could be taken only to the royal court. These conditions in Ceylon bear a marked resemblance with those in South India.

Irrigation works were undertaken by the Pañchāyats and the central government. The Mahāvamsa speaks of one Jōtiya, a Brāhmin engineer in the reign of Paṇḍukābhaya.¹⁶ An inscription on the rock at Mihintale ascribes to the Malabarīs (apparently referring to Tamils) the system of apportioning the water for the paddy fields. The supply of water to particular fields was to be in proportion to the quantity of water available in the lake. It states 'according to the supply of water in the lake the same shall be distributed to the lands of the Vihāra in the manner formerly regulated by the Tamils'.¹⁷

Tank irrigation was well developed in Ceylon. One of the oldest reservoirs is said to have been built by King Paṇḍuvāsudēva

16. Mahāvamsa Chapter X.

17. Quoted by C. S. Navaratnam — "Tamils and Ceylon" p. 241

c. 444-414 B.C.). It has been suggested that it was located near the modern village of Heṭṭipola. Near Anurādhapura there were other old tanks called Bassavakuḷam and Tissaveva. These were apparently constructed by the Sinhalese rulers. But early in the history of Ceylon the Tamils played a leading rôle in the construction of tanks. The Kantaḷai is probably to be attributed to the Chōḷa prince, Kuḷakkōḍan.¹⁸ The Koṇēsar Kalveṭṭu (inscription) states that the temple and the tank were built by Kuḷakkōḍan in Śaka 358 (A.D. 436). It is believed that he was inspired by a vision urging him to proceed to Ceylon and build a temple there. He acted accordingly, and thereafter, he constructed the Kantaḷai tank for the purpose of irrigating the vast paddy fields of Tambala-gāmam belonging to the temple. But it is not certain whether this inscription is reliable. Some think that the Kantaḷai tank was built by Agbo II (A.D. 601-11) but the basis for their view is not clear. On the other hand, the temple had attained celebrity by the time of Tirujñānasambandar, who lived in the 7th century A.D. Therefore, the only conclusion possible in the present state of our knowledge is that the temple and the tank in its vicinity were in existence before the 7th century A.D.

The names of tanks and canals in Ceylon show an affinity to those in South India. There is one Chōḷa Samudram in South India; similarly there is a Parākrama Samudram in Ceylon. It is significant that the canals which take the waters from Parākrama samudram bear the names of Indian rivers like Gōḍāvari and Sarasvati. Navaratnam suggests that the 'Kuḷams' of Ceylon can be compared to the 'Kuḷams' of Mysore.¹⁹ But more obviously they can be compared to the 'Kuḷams' of Tamilnad. It is from Tamil that the Kannaḍa word itself might have been borrowed.

Land Tenure:— It is remarkable that the system of land tenures of the Sinhalese in the Kaṇḍyan provinces and in the maritime provinces resemble that of the Tamil districts in Jaffna and in South India. This indicates that the system of South India had been adopted in those places. The Sinhalese terms employed

18. Ibid. p. 244.

19. Ibid. p. 244.

in connection with land tenure have a close affinity with Tamil terms, as will be seen from the examples given below²⁰ :—

<i>Sinhalese</i>	<i>Tamil</i>
Paṅguva	Paṅgu
Paṅgukāraya	Paṅgukkārar
Ninda	Nindam
Ūliam	Ūliam
Pāṭṭa	Pāṭṭam
Badda	Pāṭṭam (Malayalam) Assessment tax.
Nilakarayo	Nilai (fixed)
Melatsi	Meladsi
Ūliyam paṅgu	Ūliyam
Uḷappuva	Uḷaippu
Karaya	Karayiḍu

Thus the terms are strikingly Tamil in their genesis ; some Malayālam terms also have crept in. 'Paravēṇi' which means inheritance is probably an importation into Ceylon by the Imperial Chōḷas.²¹ Karaya or Kara in Sinhalese is probably derived from Tamil Karaiyḍu which is known in the Tanjore District. It refers to the system under which one plot of land is cultivated in common on the basis of allotted shares. It is notable that Karaiyḍu is a term employed in Malayālam also.

The Kōviyas :— There are certain castes in Jaffna which show an affinity to the corresponding groups in South India. Probably their ancestors were immigrants from the Tamilnad of South India and it is interesting to consider their customs and peculiar traits.

The Kōviyas form one such caste.²² The Kōviyas occupy a position inferior to the Vellālas and are generally attached to them in service. The Kōviyas provide assistance at the funerals of the Vellālas, by bathing the dead body and carrying it to the cremation grounds. A Kōviya holds a canopy under which walks the principal mourner.

20. Vide : Navaratnam 'Tamils & Ceylon' p. 245.

21. H. W. Codrington. Ancient Land Tenure and Revenud in Ceylon p. 12.

22. M. D. Raghavan : "The Kōviyas & Naḷaver". Tamil Culture vol. III, April 1954.

In the marriage ceremonies also of the Vellālas the Kōviyas play their rôle. When the marriage procession moves to the bride's house it is a Kōviya who holds the canopy over the bridegroom. Before the bridegroom enters the bride's house, it is a Kōviya woman who performs the ritual of Ālati which is believed to dispel the bad effects of the evil eye. On other occasions, too, like the ceremony connected with a Vellāla girl's attainment of puberty the Kōviya woman serves as the companion of the girl. It is interesting to study the genesis of this interesting caste.

Rasanayagam thought that they are descendants of the Sinhalese section called Gōigamās who were originally resident in Jaffna. Gōigamā is said to have become corrupted later into Kōvias.²³ According to him Sankili, the last of the Kings of Jaffna, persecuted in the 16th century the Gōviyās along with Christians and Buddhists. Many of them fled to Kaṇḍy and those who were left behind became the slaves of Vellālas in Jaffna. But this theory is hardly convincing. It is based on the similarity of names Gōviya and Kōviya. It does not stand to reason that a new caste of modern times would have assumed a subordinate position to the Vellālar.

Moreover, if the Kōvias were Sinhalese in origin, they would not have continued to remain in Jaffna, because from the time of the recapture of Jaffna in A.D. 1468 by Kanagasūriya Singai Āryan, the Sinhalese people in the Jaffna peninsula left for other parts of Ceylon. The Sinhalese had realised that the Tamil rulers of Jaffna looked on them with suspicion and distrust, and therefore, they would have left Jaffna and joined their compatriots in the rest of the island. Therefore, the view that the Kōviyas belonged to the Sinhalese stock seems improbable.

The Yaḷpāṇa Vaipava Mālai states that, 'Kōviyar' is derived from the word 'Kōvilar' i. e. servants attached to temples, and adds that when the temples were destroyed by the Portuguese, the temple managers sold the Kōviyar as slaves to private individuals. But there is no evidence to show that the Kōviyar were at any time slaves; the mere fact that they assisted the Vellālas as a class in certain social functions does not prove that they were

23. Rasanayagam : *Ancient Jaffna* p. 383.

slaves. Since they were herdsmen they were naturally attached to the Vellālas who were agriculturists and landlords. The ingenious theory that the Kōviyar were the slaves of temples seems to be based only on the verbal similarity of the terms.

On the other hand, there is evidence indicating that the Kōviyar were a group of early colonists from the Tamil country of South India. The *Vaiya Pāḍal*, composed by one Vaiyapuri Aiyar, the court-poet of Śekharaśa śekhara states that the Kōviyar formed one of the 18 castes or kuḍies who went from South India to Laṅkā. Apparently the Kōviyar were herdsmen, owing their name to 'Gō', meaning cow, and were like Gōpālar, Kōvalar or the Āyar and Iḍayar of South India. No motive in fabricating the fact of their immigration is discernible. Therefore, it seems to have been based on an historical fact.²⁴

The Naḷaver :—Another interesting caste of people in Jaffna is that of the Naḷaver who appear to have been originally bowmen. Their cattle-brand marks, viz. the bow and arrow on the hind part and the bugle on the forepart show their time-honoured profession. The common belief is that they were the traditional bowmen of the early Tamil kings who invaded the peninsula with their armies. They were originally called Nambis and they came in the retinue of the Vanniyars from South India who followed the Tamil kings from about A.D. 100. Their association with the Vanniyars as fighters and their later degradation to the position of toddytappers are recorded in the Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai.²⁵

One may not believe in the story connected with their degradation: but their cattle brands are indicative of their traditional occupation. Several explanations of the genesis of the name Naḷaver are given. One is that they are people who slipped away from the field of battle. This is sought to be explained by a story that once the Naḷaver surrendered to the enemy and desisted from fighting. Hence it is said that they were Naluvinar (those who decamped), which came to be corrupted in due course into Naḷavar. But there is no evidence of the alleged surrender

24. M. D. Raghavan, *Tamil Culture*, April 1954, op. cit. p. 148.

25. Brito; *Yalpāṇa Vaipava Mālai* (1879) p. 34.

and escape of the Nalavar. The theory seems far-fetched and is probably a fictitious invention.

Another view advanced is that the people are accustomed to indulge in evasive talk. This again is an attempt based on the name Nalavar, and there is little justification for it because their talk is not notably vague and evasive.

Yet another attempt is to derive Nalaver from Malavar, a term common in South India, denoting soldiers. But it is difficult to explain why and how the name Malavar became transformed into Nalaver. Obviously it is another ingenious attempt to explain the present name Nalaver and their association with their cattle-brand marks.

On the whole, the current tradition as well as the account recorded in *Yālpāṇa Vaipava Mālai* seem near the truth. Very probably the Nalaver were originally bowmen who accompanied the Tamil kings to Ceylon. Later, for some unknown reason, they gave up their original profession and took to toddy-tapping.

Karavas :—An interesting community of people in the west coast of Ceylon with unmistakable affinities to the Tamils of South India is that of the Karavas. Legendary stories associate them with the Kauravas of the *Mahābhārata*. But apparently the similarity in name was the genesis of the theory and there is little else to support this view.

On the other hand, there occur in the Tamil inscriptions of medieval South India references to Kurukalarājas or Kurukalattaraiyans which show that the Karavās of Ceylon were really of South Indian origin.²⁶ The customs and habits of the Karavās show a notable affinity to those of the South Indian Tamils. But they have also absorbed during the ages many practices of the

26. M. D. Raghavan: *The Karavās of Ceylon* pp. 9-10 and p. 30. Some South Indian inscriptions reveal the occurrence of the names of Kurukularayan. For e.g. One Ponpaṇṇiyudaiyān Araiyan Mūvayirat-toruvan alias Kurukularayan gifted two salt pans at Vāriyūr for a perpetual lamp at Suchindram in the 41st year of Kulōttunga I. Again, in the 3rd year of the reign of Kulōttunga III, land was gifted by one Karuppurudaiyān Periyālvān Kurukularayan for the benefit of Pariyudaiyān alias Karikāla Chōla Adaiyūr-nāddaiyān and Narasingapannar.

native Sinhalese of the neighbouring region, and to-day we find the Karavās presenting elements of the Sinhalese Buddhist culture no less than those of the South Indian Hindu culture.

The Karavās now include speakers of Sinhalese and Tamil. Also in respect of religion they include Buddhists, Hindus as well as Roman Catholics. The average Karavā villager invariably professes simultaneously a combination of two distinct religions, namely, Theravāda Buddhism and the cult of Yakkha as well as of local deities.

It must be observed that the Karavā caste has maintained its distinctive feature which bind them together even in spite of differences in religion of the members. One remarkable feature of the Karavā caste, which is different from that of the normal South Indian caste is the absence of any tendency among the Karavās to divide themselves into endogamous sub-castes. Perhaps, this is due, as stated by Haimendorf,²⁷ to the fundamentally egalitarian nature of Theravāda Buddhism embraced by the bulk of the Karavās.

The Karavās use certain symbols and flags which mark them out from the rest. In the Tamil Hindu village of Manapitiya near Polonnaruwa can be seen a firmly settled group of Karavās. M. D. Raghavan, speaking about them, says: "Here to-day is seen traditional Hindu culture of the Karavā preserved for posterity, with the flags and banners of the group in the hands of these humble peasants and cultivators".²⁸ It is particularly interesting to note that among them marriage as an institution has preserved much of the Hindu ceremonial system.

Early social contacts of Kerala with Jaffna

Finally it must be observed that the social customs and institutions of Jaffna reveal certain traces of Kēraḷa or Malabar influence.²⁹ Several typical customs and manners of the Malayāḷis

27. Foreword by Haimendorf to M. D. Raghavan's book: *The Karava of Ceylon*.

28. M. D. Raghavan: *The Karava of Ceylon* p. 66.

29. In this connection it must be noted that the Portuguese and the Dutch often incorrectly used the term *Malabar* as an equivalent of *Tamīḷnāḍ* of South India.

or people of Kēraḷa had penetrated into Jaffna. There are several pieces of evidence which indicate the Malayāḷi influence on the people of Jaffna.

In the first place certain names like Nāgarcoil and Kōvaḷam are found in Jaffna. Nāgarcoil is the name of a town in Travancore, now in the Madras state. Kōvaḷam is the name borne by two villages in Travancore, one near Kanyākumari and another near Trivandrum. It is not known from which of these the Jaffna Kōvaḷam has taken its name. But there is a great probability that it was from one of these that the Kōvaḷam of Jaffna derived its name. It is likely that settlers from Nāgarcoil and either of the Kōvaḷams of Travancore had gone and founded corresponding places in Jaffna. Another place in Jaffna is known as Tirunelvēli; obviously this had its association with the corresponding town in the Pāṇḍyan country.

More important than similarity in place-names is the resemblance in the system of inheritance of the 'Malabar' (Tamil) inhabitants of Jaffna with those of Kēraḷa. An essential feature of the systems of inheritance is the devolution of property through the female line. While the self-acquired property of a person may be settled on his children his ancestral property is inherited by his sister and sister's children or the members of his tarawāḍ, as was the practice in Kēraḷa.

Certain social customs prevalent among the 'Malabar' inhabitants of Jaffna show clear evidence of the affinity they had with those of the people of Kēraḷa. One peculiar custom in vogue among them in Jaffna until recently was for the men to have the knot of hair on the side or the crown of the head.³⁰ The 'Malabar inhabitants' were on this score called by the other Tamils in derision as Kanna Kuchchiyar (Kanna is derived from Karna which means the temporal region of the head.)

Another Kēraḷa custom which prevailed among the 'Malabar' women of Jaffna was the practice of wearing the 'tōḍu', the ear ornament. The custom of distending the ear

30. M. D. Raghavan: Traditions and legends of Nāgarcoil. *Spolia Zeylanica*. Vol. 27 Part I, 1953.

31. Rasanayagam *Ancient Jaffna* p. 282.

lobes and of wearing the *tōḍu* in them was distinctly a Kēraḷa feature. It is unexplainable how this custom got into vogue among certain people of Jaffna except by the circumstance that immigrants from Kēraḷa had introduced it.

Allied to the practice of women wearing the *tōḍu* was that of men wearing ear-rings known as *kaḍukkan*. The *Kaḍukkan* is a kind of golden ear-ring, worn by males from their boyhood. This ear-ring was known as *Pāṇḍikkaḍukkan* in Kēraḷa, a fact which indicates that originally the usage was imported into Kēraḷa from the Pāṇḍyan territory. However, almost down to modern times, the *Kaḍukkan* figured among the 'Malabar' inhabitants of Jaffna as well as among the men of Kēraḷa.

The mode of wearing the cloth around the waist by men also shows a similarity between that in vogue in Kēraḷa and that in parts of Jaffna. Clearly the Jaffna mode of wearing the *vēṭṭi* or *dhōti* is similar to the Kēraḷa pattern and different from that common in the rest of South India.

Regarding the dress of women, too, one feature of comparison is noticeable. Until recently the lower class in Jaffna did not wear a bodice or jacket; they had on the other hand, a breast-band. In South Kēraḷa the practice of having a separative breast band (*Mūlakkaccha*) was common among women of the conservative aristocratic class.

In respect of food habits, too, a certain measure of similarity is noticeable. In boiling the rice, the Kēraḷa and Jaffna practice is to strain the water after the rice is cooked. This water is taken as a drink during or at the end of a meal. The rice *kañji*, which contains some rice and the boiling water, formed the breakfast of many people in Kēraḷa and in Jaffna, though in recent times a change in favour of coffee and rice cakes is noticeable. In the Tamilnāḍ of South India the rice is boiled in just sufficient quantity of water to cook it, so that as the pot is removed from the hearth, no water is left in the pot.

In the matter of preparing the dishes, too, there is some resemblance in the practices of Kēraḷa and Jaffna, for the cocoanut figures prominently in both the countries. Moreover, in Jaffna and Kēraḷa the cocoanut oil is used in the final preparation of the

curries. In Tamilnāḍ of South India gingilee oil is used instead of cocoanut oil. Availability of cocoanut in plenty is not the only explanation for the prevalence of its use in Kēraḷa and Jaffna, because in South India, the Tamils do not use them in such large quantity and so frequently even where the cocoanut grows in abundance.

More important is the similiarity in respect of marriage. Among the 'Malabar' inhabitants of Jaffna marriage itself is known as *Sambandham* which is a distinctive Malayalam word. The Tesavalamai Code prepared by the Government embodying the customs and observances of the Jaffna people itself designates marriage as *sambandham*. It is notable that, as under the old Marumakkattāyam law of Kēraḷa, under the Tesavalamai Code also *sambandham* was permissible with more than one woman.

The ceremony connected with *sambandham* is generally speaking similar among the Malayālis of Kēraḷa and the 'Malabar' inhabitants of Jaffna.³² In both cases the priest is conspicuous by his absence. The presentation of a cloth to the bride is the essential part of the marriage ceremonial. The Vellālas of Jaffna have in recent times adopted the Brahmanical customs of a sacramental marriage. The tying of the *Tāli* is also now an important part of the ceremony. In Jaffna, as in Malabar, the marriage ceremony is held at the bride's house.

Regarding the permissibility of marriages among relatives, too, there is a close similarity between the Kēraḷa and Jaffna customs. The only marriage relations both in Malabar and in Jaffna are cross-cousins, children respectively of a brother and sister. Under the Tesavalamai Code partners to marriage 'should not be related by blood than brother's and sister's children'.³³ Marriage between the children of a brother and sister is not only allowed; it is even considered obligatory. But a person cannot marry his sister's daughter, which however, is allowed among the other Tamils in Jaffna and South India.

32. Tambiah: 'The Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna', pp. 107-8. He says: 'In the law of persons many marriage ceremonies practised in Jaffna and Malabar are the same.'

33. Tesavalamai Code, 2. Tambiah. H. W. 'The Laws and customs of the Tamils of Jaffna' p. 105.

Finally it may be observed that the contact with Kēraḷa is reflected in the Tamil language current in Jaffna. Some words which are not in usage in Tamil Nad occur in the Tamil of Jaffna and in Malayālam of Kēraḷa. For instance, washermen in Jaffna are known as *Turumber*, which name is apparently derived from the Malayālam word used for washing, viz. *tirumbuka*. The word '*Mattu*' which is a general expression for 'change' is used in a special context in Jaffna and in Kēraḷa. The change of cloth provided by the washerwoman after the period of pollution like puberty, menstruation and child birth is known as *mattu* both in Jaffna and in Kēraḷa.³⁴

These common features can by no means be taken to be accidental. They show that a largescale migration of people from Malabar into Jaffna must have occurred. Whether there was one wave of migration at some stage or a continuous stream of migrations over a considerable period of time it is not possible to ascertain definitely.

Though there were few cases of migration from Ceylon to South India, the Tiyyas of Kēraḷa and the Īlavas of South Travancore appear to have come from the island. There is a longstanding tradition in Kēraḷa that Tiyyas who were toddy-tappers immigrated into Kēraḷa from Ceylon. Perhaps the Tiyyas originally moved from the Indian Archipelago and after a stay for sometime in Ceylon moved on to Kēraḷa.³⁵

The Īlavas in South Travancore are the counterparts of the Tiyyas of Kēraḷa and occupy the same social position. The name Īlavas suggests that they had come from Īlam or Ceylon. There is no historical evidence of the movement of these people from Ceylon. Probably the migration had occurred early in history. Certain known facts concerning the Aṅgam, the system of military training, throws light on the advent of some Īlavar into Malabar.

34. The details regarding the customs, institutions and expressions common to the 'Malabar' inhabitants of Jaffna and the people of Kerala have been derived from M. D. Raghavan. 'Traditions and legends of Nagercoil' *Spolia Zeylanica* Vol. 27. Part I, 1953.

35. History of Ceylon op. cit. pp. 30-31,

The Aṅgam

A peculiar institution of physical training known by the name of Aṅgam prevailed in Kēraḷa and Ceylon in the middle ages. A study of this institution in the two countries shows the intimate relation that existed between them. This institution of physical training was well developed in Kēraḷa between the 12th and 19th centuries.³⁶

A folk song in Malabar preserves even today the traditions of one Aromer Chekavar, a famous master of physical training. The song indicates that Aromer Chekavar traced his ancestry to Laṅka. On the request of Chēramānperumāḷ (c. 9th Century A.D.), the king of Īlam had sent to Kēraḷa an able exponent of physical training who was an ancestor of Aromer. Aromer and his kinsmen were called Īluver, obviously because they hailed from Īlam.

In Ceylon, folk songs pertaining to Aṅgam are not available. On the other hand, there is a vivid portraiture of Aṅgam in the Ceylon folk art. There are paintings and drawings on *Dēva Aṅgam* cloths, fresco figures and wood-carvings of Aṅgam scenes.

Though at first the skilled masters of Aṅgam had gone from Īlam to Kēraḷa, in course of time, Kēraḷa developed this art so well that from time to time able exponents of Aṅgam were invited by the rulers of Ceylon for training the young men there. This cultural relationship between the two lands is best brought out in the tradition recorded by Gooneratne Mohotti Mudaliyar of Galle. "In olden times it was customary for the Sinhalese kings to get down reputed wrestlers from Malawara-dhēsa in South India, as teachers to the young men of the Ilaṅgam Madu (schools where wrestling and gymnastic exercises were taught and practised, as well as music and dancing). King Kīrti Śrī (A.D. 1747-80) accordingly got down some reputed wrestlers from India, who after the term of their engagement had expired, returned to their own country".³⁷

36 Information regarding the Aṅgam has been gathered from the article on 'The Aṅgam, a common factor of the Middle Ages of Kēraḷa and Laṅka' by M. D. Raghavan -Journal of the Madras University - July 1962.

37. Gooneratne of E. Mohotti Mudaliyar of Galle (Ceylon) 'Landhesi Kaleya of the Dutch times'. Vol. I, 1922. pp. 13-14.

There are traditions in both the countries speaking of valourous acts of particular heroes. Fencing fights and wrestling were highly developed. In both the countries each of the great masters of the art had his own gymnasium which was known as the *Kaḷari* in Kēraḷa and the *Haramba Salawa* in Ceylon.

In Kēraḷa the Aṅgam was a state-recognised judicial institution, invoked in the last resort for settling disputes. This circumstance served as a great stimulus in fostering the art in Kēraḷa. Though the Aṅgam was not employed by the State in Ceylon for settling disputes, yet in theory and in practice of the art, as in points of detail, there was much in common between the institutions in Kēraḷa and in Ceylon.

The death-dealing centres of the body are called the *marmasṭhāna* in Malayāḷam, the language of Kēraḷa, or the *marnil* in Sinhalese, the language of Ceylon. The great masters of the art were distinguished by the rank of *Paṇikkār* in Malabar or the *Paṇikkaraḷa* in Ceylon.

Though several varieties of weapons were employed, the favoured weapon of the Aṅgam combat was the short sword, known as the *Churika* in both the lands. It may be mentioned that *Churika* as a weapon appears in the term '*Churikkaggahaka*', one of the units of the army of king Gajabāhu (A.D. 174-96). Gajabāhu is stated to have supported several thousands of *Churikkaggahakas*, groups of fighters whose weapon was *Churika*. The words *Sēvakam* and *Sēvakas* are words of great import in this connection. The custodians of the art of the Aṅgam in the Malabar were denoted by the group named *Chekkor*, and a single individual of the group, a *Chekōn*. Gundert, the well-known lexicographer, derives the name from *Chekōn*, meaning "service chiefly about the Raja's person". It is no doubt the same as *Sēvakam* in Sinhalese, "cha" and "sa" being interchangeable in Pāli as in Sinhalese grammar.

Churika, as the great implement of the Malabar Aṅgam combat, finds conspicuous mention in the folk songs of Malabar. Before the date of the engagement, one of the most trusted of the disciples was duly entrusted with the serious business of proceeding to the blacksmith in order to sharpen the *Churika* to give it the deadliest cutting edge.

Champions and rivals precipitated fight on the slightest pretext. Both agreed on an *Āṅgam* contest and the date and the place. A public place is then chosen and the *aṅgatattu*, the raised platform is erected on which the *Āṅgam* is fought. An umpire for each combatant is the rule in Ceylon as in the Malabar art.

The Ceylonese institution, *Haramba Salava*, corresponding to the Malabar *Kaḷari*, taught a variety of arts including *hastīśilpe*, (managing the elephant), *ahum harambe* (fighting on horse back) and *dhanu śilpe* (archery). Wrestling and boxing were taught in the training institutions of both the countries, while in Kēraḷa, the more distinctive arts of the *Kaḷari* of Malabar, like jumping and acrobatics, exercises and practices with the long stick and the club, the sword and shield combat, and also fencing with the sword played a prominent part.

In Malabar, the *Kaḷari* has had the distinctive feature, too, of a temple of learning. The south-west corner of the court is sacred to the *kaḷari-dēvata*, the presiding deity. By reason of the offering of flowers and the *tulasi*, this place takes the name *Puttara*, the platform of flowers. This *Puttara* was the apex of a series of seven semi-circular steps, narrowing towards the top. By the side of *Puttara*, to the south, is the *guruttara*, the Guru's seat, where he sits watching and teaching the pupils. Revered alike by the young and old, he is the head of the *Kaḷari*.

Subsequent to the formal initiation in the alphabet, every boy attended the nearest *Kaḷari*. On an auspicious day the pupil commenced his training after offering the guru his *dakṣhiṇa* and duly worshipping at the *Puttara*. It is remarkable that in Kēraḷa the physical training was not confined to boys alone. In medieval times the girls of Malabar were also given a physical training conducive to the building up of a healthy body.

It must be admitted that we know more details of the training in Kēraḷa than of that in Ceylon. That is because the *Kaḷari* as an institution has not become totally extinct even now. It has survived in a few families which have been maintaining the institution for ages. In Ceylon, on the other hand, except for old traditions cherished by certain families—such as those of the *Āṅgamana Unambuva*, *Kehelpanna* and *Galgoda*, no data of real value can be obtained from the present descendants of these families.

CHAPTER XII

Cultural Influences

In respect of religion Indian influences on Ceylon are remarkable. Buddhism, the principal religion of Ceylon, had its origin in India. The introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon occurred in all probability during the time of Aśoka. The legend about the Buddha having visited Ceylon is not historically reliable.

The conversion of Devānaṃpiya Tissa by Saṅgamitta and Mahinda in the time of Aśoka was followed in due course by the embrace of Buddhism by a large section of the Ceylonese population. A stream of Buddhist monks continued to enter Ceylon from North and South India. The Brāhmī inscriptions in the cavairns of Ceylon and South India show that Buddhist saints and devotees had penetrated these regions during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C. The language and script of these Brāhmī inscriptions of South India and Ceylon are similar, and indicates contact between the devotees of Buddhism in both the countries.

Traditions associating certain places in Ceylon with the life and activities of the Buddha naturally induced many Buddhist pilgrims of India to visit Ceylon. The Buddhist chronicles have recorded that at the inauguration of the building of the Mahāthūpa in the 2nd century B. C. there were present representatives of the Saṅgha from various places of India. Pallavabhogga is one such place mentioned, but it is doubtful whether it had connection with the well-known Pallavas of South Indian history.¹

There is, however, little doubt that there was intercourse between the Buddhists of Ceylon and those of the Āndhra country. Inscriptions assignable to the 2nd century B.C. at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa in the Krishna valley record the foundation of a monastery named Sīhalavihāra and the dedication of a *cetiya*ghara to the fraternities of Tambapaṇṇi-dīpa.

In the reign of Mahānāma (A.D. 405-31) the Buddhist savant Buddhaghōsha visited Ceylon. He laboured hard to strengthen

1. Paranavitana's deduction that Pallavabhogga was a territory under the Pallavas in the 2nd century B.C. does not seem to be acceptable. They emerged as a South Indian power but later.

the hold of Buddhism in the island ; no wonder, he is described as the second founder of Buddhism in Ceylon. He translated into Pali the Sinhalese commentaries on the sacred literature of Buddhism. The native place of Buddhaghōsha is not known definitely ; but there is a tradition that he belonged to South India. In one of his own works, *Manōrathapūraṇi*, Buddhaghōsha refers to his connections with South India, and mentions Kañchi as one of the places where he resided for a time.

In the 3rd century A.D. there were serious conflicts between the Mahāyanists and Hinayānists in Ceylon. During the reign of Vohārika Tissa (A.D. 269-91) some Vaitulyans who were champions of Mahāyana Buddhism went from India to Ceylon. Their views were accepted with enthusiasm by the monks of Abhayagiri. But there was opposition from the king and his followers. In the reign of Goṭhābhaya (c. A.D. 309-22) the rivalry between the two sects became acute. Goṭhābhaya suppressed the Vaitulyans, burnt their sacred books and expelled some of their leaders from the island.

At this juncture a Mahāyanist devotee from the Chōḷa country by name Saṅgamitta decided to support the cause of Mahāyanism in Ceylon. He was a Tamil Buddhist monk well versed in the scriptures of Buddhism² and he felt an urge to stem the tide of opposition to Mahāyanism in the island. He approached the king Goṭhābhaya and impressed him by his deep learning and able exposition of the Mahāyana faith. The king appointed Saṅgamitta as tutor to his two sons Jeṭṭha Tissa and Mahāsēna. Of the two, the younger prince, Mahāsēna became a devout pupil of Saṅgamitta. When after the death of his father and elder brother, Mahāsēna ascended the throne, Saṅgamitta who had been back in India for a time, was invited to the island and appointed as one of the principal advisers of the king. Mahāyanism was no doubt popularised in the island under his guidance.³

Some of the writers and commentators of Buddhist sacred literature were Tamils. Thus Vātsyāyana, the famous author of

2. *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger) Ch. xxxvi, v. 113.

3. In this connection it may be observed that during the 6th century and 7th century A.D., Tamil Buddhists went to China and helped the promotion of the Buddhist faith there.

'Nyāya Bāshya' is believed to have been a Tamilian of Kāñchi. In much later times the Tamil king of Kaṇḍy, Rājādhi Rājasimha, wrote the Buddhist legendary poem known as 'Asadrisa' Jātaka'.⁴

It is worth while reiterating that Buddhism was after all a daughter of Hinduism and that the mutual influence of the two religions on each other was remarkable. In course of time the Buddha himself was admitted into the Hindu fold as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The influence of the Bhakti movement in South India with its emphasis on spirit rather than form came near the tenets of Buddhism. Further, the ceremonies and rituals of the Hindus tended to influence the Mahāyanist practices. The Mahāyanists worshipped Bōddhisattvas accompanied by almost the same ceremonies as the Hindus worshipped their images.

The most remarkable feature, however, was the incorporation of Hindu gods into the pantheon by the Buddhists. Thus, for example, in the interior of the Laṅkā tilaka vihāra, near Gampola, images of Hindu gods were placed. In the Dambulla caves Nos. 1 and 2, were placed the images of Viṣṇu side by side with the statues of Lord Buddha. At several places the Hindu shrines and Buddhist vihāras were situated adjoining each other, and in some cases devotees worshipped in both the shrines. For example, in Kataragāma and Dondra, this feature is striking.

The rituals, ceremonies and festivals of the Hindu temples established by the Chōlas had a notable effect on the Buddhists. The existence of a Hindu kingdom in the north and the presence of a vast body of Tamils in Rājaraṭṭha continued to exercise a marked influence on Buddhism. Further, the Tamil kings who ruled Ceylon introduced Hindu practices and rituals. Perhaps Sir P. Arunachalam exaggerates the position when he says that: "throughout Ceylon history the court religion was Hinduism and its ritual and worship largely alloyed and affected the popular Buddhism and made it very unlike the religion of the Buddha"⁵ Nevertheless the statement contains a large measure of truth. It is difficult to overlook the fact that Buddhism in Ceylon as in India grew in an environment of Hinduism.

4. R.A.S. Vol. xiv. No. 46. p. 40.

5. R.A.S. Vol. xxix. No. 77. p. 243.

But at the same time Buddhist beliefs and practices tended to influence Hinduism. Several Buddhist kings of Ceylon patronised Hinduism. King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi of old made several endowments to Kataragāma.^{5a} Gajabāhu II (A.D. 1137—53) bestowed gifts of cash on the temple at Kōṇamalai, a fact learnt from the Kōṇēsar Kalveṭṭu. It is well known that he introduced the worship of Kaṇṇagi into Ceylon. It is believed that Agbo IV who ruled about the middle of the 7th century A.D. built a Vaishṇava temple at Dondra.⁶ Mahinda II (A.D. 772—92) restored many old temples and set up in them costly images of the gods. Mahindo II, like Sena II later (A.D. 851—85), treated the Brahmins with great respect and gave them valuable presents.

We have seen earlier how the temple of Vānavan Mādēvi Īśvaram Uḍaiyār, called the Śiva Dēvalē No. 2 at Polonnaru was built during the Chōḷa period. The Rājaraḷa Īśvarattu Mahādēva temple at Mātōṭṭam also belongs to the same epoch. During the reign of Vijayabāhu (A.D. 1070—1114), the liberator of the Sinhalese from the Chōḷa yoke, continued to patronise the Hindu temples. Besides, Vijaya Bāhu is known to have constructed a Śaiva temple near Kantalai.⁷ His son and successor Vikkama Bāhu I (A.D. 1116—37) founded a Śiva temple Vikkirama-cālamēga-īśvara in Māgala and patronised Śaivism with his munificent gifts. It is said that Parākrama Bāhu I (A.D. 1153—86) built thirteen Hindu temples⁸ and renovated 79 ruined temples.⁹ Several other kings patronised Hindu temples as well as Buddhist vihāras.

Parākrama Bāhu II (A.D. 1236—70) devoted great attention to the promotion of learning and of Buddhism in Ceylon. The Cūḷavamsa (Ch. LXXXIV—vv 9-10) states that 'the king sent many gifts to the Chōḷa country and caused to be brought over to Tāmbapaṇṇi many respected Chōḷa *bhikkus* who had moral discipline and were versed in the three Piṭakas'. This shows that during this time there were Buddhist monks of high repute in the Chōḷa country and that they had contact with Ceylon.

5.a. R.A.S. Vol. xxi. No. 61, p. 81.

6. H. W. Codrington. 'A short History of Ceylon' p. 37.

7. E.Z. Vol. iv. No. 24.

8. Cūḷavamsa. ch. 79. v. 19.

9. *Ibid.* ch. 79. v. 22.

Again, about a century later Parākrama Bāhu IV (A.D. 1302—26) appointed to the office of Royal teacher (Rājaguru) a learned *mahāthera* from the Chōla country and enthusiastically listened to his exposition of the Jātakas. Parākrama Bāhu IV was an ardent promoter of Buddhism though he was also a patron of Hindu institutions. The king is said to have constructed a splendid *vihāra* at Viddumagāma and offered it to his teacher from the Chōla country. It is surprising to learn that so late as the 14th century A.D. there flourished Buddhist scholars in the Chōla country and that occasionally they came into contact with Ceylon.

The Ārya Chakravartis of Jaffna were naturally enthusiastic in their patronage of Hindu temples. They patronised Hindu temples not only in Ceylon but also occasionally some of them in South India. The Ārya Chakravartis even went to the extent of sending milk and flowers daily to the temple of Rāmēśvaram from the nearest place in Jaffna. Thus Hindu temples were patronised by some Sinhalese kings and all the Tamil monarchs.

The erection and maintenance of Hindu temples meant the employment of Brāhmin priests. It is doubtful whether all these brahmins came from South India. Even before the advent of Buddhism into Ceylon the Hindu institution of caste was in existence in the island. Nevertheless, South India had a longer and more continuous tradition of the caste system, and what is more, the South Indian Hindu temples had a more glorious record of development than those in Ceylon. Therefore, it is likely that when new temples were constructed or old ones renovated and improved, learned brahmins of South India were invited to the island. Certain known examples testify to this.

It is said that five hundred bhikkus and one thousand five hundred brahmins, well versed in the Vēdas accompanied king Dutugemunu (101—77 B. C.) on his first visit to Ridi Vihāra.¹⁰ Queen Anula (A.D. 12—16) is stated to have married a Tamil brahmin named Niliya who was the palace priest.

Ibn Batuta, the Moorish traveller of the 14th century A.D., states that there were a thousand brahmins attached to the

10. Quoted by S.J. Gunasegaram in *Tamil Culture* Vol. ix. No. 3. pp. 305-6 from Knox's 'Historical Relations of Ceylon' pp. 125-7.

temple of Viṣṇu at Dondra. Though he does not state that they had been brought from South India the probability is that some of them at least originally belonged to Tamil Nāḍ. However, beginning from the Chōla period of Ceylon history the immigration of brahmins for service in Hindu temples must have taken place frequently. Not only in temples but in the royal courts, too, brahmins occupied a position of importance.

The influence of Hindu festivals, especially of the South Indian variety, among the Ceylonese is noticeable. The *Perehara* at Kandy, as it was celebrated till about the middle of the 18th century, was essentially a Hindu festival which was a product of Tamil influence of South India. The *Perehara* was celebrated exclusively in honour of the four deities — Nātha, Viṣṇu, Katargāmam and Pattini. The most sacred object of worship was the *Painted Stick*, hung with flowers and “wrapped in branched silk, some part covered and some not. The people bowed down and worshipped this and each one presented it with an offering.” After receiving the offering of the people, “the Priest takes the painted stick on his shoulder, having a cloth tied about his mouth to keep his breath from polluting the pure piece of wood and also upon an elephant, all covered with white cloth which he rides with all triumph that King and Kingdom can offer through all the streets of the city. But before him go first some forty or fifty elephants with brass bells having on each side, which tingle as they go”.¹⁰

In the procession, the priest with the Painted Stick occupied a prominent position. He was followed by two other priests, one on the left and the other on the right. One of them represented the *Kataragāma* deity, and the Goddess *Pattini*. The antiquity of the Muruha worship at Kataragāma is well known. The worship of Kāṇnagi was popular in Ceylon since the days of Gajabāhu I. The Painted Stick symbolised Kāṇnagi worship. It was apparently introduced by the Tamil colonists settled in Ceylon by Gajabāhu. The *Allout Neur Dio* corresponds to the Tamil Putu (new) Neur (Ūr), the New City. The new City was probably named by the new colonists and dedicated to Indra, the “Hindu God and maker of Heaven and Earth”.

The significance of the Painted Stick is learnt from the *Śilappadikaram*, which states that during a dance in Indra's heaven, Indra's son, Jayanta, and Ūrvaśi behaved in an improper manner and that Agastya who was present, cursed Jayanta to be born as a bamboo stick in the Vindhyas and Ūrvaśi to be born as a human dancer. Eventually Agastya modified the curse by declaring that the bamboo stick be used as a painted and decorated *Talikōl* and taken in procession as a symbol of the art of dance and that human dance artists born in the line of Ūrvaśi should worship the *Talikōl* and then exhibit their skill in the art of dancing.

It may be mentioned here that the word *Perehara* seems to be the 'Sinhalese' form of the Tamil 'pirahāram' denoting the pathway round the precincts of a Hindu temple. Thus *Perehara* denotes the sacred procession round the temple precincts held annually in honour of the deity as it is taken round to the accompaniment of dance, music and other forms of rejoicing.

In the 18th century *Perehara* ceased to be an exclusively Hindu festival. It was in A.D. 1775, during the reign of King Kīrti Śrī (Rājasiṅga A.D. 1747-80) that the sacred Dalada Relic of the Buddha was first carried in procession along with the insignia of the four deities, Nātha, Viṣṇu, Kataragāmam and Pattini. Thus at present it is a combined Hindu - Buddhist festival.

As it is celebrated today the *Perehara* starts from the Pattini (Kaṇṇagi) temple immediately after the hoisting of the flag and the planting of a tree. Round the trunk of a tree is tied a string. This ceremony is called "Kāp-Sittaveema" and in Tamil 'Kāppukaṭṭu' i. e. 'tying of the bangle'. The Sinhala term, it will be noticed, is a literal translation of the Tamil word.

During the first five days, the procession is confined to the inner streets (Uḷ—veeti உள்வீதி). In Sinhalese this procession is called 'Kumbal *Perehara*'. It is significant to observe that 'Kumbal' in Tamil means crowd.

The *Perehara* proper (Suttu-Prakāram, also known as Ūrvalam) (ஊர்வலம் in Tamil) takes the form of a procession round the streets of the city. On this final day, which is a full-moon day, the procession is headed by the Tooth-Relic.

Then comes the last event of the festival and that is the water-cutting ceremony (கீர்வெட்டும் தீர்த்தம்) i. e. the Dia Kappanuwa (a literal translation of the Tamil expression into Sinhalese) takes place in the Mahavali Gaṅga which skirts the city near Katugastota and forms the grand culmination of the festival. A box that is carried in the procession is dipped in the water of the river, and the water is cut with a sword.

When the water-cutting ceremony is over, the procession wends its way to the *Pattini Devale* back again and from there proceeds to the Maligawa temple. A chembu (Chembuva in Sinhalese) which contains the 'water cut' is taken on this journey to the main temple and preserved till the next year.

Language and Literature: The influence of the Tamils of South India was felt in the development of the Sinhalese language and literature to a certain extent. On account of marriage alliances of the Sinhalese kings with the Pāṇḍya royal families there was a dominant Tamil element in the Sinhalese court. This was particularly noticeable from the time of Mahinda IV (A.D. 956—72). Brāhmins flocked to the court and their cultural influences in the court had their effect on Sinhalese society as a whole. Tamil influence on Sinhala became dominant during the period of Chōḷa occupation of Rajaraṭa in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D.

Some of the Sinhalese kings of the early period patronised Tamil and Tamil authors. For example, "Sarajōti Māla" was recited by Pōsa Rāja, a Brāhmin at the court of Parākrama Bāhu III. Many of the Sinhalese kings knew Tamil well; some of them wrote in Tamil, too. It is learnt that prince Vijayapāla wrote letters to his brother king Rājasimha II in Tamil.¹¹ Bhuvanēka Bāhu VII of Kōṭṭe made all his attestations in Tamil. King Kirti Śrī Rājasimha's correspondence was written in Tamil, which is learnt from the government archives at Nuwara - eli. A treaty concluded between King Kirti Śrī and Louis XVI of France was found to have been written in Tamil. A copy of the treaty was found among the king's papers in Kaṇḍy; the original was found

11. Pieris Sir Paul, E., Ceylon. The Portuguese Era.

at Pondicherry.¹² Thus, it is evident that Tamil was given a respectable position in the courts of kings of Kaṇḍy and Kōṭṭe. But this influence of Tamil was not always due to South Indian contact. Tamil was the language of Jaffna, and that, too, must have exercised its share of influence. It is not, however, easy to determine how much of it was due to South Indian contact and how much due to Jaffna influence.

Some of the inscriptions on stone of the early period are in Tamil language and in Tamil script. They are found in several places such as Anurādhapura, Budumuttāva, Kurupāgala, Nainativu, Palamoṭṭai, Polannaruva, Tirukōil and Trincomalee. They show that Tamil occupied a high position in Ceylon. It is not to be believed that every one of these examples bears testimony to South Indian influence. But it shows that Tamil which had originally travelled from South India to Ceylon continued to develop in the island and that it became popular with a large section of the population.

Partly on account of the presence of the Tamils in Ceylon and partly on account of the Chōḷa occupation for a considerable time the Sinhalese vocabulary came to be enriched by a large number of Tamil words. A notable example of such words is 'mēlāp' meaning canopy. 'Mēlāp' is found used in the 48th stanza (Canto 6.) of Kavsiḷumiṇa, a Siṁhala poem of about the 13th Century A.D. The Sinhalese 'Mēlāp' is directly derived from the Tamil word 'Mēlāp' (மேலாப). The fact that this word has been used here in preference to the well known Sinhalese word *viyan*, shows that during the time of the composition of this poem, the influence of Tamil on Sinhalese vocabulary was strong. The Chōḷa conquest was also responsible for the encouragement of the study of Sanskrit in Ceylon. Sanskrit became the language of culture and Sinhalese was influenced enormously by Sanskrit.

It is worthy of note that king Parākrama Bāhu VI (A.D. 1412—68), in whose court Tamil influence was remarkable, invited physicians and learned men from South India, gave them every encouragement and had them settled in Ceylon.¹³ Towards the close

12. R.A.S. Vol. xxxiii. No. 87. p. 42.

13. History of Ceylon op. cit. p. 778.

of this period, or a little later, several medical works such as *Vaidya-Chintāmaṇi*, *Bhaishajya Sangraha* and *Yōga Ratnākara* were produced in Sinhalese. These words reveal the influence of the physicians who had come from South India and settled in Ceylon earlier.

Tamil influence on the Sinhalese alphabet is notable. The similarity in the shape of certain letters of the alphabet, for example, in respect of ෆ is striking. Some writers think that practically all the letters in the Sinhalese alphabet have been developed from Tamil forms, as is seen from the similarity in the shape of certain letters in the two alphabets, for example, අ, ඉ, උ, ඔ, ණ, ඬ, ඹ, ය, ර, ඼,¹⁴

Tamil metres have been freely used in Sinhalese poetry and have been so acclimatized to Sinhalese environment that it is difficult to trace their genesis.¹⁵

Moreover, ideas found in Tamil classics found their way into Sinhalese works. Maitrēya Thēra's *Lovada Sangrava*, a didactic work contains ideas similar to those found in *Nālaḍiyār*. The most remarkable trace of the influence of Tamil literature is found in the Sinhalese didactic work, *Lōkōpakāraya* of Ranasgalle Thēra. This work shows an unmistakable adaptation of ideas of *Tirukuraḷ*.¹⁶ Though *Lōkōpakāraya* appeared so late as A.D. 1799, it reveals a traditional tendency common in that age of borrowing ideas from the Tamil works.

From the verse 95 of *Kōkila Sandēsa*, a work of the 15th century A.D., it is learnt that Tamil poets well versed in grammar resided in Buddhist Viharas. This circumstance was sure to have influenced the Sinhalese language and literature.¹⁷

14. P.B.J. Hevawasam. 'Tamil Sources of some Sinhalese literary works with special reference to *Lōkōpakāraya*'. *Tamil Culture* Vol. ix. No. 3. July - Sept. 1961. p. 241.

15. *Ibid.* pp. 242-3 for examples.

16. *Ibid.* pp. 252-55. See the excerpts quoted from both the works.

17. Hevawasam thinks (*Ibid.* p. 246) that the *Sandēsa* poems in Sinhalese were modelled on Tamil *Sandēsa* poems. But this is open to doubt, for the fountain of the *Sandēsa* kāvyas is traceable to Sanskrit.

Many Tamil works were translated into Sinhalese, particularly during the 16th and 17th centuries. Among these is a work called *Mahā Padaraṅga Jātakaya*, which is a Sinhalese version of the *Mahābhārata* disguised in the form of *Jātaka* story, with its hero transformed into a *Bōddhisattva*. The Sinhalese translator, a Buddhist monk from Kobbakaduva, says in the introductory verse to the poem, that he found a story of the *Bōddhisattva* written in Tamil and that he was translating that into Sinhalese verse. However, we do not know the title of the Tamil book which the monk of Kobbakaduva had before him. The *Mahā Padaraṅga Jātakaya* "was composed at a time (A.D. 1692) when, owing to the very great influence exerted by the civilisation of South Indian kingdoms on Sinhalese political life and culture, many Sinhalese books were based on material drawn from Dravidian sources".¹⁸

Among other works translated into Sinhalese from Indian literature, particularly from Tamil, mention may be made of *Vetaḷam Katāva*, *Rāmāyaṇaya*, *Dinātara Katāva*, *Sinnamuttu Katāva*, *Kāñcimalē*, *Sulambāvatī Katāva*, *Atulla Katāva*, *Ravaṇa Hella*, *Vayanti Mālē*, *Vitti Hata* and *Hariccandra Katāva*.¹⁹ Besides *Pattini Hella* and *Vayanti Mālē* mentioned above, another, Sinhalese poetic work called *Palāṅga Halla* narrates the story of *Pattini*. It deals with the early life of *Kōvalan* and *Kaṇṇaki*.

In Sinhalese, too, there are certain panegyrics which exalt the glories of heroes. This class of poems started with *Parakumba Sirita* which probably belonged to the 15th century A.D. Others of the same kind continued to be produced in the 17th and 18th centuries. It has been suggested that these poems were composed in imitation of the *Kalambakams* in Tamil, particularly of *Nandikkalambakam* sung in praise of the Pallava king, *Nandivarman III*.

A collection of thirty five poems, consisting of about 4000 verses, called *Kolmura* appear to have been products of Tamil influence from South India. These poems centre around a Pāṇḍyan king known as the three-eyed *Vira Pāṇḍu*. "It is

18. Godakubura : 'Sinhalese Literature' p. 178.

19. Tamil Culture Vol. ix. No 3, July . Sept. 1961. p. 248.

surmised that they are also translations from some Tamil works or oral traditions brought hither from South India by mendicants who came in the wake of Tamil princes and chiefs.²⁰

Tamil grammar must have influenced the Sinhalese grammar. The author of the old commentary of the *Sidatsāṅga* the only extant ancient grammar of the Sinhalese language, says that the interpretation of one of its rules has to be made by the application of a method recognised in the *Virasōḷiyam*, a treatise on Tamil grammar, ascribed to the 11th century A.D.

Music : The South Indian influence on the Sinhalese music was considerable. Music, like art and architecture, was associated with religion. However, Buddhism of the early days was inclined to be puritanical and, therefore, the development of music in Ceylon was not striking. On the other hand, the music of the Tamils during the period of Chōḷa supremacy and the subsequent times, both vocal and instrumental, had a notable effect in influencing the Sinhalese music. Some teachers of music are said to have gone to the island on special invitation. Mr. Mahawalatenne Bandar says : 'In a Sinhalese manuscript on music a certain chief Thero in ancient times sent messengers with rich presents to one Gaṇitankara Āchāriya, a teacher of music at Nāgaputna, in Jambudvīpa and obtained from him a book on music, which the said Thero is said to have translated into Sinhalese verse, naming it the 'Wadankusaratnamāla.' The 'pada' in this book are almost all in the Tamil language, with a mixture of Telugu words and words of other Indian dialects'.²¹

Architecture : In the sphere of architecture South Indian influence made itself felt at the various stages of the island's history. It is said that King Eḷara of fame was the first to use stones in the building of the fort at Vijitanagara. This fort had massive gates made of iron.

The earliest building in Ceylon which was entirely of stone construction is the Geḍige at Nalanda which is in the late Pallava style. It is likely that the inspiration for erecting structures of stone came from the Pallavas of South India.

20. Tamil Culture *Ibid.* p. 251.

21. R.A.S. Vol. xxi, No. 61. p. 133.

The earlier structures down to the 7th century A.D., both in Ceylon and India, were of wood. By about the 7th century A.D. the transition from wood to stone as the material in the erection of buildings occurred in South India. S. Paranavitana says : " In the neighbouring Tamil land, the wooden architecture which prevailed there, as in Ceylon, up to the 7th century began to be replaced by one of stone at that time. This development was not without its influence on Ceylon, for at Devundara, the southern-most extremity of the Island, there was built a shrine, dedicated to Upulvan, which was the result of translating the wooden architecture of the Sinhalese into the medium of stone ".²²

The Chōḷa conquest arrested the building activities of the Buddhists for over half a century. According to the Ceylonese chronicles many of the Buddhist religious monuments at Anurādhapura and other places in the island were destroyed by the Chōḷas. There is no reason to disbelieve this account of the Chronicles.

But the Chōḷas built Hindu shrines at Polonnaruva which was their capital. These temples were no doubt built in the Dravidian style which had attained its height under the Imperial Chōḷas. Nevertheless, the Chōḷa structures in Ceylon are not comparable to the Rājaraṣeśvara temple at Tanjore. The Ceylon temples were more modest in size, though they belonged to the same pattern.

The shrine now called Śiva Dēvālē No. 2 was built by Rājendra Chōḷa and it was named after Rājaraṣa's wife as Vānavanmahādēvisvaram. It is built entirely of stone, mainly granite, and the architectural details such as the brackets of the pilasters and the dormer windows indicate the same stage in their evolution as in South Indian temples during the age of the Imperial Chōḷas. Art critics agree that this edifice is well proportioned and harmonious in outline and that the ornamentation appears with judicious restraint.

Another Śiva temple called Rāja Rāja Īsvaram existed in Māntai (Mahatiṭṭha) in the days of Chōḷa rule. This is learnt

22. History of Ceylon op. cit. (Part 1) p. 401.¹

from inscriptions found at Māntai which refer to this temple²³, of which no vestiges are to be seen now. It is believed by some that there were other Chōla temples in Kataragāma, Kaṇḍy and Ratnapura.²⁴ But there are no remains of any inscriptional evidence to support the view that they had existed.

There was a Tamil Buddhist Paḷli in Velgam-vehera, now called Nātanārkoil and situated near Trincomalee. The ruins of this structure of brick are found to this day. This structure has characteristic Draviḍian mouldings at its base. It is not possible to determine the date of its construction; but the shrine was perhaps an old one, dating from the 2nd century A.D. One of the inscriptions of Rājendra I found in the Trincomalee district records donations made by Tamils to a Buddhist sanctuary, and states that the shrine itself was renamed Rājarājapperumpallī after Rājarāja the great.²⁵ It is probable that the old sanctuary was reconstructed during the time of Rājendra I.

But there is no doubt that it is the Śiva temple of stone at Polonnaruva which made a great impression on the rulers and people of Ceylon. Later, attempts were made to erect edifices of stone. Since this art was well developed in South India, stone artisans from there were invited to the island and set to work. "The Tamil letters seen as mason's marks on the stones of certain constructions dating from the reign of Parākramabāhu (the Great) for instance, the Lotus Bath at Polonnaru, confirm this supposition."²⁶

A huge stūpa was built by Parākramabāhu the great at Polonnaruva. The construction was effected by utilising the labour of the Tamil prisoners of war, a fact inferred from its name Damiḷa-thūpa. The circumference of the stūpa is believed to be 300 cubits and thus it is one of the biggest stūpas in the island. The dome of the Damiḷathūpa has not been completed, but left half way up, at a height of about 50 feet from the ground. But this appears to have been intentionally left so as an architectural feature, because two other stūpas built by the

23. S.I.I. iv, No. 1412.

24. History and Culture of the Indian People Vol. iv. p. 175.

25. History of Ceylon op. cit. p. 415.

26. History of Ceylon cp. c.t. p. 592.

same king the Sūtiḡharacetiya at Dadigama and the Dāgaba at Yudanganāva present the same feature.

After the expulsion of the Chōlas, Vijayabāhu I rebuilt the desecrated Buddhist shrines. The only new structure constructed by him was the *Aṭṭadage*, identified as Temple of the Tooth by means of the Tamil inscription set up by the mercenary Vēlaikkāra forces, noticed earlier. This temple of the Tooth was modelled on that of the early Buddhist structures. Little trace of the Draviḡian or Chōḷa influence is noticeable in it. There are no doubt some new features different from those of the earlier Buddhist constructions. The disposition of the staircase leading to the upper storey shows a marked variation. Moreover, the carved pillars of the vestibule are new features. But it is difficult to say whether these deviations from the earlier Buddhist pattern are attributable to South Indian influence. Paranavitana thinks that these new features might have been derived from earlier ruined buidings of the island itself.²⁷ This, however, seems to be a piece of guess.

The Kōṭṭe period which ended in A.D. 1505 was one of decadence in art. Perhaps the only notable constructions were those at Yāpavu and two religious centres close to Gampala. These were built with precipitous rocks as backgrounds.

The most striking feature of the architectural remains at Yāpavu is the porch leading to a building on a terrace at the foot of the rock. The staircase leading to this porch is also a notable architectural feature. The porch has traces of South Indian influence. "The mouldings of the stylobate, the order of the pillars and other architectural details of this porch differ from corresponding features in Sinhalese buildings of earlier periods, and are clearly derived from contemporary Draviḡian schools in South India. This is not to be wondered at, for the father of the king who reigned at Yāpavu was proud of his Pāṇḡya descent, actual or fancied".²⁸ The mouldings of the stylobate and the architectural features of the Visvanāthasvāmin temple at Tenkāṣi and of the Nelvēlipperumāḷ temple at Tirunelveli seem to resemble those of the porch at Yāpavu.

27. *Ibid.* p. 592.

28. Paranavitana in *History of Ceylon* op. cit. p. 780.

Among other notable architectural monuments of the Kōṭṭe period the most outstanding ones are those at Gaḍalādeṇi and Sinduruvāna (Lankātilaka). These monuments were completed in A.D. 1344. The Sankātilaka is of brick construction, excepting for the base and door frames which are of stone. On the other hand, the shrine at Gaḍalādeṇi is built almost entirely of stone, brick being utilised for crowning *śikhara* only. According to Paranavitana 'the style of the Lankātilaka is essentially a continuation and development of the Sinhalese architecture of the Polonnaru period, with some Dravidian and Indo-Chinese features'. He thinks that the Gaḍalādeṇi temple is mainly Dravidian in style with some modifications to suit the Buddhist pattern.²⁹

There is little doubt that the shrine at Gaḍalādeṇi with certain reservations is in the contemporary Dravidian style of South India. The main shrine with its typical plan of *garbhagraha*, *antarāla* and *maṇḍapa* is devoted to Buddhist worship. Projecting from the maṇḍapa of this main shrine there is a smaller subsidiary shrine with an *antarāla*, dedicated to the worship of a deity called Dēvirāja,³⁰ which designation must have meant Upulavan (Varuṇa). Thus the ground plan of the Gaḍalādeṇi temple shows a combination of the Buddhist and Hindu shrines.

The corbels in the Gaḍalādeṇi and Lankātilaka temples show some resemblance to the corbels of South Indian temples. The inverted lotus bud is the design found in these corbels. But during this period i. e. the fourteenth century, the adoption of the hanging lotus bud as the decorative feature had come into vogue in South India. On the other hand, the inverted bud is a feature of the 12th and 13th centuries. Therefore, it is the architectural motif of the earlier epoch in South India that had come into vogue in the 14th century in certain places of Ceylon.

But the corbels of the 14th century type are also found in certain parts of the Gaḍalādeṇi shrines. "The exterior face of the buildings is ornamented with pilasters which are carried through the two upper mouldings of the base, and have capitals and corbels of the late Pāṇḍya and early Vijayanagara type".³¹

29. History of Ceylon op. cit. p. 782.

30. E.Z. iv, pp. 104 and 107.

31. History of Ceylon op. cit. p. 785.

In the shrines at Gaḍalādeṇi the moulded base i.e. the *adhishṭhana*, 4½ feet in height rising from the plinth, has the chamfered torus characteristic of Draviḍian buildings.

The decorative features of the pillars in the Gaḍalādeṇi shrines show a resemblance to the corresponding elements in the Vijayanagar edifices. The flat roof of the porch in the Gaḍalādeṇi temple is supported by two pillars of a type common in Vijayanagara architecture. "The central shaft, which occupies the corner, is alternatively square and octagonal and is surmounted by corbels which are bevelled with sharp edges. Projecting from this central shaft on two sides are slender octagonal shafts, rising from a base formed of a couchant lion, with the usual *kalāśa*, *padma* and *phalaka* as capital. The *phalaka* is surmounted by another couchant lion, on the back of which rests the volute corbel with inverted lotus bud".³² The faces of the shaft are ornamented with sculptures in low relief among which are figures of Hindu deities such as Naṭarāja and the dancing Kṛṣṇa. Thus the features of the Draviḍian pattern of pillars are repeated here. The ornamentation of the facade of the shrine at Gaḍalādeṇi is more restrained than in the Draviḍian temples.

Two shrines at Kaṇḍy, the Nātha Dēvāle and the Geḍige at Ādāhanamaḷu resemble the Gaḍalādeṇi shrine since they are also of the Draviḍian style. The only difference is that unlike in the Draviḍian temples there is no *śikhara*; its place is taken by the typically Buddhist *stūpa*. The mouldings, pilasters and other architectural details of the shrine at Ādāhanamaḷu are generally similar to those at Gaḍalādeṇi.

The Geḍige at Ādāhanamaḷu appears to have belonged to the 15th or 16th century A.D. because the king whose mother was cremated there and in whose honour the structure was raised, ruled in the latter half of the 15th century. But the architectural style of the geḍige at Ādāhanamaḷu belongs to the Draviḍian style of a comparatively earlier date. This is explainable by the circumstance that Draviḍian architecture, after being introduced into the Highlands of Ceylon, remained static there.

Sculpture: In Ceylon as in India art was the handmaid of religion. Therefore, sculpture like architecture was associated

32. *Ibid.* p. 786.

with places of worship. Sculptures of the Buddha and of scenes connected with his life figure prominently. In respect of these sculptures the famous models of Amarāvati seem to have influenced the art in Ceylon. The motif of the stem springing from a vase with figures of men and beasts emanating therefrom is reminiscent of certain sculptures of the *stūpas* at Sāñchi and Amarāvati. But it has been felt that as compared with the Indian examples, the ancient Sinhalese *Kalpavṛkṣas* do not show the same exuberance and are more restrained in the treatment of the details.

But even more pronounced was the effect on Ceylon of the sculptures Bhārhut, Sāñchi and Bodh-Gaya in Central India than those of Amarāvati. The figure of the Nāga for example in Ceylon was akin to that in these places. The Nāga is stiff and on its face there is the smile characteristic of archaic work. There is no attempt at shaping the figure to depict movement.

But the sculptures of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa had attained a higher level of natural flexibility. Wherever these influences are traceable in Ceylon the results have been found to be happy. Thus the sculptures on the frontispieces of the Abhayagiri and the Jatavana Dāgabas show a more developed technique. They evince a remarkable suppleness of the limbs, graceful attitudes and vivacity in the faces. These characteristics show a marked similarity with those found in the sculptures of Amarāvati, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and other Buddhist sites in the Āndhra country. It shows that the mature school of Buddhist art in the Āndhra country had influenced the methods and techniques of the early Sinhalese sculptors. There have been found in Ceylon several examples of sculptures in Amarāvati marble which must have been imported from the Āndhra country into the island.

Though in respect of style and technique the Amarāvati school had influenced the Sinhalese sculpture, yet regarding the subjects treated, there does not seem to have been any considerable influence. For example, in the Sinhalese counterparts there are no crowded scenes as in the Āndhra sculptures and no exuberance of details.

However, it is remarkable that an image of the Buddha, about 6 feet in height, carved out of South Indian marble, has

been recently discovered at Mahā Īluppallama in the Anurādhapura District. This was very probably carved in the Āndhra country and brought to Ceylon at an early date. This statue has the distinguishing features of the standing Buddha type of the Amarāvati school. Numerous huge Buddha images of limestone, for example, those found in a shrine on the pavement of the Ruvanvali Dāgaba, are similar to the Amarāvati Buddha and some of them have been ascribed to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. But there is a doubt regarding the dates of some of these images and it is probable that they are not assignable to a date before the reign of Mahāsēna (c. A.D. 275—301). Standing images of the Buddha of the type common in Amarāvati are found to have been carved in Ceylon even in the 8th or 9th century A.D.

There are some seated images of the Buddha in Anurādhapura. But they seem to have had little to do with Amarāvati; these seated images of the Buddha very probably belong to the Mathura type.

The early school of Sinhalese sculpture, which produced the carvings on the colossal *stūpas* and which had intimate connections with the Vēṅgi or Āndhra school, seem to have declined after the reign of Mahāsēna. There are a few pieces showing figure sculptures of late Āndhra style such as those found in the Pidurāgala Dāgaba near Sigiri and the Girihandu-vehera near Ambalantōṭa. But it is difficult to determine whether they were brought from South India or whether they were sculptured in the island itself with the help of Āndhra sculptors.

The Pallava influence on Sinhalese sculpture is also noteworthy, though slightly earlier i.e. in the 4th and 5th centuries the Gupta characteristics are found in some stray pieces. Belonging to about the 7th century A. D. in the Pallava period in South India is the sunken relief of the figure of a seated man, with the head of a horse emerging from the rock behind him, found at Isurumuni. On grounds of style this relief has been ascribed to the Pallava age and to Pallava influence by art critics. "In the studied restraint which characterises the form of the man, the paucity of jewellery which accentuates the plastic form, and in the elongated slender limbs, the work is reminiscent of the sculptures executed under the patronage of

the Pallavas of Kāñchi".³³ There are two Bōdhisattva figures, one at Situlpavu and another at Kurukkaḷmaḍam in the Batticaloa District; on grounds of style these, too, are ascribed to about the 7th century A. D., but it is not possible to say whether the sculptures were influenced in any measure by the Pallava artists of the age.

Pallava influence is, however, traceable in the dvārapāla figures found at the circular shrine at Tiriyaṃ which is assignable to the 8th century A. D. The dvārapāla figures present the elongated limbs and the cold severity of expression which distinguish Pallava work.

During the Polonnaruva period sculptural ornamentation was adopted as an architectural motif. The flights of steps at the entrances to shrines contained the sculptural ornamentation. But this feature does not appear to have been introduced into Ceylon by the Chōḷas from South India, because even during the Anurādhapura period this feature had appeared. However, the Chōḷas, too, had employed this characteristic in their monuments, and therefore, it is not unlikely that the Chōḷa practice contributed to the strengthening and further elaboration of this architectural motif.

By far the most striking contribution of the Chōḷa contact in the field of sculpture was the development of metallic sculpture. The magnificent series of Śaiva images found at the Śiva Dēvālēs in Polonnaruva resemble those of the Imperial Chōḷas of South India in the same period. In Ceylon, too, there are images of Naṭarāja in various poses, of Śiva and Pārvati and of several Śaiva saints. The Naṭarāja of Polonnaruva is a charming specimen of metallic sculpture; it is described as "an expression of the highest imagination and ingenuity of the great Tamil artists who with balance, rhythm and symbolism executed the highest conception of the infinite".³⁴ The figures of the Śaiva saints are expressive of fervent devotion; perhaps the most successful image is that of St. Sundarar in which the super-conscious state of a mystic is portrayed in a unique manner. But these

33. *Ibid.*, p. 403.

34. C.S. Navaratnam: *Tamil and Ceylon* p. 266.

items of bronze sculpture were not carved in Ceylon; they seem to have been imported into the island from South India, and therefore, this pattern of metallic sculpture did not influence the Sinhalese art in any measure.

From the fall of the Polonnaru kingdom there was a gradual decadence in the art of sculpture. No doubt there was considerable output, but it was largely of a decorative character of rather inferior artistic merit. Stone images of the Buddha belonging to this period are but a few. One of them is a seated image at Yāpavu; it lacks facial expression and grace. Another seated image at Kaṭāraṅgala is believed to be made of gold; but in reality it is of bronze. It shows little of South Indian influence. It resembles an image in Siam and probably the same artists carried that one, too. The belief is that it was taken from Ceylon to Siam.

A seated bronze Buddha, 2 ft. 6 inches in height, is found in the Gaḍalādeṇi temple; this also shows little of South Indian influence. On the other hand, it is similar to a well-known Buddha image at Nalanda, and is perhaps derived from the Nalanda type. How it came to Ceylon has been a matter of speculation. There is a suggestion that it was brought from South India by Dhammakitti on his return from Dhānyakaṭaka. But more positive evidence is needed to confirm this suggestion.

Portrait sculpture which developed in the Chōla kingdom and later in Vijayanagar does not have its counterpart in Ceylon in any considerable measure. A bronze statue, one foot in height, now preserved in the Laṅkātilaka temple, is believed to be a representation of king Bhuvanaikabāhu IV. The costume, head-dress and jewels are not similar to those of the Chōla pattern; perhaps, they represent the indigenous styles in vogue at the time. The hands are clasped in the attitude of worship; but that feature is not strange or unique which can help the determination of the origin or history of the image.

In the moulded bases of certain buildings of the 14th and 15th century dancing figures and musicians are depicted. The porch of Yāpavu mentioned earlier contains this feature to a marked extent. The figures represent nautch girls dancing with great spirit to the music of tom-tom players; whether this

feature was borrowed from similar representations found in South Indian temples it is difficult to say. But one feature is remarkably similar. In several cases three figures are posed in such a way that four legs are sufficient for all of them. This motif known as *pittu* was common in South India and later in Kandy.

The carving of the stone doorways of this period displays skill on the part of artists. Decorative motifs of various kinds are found there. Squatting games, Nāgas, lions at the bases of the door jambs, carvings on the lintels of Gajalakṣmi with attendant figures on either side, all present a crowded appearance. This exuberance which was not common in the Sinhalese art was probably due to Dravidian influence.

Wood carving seems to have adopted the same decorative motifs as are found in the doorways and lintels. Only one example of it has survived and that is the door-frame now found at the entrance of the *dēvalē* at the Aludenī vihāra near Gampola. On grounds of style this has been adjudged as a work of the 14th century.

Paintings: In the art of painting, too, there was occasionally some influence from South India; but for the major part the Sinhalese pursued their own individualistic pattern of development. The earliest notable epoch of painting was that associated with Sigiriya about the 5th century A.D.

The western face of the rock at Sigiriya contained the paintings of numerous figures of divine damsels. Some of these are in a fair state of preservation having been sheltered from the ravages of the weather. The poses in which most of the figures are represented seem to be appropriate to dancing. It is said that compared with the paintings of the same age in India, for example, in the caves of Ajanta, the work of the Sinhalese painters is less refined and graceful; but it exhibits greater vigour. The slender waists and the full rounded breasts of the figures reflect the conception of ideal feminine beauty of the time. They are remarkably similar to those at Ajanta. It is possible, though not certain, that the Ajanta paintings had influenced those at Sigiriya.

But in the paintings at Hindagala the influence of the art in Ajanta, Bhārhut and Sāñchi can be noticed. Belonging to the 5th century A.D. i.e. approximately the same period as the Sigiriya paintings themselves, are fragmentary remains of paintings in a cave at Hindagala about six miles south-west of Kaṇḍy. Here it is the portrayal of a continuous story that is attempted. The scene is the visit of Indra to the Buddha in the cave of Indrasāla; the pattern of continuous narration followed by the sculptors of Bhārhut and Sāñchi and the painters of Ajanta is adopted here at Hindegala.

Pictorial art was in demand in the Polonnaruva period and the skill attained was fairly high. The services of the painter were in demand for secular as well as for religious purposes. The earliest pictorial remains that can be assigned to the Polonnaruva period are the fragments recovered from a relic-chamber in the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-Dāgaba, which were probably painted in the reign of Vijayabāhu I. Next in chronological sequence are the fragmentary paintings in the caves at Dimbulāgala.

There are fragments of some divine figures in the cave at the Gal-vihāra. The sculptured figures of the Buddha in the middle of the rock-wall is found attended by a crowd of painted Dēvas and Brahmās. In spite of the occurrence of the gods of the Hindu pantheon in the paintings it is not possible to say that the work was by outsiders; it is probable that it is purely indigenous.

The largest cycle of paintings of this period is seen in the Tivamka shrine at Polonnaruva. This shrine was built in the reign of Parākramabāhu I, but the paintings have been executed later over the earlier layer. These paintings may be assigned to the closing years of the Polonnaruva kingdom or even to the 13th century when the shrines were renovated in the reign of Parākramabāhu II. Later neglect has been responsible for a large part of the paintings becoming faded or spoilt. The themes painted are religious, connected with the life of the Buddha as narrated in the Jātaka stories. Amongst the several figures and scenes depicted, a blue complexioned deity, holding a flower in one of the hands, bears some resemblance to the well-known Bōdhisattva of Ajanta both in respect of pose and of the expression in the face.

Nevertheless, everything considered, the paintings at Tivamka fall short of the best products of the classical art of India. Yet they are interesting because after the art had declined in India it was preserved and developed in Ceylon. "Comparison with what is preserved of the pictorial art of the 12th century or 13th century in India definitely proves that Ceylon has been the last refuge of that art which produced the masterpieces of Ajanta."³⁵

35. History of Ceylon op. cit. p. 612.

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ERRATA

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Page	Line	For	Read
46	5	Euologise	Eulogise
	10	Euologise	Eulogies
55	11	Takūpua	Takua-pa
91	5	Wers	Were
93	26	Pāsi	Paśa
105	30	Cevlon	Ceylon
111	14	Arikēsar	Arikēsari
	F.N.	Rasamayagam	Rasanaygam
118	6	Maṇimēkhalai	Maṇimēkalai
146	27	Yeinar	Eyinar
155	30	refers	refer
167	13	Mensturation	menstruation
187	20	Ādāhanamaḷa	Ādāhanamaḷu

—

INDEX

	PAGE
Abdur Razzak : Persian visitor in Vijayanagar	109
Abhaya : <i>vide</i> Nandimitta	
Abhayanāga : Ceylonese King	143
Achyuta Rāya : king of Vijayanagar	113
<i>Achyutarāyaabhyudayam</i> : by Varadāmba	112
Ādāhanamaḷa (u) : gedige at	187
Adhikāri Utur Pandiradun : an official	143
Adhirājendra : Chōḷa King	76 ; 85
Ādimalaya : a rebel	78
Adivīrārāmapaṭṭana : Adirāmpet	110
Aelian	31
Agastya : legends about	27
Aggabodhi : son of Mānavamman	54
Aiyanār : elder son of Rudra, 16 ; Skanda	17
Alagakkonār : A minister of Vikramabāhu III	141
Añcukōṭṭa	90
Aṅgam : kind of Physical culture	168
Anna Pallavarāyar : A Chōḷa general	96
Antaravalli : battle	128
Anula : a Ceylonese Queen	175
Anurādhapuram :	43, 47, 48, 53, 64, 77, 78, 183
Anurai : Anurādhapuram	111
Anwalakkōṭṭa	90
Appar : image of, in Ceylon	86
Arabs : in Ceylon	32
Aravar : Nāgas ; the Tamils	22
Architecture : influence of Tamil architecture	
on Ceylon	182, 183
Aricit : battle	58
Arikēśari Parākrama Paṇḍya	110, 111
Āriya Country	86
Aromer Chekavar	168
Ārpākkam	94
Artha Sāstra	7, 30
Aruvi Āru	4

	PAGE
Ārya Chakravartis : of Jaffna, 36, 108, 104, 117, 121, 122, 123, 125, 127, 128, 130, 143	
Āryan : immigration into Ceylon, 5, 12, 25, 26, 30, 43, 146	
Asela : Brother of Tissa	43, 44
Asoka	140, 171
Astrology : in Ceylon	150
Ayasmanta : a general	131
Ayōdhya	70
Bāhiya : a general	48
Bālakrishna : image of, in Ceylon	86
Bhalluka : a Tamil chief invading Ceylon	48, 135
Bhuvanaikabāhu I : 101, 104, 119, 133 ; IV : 36, 129, 191 ; VII : 141, 178	
Bilinde Yaka : the child yaka—Gaṇeśa	17
Brahadīsvaram : temple in Tanjore	65, 83
Brāhmī inscriptions : in Ceylon	25
Buddha : a minister in Ceylon	66
Buddhaghōsha	141, 171, 172
Buddhism : in Ceylon after Tissa	44, 146, 152, 153, 171
Bukka I : king of Vijayanagar	105
Burmah : trade with Ceylon	74
Buttala : a Dt. in Ceylon	86
Cala : Vijayabāhu's treacherous friend	75
Caste : in Ceylon	146
Castes : in Ceylon	146, 147
Chakravartinallūr : in the Pāṇḍyan Country	103, 129
Chalukyas, W.	76
Chanda : a Brahmin chaplain	140
Chandrabhānu : a Japanese prince	100, 127
Chittaiyar : of Sittankeri	136
Chōḍagaṅga : a Pāṇḍyan General	101
Chōḍagaṅgas	124, 133
Chōlamanḍalam	93
Chōlamanḍala Śatakam	120
Chōlas : and Ceylon	62, 88, 144 (ff)
Coins : of Dravidian origin in Ceylon ; Kalpatiya hoard, 35 ; Pāṇḍyan, 36 ; the Paṇam 36 ; Vijayanagar and Orissa — Varāhan and Pagōḍa 36 ; Ilakkāśu, 36 ; Purāṇas	135

	PAGE
Colonisation	134 (ff)
Cosmos Indicopleustus : on the commerce of Ceylon	29
Cūḷōdara	38
Cūḷavarāsa : On the flora and fauna of Ceylon, 3, 52, 56, 64, 65, 70, 71, 76, 77, 80, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95, 101, 102, 104, 108, 118 (fn), 128, 132, 133, 141, 174	
Cūṭus : Cūṭu Nāgas	22
<i>Dakṣhiṇa Kailāsa Purāṇam</i>	116 (fn.)
Dakṣhiṇa Samudrādhipati	109
Dameḍa	30
Dameḷas : Draviḍians	31
Damiḷadēvi	154
Damiḷadhikārin Rakkha	143
Dappula IV : king of Ceylon	61
Dappula V	125
Dāthika : general of Pilayamāra	49
Dāṭhiya	50, 154
Demon Worship : in Ceylon	42
DeQuieroz	121
Dēvāra hymnists : and Ceylon	41
Dēvarāya II	108, 109, 111
Dharmaśōka	131
Dhanushkōṭi	30
Dathaśiva I	143
Dhātusēna	50
Dighajantu : Elārā's General	47
Dutthagamaṇi	15, 47, 48, 135
Edirliśōla Śambuvarāya	93
Elāra	15, 44, 45, 47, 135
Elu : the Nāga language	18 37 (fn.)
Eratosthenes	4
Eyilpaṭṭiṇam : and Mahatiṭṭha	33
Ferishta	105
Festivals	151
Funerary rites	11, 150
Gaḍalādepi : shrine at	186, 187
Gajabāhu I	42, 137, 169

	PAGE
Gajabāhu II : 84 (fn.),	144, 145, 174
Galeyaka : demon of the Rock	15, 16
Gamaṇi : title of early Ceylonese rulers	30
Gaṇeśa : worship in Ceylon	155
Gaṅgādēvi	106
Gaṅgavaṁśa	118
Gōṇḍvāna	6
Guttaka : Tamil merchant adventurer in Ceylon	43, 140
Hanumān : image in Ceylon	86
Harihara II	106, 107
Hāthigumpha inscription	31
Haṭṭhādāṭha : king of North Ceylon	52
Hēmanātha	142
Hinduism : in Ceylon	152, 153, 173, 174
Hoysalas	127
Ikshvākus	125
Īlam : 3 (fn.), 18 and (fn.)	69, 75, 108
Īlam tirai koṇḍa	109
Īlanāganār : a ruler of Jaffna	37
Īlandāri : younger son of Rudra 16, and Gaṇeśa	17
Īlattu Pūdandēvenār	37
Indra festival	21
Īs'uramuniya : a temple in Ceylon	154
Jaffna : kingdom of	116 (ff.)
Jagadvijaya : Ceylonese General	91, 92
Jagatipāla : a ruler of Ceylon (from Ayōdhya)	70, 71, 79
Jananāthamaṅgalam : <i>vide</i> Polonnaruva	
Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya	98, 99, 102
Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya	99, 100, 127, 133
Jayabāhu : brother of Vijayabāhu	86
Jayatuṅga	120
Jayatuṅga Vanarāja Singan	116 (fn.)
Jnāna Sivadēvar : <i>vide</i> Svāmidēvar	
Kadambanadi : river near Anurādhapura	43
Kadambas : origin of	34, 35
Kadiramalai	116, 117

Kailāyamalai	116, 134, 139
Kāka Vanṇa Tissa : father of Duṭṭhagamaṇi	45
Kalabhras	50 52
Kaliṅga	71, 119, 121, 132
Kaliṅga Chakravartis	118
Kaliṅgarāyara	132, 133
Kaliṅgarāyara : a Paṇḍya General	101
Kaliṅgas	117
Kaḷḷar	90
Kalliyāṇa	29
Kalutara, South : and Muruha Worship	15
Kalyāṇavati	131
Kamara	34
Kambar : Tamil Poet	120
Kanakasūriya Singai Āriyan	119
Kāñchi : a seat of Buddhism	51, 155
Kandaswāmy	117
Kandy	114
Kanna Kuchchiyar	104
Kannara Dēva	149
Kanterōdai	35
Kantalay : Siva temple at	80, 85
Kanyākubja : Kanauj	71
Kapāṭapuram	7, 8, 142
Kapurālas : priests	15
Karavas : a caste	162, 163
Karikāla : Chōla	134, 137
Kārtikēya : image in Ceylon	86
Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān : Chōla general	156
Kassapa : son of Mahinda V 57, 66, 71 III : son of	
Mānavarīna	54 ; IV : 143 V : 60
Kāsu : Chōla coin	83
Kataragāma : Muruha shrine in Ceylon	15, 74, 116, 155, 176
Kātyāyana : mention of S. Indian names by	25
Kaviḷuniṇa	179
Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinaṃ	21, 39
Kāyal	142
Kēraḷa : and Jaffna	88, 163 ff.
Khande Yaka : a deity	14

	PAGE
Khuddaparinda	50
Khāravēla	31
Kilakōṭṭā : battle	91
Kiriamma : The hill Goddess worshipped by the Vaḍḍas	15, 16
Kitṭi : a court official 66 : king of Ceylon	70, 71, 74, 130
Kōkīlasandēśa :	140
Kolambahāḷaka : battle	48
Kōṇamalai : Trincomalle	99
Konēśvaramalai	155
Koṅgu	91
Kōpperuṇjiṅga	97, 98
Kottanār : a saint	137
Koṭṭhasara	87
Kōvalan	135, 164
Kōviyas : a caste	159, 160
Krishṇa Dēva Rāya	113
Krishṇappa Nāyaka I : son of Visvanātha Nāyaka	113, 114, 115
Kudiraimalai : location of	39
Kuḷakkōdan	158
Kulaśēkhara : Pāṇḍya 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 102,	103, 112
Kulōttuṅga I : and Ceylon 76 ; III :	93
Kumāra Kampaṇa : Vijayanagara prince	105, 107
Kuṇavīra Siṅgai Āriyan	127
Kuṇḍukala : 'Parākramapura' -in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom	89
Kurukkals (saiva) : as priests in Ceylon	136
Kurukulattaraiyan : a Ceylonese chief	75
Kurundankuḍi : battle	91
Kuṭṭhaka : a Ceylonese general invading the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom	58
Lakkappa Daṇḍanāyaka	108, 109, 110
Lakshmi : image in Ceylon-	86
Land revenue : in Ceylon	158, 159
Laṅkā (dīpa) : Ceylon	4, 5, 17, 18
Laṅkāpura : a general	89, 90, 91, 93
Laṅkāpuri Daṇḍanāyaka	94
Lemuria	5, 6, 8

Lilāvati : The Queen of Vijayabāhu, 79 ; of Parākramabāhu I	130
Lōkēśvara	131, 132
Lōkita	119
Lōkōpakāraya	180
Ludovico di Varthema : of Bologna	112
Ma'bar	102
Madanarājan : identified with Parākkama	70 (fn.)
Maḍapaḷlis : Kings of Jaffna	128
<i>Madurā Vijayam</i>	109
Madhurammamanavira : battle	91
Madurai	7, 8, 92, 94, 95, 96
'Maduraiyum Īlamum koṇḍa' : title of Rājadhiraḷa II,	96
Magha : of Kālinga	132
Mahābalipuram : Pallava Port	55
Mahābhārata	7, 27
Mahākaṇḍa	154
Mehātānakiṭṭi : king of Ceylon 70, defeated by the Chōḷas	71
Mahānāma : of the Lambakaṇṇa dynasty	49
Mahātālitagāma : battle	56
Mahāthēra Moggalana	145
Mahātiṭṭha (Mātōta) : a port,	32, 76, 81, 85, 87
Mahāvamsā	3, 7, 20, 25, 27, 28, 31, 148, 157
Mahāyānism : in Ceylon	172, 173
Mahēndra Varman : Pallava	55
Mahinda I : Son of Mānavamman, 54 ; II : 174 ; IV : 118, 119, 178, V : 63, 61, 143	
Mahinda, Yuvarāja : brother of Sēna I	57
Mahōdara : Nāga King	38
Malai Pēy	15
Maḷavarāya : Varakūr udaiyān	110
Māḷavas	52
Male : Malabar	29
Malik Kafur	104
Mānābharaṇa : son of Mitta 86 ; king of Laṅkā	73
Mānabhūsham	112
<i>Manasollāsa</i>	31
Mānavamma : son of Kassapa-II	52, 53, 143

	PAGE
Maṅgalama : battle	91
Maṇikkavāsagar : and Sēna I 57, 58, image of, in Ceylon	86
Maṇimēkalai	21, 26, 118
Maṇipuram	21
Mannar ; st. of	30, 142
Māntai : of Kuṭṭuvan, 32 ; and Sopatma	33, 143
Manunīdikaṇḍa Chōḷa	45
Marakkalayas	32
Marāḷa : a tax	157
Maṇavar	90
Māravarman Kulaśekhara	100, 104, 129, 133
Māravarman Rājasimha II : Pāṇḍya defeated by Chōḷa	60, 61
Māravarman Śrī Vallabha	88, 102
Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya	120
Māravarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya	102
Marco Polo	102, 143
Marutappiravikavalli	117
Motitingan	103, 129
Māvilāṅgai	33 and (fn.)
Māvittapuram : Kandaswāmy temple at	136
Māyapāṇḍya	54, 59
Megasthenes	4, 30
Mitta : A traitor in the Ceylonese army	133
Moggolana I	142
Mummuḍi Chōḷa maṇḍalam : Ceylon	81
Mundramannadhāna : battle	91
Munnēsvaram	137
Muraṇjiyur Muḍi Nāgar : a nāga poet	37
Music : S. Indian influence on Sinhalese	182
Nāga : names in Ceylon	38
Nāgadīpa : part of Jaffna	17, 20, 38
Nāgapattinam	21, 155
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa : Buddhist monks from, in Ceylon	51
Nāgarkōil : in Ceylon	135, 164
Nāgars : and the Nāgas	18
Nāgas : a primitite tribe	13, 17, 19, 20 ; and the
Nāyars	18, 19, 21, 22, 37
Naḷaver : a caste	161, 162
Nānādēsis : merchant associations	32

	PAGE
Nandimitta : (Abhaya) a Ceylonese general	46
Narasa Nāyaka	112
Narasimha Varman I : Pallava 52, 53, 155 ; II and Māna- varman	53
Narēndra Simha	142
Naṭarāja : image of, in Ceylon	86
Nāyaks : of Madurai	127
Nedūnkilli Chōḷa : and Pīlivaḷai	21
Nestorians : in Ceylon	32
Neṭṭūru	91
Nāpaṭamaṇam	108
<i>Nikaya Saṅgraha</i>	81 (fn.)
Nilakaṇṭanār : of Muśīri	38
Nilanāga : a chieftain	41
Niliya : Brahmin priest in Ceylon	175
Nissamkamalla : king of Polonnaruva	96, 124 (fn.) 130, 145
Niyama	92
Nṛpaṭuṅga : Pallava	55, 58
Onesicritus	4
Orittiyūrtombama : battle	91
Palaesimundu : Ceylon—in the Periplus	4
Pāḷamkōṭṭa	91, 92
Palandipa	87
Pallava : influence on Ceylonese sculpture	189, 190
Pallavabhogga	51, 52, 171
Pallavarāyar	94, 95
Pallavas : and Ceylon	22, 51 (ff.)
Palutthagiri : Vijayabāhu's stronghold	75
Paṇam : a coin	36
Panayamāra : a Tamil chief	48, 49
Pañchāyat administration	157
Paṇḍārappillai : tax collectors	156
Pāṇḍi Maḷavan	117, 134
Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam	93
Pāṇḍi Vijayakuḷama	96, 130
Pāṇḍu : an invader of Ceylon	49, 50
Pāṇḍukabhaya	140, 148, 157

	PAGE
Pāṇḍu Vasudēva : ruler of Ceylon	136, 157
Pāṇḍu Vijayagama	92
Pāṇḍyakavāta : variety of pearls	30
Pāṇḍyas : and Vijaya 27, and Ceylon	88 (ff.)
Pāṇini : Skt. grammarian	25
Parākkama : king of Ceylon	70 and fn.
Parākramabāhu	84, 92, 95, 97, 144
Parākramabāhu I : 96, 129, 143, 156 183, II : 98, 99, 174,	
193 ; III : 104, 126 (ff), 129, 178 ; IV : 141, 175 ; VI :	
	108, 109, 110, 143, 179
Parākrama Pāṇḍya	88, 89, 132
Parākramapura : <i>vide</i> Kuṇḍukala	
Parākrama Samudram : a tank	158
Parāntaka : Chōla,	36, 60, 62, 81
Parāntaka Vīranārayana : Pāṇḍya	60
Pararāja Śēkharan	108, 121, 129, 136
Pararāja Siṅgan	120
<i>Pārijāta-paharaṇam</i>	112
Pārvati : image of, in Ceylon	86
Pāśa	90, 93
Pattanallūru : battle	91
<i>Paṭṭinappalai</i>	31, 148
Pattini : worship in Ceylon	42, 177
Periyamanathulār : a brahmin priest	117, 136
Periyathambi Aiyar : a saint	137
Periplus : a Gk. travelogue	4
Perumānambi	94
Phussadēva : a Ceylonese General	46, 48
Pilame Talawe : a Kandyan chief	47
Pilayamāra : a Tamil chief in Ceylon killed by his general	49
Pithiya : Tamil chief in Ceylon	50
Podouke : and Pūnakari in Jaffna	34
Polegars	114
Polonnaruva : also Jananāthamaṅgalam 64, 74, 75, 77,	
78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 87, 125, 145, 184, 191	
Portuguese : in Ceylon	113, 153
Porunarāruppāḍai	134
Pottery : in Prehistoric Ceylon	12
Pottha Kuṭṭha : A Tamil General	143

Puhaṇḍi : Tamil Poet	123
Pūjāvali	81 (fn.)
Pulahattha : Tamil ruler in Ceylon	48
Pulakēśin II	53
Pulathinagara : Chōḷa base in Ceylon	66
Pūtam Dēvanār : a Nāga poet from Ceylon	18
Puttaḷam : battle	114
Rājādhirāja I Chōḷa	68, 73, 83, 88 II : 93, 94, 95
Rājāditya : Yuvarāja	69 (fn.)
Rājarāja I : Chōḷa	63, 64, 81, 82, 84, 85, 154 III : 97, 98
Rājarājapperumpalli	84, 154, 184
Rājarājapura : in Ceylon	65
Rājarāja Valanāḍu : in Ceylon	81
Rājarājeśvara : Chōḷa Temple at Māntōṭa	65, 85
Rājaratnākara	138
Rājaratṭha : northern part of Ceylon	74, 75, 76
Rājāvali	107, 108, 134 (fn.) 137
Rājasimha II : King of Kandy 153 ; (Pāṇḍyan)	62
Rājendra I : Chōḷa	64, 65, 82, 85, 86 ; II : 74, 82.
Rajinā : fortress	91
Rāmāyaṇa	7, 23
Rāmeśvaram	89, 94, 107, 108, 122, 125, 130
Ravidēva : Vijayabahu's treacherous friend	75
Religion : in Ceylon	152 ff.
Revenue system : Chōḷa	83
Rōhaṇa : S. Ceylon	45, 62, 64, 67, 70, 76, 78, 82, 86
Rudra : the destroyer, different from Galeyaka	16
Sadās'ivarāya	113
Śaḍayappa Mudali	120
Saddharmāṅkara : a Sinhalese work	7
Śāduvan : A merchant from Puhār	21
Sāhasamalla	125, 131
Sambandham : A marriage custom	166
Sambandar : a Saiva Saint	155
Śambaśiva Aiyar	136
Sandemain : 'Chandrabāhu'	102
Śaṅgam Tamil : 6, 7, Nāga poets in 22 ; 27 ; and Ceylon	36 ff.

Śāntanēri	92
Sapumal	119
Seddivari	140
Segarājas: Segarāja Śēkharan	117, 129
Sēgarājasekharam	118 (fn.) 121,
Śegarāja Śēkharamalai	124, 128
Semponmāri	90, 91
Śēna: a Tamil merchant adventurer	43, 140
Sēna I	56, 57, 58, II : 54, 55, 58, 174
Servirukkaināḍu	p. 129
Sidatsaṅga	182
Sigiriya : paintings at	192
Sihalavihāra : a Buddhist monastery in Ceylon	51
Śilappadikāram	118, 177
<i>Simhaḷadvīpa katha</i>	114, 115
Simhapuram : in Kaliṅga	118
Simhavishṇu : the Pallava	51, 52
Sinduruvāna : Laṅkātilaka Shrine at	186
Śīṅgai	110, 111, 116
Śīṅgai Āriyan: Vijaya Kūḷaṅkai Chakravarti	117 ; Guṇa
Pūshana	138
Śīṅgai Ārya Śēkharan	123, 124
Singha, Ketu	117
Siriyavala: battle	91
Śiriyavēḷār : a Chōḷa general	63
Sittaṇṇavāsāl : cave temple at	55
Sojawnā Śēva Rājā	108
Sōmadēvi : queen of Vaṭṭagāmanī	48
Somēśvara III : Chālukya	31
Sopatma : Marakkānam or Eyirpaṭṭinam	33
Sorandakkōṭṭa : battle	91
Sothtiśēna : son of Mahānāma of Ceylon	49
Śrīmāra : Pāṇḍyan King	58
Srīmāra Srivallabha : Pāṇḍya	54, 55, 56
Śrīvallabha	95
Śrīvallabhamadanarājan : King of Īlam	69
Sumitava : Pāṇḍyan princess	142
Sundara Chōḷa Parāntaka II : and Ceylon	63
Sundaramūrti : image of, in Ceylon	86

	PAGE
Sundara Pāṇḍya	102, 104, 128
Supathiddamunivar	136, 137
Suranimiḷa : the Sinhalese general of Duṭṭhagamaṇi	47
Sūra, tissa : younger brother of Tissa	43
Sūrya : image of, in Ceylon	86
Svāmidēvan : Umāpatidēva ie. Jñānaśivadēva	93, 94
Svāminātha	142
Taladilla : Seaport in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom	89
Tāḷikumaran : Chōḷa officer	65, 85
Tāmbapaṇṇi : Ceylon	4
Tāmbapaṇṇi Dīpa, Ceylon	51
Tāmbapaṇṇi nagara : in Ceylon founded by Vijaya	4
Tambalagāma : Vijayabāhu's captain in Ceylon	74, 76, 177
Tāmrarni R.	4, 5 (fn.)
Tāmrarnika : variety of pearls in S. India and Ceylon	30
Tamil lit. : influence of, on Ceylon	178, 179
Tamils : endowment to Buddhist institutions in Ceylon	84
Tanks : irrigation	157, 158
Taprobane : Ceylon	4, 29
Tāramaṅgalam	115
Temples : in Ceylon	64
Tenkāśi	110
Ten Madurai : early Pāṇḍyan capital	7, 8, 27, 28
Tilakasundari : Trilōkā Sundari	118, 119
Tiruchirāppaḷi	55
Tirikūṭagiri	99
Tiritara : Tamil chief of Ceylon	50
Tirugñānasambandar : 158 : image of, in Ceylon	86
Tirukkētisvaram	155
Tirukkōil : and Muruha worship	15
Tirukkuraḷ	14
Tirunelveli	91
Tirippalūru : battle	91
Tiruvērāham Perumāḷ : Tiruvarāṅga Perumāḷ	141, 142
Tiruvīramīśvaram : temple at, in Ceylon	82
Tis'ai ugra Chōḷan	117
Tissa, Dēvanāmpiya : Buddhist King of Ceylon	43, 138,
	149, 171

	PAGE
Tiya : a Ceylonese rebel	48
Tolkāppiyar	40
Toṇḍi	90, 93
Trinavēli	91
Trilōkasundari : a Kalingan Princess 73 (fn.)	79
Tumbichi Nāyaka	114
Udaya IV : King of Ceylon	62
Ugraśēna	116, 117
Ugrasiṅga	117, 121, 136
Ūliyam : free service	157
Umāpati Dēva : <i>vide</i> Svāmidevar	
Upatissa : a Brahmin priest	140
Upulvan : Varuṇan	153
Ūr	156
Uttaradēsa : northern part of Ceylon	52, 54
Vaḍḍas : a primitive tribe	11, 13, 15, 17
<i>Vaiṭṭavamālai</i>	111, 134, 139
Vaiśyas : in Ceylon	148
<i>Vaiya Pāḍal</i>	161
Vakirigala : a fortress	80
Valai Vaṇan : ruler of Maṇipallavam	39
Valanjiar : a merchant corporation trading with Ceylon	31, 32
Vāḷāmbikai	136
Vallipuram	135
Vālmiki : and the Yakkhas	24
Vānavanmādevi : Chief Queen of Rājaraḷa I	85
Vānavanmādevi Īsvaram	85
Vaṇṇār Porunai	137, 138
<i>Varadāmbika Pariṇayam</i>	112
Varaguṇa Varman II : Pāṇḍyan King	59
Varōdaya Sēgarāja Śēkharan	130
Varōdaya Siṅgai Āryan	128
Varuṇan : worship of	153
Vātāpi	155
Vatṭagāmaṇi : 'Valgam Bahu' King of Ceylon	48, 49
Vēlaikkāras	32, 80, 84, 144
Vēḷankuṇḍi : battle	92

	PAGE
Velgamvihāra : in Ceylon	85
Vellāla colonists : in Ceylon	139 (fn.) 141
Vellūr : battle	87
Vihāradēvi : mother of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi	45
Vijaya : 4, 12, 13, 24, 25, and the Pāṇḍyas	41, 56, 117, 120
Vijayabāhu : King of Ceylon, 74, 75, 76, 77, 80, 81, 84, 86, 107, 118, 119; I : 144, 145, 149; II : 125; IV : 132	
Vijayagōpāla Nāyaka	114
Vijayakūlaṅkai Chakravarti	117, 126 (fn.)
Vijayanagar : and Ceylon	105, 127
Vijayarāja Īsvaran	85
Vijayarājapura : Ceylonese capital	79
Vikkamabāhu I : defeated by the Chōlas, 67, 70, 71, 86, 87, 119	
Vikkamapāṇḍu : (Vikrama Pāṇḍya) son of Mahalanakitti	70
Vikramabāhu I	123; II : 130, 145, III : 141
Vikrama Chōla Vaḷanāḍu : in Ceylon	81
Vikramāditya VI : W. Chālukya	77
Vikrama Pāṇḍya : Vikkama Pāṇḍya, defeated by the Chōlas	69
Vindai	111
Virabāhu I	130
Viradēva : invader of Ceylon	86, 87
Virapāṇḍu	92
Virapāṇḍya	63, 90, 92, 94, 96, 97, 102, 128
Virarājendra	74, 75
Viraśalāmēghan : of Kannakkuchi, King of Ceylon; 69 70, 71, 72, 73	
Viraśōliyam : a work on Tamil Grammar	182
Viravasantarāya	116
Virūpāksha I : and Ceylon	106, 107, 108
Vishṇu : image of, in Ceylon	86
Voharika Tissa	172
Yakkhas : a primitive tribe in Ceylon	13, 23, 24
Yālpāṇam	108, 116 (fn.)
Yālpāna Vaiṇava mālai	116, 117, 122, 124, 128, 161
Yapavu : a town in Ceylon	103, 186

