Panākaduwe Tamba sannasa

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

PANAKADUWA
COPPER PLATE

This publication commemorates the laying of the foundation stone for the Chetiya in the Kolawenigama Village adjacent to the Pattini Devalaya at Ukgalkotha.

Our history records numerous instances when fighters against invasions retreated to Ruhuna to reorganise the battle for freedom.

Folklore, chronicles and inscriptions identify many places in Ruhuna which were centres of the resistance movement at various times and those are looked upon to this day by many of our people reverently for having given refuge to the nation at times of travail.

The unique copper sannasa found at Panakaduwa in Morawak Korale is the oldest copper sannasa located— Hitherto the oldest issued on copper were attributed to Nissanka Malla.

This unique because other sannasas were land grants, title grants bestowing honour etc. This one is an exception from law even for offences punishable with (a) confiscation of property (b) imprisonment (c) death penalty which are the gravest of all offences. In fact the very lives of the Royalty have been placed at their mercy for high treason is also exempt from punishment.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

First Edition 1985

KOLAWENIGAMA, DENIYAYA
May 1985

CONTENTS

	Pages
FOREWORD	1 — 4
INTRODUCTION	5 — 8
TWO SANNASAS FROM MORAWAK KORALE	— 9
PANANA MUDALI	— 10
GRANVILLE'S CIRCUIT	11 — 14
CHOLA CONQUEST	14 — 15
THE FIGHT BACK	15 — 19
VIJAYABAHU I	19 — 26
MEDIEVAL ARMY	26 — 30
DISCOVERY OF THE PANAKADUWA SANNASA ..	30 — 36
THE TEXT OF THE SANNASA	— 36
TRANSLATION OF THE SANNASA	37 — 38

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

FOREWORD

We are printing this booklet to commemorate the laying of the foundation stone for the Chetiya in the Kolawenigama Village adjacent to the Pattini Devalaya at Ukgalkotha.

On the edge of the primeval Sinharaja, in the backwaters of the Gin-ganga, is the Kolawenigama Rajamaha Viharaya built anew recently in the style of the Dalada Maligawa in Kandy.

We also have a Lankagama in the midst of the jungle between the Sinharaja and Batuwangala. According to the Mahawamsa:-

"The King (Vijayabahu) sent to the King in the Ramanna country numbers of people and much costly treasure. Then arrived in the harbour many ships laden with various stuffs, camphor, sandalwood and other goods. By all kinds of valuable gifts he inclined the soldiers to him and with large forces at his command, he took up his abode in Tambalagama". "Tambalagama lies (Census of Ceylon 1921, 11., p. 152) in the Hinidum - Pattuva of the Galle District not far from Batuvangala on upper Gin-ganga. If this is our Tambalagama that would mean that the centre of gravity of Vijayabahu's influence was in the west of Rohana, on the borders of Dakkhinadesa. The fact that the troops which Kitti led against the Kesadhatu Kassapa came chiefly from the Pancayojana-ratta supports this. It is supported too by the further development of events." "At one stage Tambalagama was fortified anew and would have been looked upon as the capital of Rohana to make further preparations for the Chola war."

Present day Kolawenigama is slightly upstream of the area described in the Mahawamsa, in the Gin-ganga; a logical place for safe custody of the valuable Dantha Dhathu the Tooth relic of the Gautama Buddha.

On this occasion it would be appropriate to recapitulate some of the connections our region had with an early ruler like Vijaya-bahu and also print an extract from H. G. Wells' history regarding the rise and spread of Buddhism to inspire us in our march forward in the development of our country.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

"There seems to have been a constant exchange of the outer forms of religion between east and west. We read in Huc's *Travels* how perplexing he and his fellow-missionary found this possession of a common tradition of worship. "The cross," he says, "the mitre, the dalmatica, the cope which the Grand Lamas wear on their journeys, or when they are performing some ceremony out of the temple; the service with double choirs, the psalmody, the exorcisms; the censer, suspended from five chains, which you can open or close at pleasure; the benedictions given by the Lamas by extending the right hand over the heads of the faithful; the chaplet, ecclesiastical celibacy, spiritual retirement, the worship of the saints, the fasts, the processions, the litanies, the holy water, all these are analogies between the Buddhists and ourselves".

The cult and doctrine of Gautama, gathering corruptions and variations from Brahminism and Hellenism alike, was spread throughout India by an increasing multitude of teachers in the fourth and third centuries B.C. For some generations at least it retained much of the moral beauty and something of the simplicity of the opening phase. Many people who have no intellectual grasp upon the meaning of self-abnegation and disinterestedness have nevertheless the ability to appreciate a splendour in the reality of these qualities. Early Buddhism was certainly producing noble lives, and it is not only through reason that the latent response to nobility is aroused in our minds. It spread rather in spite of them because of the concessions that is made to vulgar imaginations. It spread because many of the early Buddhists were sweet and gentle, helpful and noble and admirable people, who compelled belief in their sustaining faith.

Quite early in its career Buddhism came into conflict with the growing pretensions of the Brahmins. As we have already noted, this priestly caste was still only struggling to dominate Indian life in the days of Gautama. They had already great advantages. They had the monopolyof tradition and religious sacrifices. But their power was being challenged by the development of kingship, for the men who became clan-leaders and kings were usually not of the Brahminical caste.

Kingship received an impetus from the Persian and Greek invasions of the Punjab. We have already noted the name of King Porus, whom, in spite of his elephants, Alexander defeated and

turned into a satrap. There came also to the Greek camp upon the Indus a certain adventurer named Chandragupta Maurya, whom the Greeks called Sandracottus, with a scheme for conquering the Ganges country. The scheme was not welcome to the Macedonians, who were in revolt against marching any further into India, and he had to fly the camp. He wandered among the tribes upon the north-west frontier, secured their support and after Alexander had departed overran the Punjab, ousting the Macedonian representatives. He then conquered the Ganges country (321 B.C.), waged a successful war (303 B.C.) against Seleucus when the latter attempted to recover the Punjab, and consolidated a great empire reaching across all the plain of northern India from the western to the eastern sea. And he came into much the same conflict with the growing power of the Brahmins, into the conflict between crown and priesthood, that we have already noted as happening in Babylonia, Egypt and China. He saw in the spreading doctrine of Buddhism an ally against the growth of priestcraft and caste. He supported and endowed the Buddhistic Order, and encouraged its teachings.

He was succeeded by his son, who was in turn succeeded by Asoka (264 to 227 B.C.), one of the greatest monarchs of history, whose dominions extended from Afghanistan to what is now the province of Madras. He is the only military monarch on record who abandoned warfare after victory. He had invaded Kalinga (225 B.C.), a country along the east coast of Madras, perhaps with some intention of completing the conquest of the tip of the Indian peninsula. The expedition was successful, but he was disgusted by what he saw of the cruelties and horrors of war. He declared, in certain inscriptions that still exist, that he would no longer seek conquest by war, but by religion, and the rest of his life was devoted to the spreading of Buddhism throughout the world.

He seems to have ruled his vast empire in peace and with great ability. He was no mere religious fanatic. But in the year of his one and only war he joined the Buddhist community as a layman, and some years later he became a full member of the Order, and devoted himself to the attainment of Nirvana by the Eightfold Path. How entirely compatible that way of living then was with the most useful and beneficent activities of his life, shows. Right Aspiration, Right Effort, and Right Livelihood distinguished his

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

career. He organized a great digging of wells in India, and the planting of trees for shade. He appointed officers for the supervision of charitable works. He founded hospitals and public gardens. He had gardens made for the growing of medicinal herbs. Had he had an Aristotle to inspire him, he would no doubt have endowed scientific research upon a great scale. He created a ministry for the care of the aborigines and subject races. He made provision for the education of women. He made—he was the first monarch to make—an attempt to educate his people into a common view of the ends and way of life. He made vast benefactions to the Buddhist teaching Orders, and tried to stimulate them to a better study of their own literature. All over the land he set up long inscriptions rehearsing the teaching of Gautama, and it is the simple and human teaching and not the preposterous accretions. Thirty-five of his inscriptions survive to this day. Moreover, he sent missionaries to spread the noble and reasonable teaching of his master throughout the world, to Kashmir, to Sri Lanka, to the Seleucids, and the Ptolemies. It was one of these missions which carried that cutting of the Bo Tree, of which we have already told, to Sri Lanka.

For eight-and-twenty years Asoka worked sanely for the real needs of men, *Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star.* From the Volga to Japan his name is still honored. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne."

For preparing and writing this booklet the credit goes to Lankadikari Kadurugamuwa, and Korale Arachchilage Thillakaratne who gave generously of their leisure to complete the work, take photographs and arrange the publication. No attempt is made to apportion the credit, both being modest men.

T. W. Ratnayaka,
Chairman,
Gramodaya Mandalaya,
Pallegama, Deniyaya.

INTRODUCTION

The emerald isle girdled by the sapphire wave described in the Ramāyana has myth, legend, poetry, going back a very long way. These are naturally interlinked with those of its giant neighbour which tradition accepts as the land Jambudeepa where all Buddhas were, and will be born. Of concern to us, for the present exercise, the first link as described in the Mahawamsa we would refer to is the consecrating of Vijaya:-

> "When the Guide of the World, having accomplished the salvation of the whole world and having reached the utmost stage of blissful rest, was lying on the bed of his nibbāṇa, in the midst of the great assembly of gods, He, the great sage, the greatest of those who have speech, spoke to Sakka who stood there near him: 'Vijaya, son of King Sihabāhu, is come to Laṅkā from the country of Lāla, together with seven hundred followers. In Lanka, O lord of gods, will my Sasana be established, therefore carefully protect him with his followers and Laṅkā.'
>
> When the lord of gods heard the words of the Tathāgata he from respect handed over the guardianship of Laṅkā to the god who is in colour like the lotus.
>
> And no sooner had the god received the charge from Sakka than he came speedily to Laṅkā and sat down at the foot of a tree in the guise of a wandering ascetic. And all the followers of Vijaya came to him and asked him: 'What island is this, sir?' 'The island of Laṅkā,' he answered 'There are no men here, and here no dangers will arise.' And when he had spoken so and sprinkled water on them from his water-vessel, and had wound a thread about their hands he vanished through the air. And there appeared, in the form of a bitch, a yakkhiṇi who was an attendant (of Kuvaṇṇā)."

The next link we would like to allude to is the coming of the great Arahat Mahinda as described in the Mahawamsa.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

"The great thera Mahinda, of lofty wisdom, who at that time had been twelve years (a monk), charged by his teacher and by the brotherhood to convert the island of Laṅkā, pondered on the fitting time (for this) and thought: 'Old is the King Muṭasiva; his son must become king.'

When he had resolved to visit in the meantime his kinsfolk, he bade farewell to his teacher and the brotherhood and having asked the leave of the king he took with him the four theras and also Sagghamittā's son, the miraculously gifted sāmaṇera Sumana, mighty in the six supernormal powers; and he went to Dakkhiṇāgiri to confer on his kinsfolk (the) grace (of his preaching). While he was so doing six months passed away.

When he came in time to Vedisagiri the city of his mother Devī, he visited his mother and when Devī saw her dear son she made him welcome, and his companions likewise, with foods prepared by herself, and she led the thera up to the lovely vihāra Vedisagiri.

When the prince Asoka, while ruling over the realm of Avanti, that his father had bestowed on him, halted in the town of Vedisa, before he came to Ujjenī, and met there a lovely maiden named Devī, the daughter of a merchant, he made her his wife; and she was (afterwards) with child by him and bore in Ujjeni a beautiful boy, Mahinda, and when two years had passed (she bore) a daughter, Sanghamittā. At that time she lived in the city of Vedisa. The thera who then sojourned there, perceiving (that) the time (was come), thought thus: 'In that great festival of consecration commanded by my father shall the great king Devānampiyatissa take part and he shall know the splendour of the three things when he has heard it from the envoys. He shall climb the Missaka-mountain on the uposatha-day of the month Jeṭṭha. On that same day we will go to the beauteous isle of Laṅkā.'

The great Indra sought out the excellent thera Mahinda and said to him: 'Set forth to convert Laṅka; by the Sambuddha also hast thou been foretold (for this) and we will be those who aid thee there.'

The son of a daughter of Devī's sister, (a youth) named Bhaṇḍuka, who had heard the doctrine preached by the thera to Devī, and who had obtained the reward of one who shall return no more unto life remained with the thera.

When he had stayed there a month the thera, on the uposatha-day of the month Jeṭṭha, with the four theras and Sumana, and the lay-disciple Bhaṇḍuka also, to the end that they might be known for human beings, rose up in the air (and departed) from that vihāra; and he, the (thera) of wondrous powers, coming hither with his following alighted on the pleasant Missaka Mountain on the Sila peak of the open end fair Ambaṭṭha."

Great monarchs such as Dutugemunu (101-77 B.C. — 24 years) Gajabahu I (114-136 A.D. - 22 years), Mahasena (274-301 A.D. - 27 years) and Parakramabahu I (1153-1186 A.D. - 33 years) who ruled Sri Lanka from time to time are much loved by to this day. So affectionately are they held in the hearts of the people that even to this day the simple villagers who really are the true guardians of the triple gem, talk of them as if those monarchs lived only the other day. Another king of great stature was Vijayabahu I and in fact Professor Senarath Paranavitane has expressed the view that "Had there been no Vijayabahu, there would perhaps have been no Sinhalese in Ceylon today" He reigned for 55 years from 1059 to 1114 A.D.

It was on a twenty-seventh of September some nine hundred and two years ago that Siri Sangabo Vijayabahu from his lion throne in the noble city of Nuru (*i.e.* Anuradhapura) issued the now famous copper plate discovered at Panakaduwa in Morawak Korale. In this booklet we are setting out Dr. Paranavitana's article on the copper plate as appearing in Volume V part I, Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Epigraphica Zeylanica and also an extract from his book 'Glimpses of Ceylon's Past'. A Sinhala translation of the latter is also published for the benefit of the non-English readers.

Another important feature of this part of the country, in which is also the Sinharaja primeval forest, is that the tooth relic of the Buddha had been taken there for safety. There is a temple in Kolawenigama that has over 2000 acres given to it for services rendered. To this day the chief incumbent of that temple has a say in

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

the elections of the Diyawadana Nilame of the Dalada Maligawa living testimony to it's past association.

It is in the hope that the first elected President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka would visit this part of the country that this compendium of relevant extracts is published. His contribution to this country in the last seven years is incomparable.

We know that we are now at the half-way mark in this country's unique and pleasant five thousand year duty of preserving and protecting the Buddha Sasana. Several Monarchs and men have made their contribution. Many more would have to play their part and we hope that the noble efforts by those past and present to protect the Sasana would be emulated in the future; for those who protect the Dhamma are protected by the Dhamma.

"DHAMMO HAVÉ RAKKHATI DHAMMACARI"

TWO SANNASAS FROM MORAWAK KORALE

Our history records numerous instances when fighters against invasions retreated to Ruhuna to reorganise the battle for freedom.

Folklore, chronicles and inscriptions identify many places in Ruhuna which were centres of the resistance movement at various times and those are looked upon to this day by many of our people reverently for having given refuge to the nation at times of travail.

The unique copper sannasa found at Panakaduwa in Morawak Korale indicates that resistance which eventually resulted in vanquishing the Chola occupier who conquered the greater part of the country in the 11th Century was nurtured and developed in Morawak Korale.

It is claimed that a sannasa was also granted to a temple in Morawak Korale by a King of Kandy for protecting the tooth relic in Morawak Korale during an invasion into the Kandyan Kingdom in much later times by western powers.

By its situation in the interior of the southwest part of the Island and by its mountainous and wooded nature Morawak Korale would have offered natural protection from the enemy to the resistance fighter. Iron ore abundantly found in and near the region would have been a ready source of raw material for the forging of weapons in the preparations for the fight back. Waste material from iron smelting is yet found in many places The northern portion of Morawak Korale is still bounded by a forest namely the Sinharaja Adaviya, the only remaining primeval forest in the country. Prior to the opening up of the land for coffee and tea most of the Korale must have been forest land.

Even though the Portuguese and then the Dutch conquered the maritime provinces and built their Forts in places such as Galle, Matara, Katuwana and Tangalle the hinterland of the Matara District comprising Morawak Korale seems to have been left largely undisturbed by the western conquerors until the British opened the land for plantations.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

Panana Mudali

The Sinhalese must have used this region when they attacked Forts such as Matara and Katuwana. Panana village in Balangoda which is over the range of mountains to the north of Morawak Korale was given to the Panana Mudali by a king in Kandy for valour shown in taking the Matara Fort.

Panana village was eventually purchased by a British Company incorporated in Glasgow called the Anglo American Direct Tea Trading Company Limited and cultivated in tea. This village was owned and managed by them as the Panana Division of Wikiliya Group, Balangoda. In 1972 that Company transferred Wikiliya Group including Panana Division to the Sri Lanka State Plantations Corporation.

One of the earliest British travellers through Morawak Korale was William Granville. In the month of July, 1813 that is shortly prior to the British conquest of the Kandyan Kingdom in 1815, Granville went on circuit for eleven days within the District of Matara and wrote a journal on his travels.

William Granville was one of the early members of the Ceylon Civil Service. He arrived at Galle with Sir Thomas Maitland and the 2nd British Governor of the maritime provinces on the 13th of July, 1813. He was first at the Secretariat as the Second Assistant and then at the Colombo Kachcheri as first Assistant and distributor of stamps. He was Customs master, Jaffna and then Collector of Customs, Matara, Galle and Kalutara. In 1816 he was appointed Commissioner to conduct the deposed King of Kandy Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe to Madras. After his return he became Deputy Secretary to the Government. He was Vice Treasurer, Treasurer, Commissioner of Stamps, Accountant General to the Supreme Court and member of H. M. Council. He wrote "Poems of Ceylon" and a "Journal of the deportation of Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe". In April 1817 he ascended Adam's Peak with Dr. John Davy, Reverend George Bisset and Alexander Moon all three of whom wrote books on Ceylon. In 1820 Granville married Frances, daughter of the Hon. George Turnour and sister of the well known George Turnour the first editor and translator of the Mahavamsa. In 1838 he left Sri Lanka after being in the Civil Service of the Island for a period of 35 years.

Granville's Circuit

Granville began his circuit on Sunday the 11th of July, 1813 leaving Matara at 9.00 a.m. on that day and travelling through Dikwella, Tangalle and Ranna he was at Julampitiya on Friday the 16th of July, 1813, and his Journal on the circuit therefrom states.

"16th. Julampitiya. Breakfasted at this place on my way to Morowa Corle. No paddy plains near this village. The sole sort of grain which grows between Maraeadde and Catuwana are called Thana and Amoo. These grains are much like sago, and the people have little to depend upon in the way of food except these two grains. Half past 10 a.m. arrived at Catuwana: the Vidana Aratchy, Police Headman and Mayorals present. Two or three small plains of paddy are seen near this resthouse, which is 3 miles or thereabouts from the Kandyan Country. There are about three villages in the district of Catuwana — they are called Kirane, Kattowane and Odoobackke. There are many tanks around these villages out of repair and at present useless. None whatever belong to Government. The largest and finest in this District is the exclusive property of the Priest of the Temple of Molkregalle: this is much out of repair and consequently of no service to the possessors. All the paddy growing around this place is in great perfection. The Maha Mudaliyar states that according to the best information he can obtain there are about 150 ammunams of paddy and 300 ams. of fine grain of different sorts in the possession of the inhabitants of Kirane, Kattowana and Odoobackke and Morowa Corle. He thinks a scarcity of grain will begin to exist about October next until the end of July 1814. If about 100 ammunams of rice could be procured for the consumption of this district during that period it would prove a great relief to the people. Tho' the rice should not be sent still the inhabitants will be able to procure grain for their sustenance in consequence of the continual communication which exists between them and the Kandyans. The Kandyan country is overstocked with paddy of the finest sort as I learned from the people while I was on the borders; and the inhabitants of the Morawa and other Corles are very often supplied with grain from their resources. On my journey I met many parties from the Northern parts of the Galle District on their way to Kandy to exchange Sicca Rupees, Dutch Doits salt-fish and other articles of consumption for Kandyan grains. About three miles from Catuwana in the

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

District of Kireme is a village where excellent iron is formed from the ore which is found in great abundance in this District. No regular collective body is employed in this service but every person of the village of Kireme fuses the quantity of iron he requires for his own use. The sole furnace which is used in making the iron is a mud wall of a circular form with double bellows treaded by boys belonging to the village into which the stones impregnated with iron are thrown and the metal fuses with great facility into cakes and is taken out and beaten into implements of husbandry or sent in pieces into every part of Matara and other Districts. It is also a considerable source of trade with the Kandyans who come down and purchase it for grain and other articles of consumption.

A cake of this iron, and they are always sold in cakes of 9 or 10 lbs. dross and all sells among the Kandyans for a coroony of paddy. From these furnaces the whole of Morowa Corle is supplied with implements of husbandry. These implements of husbandry are also constructed at Kireme and also to the people of our Corles and others as well as the Kandyans. Guns have been constructed extremely well with this iron at Kireme. Mr. Lourensz has two very excellent guns made here. They are extremely nicely formed, soft and of excellent temper. These guns when sold fetch about Ten Rix Dollars at the utmost, and are both safe and durable. The people inform me that guns have not been made for some time past."

"July (17th) Arrived at Olankande on the top of an exceeding high mountain forming one of the chain of mountains which divide the Kandyan from the British territories. We were about two hours ascending; the prospect from the summit is highly grand and noble; the whole of the Girrowapattoo lies extended far below like a garden; Tangalle, Maracada, Ranna and many other distant villages appear contiguous to the base of this grand mountain; Began to descend towards Baralapanaterre about 1/2 past 9 o'clock; which we continued to do until 1/2 past 12....."

"....Arrived at Baralapanatara at 12 o'clock p.m. It is situated in a beautiful valley surrounded with hills of extraordinary height and luxuriant aspect; everything here grows to perfection apparently without trouble. There are innumerable springs flowing in all directions, some winding through paddy fields and others falling in small streams down declivities or on rocks projecting from the sides of mountains. On every side are seen the most magnificent forest,

which rise from the base to the summit of the mountains. I did not meet with any calamander trees throughout the Morowa Corle. The largest species of timber growing here is the Horre a tree by no means useful in public or domestic purposes. The Jak tree is very common. The paddy which grows with so much luxuriance is of the finest sort, and produces on an average about 10 fold throughout the district. Mr. Lourensz, the sitting Magistrate of Baralapanaterre, has by his exertions for the benefit and prosperity of the Morowa Corle set an example in agriculture to the people which merits the highest notice he has on his own account and by labour directed by himself made the first experiment in this district of transplanting paddy, and that with so much success that the people are struck with the greatest conviction of the utility and beneficial effects of this mode of agriculture; Tho' at first they were incapable of comprehending the nature of the system or the identity of the result. These small fields are at present the wonder and admiration of all who see them and are infinitely superior in strength and beauty to any that have been sowed a fortnight before them. Mr. Lourensz has done his utmost to instill into the understanding of the natives the absolute necessity of following up this method by bringing grain to maturity; and the pains he has taken with this view will, I have no doubt, have great influence upon their minds and lead them to consider the advantages to be derived from it in the points of view Government would wish. Mr. Lourenz's garden is very beautiful and the whole of Baralapanaterre looks like the description of some fairy dwelling place or enchantment....."

"..... July 19th. Left Baralapanaterre and reached Morawakka this morning at 11 o'clock. The country continues throughout this stage to bear an appearance of excellent cultivation, which is not surprising when it is considered that numberless springs and rivulets flow over the whole surface of the soil. There were seen one or two spots of waste ground which might have been cultivated with great care, and the reason stated for non-cultivation was the want of water. This surprised me not a little, because round the limits of these spots of land ran a small river which might have supplied them with abundance, but I discovered that the natives thought it too much trouble to raise the water required, and since nature in this instance did not conduct rivulets over the surface of the soil they were convinced their own labour would never be able to effect to them so great an undertaking as the raising of water above

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

its level. The greatest calamity which infests this country is idleness, but it is unlike the idleness of other countries for there are no people in the world so much its slaves as the Sinhalese as not to toil for bare sustenance. These people would rather starve than work.

On quitting Morowakka the face of the country began to bear a different aspect; all that beauty of scenery and richness of verdure faded and the flat dusty appearance of the country near the shore took its place. The road lay towards Akoorasse at Morowakka in the Morowa Corle. A clear and transparent sugar is formed from the juggery, which is not much inferior to the best China crystal sugar. No encouragement has been given to the formation of this article. It might with great ease be formed into a considerable source of revenue to the people who understand the boiling and cleaning, if it were to receive from Government the encouragement it deserves."

Chola conquest

The political conditions that prevailed in the country prior to the Chola conquest in the year 993 which ultimately drove the resistance movement to Morawak Korale is described in "A Concise History of Ceylon" by C. W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitane published by the University of Ceylon as follows :—

> "The Sinhalese kingdom had now entered upon a parlous condition. The last of the Anuradhapura kings, Mahinda V (Mihindu) succeeded his elder brother in 982. Anuradhapura was "full of strangers brought hither by the Senapati Sena". The king was of very weak character and lacking in statecraft. The peasantry neglected to pay their taxes and soon afterwards stopped paying them. Law and order was not enforced. By his tenth year the king had expended all the resources of the treasury as well as his own private fortune, and had no means of paying his soldiers. The Malay mercenaries from Sirivijaya armed themselves, surrounded the palace and threatened the king saying "so long as there is no pay he shall not eat".
>
> Faced with no solution to his dilemma other than flight the king escaped from the palace with his regalia by an underground passage and secretly made his way to Ruhuna where he established himself within a fortified camp at the place Sidupabbatagama. Chaos reigned in Rajarata. Leaders of the

Sinhalese, Malay and Kanarese soldiery became, each in his own way, a lawless tyrant carrying on the administration as he pleased for the benefit of his personal following. The machinery of central and local Government ceased to function. Plunder and pillage violence and oppression and the submission of the weak to the strong became the law of the land.

The state of affairs in Ceylon was reported to the Chola king, now the renowned conqueror Rajarata I (985-1015). He had already in two campaigns destroyed the Pandyas and conquered the Keralas. The third member of the Pandu-Kerala-Sinhala confederation which had always opposed the Cholas, was now not only isolated but also in a state incapable of defence. It was the year 993. The invading Chola army landed in the north and carried all before it. Anuradhapura was captured, sacked for the last time and set on fire. Everywhere there was looting: the Cholas "took all the treasures of Lanka for themselves".

The principality of Rajarata was annexed as a province of the Chola empire and the seat of the Chola Viceroy was moved from Anuradhapura to Polonnaruwa because Polannaruwa commanded all the crossings along the defended riverline of the Mahaveli Ganga. For twenty-four years the Cholas remained satisfied with their conquest of Rajarata and allowed Mahinda V to rule Ruhuna. Then, in 1017 they broke into Ruhuna and captured the Sinhalese king and queen and all the royal regalia and jewels. The king was removed as a prisoner to the Chola kingdom and died there in captivity in 1029."

The fight back

The fight back and the winning of freedom is described in "A Concise History of Ceylon" as follows :—

> "Organised resistance to Chola rule took a more vigorous and determined turn upon the death in captivity in the Chola kingdom, in 1029, of the Sinhalese king, Mahinda V: it would appear that so long as the last consecrated Sinhalese monarch remained alive as a prisoner of the Cholas, the Sinhalese generally submitted to Chola rule, but upon receiving news of his death they began, especially in Ruhuna, to build up active and unceasing rebellion against the invader. The prince Kassapa, the

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

son of Mahinda V, had escaped capture when his parents were taken prisoner, and was brought up in secret in Ruhuṇa, carefully nurtured and protected. At the time of his father's death he was about twelve years old. A Choḷa force despatched by the viceroy at Polonnaruva made a powerful attempt in 1029/30 to seize the person of the young prince who had now inherited his father's kingdom. These troops traversed the whole of Ruhuṇa in the course of their search, but the prince's adherents were successful in protecting him.

Two Sinhalese generals fortified themselves on the rock-group called Magul-maha-vihāra, near Palatupāṇa, and from this stronghold made surprise attacks on the Choḷas, destroying a large number of the enemy. After six months of this warfare, the Choḷa casualties were so severe that they abandoned further attempts to capture the prince and retired to Polonnaruva. Thereupon prince Kassapa assumed the sovereignty of Ceylon, but with factual rulership only over the principality of Ruhuṇa, under the name of Vikkamabāhu, and proceeded to build up loyalty and adherence to himself and to collect and organise military resources for a decisive conflict.

The Choḷas, it would appear, made no sustained effort to stamp out these menacing preparations in Ruhuṇa, though it is probable that they carried out punitive raids at various times. In South India, at this period, resistance to Choḷa rule was increasing in the subject kingdoms of Pāṇḍya and Keraḷa, and it is possible that the forces of liberation in all three conquered kingdoms, Pāṇḍya, Keraḷa and Ceylon, were in secret contact with each other. Nevertheless, Vikkamabāhu's preparations for battle with the Choḷas were protracted although they were, apparently, little interfered with, and he was not ready to launch offensive operations for at least eight years: but at this critical juncture he fell ill and died at Devundara sometime between 1037 and 1041.

Ten years of internal disorganisation and disunity in Ruhuṇa followed, and the Choḷas took full advantage of it, for they defeated and put to death three of the five princes who assumed the rulership of Ruhuṇa during this decade. On Vikkamabāhu's death, his *senāpati*, Kitti, seized power, but was able to maintain his authority only for eight days. He was slain by a personage

named Mahālānakitti, who bore the title of 'chief secretary' but whose parentage and claim to the succession are not disclosed. Mahālānakitti ruled over Ruhuṇa for three years, and then fell in battle with the Choḷas: this was evidently a victory of great magnitude because the Choḷas captured a considerable booty, including the royal diadem and the chief treasures. Vikkamapaṇḍu, a Pāṇḍya prince who through fear of the Choḷas had taken up his abode in the Dulu country, came to Ruhuṇa after Mahālānakitti's death and established himself as ruler with his seat at Kalutara: the choice of Kalutara, at the western extremity of the principality, as the seat of government, instead of a place in the more populous and productive south-east, appears to have been governed more by regard for the ruler's personal safety than by considerations of effective government. Vikkamapaṇḍu was slain after a year by Jagatipāla of Oudh in North India. Jagatipāla ruled over Ruhuṇa for four years and then suffered defeat at the hands of the Choḷas who slew him and seized his *mahesi* and his daughter and all his valuable property. His successor was Parakkamapaṇḍu, son of the Pāṇḍya king, who ruled two years and then suffered the same fate as his predecessor."

"When Vikkamabāhu died leaving no heir, the Sinhalese in Ruhuṇa were without a leader in the direct line of the Sinhalese royal dynasty, around whose person an united and determined resistance to Choḷa rule could once again be stimulated: the will to resist was there, for they accepted any royal personage as their ruler, even foreigners (such as Vikkamapaṇḍu, Jagatīpāla and Parakkamapaṇḍu) who would lead them to freedom, but alien leadership brought only disaster after disaster, a tightening of the Choḷa grip on Ruhuṇa, and a bleaker vision of the final day of liberation.

An army leader named Loka or Lokissara took over the government of Ruhuṇa after the death of Parakkamapaṇḍu and established himself at Kataragama about 1050. At this time, there was growing up at Mūlasāla in Ruhuṇa the young prince Kitti, whose parents were prince Moggallāna, a descendant of king Mānavamma and the princess Lokitā of the line of king Dāṭhopatissa. 'With the death of Vikkamabāhu, the son of Mahinda V, the royal house of Anurādhapura became extinct:

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

and Moggallāna, the representative of a collateral line which had established itself in Ruhuṇa, was the prince who could claim the throne by right of descent.' There is no evidence that Moggallāna ever exercised ruling powers, nor does it appear that he took a prominent part in the warfare that was then being waged in Ruhuṇa against the Cholas: on the other hand, the Panākaḍuva inscription gives the impression that he passively placed himself and his family under the protection of a Sinhalese chieftain both for sustenance and safety. His son Kitti (afterwards Vijayabāhu I) was of different mettle.

Dissension among leaders now disrupted the unity of the people of Ruhuṇa. A chieftain named Buddharāja (Lord Budal of Sitnaru-bim, as he is styled in the Panākaḍuva inscription) quarrelled with the ruler Loka, and set up his own armed camp at the foot of the Malaya mountains at Huṇuvala, near Opanākē. He brought this region and the adjacent foothills under his control, his primary concern in the early stages of his secession being to take up a defensive position where he would be secure from attack by Loka. Prince Kitti joined Buddharāja:

"Clashes between Loka's and Buddharāja's troops took place at Bōvala, near Kirama, and in the district around Huṇuvala, and Buddharāja succeeded in extending his authority over the entire mountain region bordering Ruhuṇa; all Loka's efforts to evict him failed. More chieftains allied themselves with Buddharāja and the combined forces fortified themselves on the Remuṇa rock in Ranmalakanda range. Loka attacked this stronghold but was unsuccessful: he then ceased hostilities, and, soon afterwards, died. He was succeeded at his seat, Kataragama, by a chieftain named Kassapa.

The Chola Viceroy who had apparently been watching the turn of events in Ruhuṇa during the past few years without active intervention, now resumed offensive operations and despatched a detachment to attack the new ruler, Kassapa. This undertaking was a failure: Kassapa defeated the Chola forces, strengthened his frontier posts and returned to Kataragama. The next development was an attack upon the victorious Kassapa by the forces of Buddharāja and the prince Kitti. Evidently, Kassapa's encounter with the Cholas had depleted his strength and the moment was favourable for a quick, and

probably decisive, attack upon him. Kassapa marched westward to meet his opponents but received only lukewarm support, and he thereupon retired behind Kataragama to a stronghold to the eastward named Khadiraṅgani: here he was attacked and slain.

Vijayabahu I

Two more years passed before Buddharāja and Kitti secured complete and undisputed control over Ruhuṇa, and in 1055/56 Kitti, then in his eighteenth year, assumed the rulership of Ruhuṇa under the royal name of Vijayabāhu. Vijayabāhu's seat of government on his accession continued to be Kataragama. He was now on the threshold of manhood and, though of royal lineage, he had known neither palace nor court. His life had been one of tribulation and trial; as a child he was a refugee with his parents in the mountain region, moving secretly from one hiding place to another, and often subsisting upon jungle herbs and roots: in early youth he had begun to gain experience of warfare and to share the rigours of campaigning with his men, and by his personal qualities of courage and leadership he had earned the devotion of the chiefs and followers who supported him. This was a fitting background for the formidable task which now lay ahead of him of liberating his country by a long and determined struggle against an enemy far more powerful than himself in arms and resources.

The Chola Viceroy's reaction to the celebrations and the acclamation with which Vijayabāhu's accession was received by the people of Ruhuṇa was to despatch a strong punitive force to enter and subjugate that principality. Vijayabāhu realised that his troops were no match for the superior Chola forces and he abandoned Kataragama, which the Cholas plundered, and withdrew into the security of his familiar mountain jungles. He moved back into the plains to Sippatthalaka, probably near Hambantoṭa, after the Cholas returned to Polonnaruva, and settled down to restore order and good government in his principality, to organise and develop it and to build up material resources for war. This task occupied some years. Trade contacts were established with Burma and cargoes of merchandise were exchanged, Vijayabāhu's ports being those on the eastern and southern coasts. Such shipping

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

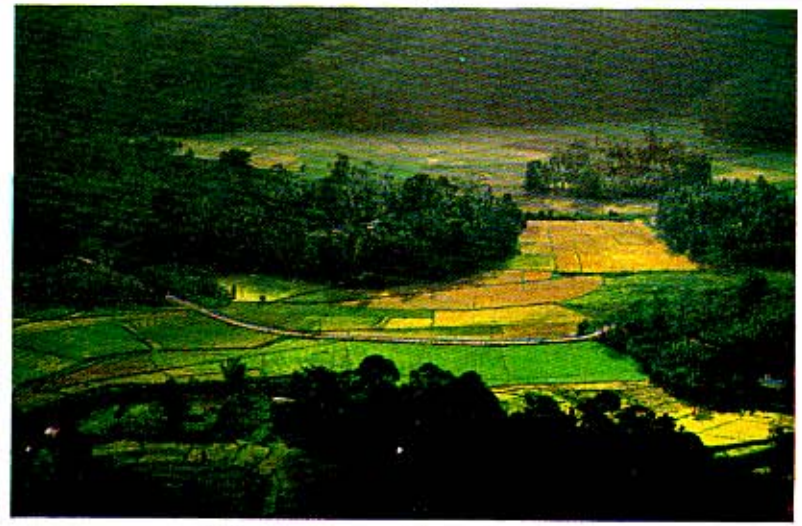
as Vijayabāhu possessed was very probably convoyed and protected on its voyages by the powerful navy of the Malay kingdom of Śrīvijaya with which the Sinhalese royal family had consolidated friendly relations by the marriage between Mahinda IV and a princess of Śrīvijaya nearly a century earlier. Mahinda IV's wise policy was bearing fruit. The Choḷas apparently made no serious attempts to disrupt Vijayabāhu's administration of Ruhuṇa during these years: although the Choḷa navy was in full control of the north-western, northern and north-eastern ports of Ceylon, it appears to have been incapable of blockading Vijayabāhu's ports or of impeding the sea-borne activities of Vijayabāhu's attenuated navy augmented by the massive strength of Śrīvijaya.

In course of time Vijayabāhu transferred his seat to Tambalagāma, probably near Talāva. About 1065 widesprend disturbances occurred in the Choḷa-occupied territory of Rajaraṭa. Neither famine nor want is mentioned as the cause of the disturbances: it may be that they were stimulated by the advanced state of the preparations being made for war in Ruhuṇa, or they may have been instigated by Vijayabāhu as a prelude to attack. Reprisals followed: Choḷa reinforcements landed at Māntai and proceeded to subdue the inhabitants of Rajaraṭa with savage ferocity. Having completed this mission, the avenging army advanced into Ruhuṇa. It was now the eleventh year (1066/67) of Vijayabāhu's reign. At this critical moment two powerful chieftains deserted him and went over with their troops to the Choḷa commander. Thrown on the defensive by this desertion, Vijayabāhu repeated the tactics successfully adopted thirty-seven years earlier and fortified himself at Magul-maha-vihāra, near Palaṭupāṇa, and awaited attack. This group of rocky hills has one, main, narrow pass through it, numerous caves at all levels (the abode in pre-Christian times of a large community of eremite Buddhist monks), water supplies in rock water-holes, steep and easily defended rocky ascents, and commanding views over the surrounding countryside. It was eminently suited to withstand siege as well as for sudden, devastating attack upon the enemy passing through the narrow defiles. In the battle which followed, the Choḷas suffered overwhelming defeat and their general was killed. A great booty fell into the hands of Vijayabāhu. Greatly

Kolawenigama Rajamaha Viharaya built anew recently in the style of the Dalada Maligawa in Kandy.

Over Leaf-Middle Spread.

THE COPPER PLATES: Each of the three plates measures 1 ft. 2¼ in. by 3 in., the weight of them taken together being 2½ lbs. Each plate has two holes as in a leaf on an ola book, through which strings must have been passed so that the three plates formed into a copper booklet.

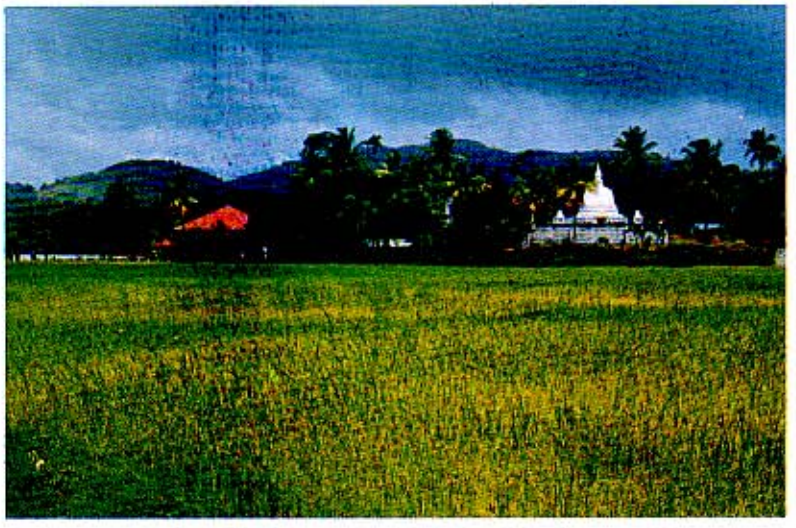


Kolawenigama village landscape.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

Kettharamaya-new dharmasalawa recently Completed



Kettharamaya Temple-Pallegama, Deniyaya.

encouraged, the prince and his commanders made immediate preparations for an advance to Polonnaruva, the seat of Choḷa government in Ceylon, and marching unchecked, they captured Polonnaruva.

When news of this very serious turn of events reached the Choḷa monarch (Vīrarājendra), he organised with great speed the despatch of very strong, fresh forces to Ceylon to aid his Viceroy, himself supervising their embarkation. These troops landed at Māntai and advanced towards Anurādhapura, and in the neighbourhood of the ancient capital they were intercepted by the main body of Vijayabāhu's army led by his *senāpati*. The Sinhalese suffered a crushing defeat with great losses in killed and prisoners. Vijayabāhu had to abandon Polonnaruva at once: he retired to Väuḍavli Hatpattu where he spent some hurried days reforming his forces. On learning that the Choḷa general was in pursuit of him, he withdrew again to the rock fastness of Vākirigala in the Kāgalla district, fortified himself and kept the Choḷas three months at bay. The Sinhalese defeat near Anurādhapura and Vijayabāhu's flight to Vākirigala are mentioned in a Choḷa inscription of Virarājendra dated in 1067: the Choḷas claim to have captured Vijayabāhu's queen.

Revolt now broke out in Ruhuṇa. The brother of Kassapa, a former ruler of Ruhuṇa whom Vijayabāhu's troops had slain fourteen years earlier, raised rebellion in the Buttala district. As soon as the siege of Vākirigala was raised, Vijayabāhu marched to Buttala to quell the uprising there. The rebel leader pursued from place to place, left his family and his followers in the lurch and fled for sanctuary into Choḷa-occupied territory. Defeat by the Choḷas and treachery in his own realm did not dismay Vijayabāhu: the undaunted prince pursued with determination the goal he had set before him, the liberation of his country. 'Not only had he to face the military might of a great empire with very little more than his own courage and determination, but also, on more than one occasion, when it appeared that he was on the road to success, his own people proved false to him and he had to start all over again.' Vijayabāhu established himself once more at Tambalagāma and directed his energies to replenishing his resources. Then he moved his seat to Mahānāgahula (present Rambhā-vihāra

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

nine miles from Ambalantoṭa), and finalised his preparations for a fresh assault upon the Choḷas.

After 1067, Vīrarājendra, the Choḷa king had to utilise all his resources for his war with the Western Cālukyas, and no further reinforcements were sent to Ceylon. This gave Vijayabāhu time to organise and equip his forces and to do so unhindered. In 1070, Kulottuṅga I became ruler over the Choḷa empire and was immediately occupied in defending it against the warlike Western Cālukyas. An opportune time for a determined effort to expel the Choḷas from Ceylon presented itself, and Vijayabāhu took it. His operational plan provided for the delivery of a two-pronged, converging attack. One column (the western one) advanced through the Kuruṇāgala and Anurādhapura districts with Anurādhapura and Māntai as its objectives, while the other column (the eastern one) moved up the east coast road swinging north-westward to capture Polonnaruva. The western column successively reduced the Choḷa forts at Nuvarakalē (near Heṭṭipola), Batalagoḍa Vēnaruva (near Kuruṇāgala), Maṇikdeṇa (near Dambulla), Talagalla (near Māho), Nikaravaṭiya, and Mahamaḍagalla (near Polpiṭigama), and then captured Anurādhapura and pushed forward to the great seaport Mahātittha (Māntai). The eastern column captured Sakāmam (west of Tirukkōvil) and other places in the eastern province and turned inwards to the Mahaväli Gaṅga. Word was sent to Vijayabāhu, who was at Mahānāgahula, to come and direct the assault upon Polonnaruva. The western column, by the capture of Anurādhapura and the advance to Māntai, had already severed the communications of the Choḷas with their homeland, and cut off the retreat of the main Choḷa army stationed at Polonnaruva. Vijayabāhu went first to Mahiyaṅgaṇa and, having set up camp there, made his final dispositions for the capture of Polonnaruva. When he had made progress towards the town and established a suitable position for assault in its neighbourhood, he ordered the attack to be launched. The Choḷas, defeated in the ensuing battle which was fought outside the town, took refuge inside the fortress which was at once invested by Vijayabāhu's forces. The siege went on for one and a half months and then Vijayabāhu captured the town by storm. The Choḷas at Polonnaruva fought desperately but hopelessly, for they knew that no help could be

expected from their homeland, and that their retreat to the coast was already cut off. To them it was a choice between surrendering early and trusting to the Sinhalese king's mercy or of prolonging the struggle, suffering greater casualties, and bring down upon themselves the wrath of the conqueror. It is a tribute to their courage and their loyaly to their king that they fought on till they were vanquished.

Vijayabāhu now marched to Anurādhapura and entered the capital of his forefathers in triumph in 1070. Choḷa rule over Ceylon had lasted seventy-seven years. At long last, after a childhood of travail and seventeen years of warfare against greatly superior forces, during which his will to conquer never weakened despite bitter defeats and disappointments, treachery and revolt, Vijayabāhu stood victorious at Anurādhapura at the age of thirty-three and in the fifteenth year since his accession as ruler of Ruhuṇa. He took immediate steps to establish defences on the sea coast because the danger of a second invasion by the Choḷas could not be disregarded. The construction of a palace in which to celebrate his royal consecration was put in hand in the ruined city of Anurādhapura. It was an unpretentious edifice, built from materials collected from earlier buildings and was significant of the impoverished state of the country. A rebellion, which was quickly suppressed in a battle near Polonnaruva signalised the beginning of the new reign. 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 Ruhuṇa.

In his eighteenth year (1073/74) that is, three years after he had liberated Ceylon from Choḷa rule, Vijayabāhu celebrated with high festival at Anurādhapura the ceremonial of kingly consecration. But he did not thereafter rule Ceylon from Anurādhapura: he transferred his capital to Polonnaruva. Polonnaruva was always a place of strategic importance. It commanded the crossings of the Mahaväli Gaṅga, the defence of which was vital against rebel forces advancing into Rajaraṭa from Ruhuṇa: at the same time, in the event of invasion by a South Indian power, its position was distant enough to give time for the organisation and manning of the

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

river defences so as to halt the invading forces on the river-line, and, futhermore, if those defences failed, to facilitate retreat into Ruhuṇa. So that it gave greater security to the king from his enemies both within and outside the kingdom. Another reason for the choice of Polonnaruva as the capital might have been the inauguration of a new policy of administrative centralisation which did away with the large degree of autonomy which the provinces, particularly Ruhuṇa, had previously enjoyed."

"The internal peace of the country was not disturbed during the eleven years following 1075, and the king was able to engage in activities of a constructive nature. During the preceding period of nearly a century of internal turmoil, war and foreign domination, the country had become seriously impoverished. Institutional Buddhism was on the point of disappearing: apart from acts of repression and pillage by the Cholas, the decay of temples, and the diminution, by neglect or lapse, of temple revenues, the Saṅgha had suffered so severely in its membership, by natural loss and the lack of new monks of quality to replace the loss, that it become impossible to assemble a full Chapter for the ceremony of ordination and other necessary acts. The king, therefore, made a request to the king of Burma to send to Ceylon monks of that country who were recognised to be pious and learned *theras*, and when they arrived here, he had them perform repeatedly the necessary ceremonies so that numerous new Sinhalese monks were admitted to the Order, and the Saṅgha became competent, in numbers and learning, to resume its position in the religious life of the people.

Under the king's orders a strong wall, with bastions and parapets, and surrounded by a moat, was constructed round the new capital city of Polonnaruva. It may be assumed that one of the earliest buildings to be constructed within the new citadel was Vijayabāhu's own palace. He built a Tooth-Relic temple immediately to the north of the palace grounds. New *vihāras* were also built in the town, and the Äḷahära district, through which flowed the great feeder canal to Minnēriya tank, was assigned to these monasteries for their support. Numerous decayed and damaged Buddhist temples, including

many of the most venerated shrines, were renovated and their maintenance of villages were restored to them. To provide food and shelter for monks and pilgrims who made the difficult journey to Adam's Peak the king repaired the roads and provided resthouses and alms-houses (*dānasālā*) on the three routes which then existed, namely, (1) the Sabaragamuva route through Gilīmalē, (2) the Rajaraṭa road *via* Ulapanē, Väligampola, Aṁbagamuva and Kehelgamuva, and (3) the path from Ūva. The royal family, and the courtiers and officials of the king emulated his example in restoring, building and endowing religious institutions. The king sent envoys to India with pearls, precious stones and other jewels to be offered on his behalf to the sacred Bodhi Tree at Bodh Gayā. The revival of religion the restoration of temples which had fallen into decay, the granting of revenues to monastic institutions, the providing necessaries for monks, and the performance of numerous acts of piety and charity, all formed a highly important part of the king's activities.

The restoration of breached tanks and channels and the construction of new irrigation works so as to make the land once again productive and fruitful, and the people self-sufficient in food, constituted the most important of the king's undertakings for the material welfare of his subjects. The Chronicle names several large tanks which were restored. The last section of the Äḷahära canal was repaired and the Minnēriya tank was filled once again. But the impoverishment of the country during the century preceding Vijayabāhu's accession was not wholly made good in spite of the king's strenuous efforts. Vijayabāhu's Polonnaruva was a small, fortified town, not to be compared with Parākramabāhu's later Polonnaruva. There was little new that was or could be done; all that the country's depleted resources would permit in the constructional spheres of irrigation and agriculture was extensive repair and restoration."

Vijayabāhu is described in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* as an eminent poet. He patronised literature and many scholars who came here from India shared in that patronage. The king's qualities are summed up in the Aṁbagamuva inscription in these words:- 'Veneration for the Triple Gem, hospitable attention to preceptors, homage to the righteous, prosperous conditions to the

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

learned, assistance to kinsmen, intimacy to friends, haughtiness towards foes, compassion for all living beings, wisdom in council—(all these qualities) he made completely secure for himself.'

Vijayabāhu I died in 1110/11, in the fifty-fifth year of his reign and at the age of seventy-three. As a warrior, no other Sinhalese king surpassed him. 'It may be an overstatement to say, "Had there been no Vijayabāhu, there would perhaps have been no Sinhalese in Ceylon today." But, beyond a shadow of doubt, he was the author of Sinhalese freedom, and one of the chief architects of Sinhalese nationality.' "

Medieval Army

A description of the Army and War in Medieval Sri Lanka is appropriate at this stage. In an article published in the Ceylon Historical Journal Volume IV Professor Wilhelm Geiger says :—

"The bulk of the medieval Sinhalese army consisted of foot soldiers with the baggage train (*bala vāhana.*) Even the *officers* (*sāmantā*) were never on horseback. Their conveyance was a palanquin, on the march as well as in battle, as we may infer from 72-100 (*Cūḷavaṁsa*, translate I, p. 328, n.2; H.W. Codrington, I. I., p. 75). We must therefore, also translate the word *yāna*, generally meaning a vehicle, in this connection with palanquin; not with chariot (70.85, 122). The badge of the officers was an umbrella probably of different colour (66.49; 70.122), as the white umbrella was that of the king.

Trumpets and *drums* are frequently mentioned in the chronicle. It is shown by the word *sankha* (85.113; 89, 46; Sk. *Sankha*) that what we call trumpets were conches. They are often called victorious or auspicious shells (*jayàsankhā* 65.27; 88.75; *mangalasankha* 74.222). From 72.119 *panca—mahāsadda—sankha—nada* (filled) with the din of the five loud clanging conches we may perhaps infer that so many forms of kinds of conches were in use.

The words for 'drum' are more various. It is a well known fact that the Sinhalese people are very fond of drumming and beating the drums with admirable rhythmic art. More than sixty sorts of drums exist now in Ceylon, of large or small size,

one-headed or double, narrow or wide in the middle, each bearing a peculiar name. It must have also been the same, or nearly the same in the medieval period. The most common name for a military drum is ***bheri*** (Sk. *id.*, Sinh. beraya), also *ranabheri* battle drum or *jaya-bheri* victorious drum (70.227; 75-104; 76-161 88.75). Other words are *kāhala* (74.222; 75.104; Sk and Sinh. loanword *id.*), *dundubhi* (85.113; Sk., Sinh. *id.*), *ālambara* (69.20 Sk. *ādambara*) and, mentioned in the latest part of the chronicle, *maddala* (96.15; 99.46; Sk. *marādala*). We may notice here that in time of peace, drum-beating and blast of trumpets were never lacking on festive occasions (72.315;74.221), and that public proclamations used to be made by beat of drum.

Flags (*dhaja* 85.114) were also in use in the Sinhalese army. King Gajabāhu boasts that all his enemies were taking to flight because they could not behold his victorious flag (*jayaddhajam* 70.225; of 88.75). According to a later passage (99.44, 18th cent.) we may assume that the militia contingents of the different districts were distinguished by different flags, probably by flags of different colours.

5. In the *Mahāvaṁsa* five kinds of *weapons* (*pancāyudha* or *av* 41.48; *dasaddhayudha* 70.229) are distinguished, but they are never enumerated. Clough in his *Sinhalese Dictionary* s.v. says they were sword, spear, bow, battle-axe, and shield. This is hardly correct, for the shield cannot be called *āyudha* which always denotes an offensive weapon; nor do I know whether the battle-axe was ever in use among the Sinhalese. I think that *pancāyudha* was simply a traditional name similar to *caturangini Senā*: and used by the chronicler without considering the actualities.

The first and foremost weapons were bow (*cāpa, dhanu*) and arrows (*sara, bāna, usu, salla*). The archer is called *dhanuggaha* (70.116; 72.244; Sk. *dhanurgraha*), *dhanuddhara* (83, 45; Sk. dhanurdhara) or *issāsa* (72.245; Sk. *isvasa*), the archery *dhanusippa.*

It is a phrase often met with in the chronicle that the archers rain an uninterrupted shower of arrows on the enemy (*saravassa* 66.27; 70.114; 72.134, 246, 250; *saravutthi* 74.96; *banavutthi*

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

74.117). Whether poisoned arrows were ever used by the Sinhalese is extremely doubtful. It is true that poisoned arrows are mentioned in the chronicle but only among the Ramanas and the Jāvakas. Parakkamabāhu had provided his soldiers whom he sent to Rāmañña, with medicine, preserved in cow horns for the healing of venomous wounds caused by poisoned arrows (*visa-pitasalla* 76—49). And the Jāvakas who had invaded Ceylon in the 13th century are said to have harassed the people with their poisoned arrows (*visa diddhehi banehi* 83.38) likened to terrible snakes; they even shot such arrows swiftly one after another from a machine (83.44). It appears from the tone of these reports that here the chronicler is touching a strange foreign custom which was unknown and unheard of to the Sinhalese people and looked to them like a diabolic practice.

A peculiar kind of arrow is called *gokannaka*, probably after their form. The word corresponds to Sk. *gokarna* which occurs in the *Mahabharata* in the same meaning. Such sharp-pointed (*tikkhagga*) arrows were used for defence against elephants (76.48).

Archery was highly developed and esteemed in India as well as in Ceylon. Kitti, afterwards king Vijayabāhu I, is praised for his skill in the use of the bow already in his thirteenth year (57.43). In the army raised by Parakkamabāhu there was a troop of excellent archers, called, moon-light archers (*candalokadhanuddhara* 69. 19) because they were versed in night-fighting. In the ancient *Mahāvaṁsa* 23.86 archers are mentioned who hit their mark guided only by sound (*sadda-vedhino*) and others who were able to hit a hair (*vala-vedhino*) and others who hit their mark by the light of a lightning (*vijju-vedhino*). The last group is mentioned in the medieval period also; *akkhana-vedhino issasa* (72.245), and we shall be allowed to assume that the other groups were not unknown at the same time.

For the sword we come across the names *asi, khagga* (Sk. *asi Khadga*) and less frequently *tharu* (*Mhvs.*, 69, 22; Sk. *tsaru*), but it does not seem that different forms of the sword are denoted by those words. They are merely synonymous. The sword was used in hand-to-hand fighting, and sparks were flying from the clash of swords in such a combat (72, 84).

Training in the manipulation of the sword as well as in that of the bow belonged to the education of princes and sons of noble families (64. 4; 69. 22). The Sihalas, after having vanquished the Jāvakas, got as booty their elephants and horses, their swords and many other weapons together with their trumpets, drums, and flags (88. 74). The sword was the principal weapon in the hand of the king (66. 24, 31, 108), and two royal swords are distinguished in 72, 102 *sq.*, one being called the Jambudipa blade and the other the Sihala blade. The latter appears to have been the more terrible weapon. The *dagger* (*churika* 39.27; *asiputtaka* 41. 24; *nikkarani* 44. 112) is mentioned as a royal weapon. It was also a weapon of the Kerala mercenaries (55.6) and among the different regiments of Parakkamabāhu's army there was also that of the dagger bearers (*churikaggāhakā* 69. 24).

The heavy lance (*kunta*) is often mentioned in the chronicle. In ancient Ceylon a lance with a relic was the badge and standard of King Duṭṭhagāmani (25. 1, 26. 9 *sq.*). In the 17th century bows, swords, lances etc., (*dhanukhaggakuntodini* 96. 14; cf. 99. 49) were the weapons of the foot soldiers. The spears given by Parakkamabāhu to the Vyādhas (69. 20) were probably javelins. The word sattikā used in this passage is Sk. *sakti* and suffix *ka*. Another word for a dart or some other light missile is *samara*. Parakkamabāhu's warriors who had taken up a position in the stronghold of Aḷigāma killed many enemies with arrows, darts and javelins (*usu-tomarasattihi* 70. 116) which they flung from the turrets of the gate. The meaning of *sattha* is doubtful. The pursuers of King Bhuvanekabāhu are said to have pierced the king's litter *tikkhasatthehi* so that everything was in tatters. The king sprang to the ground from his litter and fled by foot (90. 7—8). My translation was, with their pointed spears' (*Cūḷavaṁsa*, trsl. II, 1.1.), but, with their sharp swords (Cf. Sk. *sastra*) would perhaps be better. We have seen above that light missiles were shot by the Jāvakas from a machine (*yanta*). Such a machine from which stones were hurled, apparently something like a catapult, was also in use among the Sinhalese (72. 251).

An ancient and primitive weapon was the *club* (*muggara*). It is however remarkable that even Parakkamabāhu enrolled

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

in the army raised by him several thousand soldiers, tall men and strong, who were armed with clubs (*muggarike yohde* 69. 17). The most ancient weapon was, therefore, not yet out of use in the 12th century."

Discovery of the Panakaduwa Sannasa

Reverting to the Panakaduwa Sannasa, Professor Senarath Paranavithana in his book Glimpses of Ceylon's past says :—

"The year 1949 will be memorable in the annals of Ceylon epigraphy for the discovery of what is in many ways the most valuable historical document that Ceylon possesses—the oldest known Sinhalese copper-plate charter, dated in the 27th year of Vijayabāhu I (S.C. 1055-1110). It is not its age alone that lends distinction to this copper-plate record; by reason of its contents, too, it is entitled to a unique and pre-eminent position among all documents of its class known in Ceylon. It is not a land grant, as indeed are all other copper-plate inscriptions known to exist in Ceylon. Before we deal with its contents, however, it is necessary to relate in brief the circumstances in which it first came to light, and how the department became aware of its existence. From the investigations carried out by the department, the story appears to be as follows :

On a certain day in the month of February, 1948—the exact date is in doubt—a farmer in the village of Panākaḍuva in Moravak-kōrale, by name Suravīragē Carōlis Appuhāmy, went as usual to work in his field, Bōgahadeniya, to prepare it for the seasonal cultivation. In the bordering Crown land, he cut some sods with which to repair the ridges of his field; but he was not long engaged in this manner before his hoe had struck something hard. The metallic ring told him that it was not a stone that his hoe had struck; his curiosity was naturally aroused and, clearing the earth away, he brought to the surface a lump of corroded metal covered with earth. Visions of treasure must inevitably have floated across his imagination; he no doubt forgot, for the nonce, the task he had set himself for the day, and came home to investigate leisurely what the gods had in store for him. The thorough washing of the metallic object disclosed no gold, but only three rusty copper-plates. This no doubt, was a great disappointment to him, for he had sometimes before been foretold in a dream—at least he had so persuaded himself—

that he would find valuable treasures on this very spot. He, however, did not lose all hope at once. Appearances may after all be deceptive, not in the usual manner but in the reverse direction and the rusty copper may hide valuable gold. He, therefore, decided on further investigation, and, using the unscientific, none the less efficient, methods of dealing with rusty metal known to every villager, he thoroughly cleaned the three plates, restoring them almost to their original condition. The gold of his imagination still eluded him, but hope did not die entirely. He chipped away the corner of one of the plates without doing any serious damage, for which we are duly thankful to him. This final test brought no better luck, and he was now firmly convinced that he had been born under an evil star. He was a disappointed man, and no doubt thought that the gods had made a plaything of him. He had no further interest in his discovery, and probably thought that it would have been better if chance had not made him the instrument of bringing these copper-plates to light.

Even before he cleaned the plates, he noticed some strange writing on them. The cleaning process made the letters almost as clear as they were on the day that they were incised on the copper. He, however, was not curious to know what these mysterious letters were about. Probably he thought that the less one meddled with them the more salutary it would be. Nevertheless, he kept the copper-plates in a corner of his humble dwelling and the other residents of the village, including the schoolmaster, came in due course to be aware of the discovery. None, however, thought that this was an event of unusual interest and that the authorities should be apprised of it. Panākaḍuva is a village little affected by modern progress, and its inhabitants are altogether unaware of the importance which the educated public attaches to antiquities, and the provisions of the law of the land concerning them.

But the discovery disturbed the even tenor of Carōlis Appuhāmy's life. Not long after, there was illness in his family. He and his friends were convinced that the copper-plates, reposing somewhere in his house, were the cause of the maladies from which his loved ones were suffering, and he resolved to rid himself of the gift which had brought him nothing but

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

ill luck. In this predicament, he naturally thought of a kinsman of his who was qualified to advise him on the method of dealing with the powers unseen—the Ven. Molokgamuve Saranapāla Thera, the incumbent of Cetiyakandarārāma in the neighbouring village of Bengamuva. The copper-plates thus found a temporary resting place in the Bengamuva temple.

The Ven. Molokgamuve Saranapāla Thera took proper care of them and was no doubt more conscious of their worth than was their finder. He, too, however, did not consider it necessary to inform the authorities about their discovery. Bengamuva is closer to centres of intellectual life than is Panākaḍuva, and the copper-plates began to be talked about so that their existence came to the knowledge of the Ven. Pandit Kaṁburupiṭiye Vanaratana Thera of Siri Ratanajoti Piriveṇa, Urāpola, who was at the time engaged in compiling a work on the history and antiquities of the Matara District. He lost no time in obtaining the plates on loan from the Ven. Saranapāla Thera, and on examination realized the great historical value of the document.

The Ven. Pandit Vanaratana Thera gave information about the copper-plates to an officer of this department, Mr. Sarat Vattala, then Head Guard at Polonnaruva, who duly wrote to the Head Office about it, but the letter did not reach the writer himself; about an year elapsed before the department was able to take the necessary action in the matter.

It was by a mere chance that the writer himself came to know of the copper-plates from Mr. Vattala. On being told that the plates were of Vijayabāhu I and, moreover, that they have a reference to his early career, the writer thought the story too good to be true. For are we not assured by Nissamka Malla (1187-1196 A.D.) that he was the first ruler to introduce the practice of issuing charters engraved on copper? Mr. Sarat Vattala, however, was sent along with the Collector of Inscriptions to secure estampages of the plates and if possible to bring the plates themselves for inspection, so that one may be certain of their genuineness. Mr. Vattala carried out the task entrusted to him with commendable efficiency, and the plates ultimately were in the writer's hands more than a year after they had been turned up from the soil of Panākaḍuva.

The publicity given to the plates after they came into the writer's hands opened the eyes of the people of Panākaḍuva and Bengamuva to the worth of the object to which they had paid such scant attention, and this created complications with regard to the plates being dealt with under the provisions of the Antiquities Ordinance. The matter was satisfactorily settled, mainly due to the co-operation and assistance of Mr. Wijebāhu Wijesinha, J.P., Superintendent, Mavarala Estate and Mr. Victor Ratnayake, M.P. for Deniyaya, to whom our grateful thanks are due, and the department became the owner of this invaluable historical document. The finder had forfeited any claim to a reward under the Antiquities Ordinance, as he did not report its discovery to the proper quarters; but, in view of the special circumstances of the case and the value of the document itself, the Government generously sanctioned the payment of a handsome reward to him. It is gratifying to be able to record in this connection that the reward of Rs. 500 was handed to Carōlis Appuhamy by the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister himself at Kaṁburupiṭiya on March 27, 1950, in the presence of a large gathering. His dream, if the story is true, after all came true. The copper-plates, after such strange vicissitudes, now found their way back to Anurādhapura, this place from which they started on their journey over 800 years ago. The thousands who visited the historic city on the Poson day in 1949 were given an opportunity of seeing them.

Each of the three plates measures 1 ft. 2¼ in. by 3 in., the weight of them taken together being 2½ lbs. Each plate has two holes as in a leaf on an *ola* book, through which strings must have been passed so that the three plates formed into a copper booklet. In conformity with this arrangement, the first and third plates have been inscribed only on the inside, while the second bears writing on both of its sides.

The purport of the document is to record the privileges granted by Vijayabāhu I to a high military officer of Rohaṇa, who brought him up in his childhood and helped him restore Sinhalese sovereignty, in his own person, after the Island had been subject to the Cholas for over half a century. The document quotes the very words of the king, in which he makes reference to his early days of adversity and privations, in a few

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

brief though expressive phrases of great human interest, touching in their directness and sincerity.

This is the first instance in which we listen to a king of Ceylon speaking about himself in this manner in the first person, in a document issued under his own authority in his own life time. The document would therefore be of great importance even if the king who so speaks was not one out of the ordinary. But when he was one of the three greatest in the long list of Ceylon's kings—in the opinion of the present writer he was the greatest of all—and was a great man judged by any standard, the document embodying these words becomes one of inestimable value."

"He laboured incessantly for 38 years towards the well-being of his people. He introduced the ordination from Burma and established the Buddhist church. He restored old temples and founded new ones. Though he was himself an ardent Buddhist, and had suffered at the hands of the Cholas, who were Saivas, he manifested no hostility towards that faith; a Śaiva shrine at, Kantalāy was actually named after him. He restored a number of irrigation works including the channel which supplied water to Minnēri lake.

Though brought up in the jungle, and was engaged in warfare from boyhood, he had not neglected letters: himself a poet of no mean order, he patronized poets and men of learning. It was his practice—the chronicler tells us—to start the day by spending some time every morning alone in his library of religious books, studying a section of that abstruse text on Buddhist psychology —the *Dhammasangaṇi*. With the satisfaction that he had raised his people from a condition of abject misery to one of stability and prosperity, he breathed his last at the ripe age of 73.

If it is greatness to possess an indomitable will and determination to overcome almost insuperable difficulties and, having achieved one's aim, to labour for the good of others, Vijayabāhu was certainly the greatest king that ever ruled Laṇkā. In fact, his greatness was acknowledged by his countrymen of old, for Sinhalese historical works refer to him by the epithet *Mahalu* (Great).

The two monarchs who loom large in the pages of Ceylon history—Duṭugämuṇu and Parākramabāhu—did not have so great and numerous obstacles to overcome as did Vijayabāhu. And it is of such a personality that we hear the *ipsissima verba* from our newly discovered document across the centuries."

"It also gives us a graphic word picture of the king delivering his order in the assembly, and furnishes us with the interesting information that the king, while delivering the order, held the iron yoke in both hands.

For palaeography as well as for philology, the document has preserved points of great interest. The style of its Sinhalese is majestic, furnishing us with a specimen of the language exhibiting its characteristics of terse lucidity, vigour and expressiveness—characteristics which the language has now almost lost in the hands of writers who hanker after respectability, smothering it with Sanskrit and other foreign modes of expression, incompatible with its genius. The introductory portion, though in prose, is poetic in diction, and towards the climax, in describing the royal lips, the scribe has introduced the second half of a Yāgī stanza, perhaps an extract from a poem well known in those days. The document also throws light on the procedure, adopted in drafting legal documents in the chancellories of Sinhalese kings. It will thus be seen that this document is of first-rate importance from more than one point of view.

The discovery of the copper-plates at Panākaḍuva naturally led to investigations in its locality for traces of antiquities and traditions that would throw light on the contents of the document. In that village is a land called Veheratänna, where there are traces of an old building—tiles and bricks. A mound at this place, possibly the ruins of a *dāgäba*, is said to have been excavated by the villagers over fifty years ago, and a casket brought to light. On an adjoining hill is a rock cavern which, according to tradition, gave asylum to a king in hiding. A mountain stream between the villages of Panākaḍuva and Siyaṁbalagoḍa bears the name of *Diya-nā-dola* "the stream in which (the king) bathed". A site called Mahavattetänna, now in the jungle, has a few stumps of stone pillars, and is pointed out as the later residence of the king who was at one time in

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

the rock shelter referred to above. Another locality is associated in tradition as the place where Tamils captured in fighting were detained as prisoners of war.

Panākaḍuva is a village hedged in between two ranges of mountains, one of which is the Ranmalakanda, referred to in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* (chap. 57, v. 62) as the site of the armed camp set up by Vijayabāhu, when he was only fifteen years of age. He was at the time under the protection of a chieftain named Buddha-rāja. There is little doubt that the Buddha-rāja of the Chronicle is the same as Lord Budal of our record. As Vijayabāhu was then under his protection, it is most probable that his first camp was in the hereditary fief of Lord Budal (Buddha-rāja). After the campaigning which established Vijayabāhu on the throne, Budal, we may assume, returned to his own fief and the copper-plates too, must have been brought to his home after he received them at the hands of his grateful sovereign at Anurādhapura. They may have been deposited in the place where they were found, when the descendants of Budal, fallen on evil days, had unceremoniously to leave their ancestral home due to some reason or other. This part of the Moravak Kōralē, therefore, is entitled to the homage of the student of history, as having given asylum in the days of his adversity to one of Laṅkā's greatest rulers, and as the home of a warrior chief who was the main instrument of that ruler to rid the Island of its foes, and had received signal honours at the hands of his grateful sovereign."

The Text of the Sannasa

In Volume V Part I Epigraphia Zeylanica edited by Dr. S. Paranavitana the complete text of the Sannasa and its translation is given as follows :—

" 1 සවස්ති සිරි සිරිවත් අපරියත් ලොඉකුත්ගුණ මුළෙන් උතුරත් මුළ
දමබදිවිහි අන්කැත්කු-
2 -ල පාමිලි කළ ඔකාවස් රජපරපුරෙන් බට කැත්උසබනට අගමෙහෙ-
සුන් වූ ලග්දිවිපෙ—
3 -ළො යොහෙනපරපුරෙන් හිමි සිරිසඟබො විජයබාහු රජපා වහන්සෙ
තුමා සියසික්-
4 -මෙන් දෙමෙළබළමුළුඅන්දුරු දුරු ලා මුළුලක්දිව එක්සෙසත් කැර
රජ වළන්දුමින් ස-
5 ඕසි හවුරුද්දක් ඉකුත් සත් ළැඟු සත්විසිවන්නෙහි කැත්තෙ සඳු අව
වස්මස්හි අව යත-
6 වක්දවස් නුරුපුරවරෙහි සිහසිනරා කිරුළුම්හිරසින් පළ සෙසත්කිස
තවරමින් වැකු හිඳ
7 තමා සොවුරු ඇපා මායා යුවරජ ඇ රජගණා ප්‍රමුඛයෙන් සිහවිකුම්
යහළ යුවළතිනුක-

1 -හා පුපළතෙදයසපබඳ දසන්මෙරජවැළ ලකුළු ලවන් අත්පය්හි
පාමින් රුණුදඩ-
2 නායක සින්නරුබිම් බුදල්නාවන් අප සොළිදෙමළුන් ගෙ විබලයෙන්
සියරජින් පි-
3 -රිහි ගල්වලැ වැළැහි වන අවදියැ අප පිය මහසැමිය මුහලන් රජපා
වහන්සෙ
4 ඇ මුළු රජකුල සියපිරිස්නෙන් රැකැ අප සගවියෙහි වඩා වනමුල්-
පලාහරණෙන්
5 පුසා ඇකුත් ඇකුත් තන්හි මහමින් ඇසිරෙන විපකුන් කෙරෙන් වළහා
තන්හි තන්හි
6 විග්‍රහ බැඳ රුහුණුදනවු පෙරෙළා එකත් කොට ගල්වලින් බහා
සියරජහි පිහිටු-
7 -වා දුක්වුන් ප්‍රශාදයට මෙකුන් දරුමුනුම්බුරන් ව මෙකුන් ගෙ අන්වය
ආ වූ සෙ ද-

1 -ඩ මඩ ගතැ යුතු දෙෂයක් කළ ද බසින් පටවා කරන දැහැවිල්ලෙන්
මුන් දඩමුඩු නො ග-
2 -න්නා ව දැහැ ලා නොපටවනු ව දිවි දී මිසැ නොමුස්නා වරදකුදු
ඇත තුන් වරක් දක්වා ෂමා කරනු කො-
3 -ට ව පෙත්පමුණු නො ගන්නා කොට ව යම් පමණ ද්‍රොහයකුදු කළ
අභය දී දැකැ පියවත් මුන්
4 නිග්‍රහ නො කරනු කොට මෙ වැවසථා අප සිය කැතකුලෙහි ඔකාවස්
රජපරපුරු පු-
5 -වත්නා තාක් සාසන කොට දෙන්නෙය් කිලිඟුනාවිනි තාරා දෙවුන්
මෙගම්නාවිනි තුන්ද
6 දෙවුන් දක්වා වදලෙසින් රුහුණු දඩනායක සිත්නරුබිම් බුදල්නාවන්
වැඩි තැන් සගවියෙ-
7 -හි වඩමින් ලොවැඩ වඩා මුළුරජකුල සැමැහැ රක්මින් මුළුලොය් දිවි
රැකැ වනමුල්පලා හරණෙ

1 -න් පුස්මින් මුළුලොය් පුසැ වැඩිතැන් සියරජහි පාළ කෙරෙමින්
මුළුලොය් සෙත් පාළ කොට දු
2 -ක් වුන් ද්‍රශාදයට ලක්දිවිතෙලෙහි ඔකාවස් රජපරපුරෙන් බට කැත-
කුලෙහි රජපරපුරු

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

3 පුවත්නා තාක් මෙකුන් දරුමුනුම්බුරන් ව මෙකුන්ගෙ අන්වය ආ වූ
සෙ දඩමුඩු ගතැ යිතු වර
4 -දෙකැ බසින් පටවා කරන දැහැවිල්ලෙන් මුත් දඩමුඩු නො ගන්නා ව
දැහැ ලා නො පටනු ව
5 දිවි දී නොමුස්නා දෙඔයකුදු කළ කුන්වරක් දක්වා ඔමා කරනු ව
පෙත්පමුණු නො ගන්නා ඔකා-
6 -ට යම් පමණ ද්‍රොහයකුදු වළ අහය දී දැකැ පියවත් මුත් නිග්‍රහ නො
කරනු කොට යත්විසිවන්ගෙහි
7 කැත්තෙහි අව සතවක් දවිස් පිවින් පත්ගතහි මේ වැ[ව*]ස ා කළ
බවට දෙපළලෙය්—දරුපොතැ අතවර ලියන දෙවමි"

TRANSLITERATION

A

1 Svasti siri siri-vat apariyat lo-ikut-guṇa muḷen uturat muḷu
Damba-divhi an-kät-ku-
2 -la pā-mili kaḷa Okāvas-raja-parapuren baṭa kät-usabanaṭa
agamehesun vū Lag-div-po-
3 -ḷo yohena-parapuren himi **Siri-sangabo Vijayabāhu** raja-pā-
vahanse tumā siya-vik-
4 -men Demeḷa-baḷa-muḷu-anduru duru lā muḷu-Lak-div ek-se-sat
kärä raja vaḷandamin sa-
5 -visi havuruddak ikut sat ḷäṅgu sat-visi-vannehi Kätte sanda
ava Vap-mas'hi ava sata-
6 -vak-dvaas **Nuru-puraverehi** sihasin=arā kiruḷu-miṇi-rasin paḷa
se-sat-kisa tavaramin väḍä hindä
7 tamā sovuru āpā māyā yuva-raja ā raja-gaṇā pramukhayen
sihavikum yahaḷa yuvalatin—uka.

B (i)

1 -hā pū-paḷa-teda-yasa-pabanda dasan-meraja-väḷa lakuḷu lavan
at-pas'hi pāmin Ruṇu-daḍa-
2 nāyaka **Sitnaru-bīm-Budal-nāvan** apa Soḷi-Demaḷun ge vibalayen
siya-rajin pi-
3 -rihī gal-valä väḷähī vana avadiyä apa piya maha-sämiya
Mungalan-raja-pa-vahanse
4 ā muḷu raja-kula siya-pirisnen räkä apa saga-viyehi vaḍā vana-
mul-palā-bharaṇen
5 pusä äkut äkut tanhi maṅgamin äsirena vipakun keren vaḷahā
tanhi tanhi

6 vigraha bändä Ruhuṇu-danavu pereḷā ekat koṭa gal-valin bahā
siya-rajahi pihiṭu-
7 -vā duk vun praśādayaṭa mekun daru-munumburan ca mekun
ge anvaya ā vū se da-

1 -ḍa-muḍu gatä yutu doṣayak kaḷa da basin paṭavā karana
dähävillen mut daḍa-muḍu no ga-
2 -nnā ca däṅgä lā no paṭavanu ca divi dī misä no-musnā varadak
udu äta tun varak dakvā samā karanu ko-
3 -ṭa ca pet-pamuṇu no gannā koṭa ca yam pamaṇa drohayak-
udu kaḷa abhaya dī däkä piyavat mut
4 nigraha no karanu koṭa me vävasthā apa siya käta-kulehi
Okāvas-raja-parapuru pu-
5 -vatnā tāk sāsana koṭa denne-y **Kilingu-Navini-Tara-deṭun me-
gam-Nāvinī-Tunda**
6 **deṭun** dakvā vadāḷeyin Ruhuṇu-daḍa-nāyaka **Sitnaru-bim-
Budalnavan** väḍi-tän saga-viye-
7 -hi, vaḍamin lo-väḍa vaḍā muḷu-raja-kula sämäṅgä rakmin
muḷu-loy divi räkä vana-mul-palā bharaṇe-

1 -n pusmin muḷu-loy pusä väḍi-tän siya-räjahi pāḷa keremin
muḷu-loy set pāḷa koṭa du-
2 -k vun praśādayaṭa Lak-div-telehi Okāvas-raja-parapuren baṭa
käta-kulehi raja-parapuru
3 puvatnā tāk mekun daru-munumburan ca mekun ge anvaya ā
vū se daḍa-muḍu gatä yitu vara-
4 -dekä basin paṭavā karana dähävillen mut daḍa-muḍu no
gannā ca däṅgä lā no paṭanu ca
5 divi dī no musnā doṣayak udu kaḷa tun varak dakvā ṣamā
karunu ca pet pamuṇu no gannā ko-
6 -ṭa ca yam pamaṇa drohayak udu kaḷa abhaya dī däkä piyavat
mut nigraha no karanu koṭa sat-visi-vannehi
7 Kättehi ava satavak davas pivin mattehi me vä(va*) sthā kaḷa
bavaṭa Demaḷa-ley-daru-potä **Atvara liyana Devmi**

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

TRANSLATION

Prosperity! While boundless transcendental virtues were overflowing from (their) multitudes, just as prosperity was. His Majesty, King **Sīrī-sangabo Vījayabāhu**, descended from the lineage of King Okāvas who made other *kṣatriya* families in the whole of Dambadiva his vassals, the lord, by right of descent, of the damsel, the earth of the Island of Laṁkā, the chief queen of *kṣatriya* nobles —(His Majesty)—on the seventh day of the second month of Vap of the Kāti season, in the twenty-seventh year of the raising of the umbrella of dominion, when twenty-six years had passed while enjoying the sovereignty after having, with his own prowess, dispelled the darkness of the hordes of Tamil soldiers, and made the whole of the Island of Laṁkā (subject to) one umbrella—(His Majesty)—having ascended the lion throne in the noble city of **Nuru** (*i.e.*, **Anurādhapura**) and being seated (thereon), painting (as it were) the inside of the brilliant white umbrella with the effulgence of the jewels in his diadem, in the presence of the royal assembly including his brothers—the heir-presumptive, the heir-apparent and the *yuvarāja*—and others, he of lion-like prowess lifted up the yoke in both hands and showing side-ways his lips from which flowed renowned majesty and abundant glory, and which were made beauteous by the series of rays from his teeth (spake thus).

"At the time we were remaining concealed in the mountainous wilderness, having been deprived of our own kingdom in consequence of the calamity caused by the Soḷi (*i.e.*, Choḷa) Tamils, **Lord Budal** of **Sīṭnaru-bīm**, Constable of Ruhuṇa, with the aid of his retinue protected the entire royal family, including our father, His Majesty **King Mugaḷan**, the Great Lord; (he) brought us up in our tender age; (he) nurtured us with the sustenance of (edible) roots and green herbs from the jungle; (he) concealed us from enemies who were prowling about seeking us wherever we went: engaging himself in battle in (this) place and (that) place, (he) secured, once again, the territory of Ruhuṇa, took us out of the mountainous wilderness and established us in our own kingdom; and this is as favour for the hardships he underwent (on our behalf). With regard to the

sons and grandsons of this (Lord Budal), in the manner as it has come down from his lineage, even if (they, were to commit an offence for which fines or imposts should be levied, beyond a reprimand administered by word (of mouth) after having settled (the offence), no fines or imposts should be levied; an offence committed by them should not be settled after having put (them) in prison; should there even be an offence committed (by them) which cannot be expiated otherwise than by giving up life, (they) should be pardoned up to three times; (their) shares (of land holdings) and estates should not be confiscated ; even if treason, of whatever degree, be committed (by them), apart from banishing (them) after having granted amnesty and seen (them), no degradation should be inflicted, let these regulations be constituted into a charter to last as long as the royal lineage of Okāvas of our own Kṣatriya family, and be granted."

As it was thus ordered (by His Majesty, the matter) having been presented by **Kiḷingu Nāvīnī Tārā-deṭu and Nāvīnī Tundā-denṭu** of this (self-same) race (be it enacted as follows) :

"Whereas **Lord Budal** of **Sīṭnaru-bīm**, Constable of Ruhuṇa increased the welfare of the world by bringing up His Majesty in his tender age, protected the life of the whole world by protecting the entire royal family together, nurtured the whole world by nurturing (His Majesty) with the sustenance of edible roots and green herbs from the jungle, proclaimed the bliss of the whole world by proclaiming His Majesty in his own sovereignty—as favour for the hardships he underwent, and to last so long as the royal lineage of Okāvas continues to exist in the Island of Laṁkā, concerning the sons and grandsons of this (Lord Budal), in the manner as it has come down in his lineage, beyond a reprimand administered by word (of mouth), after having settled the offence, no fines or imposts should be levied in the case of an offence for which fines and imposts should be levied; (an offence committed by them) should not be settled by having them put in prison: even if an offence be committed which cannot be expiated otherwise than by giving up life, they should be pardoned up to three times; (their) shares (of land holdings) and estates should not be confiscated; even if treason, of whatever degree, be committed by them, apart from banishing (them) after having granted amnesty and seen (them), no degradation should be inflicted.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

To the effect that these rules have been promulgated (to be effective) after (this) date, (to wit) the seventh day of the waning moon in the month of Käti of the twenty-seventh (year), I, Atvara Liyana Dev, (Keeper of) the Register of Tamil clerks (do testify)."

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

The Panākaḍuva Copper Plate of King Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110 circa) is a unique inscription in several respects. This is the earliest of the copper plate charters so far discovered in Sri Lanka. It also differs in its content from the vast majority of inscriptions in the island whether on stone or copper. It is also the only ancient Sinhala document in which a king gives us biographical details concerning himself. For these reasons it is a unique document to the student of history in particular although it has also evoked human interest in general.

But to the sons of Rōhana, Panākaḍuva Copper Plate is of unique interest for it is a living monument to the great king who in his youth, under the name of "Kitti", was nurtured and protected in Moravak Korale in the old kingdom of Rōhana.

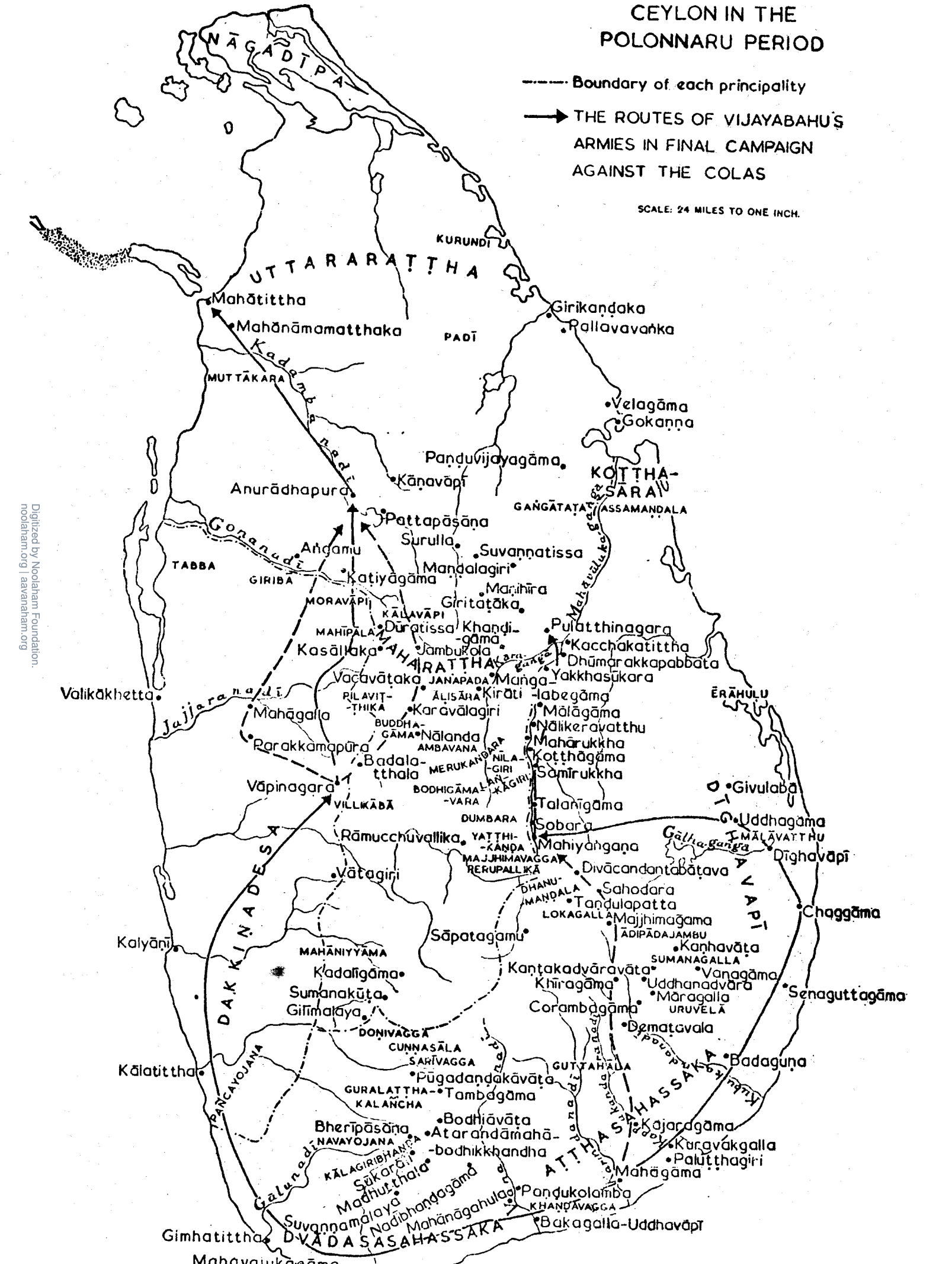
This booklet is a tribute not only to the great warrior king who brought the 'Thri Sinhala' under one banner but also to all patriotic Sinhala martyrs who from to time saved this country from foreign yoke and protected Buddha Sāsana over the centuries.

This publication is considered most opportune not only because it sheds light on the life of a great warrior king who united the country under one banner but also because it is the need of the hour to be united as one, emulating those patriots who rallied round King Vijayabāhu I, to successfully combat the present day aggressors who are trying to besmirch the territorial integrity of this sacred Island.

Titus W. Ratnayake

Printed by Lake House Printers & Publishers Ltd.

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org



Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org