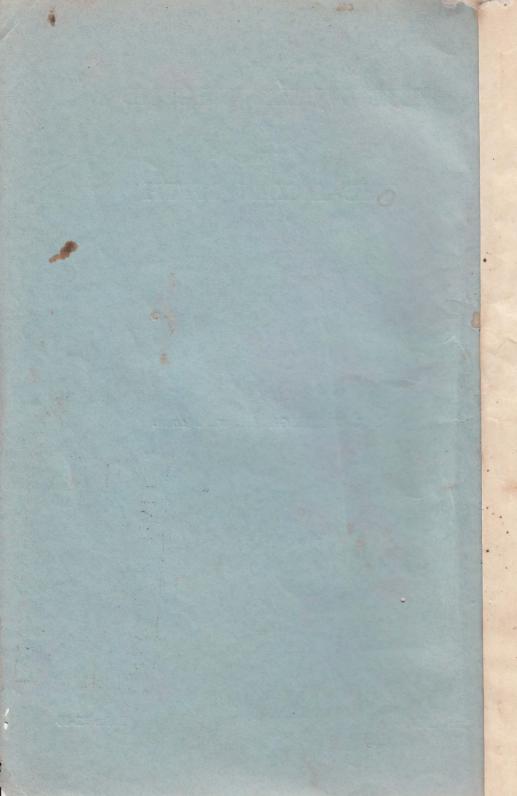
THE VIJAYAN LEGEND

AND

THE ARYAN MYTH

BY
S. J. GUNASEGARAM, M. A. (LOND.)



THE VIJAYAN LEGEND

AND

THE ARYAN MYTH

(A Commentary on Dr. G. C. Mendis' Mahabharata Legends in the Mahavamsa)

BY

JUNE, 1963

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THE VIJAYAN LEGEND

CHA

HTYM MAYSA BHI

To.

my friend Dr. S. A. Vettivelu, patriot and beloved physician.

JUNE 1983

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In South East Asia

First Edition, Dec., 1957 Second Impression, Feb., 1958

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Tamil Culture, Vol. VIII No. 2.

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PREFACE

My comments which form the subject matter of this booklet were written in 1958, as soon as a reprint of Dr. G. C. Mendis' article, "The Mahabharata Legends in the Mahavamsa," in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, reached me. (NEW SERIES, Volume V, Part I)

For nearly three years, the learned Council of the Society had toyed with my comments and given various excuses for delaying to publish them. The shining lights of the Council during this period, were the trio Dr. S. Paranavitane, Dr. G. C. Mendis, and the late Mr. C. W. Nicholas, a retired Excise Official. Dr. Mendis was the author of the contribution in question, and the other two were the pillars of the Society and the custodians of the scholarship, learning and historical lore of Sri Lanka. The so-called 'University History of Ceylon,' which appeared in two Volumes, in 1960, was planned and enlivened by them.

After repeated reminders by me requesting the Society either to publish my reply or to return the typed script, I was officially informed, early in 1961, by its new Secretary, that the Council had at last decided to publish it in the Journal of the Society.

The proofs were sent to me and corrected. When the final proof was ready and in print, I was informed that my article had been withdrawn from the 1961 issue of the Journal. The reason given was, that it had not reached the standard expected of a 'learned Journal' and that its 'polemical asperity should be toned down.'

I had waited for nearly three years, and borne the tantalising correspondence of the Society. I had no alternative but to thank the Society for its cultured, liberal and learned outlook, and to send in my resignation to the 'Learned Society', and to publish the Essay myself.

Dr. G. C. Mendis' thesis was, in the main, a justification of his earlier assertion in his 'Early History of Ceylon,' that ''Ceylon was influenced mainly by North India up to the Cola Conquest,' i.e., from the time of Vijaya to the Eleventh Century. He adds, 'The influence of North India waned after the Tenth Century, as this region fell into the hands of the Muslims, and its Hindu Civilisation received a set back. South India, however, continued to be Hindu and three great Empires, the Cola, Pandya, and Vijayanagara rose in succession. ('Early History of Ceylon,' p. 65, 1954 Edition.)

He creates the impression in the minds of the readers that till the XIC, the influence that inspired Ceylon were mainly Hindu and North Indian (Arvan), and that the Pandyan and Chola Tamil Kingdoms which dominated Ceylon history after the eleventh century (Hindu again), had come into existence just about this period. Though he concedes that the earlier influences were mainly Hindu, he overlooks the fact that many. of the most distinguished Kings from Vijaya to Panduvasa and Pandukka Abhya, and again from Sena Guttaka and the great Elara to the time of Mahinda V (XC), (who had ordered that the regulations connected with Kama Wewa, a tank in the Mihintale-Anuradhapura area, should be the same as those ordained by the Tamils of old), were all South Indians-Kalingas (Telugus), Tamils (Chola. Chera, Pandya) or Kanarese (Pallavas), another Dravidian people; and that the petty Chieftains (called Kings) of the South belonged to Dravidian tribes — Nagas, Moriyas, Ilambakkannas.²

The kings that followed, the Chola Tamil period, headed by Parakramabahu the Great were mainly Pandyans Their names Parakrama Bahu, Vijaya Bahu, Vira Bahu, Wickrema Bahu, Bhuvaneka Bahu etc., are

all of Tamil origin³. The very names for tanks **Kulam**, (**Kulama**), **Vavi** (**Wewa**) **Eri** (**Eriya**), are like the names of Kings, Prakritised Tamil, ⁹Dravidian, and not of 'Aryan' origin.

The notion that the Sinhalese were Aryans, and hence from North India was one cultivated by the Buddhist Monks who began to enter this Island somewhere in the third century B.C. This belief has been strengthened by the fact that the language of the indigenous Southerner, Elu, came to be ignored and overlarded with Prakrit words, and because the birth place of the great founder of Buddhism as well as that of the Royal Champion of the Doctrine, was Northern India,

I quote below what J. D. M. Derrett says in the 'Origins of the Laws of the Kandyans' (University of Ceylon Review, Vol. XIV, No. 5, 3, 4, p. 149) "Yet of course the Sinhalese are not Aryans. From whence then comes the notion that their descendants are? This presents no difficulty. The Buddhists referred to any respectable member of the Sangha as Arya, and that usage must have been common throughout the Buddhist world. Moreover the Dravidians are accustomed to refer to non-Dravidians as Aryans."

With the waning popularity of Buddhism and the Saiva revival in the South in the sixth and the seventh centuries, and later from the time of the Muslim occupation of Nothern India, Ceylon became the nearest, and the most liberal place of refuge for the displaced monks⁴. From the period of the entry of Buddhism into Ceylon, the Tamils, mainly for reasons doctrinal and religious, had become the enemies of the Buddhist Priesthood—not because they were Tamils but because they were Saivites or non-Buddhists. This bias had naturally become a source of infection among their converts in

the Island. It flared up recently in 1958, and hasleft bitter memories.

It is ominous to note that, in our day, a similar hatred is being evinced against the Roman Church, in particular, and towards the Christians in general, not because of their 'race' but because of their Faith.

This Commentary is written in the hope that a critical and informed view of the early history of this Island and its people will, in the years to come, remove prejudices made bitter through the centuries, and make the Sinhalese majority in this country realise their intimate cultural, racial and linguistic connections with their ancient Tamil neighbours of Izham (llam), and bind us with a common love for our Motherland, enabling us to grow into a peaceful united and tolerant people.

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Kopay, Jaffna. S. J. Gunasegaram

References and Notes

- 1. Epigraphia Ceylonica, Vol. 1, pp. 112-113.
- 2.(a) 'Anthropology in India,' (Bharatiya Vidiya Bhavan Publication), 1961-, pp. 195-6. 'Nagas'-the Sanskrit term for the Dravidian 'Seres.' (Ceylon was known as Serentivu or Nagadipa. The Nagas were a Dravidian tribe)
 - (b) Dr. G. C. Mendis-'Moriyas', 'Lambakarnas.'
 'Early History of Ceylon,' p. 5.
 Mairu (Mayil), Ilambakannas, are names of Dravidian origin. Vide, Tamil Dictionaries for meanings, and the 'Dravidian Etymological Dictionary' by T. Burrow & M. B. Emeneau, Sections 3793; 1311.
- 3. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary. Tamil origin of Prakritised names of some Tamil Kings of Ceylon.

i. Parakrama Bahu

Para-(3255) Par 'earth', 'world', 'Charioteer'; 'to diffuse', 'to spread,'

Pakan (3331) 'Elephant rider', 'charioteer', id. Paku. 'art', 'ability',

Ak (u) (282) 'to make', 'become', 'increase', 'create', 'prosperity.' (In Elu, the name becomes Parakum).

- ii. Wik-rema-(Elu-'Vikum')
 Vik (a)-(4477) 'Valiant'. 'courage',
 Vik (u)-
- iii. Vira-Viru-Vira (4491); 'be eminent', 'distinguished', splendid'.
- iv. Similarly Valla-BA.

 Val (4406) 'lustre', 'splendour', 'fame'

 Val-(4317) 'strong', 'mighty', 'hero'

 Val (4340) 'bounty', 'liberality', 'strength'

v. Bhuveneka (Nayaka)

Pu. (3564) 'flourish', 'bloom', 'richness' Naya (2977) 'respect', 'esteem', etc. (It may also mean Puvi-Nayagam, 'the Lord of the earth')

4. "Fa-Hian in the fourth Century was assured by the people of Ceylon that at that period the Priests numbered between fifty and sixty thousand. Five thousand were attached to one Vihara alone in Anuradhapura and three thousand to another." Foe Houe Ki, Ch. XXXVIII, p. 336, 350, quoted by Tennent 'Ceylon', Vol. I. p. 347.

Reference also may be made to MHV, to note that several thousands poured into Ceylon in later times from the Pandyan and the Chola Kingdoms

ANCIENT INDIA c. 500 B.C-MAHAJANAPADAS

"In the seventh century B. C., Northern India and part of the Deccan were divided into sixteen principalities, the sixteen Mahajanapadas of the Anguttara Nikaya. Of Southern India nothing definite has come to light, but we may suppose that the traditional Tamil king doms were in existence"

(An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula, p. 6) by C. Collin Davies, Oxford Press, 1959)

The sixteen Mahajanapadas:-

- (1) Anga (2) Magadha (3) Kasi (4) Kosala (5) Vajji
- (6) Malla (7) Chedi (8) Vatsa (9) Kuru (10) Panchala
- (11) Matsya (12) Surasena (13) Asmaka (14) Avanti
- (15) Gandhara (16) Kamboja.

In the sixteen Principalities, it will be noted that neither Vanga nor Kalinga of the Mahavamsa are included. In fact the Northerners knew very little of the purely Dravidian States in the South, The traditional Tamil kingdoms referred to, in the quotation given above, are the Pandya, Chera and Chola kingdoms. Again among the sixteen principalities Kuru is referred to as a power but no mention whatever is made of Pandu about which Dr. Mendis writes.

DISTANCES

A. (1) The distances from Mathura (Muttra) on the banks of the Jumna to the nearest sea port on the West

Coast of India, **Sopra** or Supparaka (as the Crow flies - across rivers and torests), is about - **600** miles.

(2) The distance from Supparaka to Mathotam (Mantote), on the West Coast, of Ceylon, near Mannar is about 1,000 miles.

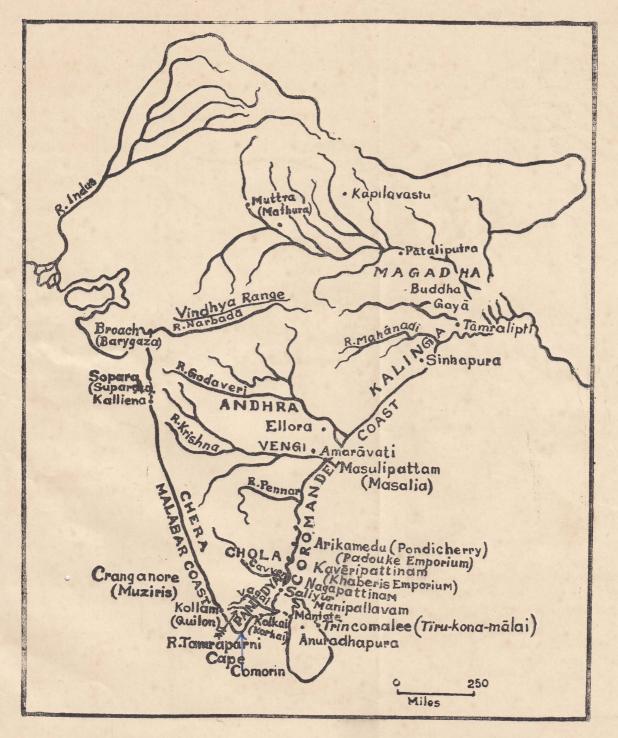
Total Distance c. 1,600 miles

- B. (1) The distance from Mathura (Muttra) to Tamralipti, the nearest sea port in the North Eastern Coast of India either by land or by the Ganges (assuming it was navigable all the way to the sea), is about 900 Miles.
 - (2) The distance from Tamralipti by sea either to Mathotam (Mantote) on the North West Coast of Ceylon or to Tiru-Kona-Ma-Malai (Trincomalee), on the East Coast, is about 1,100 miles.

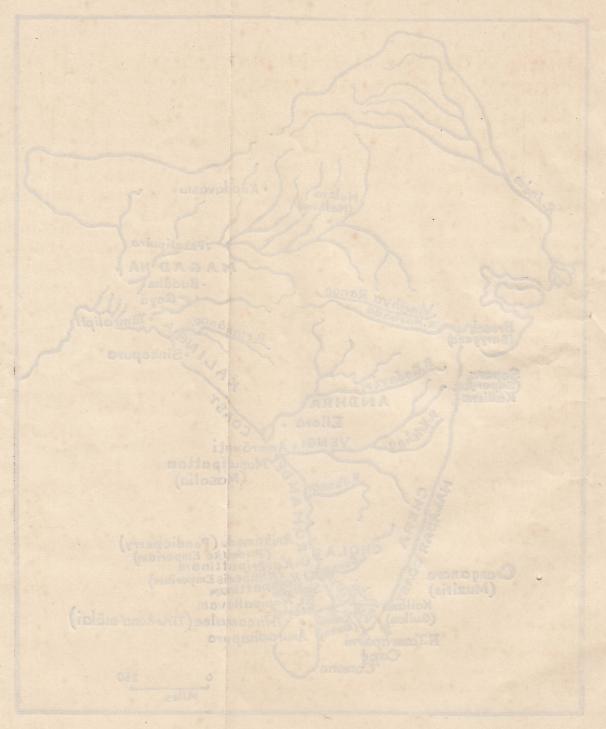
Total Distance c. 2,000 miles

C. The distance from old Madurai, the ancient Capital of Pandya, on the banks of the Vaigai to Mathotam (Mantote), on the gulf of Mannar, is about 150 miles, by river and sea.

MAP OF INDIA - OLD SEAPORTS



MAP OF INDIA-OLD SEAFORTS



CHADURAL ON THE BANKS OF THE VAIGAL IN PANDYA)

COMMENTS ON "THE MAHABHARATA LEGENDS IN THE MAHAVAMSA"

'The Mahabharata Legends in the Mahavamsa', is the title of an Article contributed by Dr. G. C. Mendis, to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, New Series, Vol. V, Part I, and reprinted in booklet form for the Society by the Colombo Apothecaries' Company, Limited¹.

His thesis appears to be that (a) the early kings of Ceylon from Vijaya to Pandukabhaya are legendary and that genuine historical tradition in Ceylon dates from the beginning of the reign of Devanampiya Tissa. The stories of the early kings - Panduvasudeva, 2Abhaya Pandukabhaya - originate from the legends of the Mahabharata; 'these stories have been considerably transformed by the author of the Mahavamsa by drawing on and imitating legends in other Jatakas as well as stories current in Ceylon such as that of Vijaya and Kuveni. Though Panduvasudeva, Abhaya and Pandukabhaya were 'actual rulers of Ceylon', these stories got attached in later times, and 'these legends are utilised to make up a list of kings to fill the gap of 236 years between the death of the Buddha and the accession of Devanampiya Tissa', (b) The earliest historical traditions of Ceylon associate the Island only with North India, and therefore 'there is certainly some ground' for the conclusion that the 'Princess' who married Vijaya and the early kings of Ceylon came from Madhura (Muttra) in North India, and not from Madura of South India. They did not come from Pandya. 'The story seems to connect the royal dynasty of Ceylon with the family of Pandus.'

To suggest that the author of the Mahavamsa, Sixth Century A. D., had drawn mainly from tales and his imagination in writing the history of Ceylon from Vijaya to

Devanampiya Tissa, and possibly from the alleged visit of the Buddha, is to pronounce an adverse verdict on the reliability of the Mahavamsa as a historical record. That the author (Mahanama) could have become suddenly dependable in his account from the time of Devanampiya Tissa, will have to be accepted with considerable misgivings. Would it be therefore unreasonable to suggest that there is the probability of a Dravidian origin of these early kings, as their names and the areas from which they hailed suggest?

Is not Devanampiya Tissa referred to in the Mahavamsa as a 'friend' of the great Asoka³ — an association which could be cherished with pardonable pride as indicating an Aryan origin to the Sinhalese, and tracing, at the same time, an intimate acquaintance with and regard from one of the greatest kings of North India?⁴

It should be remembered that inspite of the assertion by the author of the Mahavamsa that Mahinda and Sanghamitta were children of Asoka, there is neither any historical record in North India of any children of Asoka with such names, nor reference in the king's Edicts themselves of any Mission sent to Ceylon by him through any of his alleged children. Geiger has tried to gloss over this difficulty by stating that an argument from silence is not admissible. (Introduction to Geiger's Mahavamsa, p. XVIII). But certainly an argument drawn from reliable records will be more convincing!

The Rock Edicts of Asoka (II and XIII), refer definitely to the Tamil Kingdoms in South India—the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Cheras—while the name Tambapanni is supposed to indicate Ceylon. Historians have been at pains to discover whether Tambapanni refers to the well known Tinnevelly district in South India or to Ceylon. Geiger himself (Mahavamsa, Introduction p. XVII) says, 'I may observe that at the

outset, it is not absolutely certain whether by the Tambapanni of the inscriptions Ceylon is meant. Possibly the name may designate the Tinnevelly district at the Southern extremity of India, where the Tambapanni flows into the sea'.⁵

It should not be wondered at that Vincent A. Smith in his 'Early History of India', p.p. 115-118, calls the stories describing the conversion of Ceylon as 'a tissue of absurdities.'

There is literary tradition mentioned in Sillappadikaram, the well known Tamil Epic, to indicate that Mahendra, described as a brother of Asoka, visited the Tamil country as a Buddhist missionary and left behind a Vihara at Kaveripattinam. In the 'Beal Records of the Western World,' li, page 231, we are told that there was, near Madura, the capital of the Pandyas, a Vihara built by Mahendra a brother of Asoka, and to the east of it a Stupa constructed during the time of Asoka. In the Tailang records of Burma we find that Dharmapala the great Buddhist Acharya (V A.D.), a Tamilian himself, lived in a Vihara built by Asoka in Kanchipura. Dharmapala, in his commentary Netti-Attagatha', mentions that he wrote his work in a Vihara built by Asoka.

Asoka (described as a great friend of Devanampiya Tissa), does not refer in his Edicts either to his 'friend' or even to his 'own children' who, it is said, had been sent by him as Missionaries to Ceylon! The Asokan Edicts make no mention whatever of either the word 'Lanka' by which name Ceylon was known to the ancient Indians or the term 'Sihala' (found only once in an early Chapter of the Mahavamsa, and interpreted by Dr. G. C. Mendis as meant 'to explain the origin of the name "Sinhala," and to show how the fiirst settlement took place in the Island'). It will be noticed that the term 'Sihala' is used only once in the Maha-

vamsa of Mahanama, 'But the king Sinhabahu, since he had slain the lion (was called) Sihala and by reason of the ties between him and them, all those followers of Vijaya were also (called) 'Sihala'. Ch. (VII. v. 42). But in all subsequent and earlier chapters, the Island is referred to as Lanka or Tambapanni, and nowhere, for instance; as 'Sihala-dvipa', nor are the people, anywhere referred to as 'Sihalas' or 'Sinhalese.' May it be a later interpolation? Dr. Mendis himself suggests that, "The story of Vijaya seems to have been evolved to explain the origin of the name Sinhala and to show how the first human settlement took place in the Island.' He adds, 'obviously the Aryans no longer remembered how their ancestors came to this country'. (p. 81! R.A.S.C. Vol. V. part I).

The Mahavamsa is careful to add (Ch. XI, v. 19). 'For the two monarchs Devanampiya Tissa and Dhammasoka already had been friends for a long time, though they had never seen each other.'

How and when did this friendship originate? How was this alleged friendship maintained across a distance of nearly 1,500 miles? It is admitted on all sides that Asoka had no control over the vast tract of country ruled over by the Pandyas, Cheras and Cholas stretching between his Empire and Ceylon.

One is compelled to infer that the same purpose which inspired the priestly historian of Buddhism in Ceylon to make the landing of Vijaya synchronise with the death of the Buddhha impelled him to remark that Asoka sent his own children to introduce Buddhism into Ceylon, and to associate its ruler with that great king who was the champion of Buddhism.

It will be noticed that Tissa is given the same name 'Devanampiya,' as that by which Asoka was known. But Devanampiya Tissa, this great 'friend' of

Asoka, does not appear to have been aware of even the existence of Buddhism in Jambudvipa, the land where his 'friend' ruled. Here is the account of his meeting with the thera Mahinda, as it appears in the Mahavamsa. (Geiger's Translation, Ch. XIV, vv. 11-14) "Then came his people and surrounded him and the great thera caused the others who had come with him to become visible. When the king beheld these too he said: "When did these come hither"? The thera answered "(they came) with me." And he asked moreover, "Are there in Jambudipa other ascetics like to these"? The other said, Jambudipa is gleaming with yellow robes; and great is the number of Arahats learned in the three Vedas gifted with miraculous powers, skilled in reading the thoughts of others, possessing the heavenly Car; the disciples of the Buddha."

Before proceeding to discuss the arguments urged by Dr. Mendis to prove his contention, it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with the origin and dates of the old stories and legends and the kingdom and peoples of the period under consideration.

1. Jataka Stories

The Jatakas consist of stories of the previous birth of the Buddhas. The early Buddhist teachers adopted with but little change, the folklore and fables already current in India, and made the hero of each story into a Bodhistava who is destined after a number of subsequent births to become a Buddha.

The collection of Jatakas which includes 547 birth stories was made in the 4th century B. C., though it had not assumed the shape it now has in the Sutta-Pitaka (a part of the Pali canon). There is a close connection between the stories contained in the Panchatantra and those found in the Jatakas.

(George Havells, 'The Soul of India,' pp. 167-8).

2. The Mahabharata

"An old heroic poem dealing with the Bhagavatas, a tribe well known to the Rig-veda, forms the nucleus of the Mahabharata. The Mahabharata, in its present form, is not earlier than IV B.C., and not later than IV C A.D. ('History of India', p. 11, Sinha and Banerjee).

'The Mahabharata shows that the Pandya and Kerala Chola kings were present at the Swayamvara of Draupadi (1, 189, 7020). Before the Rajasuya sacrifice was celebrated by Dharmarajah, his brother Sahadeva is said to have fought with the Chola, Pandya, Chera and Andhra kings. These kings attended the sacrifice (II 31, II 73, 11.34, 1988; II 52, 1893). The poem says also that Sri Kirishna conquered Kavata of the Pandyan King (VII, II, 324).

(K. S. Ramaswami Sastri 'Hindu Culture in the Modern Age,' p,337],

'The Kurus were one of the most prominent tribes of the later Vedic period, but it is curious the Pandus are mentioned for the first time in Buddhist literature, when they are described as a hill tribe.'

(Sinha and Banerjee 'History of India,' p. 46, July, 1952 Edition)).

3. Ramayana

The Ramayana of Valmiki, a work believed to belong to an earlier date than the Mahabharata, refers to the Kerala, Chola and Pandyan Kingdoms in South India. (Aranya Kanda, and the first Sarga of the Kishkinda Kanda).

'In the Kishkinda Kanda the poet speaks of YUKTAM KAVATAM PANDYANUM.'

'The great commentator Govindaraja in his gloss on this verse refers to Kavatapuram which was the Pandya Capital......Valmiki describes the town Kavata as being South of the river Tamraparni (South India).

(K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, 'Hindu Culture in the Modern Age,' p. 336).

4. Pandyas, Cholas, Cheras

'KATYANA IV C; B.C., refers to the kings (Chera, Chola, Pandya). In Asoka's Edicts III C B.C., there are references to them. Asoka refers to them as Antas, independent peoples outside his jurisdction. "The Asokan inscriptions found in Mysore, Hyderabad and Kurnool vary in several respects from the Northern Edicts and have been recognised as a special variety of the Brahmi script. This must have been an already well developed script in South India and the edicts were inscribed by the Southerners themselves."

(K. A. N. Sastri, 'History of South India,' p. 85).

Kalinga and the Pandyans

Kalinga was one of the earliest Dravidian countries to be Aryanised in speech. It is important to note that though Aryanised in speech they are a Dravidian people. The famous Hathigampha inscription of Kharavela (first half of the 2nd century B.c.), mentions a league of Tamil States. 'History of South India,, p. 85). In other words the league of Tamil States existed in the 4th century B.C., while Vijaya is said to have landed in Ceylon in the V C. B.C., though the date of bis arrival has also been made to synchronise with the death of the Buddha.

'In Kautiliya's Arthasastra (IVC. B.C.?), we can trace references to the exchange of commodities such as cotton fabrics between Kalinga and the Pandyan countries. We find references to the pearls obtained from the Southern corner of the Pandyan Kingdom.'

('Age of Imperial Unity,' p. 229).

Megasthenes and the Pandyan Kingdom

'We have an explicit statement by Megasthenes that the country in the extreme South was ruled by a Pandyan Queen who maintained an orderly government and an organised administration. He further remarks that the queen's territory consisted of 365 villages, each one of which brought its revenue to the State treasury on an appointed day... Asoka does not claim... authority over them. As neighbouring kingdoms he had to maintain the same relationship with them as with the distant western allies like the Greeks.'

(Age of Imperial Unity, p. 229).

The Pandyans

The Cholas, the Pandyas and the Cheras were indigenous to the far South.....

'The Pandyan Kingdom is mentioned in Indian literature even in the IV C B.C. Megasthenes gives some curious stories about the kingdom and tells us it was governed by women. In one of his edicts Asoka refers to the Pandyans as an independent people living in the southern limits of his Empire.'

(Sinha and Banerjee, 'History of tndia,' pp. 96-97, July, 1952 Edition)

Naval Traditions

The North Indian people, i.e. the Indo-Aryans, never earned a reputation for being a maritime nation

'But it would be a mistake to think that the mystery of the sea never allured the Indian mind. The Dravidians in pre-historic times navigated the seas in pursuit of trade and commerce. The evidence of the maritime activity of the Aryans is not clear.'

(Sinha and Banerjee, "History of India" p. 2).

'The greatest achievements of the Dravidians was the art of navigation.....There are Sanskrit borrowings of several nautical terms from Dravidian languages. Aryas in India lost contact with the sea in course of time, and viewed sea-going with disfavour. It was left to the Dravidians to develop shipping and maritime activities of India.'

(S. V. Vekateswara, 'Indian Cultural through the Ages', p. 11, (Longmans Green & Co., 1958)

Diole speaking of the maritime activity of the Tamils and their early contact with the East as well as the West says —

'We find proof of their laison in the people living at the further end of the great route, the parts of South India where they serve as a link between the East and Far-East. They were a half-way house people. Perhaps in pre-historic times they had watched the ships coming from the West and had loaded them for the return journey with what their own ships had brought from China and Ceylon. These Tamils...were a Dravidian pre-Aryans. They have a very old literature of no little importance. This Tamil civilisation was quite as old as possible to estimate the extent of the debt owed by each to the other. There is little doubt that the Tamils would prove to be the greater creditors. One of their kings, King Pandya, had sent an embassy to Augustus. They had known at one and the same time the civilisation of the West and the civilisation of China - thanks to their familiarity with the sea. Like the Cretans the Tamils were great divers - the foremost pearl divers in the world.'

(Diole, '4000 years under the Sea,' (quoted by T. P. Minakshisunderam at the All India Oriental Conference, 1955), "Tamil Culture" Vol. V. No. 2. p. 142).

From the extracts and quotations I have given, there is ample historical as well as literary evidence of the existence of powerful and well-organised Tamil States—the Pandyas, Cheras and Cholas—in the South of India, in IV C B.G. The authors of the epic poems of the Ramayana and the Mahabharatha seem to have been aware of the important position they held in India.

The story of the Pandus on the other hand, appear only in the Mahabharata (which was after all a poem,

and not a historical record), while history as such knows of no Pandu Kingdom or dynasty. The only evidence available, as we have seen, is the reference to the Pandus, for the first time, in the Jataka stories where they are described as 'a hill tribe.' (Sinha and Banerjee, ibid, p. 46).

It requires a considerable degree of credulity even on the part of modern Sinhalese historians to believe that this unknown hill tribe north of the barriers of the Vindhyas, lived and ruled in Mathura, a city near the banks of the Yamuna; and that one of the kings of this hill tribe sent his daughter and a large contingent of men and women with elephants and gifts, across a distance of about 1.500 miles from Mathura to the Delta of the Ganges, and a distance of another 1,500 miles from an unknown port there to the Mannar district in Ceylon.

(See Map below

The Pandyas near Ceylon, were, about this period already known to history as a powerful Tamil ruling dynasty skilled in the art of administration and in the possession of naval power. They had been, since the dawn of Indian history, with the Sister Tamil kingdoms of the Cheras and Cholas, the undisputed masters of the South, separated only by a narrow stretch of water from Ceylon.

To hold that the author of the Mahavamsa had referred to the country of the Pandus and not to the land of the Pandyans as the region from which the early kings of Ceylon from Panduvasudeva to Tissa hailed, is to accuse Mahanama of ignorance of the historic kingdoms of the South, the geography of India and of the state of navigation in the regions of which he speaks. The Pandus, by no stretch of the imagination, could be confused with the Pandyas. Foreign writers like Megasthenes and Ptolemy, the authors of

the Ramayana and the Mahabharatha, and other Indian writers such as Katyana and Kautiliya have nowhere associated the Pandus with the Pandyas of the ancient historic kingdom of South India.

Madura and Muttra

After this attempt to substitute the Pandus for the Pandyas, Dr. Mendis proceeds to identify southern Madhura (referred to by the author of the Mahavamsa), with Muttra in North India. He says, (vide, p. 84),

'If there were two Mathuras in North India, where was the Southern Madhura? It may be that, at the time this legend grew, the Pandus were also associated with South India owing to the names of Pandya and its capital Madura, In any case whatever Mathura was meant, the story seems to connect the Royal dynasty of Ceylon — once more with the family of the Pandus.'

On page 83, we find the following comments made by Dr. Mendis on Geiger's views on the subject.

'Geiger in his English translation of the Mahavamsa considered southern (Dakkhina) Madhura to be the Madura of South India. He probably came to this conclusion as Mathura on the Ganges is described in the Ghata Jataka as Northern Uttra Mathura. But there are others who accept neither his identification nor the view that the princess came from Pandya. There is some ground for such conclusions.'

The 'other' referred to above, Dr. Mendis points out in a note below, is the now well known opinion of Mr. A. Ranasinghe, a Civil Servant, the author of the Census of Ceylon (Vol. I, Part I. p. 2). Dr. Mendis proceeds to lay down his conclusions —

- (a) The earliest historical traditions of Ceylon associate this Island only with North India.
- (b) Vijaya comes from Sinhapura in Lala in North India.

- (c) He sends a letter to the same place to secure a successor, and Panduvasudeva comes from there to become king of Ceylon.
 - (d) Panduvasudeva marries a daughter of Saka Pandu who rules from a city on the right bank of the Ganges in North India.
 - (e) Devanampiya Tissa's relations too were limited to North India. His ambassadors went to meet Asoka by ship along the East Coast of India, and then up the Ganges to Pataliputra.

Then he poses the question -

'Is it then likely that Vijaya sought a princess from South India? According to the Mahavamsa the ambassadors from Ceylon went by ship to Madhura. They could have gone by ship to a Mathura in the Ganges but not directly to Mathura in South India which is an inland town. In addition to all this Pandya is nowhere mentioned in the Mahavamsa.'

While Dr. Mendis has taken great pains to support a statement recently made by a Civil Servant in the Census report against Geiger, the official Translator of the Mahavamsa, he ignores the studied opinion of a Sinhalese scholar and historian, Mudaliyar W. F. Guna. wardhana, who had unequivocally exposed the fallacies involved in such an inference.

It was the Rev. Theodore G. Perera, who, in his work on the Sinhalese language, repeats what Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana has referred to as 'a sporting theory, that the Pandyan Princess, the consort of Vijaya, came not from Dravidian Madura of South India but from (an implied Aryan) Mathura of North India, situated in the South Valley of the Ganges in an ancient kingdom of a people known as Pandus.'

('Siddhanta Pariksanaya,' Part I, Introduction, by W. F. Gunawardhana).

The Mudaliyar proceeds to point out that this 'laborious theory' built up by Mr. Bhandarkar to associate the Pandus with the Pandyas had encouraged the Aryan enthusiasts in Ceylon to confirm their theory.

Here is what Dr. Bhandarkar had suggested -

'What appears to be the truth is that there was a tribe called Pandu round about Mathura, and that when a section of them went Southwards and were settled there, they were called Pandus.'

It will be noticed that when Dr. Bhandarkar said 'What appears to be' and 'round about Mathura,' he was obviously not fortified by any sound historical evidence for his belief. I have already quoted earlier in this article what Sinha and Banerjee, whose history is a standard text book used in Colleges and Universities in India, have to say about the Pandus. (Sinha and Banerjee, 'History of India,' Revised Edition, 1952).

'The Kurus were one of the most prominent Aryan tribes of late Vedic period, but it is curious the Pandus are mentioned for the first time in Buddhist literature, where they are described as a hill tribe.'

Not even in the early Buddhist literature of India (Circa II to IV C B.c.), is this insignificant little hill tribe associated with the great Pandyans of ancient Tamil India!

I give below the words of Mudaliyar W. F. Guna-warddhana, who, unlike many others who have attempted to write the history of Ceylon, knew at least Tamil, among the Dravidian group of languages.

'Now to the theory, to take it seriously, we shall apply a small test, something like a pin-prick, to the end of the series of propositions involved.

'Was there a Madura (Vel Madhura, Vel Mathura) in the South Valley of the Ganges? There were — and

still there are -- only two Maduras in India, one the present Muttra on the western bank of the Jumna, which drains the Northern basin of the Ganges on the West; and the other Madura on the bank of the Waigee (Vaigai) in South India. The first lies more than two degrees of latitude to the North of the point where the Ganges begins to have a South valley, and cannot be said to be in any sense in that valley, unless indeed we so₂ stretch the meanings of words as to extend to their opposites. But the other lies to the Ganges, though very far away, and if all India be divided into two valleys of the Ganges, by slight application of the stretching process, this can be said to be in the South Valley in a sense far more true, and with far less violence offered to language in our use of words. Thus on Perera's own reasons, he has to admit the very thing he denies, and recognise in the Madura of South India, the Southern Madura that the Princess whom he calls Vijayi came from.

'Madura the capital of Pandya in the province of Madras is said to have been founded by Kulasekhera. It was called Daksina Mathura by way of contra distinction to Mathura of the N. W. Provfnce.' (Geographical Dictionary, Ancient and Mediaeval India. Calcutta, 1899). With the above which fixes Southern Madura as known to science, read the story of the Pandyan Alliance as related in the Mahavamsa, Chapter 7, v. v. 48-57. (Critical edition by Dr. Wilhelm Geiger, London, 1908). There in verse 49, we read—

gahapayitva pahesum — dakkinam puram, which with the context means that the ministers of Vijaya sent an embassy conveying presents to the 'city of Southern Madura.'

'And from this city the Princess came with all her numerous train. She therefore came not from the

banks of the distant Jumna, but from the banks of the nearer Weigee, from the bosom of a nation still Dravidian. (ibid, pages 16-17)

His considered conclusion about the Sinhalese people, their origins and language, the Mudaliyar has expressed in unequivocal terms in the same work (Introduction p. 14). 'I have found that the Sinhalese are entirely a Dravidian race with just a slight Aryan wash..... It now appears to me that the original contributors to the evolution of the language, viz. Yaksas and Nagas (the aborigins) Vijaya and his party, and the contingent from Madura, were all Dravidians.'

This was written in 1924, by an admittedly first rate Sinhalese scholar with a knowledge of Tamil, and a student of Ceylon history. In 1956, J. D. M. Derrett of the School of Oriental African Studies, University of London, writing in the University of Ceylon Review (Vol. XIV, Nos. 3 and 4), on the 'Origins of the Laws of the Kandyans' — expresses in unmistakable terms, a similar conclusion (pages 147-148).

'We have surveyed a good part of the Kandyan Law, so far as it may be known from the published sources, where the institutions are such as might legitimately be believed to have remained little if at all modified by the passage of the centuries particularly in a highly conservative and remote community such as the Sinhalese were for at least a millenium, during which time the orthodox Hindus never mixed socially with them.

(Note 278. The Sinhalese were mlecchas.' see Haradatta on Gautama dh. see 1,9, 17) 'and so unfit for contact of any kind. Their interference with South Indian politics in the 13th century is not likely to have made them individually more welcome amongst the orthodox').

'The natural inferences to be drawn from the similarity between Kandyan Law and Indian Laws and customs point in a certain direction.

'We cannot altogether neglect certain well knowu historical facts, although our eventual conclusion must be laid at the feet of historians for their consideration. It is generally believed that Vijaya brought the first Sinhalese to Ceylon about the time of the Buddha, the Sinhalese language, despite its far from negligible Dravidian element, has been identified as an Indo-Aryan language. Both facts must be taken with some qualification, but they cannot be ignored. The upper limit for the invasion is quite unknown except to legend; and the language has developed in isolation and only a small fraction of the present Sinhalese may be even in part descended from Indo-Aryan speakers.....

'It seems that the Sinhalese were a people of predominantly non-Aryan descent, with a way of life substantially identifiable as akin to that common in modern South India..... The Aryan strain in the Sinhalese may thus have been what the present writer chooses to call sub-Aryan.'

Again in the next page (page 149) he says-

'The Antipathy of the Sinhalese to the Tamils, their closest neighbours, does not rest upon the millenium of conquests and invasions and political alliances and intrigues; there is no doubt that the racial affiliations of most of the Tamils differ from those of the original Sinhalese—the proportion of pre-Aryan races in the mixture are different just as the proportion of Aryan is demonstrably different. Yet of course the Sinhalese were not Aryans. From, whence, then comes the notion that their descendants are? This presents no difficulty. The Buddhists referred to any respectable member of the Sangha as an Ariya and that usage must have

been common among the former Buddhist world Moreover the Dravidians were used to refer to the non-Dravidians as Aryans'.8

To return to Dr. Mendis' repetition of his thesis, we find that in support of his argument, Dr. Mendis assumes that the term 'Ganges' must inevitably refer to the great Ganges that has its source in the Himalayas. He does not seem to be aware that in ancient Tamil literature the word 'Ganges' (கங்கை) is used sometimes to refer indiscriminately to any great river; even in Ceylon the larger rivers are called 'Ganges' with an epithet attached to each of them. viz. Mahavali (MAVALI) Ganga, Kelani Ganga, Kaluganga, etc. (Mavali-மாவழி, 'the great pathway')

Dr. Mendis in associating Madura with Muttra in the North does not seem to be concerned about considering whether the Ganges was and is navigable all the way from the East Coast to the neighbourhood of Muttra near the banks of the Jumna, or whether at this remote period of Indian history the Indo-Aryans or the alleged Indo-Aryan associates of Vijaya in Ceylon, had any experience of navigation to transport the large contingent of human beings, elephants and other gifts along the length of the Ganges and the sea, extending in all to about 3,000 miles from Muttra to the Gangetic delta, and then from there to the Gulf of Mannar, in Ceylon.

Dr. Mendis proceeds to adduce what he considers a weighty reason to show that Madura of the Mahavamsa is really Muttra, when he says—

'According to the Mahavamsa, the ambassadors from Ceylon went by ship to Southern Madhura. They could have gone by ship to a Madhura in the Ganges but not directly to Madhura in South India which is an inland own.'

He does not seem to be aware that the 'Ten Madhura' of pre-Christian times was not situated on the same site as the Madura of today. In old Tamil literature 'Ten Madhura' or Southern Madhura referred to Madhura, a sea-port still further south, a well known ancient capital of the Pandyas and a centre of Tamil culture. It was destroyed by sea erosion and the site of the new city was shifted further north.

In his 'Hindu Culture and the Modern Age,' (1936), K. S. Ramaswami Sastri makes reference to this fact, when he says, (p. 341):—

'Korkai, which is said to be the Kavatapuram of the Ramayana, was a great sea-port of the Pandyan Kingdom, after Madura in the extreme South was destroyed by the erosion of the sea Ptolemy says that the Pandya capital was recently shifted to it.'

Referring to the old Madura, V. Kanagasabhai, in 'The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago.' Second Edition, p. 13, says—

'Madura was doubtless the most famous and important town in Tamilakam at the period, being the capital city of the Pandyas who were renowned as the most powerful of the Tamil kings, and munificient patrons of poets The site of the ancient Madura or Kudal was most probably Pala Madura (or old Mattura) now in ruins, which is situated at a distance of about six miles to the south of the modern town of Madura. The ruins are now on the northern banks of the Vaigai, whereas ancient Madura stood on the southern bank; but it is quite possible that the river had changed its course since the destruction of the old city. That Madura was in danger of being destroyed by the Vaigai may be inferred from a poet's description of Pandya in the following words.

"Lord of the fortified city, whose walls knew no siege by any other enemy but the waters of the Vaigai when it is swollen with floods."

. (* Kalithokai, Stanza 67, lines 3 to 5)

But Mahanama (VI C, A.D.), the author of the Mahavamsa certainly appears to have known something of the geographical distances involved in his account. Referring to the message sent to the 'Pandu King,' he is careful to add that the messengers quickly came by ship to the city of Madhura. On p. 64, he states clearly that the messengers reached a haven on their return journey, 'on the second day'.

Referring to Bhaddakaccana, (the daughter of Sakka Pandu), who came over from India to marry Panduvasudeva, the Mahavamsa account states

For (love of) her did seven kings send precious gifts to the king (Pandu); but for fear of the kings and since he was told (by soothsayers) that an auspicious journey would come to pass, nay, one with the result of royal consecration, he placed his daughter speedily upon a ship, together with thirty-two women friends, and launched the ship upon the Ganges saying "whosoever can, let him take my daughter," and they could not overtake her, but the ship fared swiftly thence.

'Already on the second day they reached the haven called Gonamaka' and there they landed robed like nuns.' (Gonamaka,' Geiger says in a note, was at the mouth of the Mahakanda Nadi, near Mannar).

Does Dr. Mendis think that Mahanama was such a simpleton as to imagine that a ship launched on the Ganges, at Muttra, on the banks of the Jumna, could have arrived at some spot near Mannar in Ceylon on the second day?

But to admit that Vijaya and his followers obtained their brides from the Pandyan country is not to accept that the woman whom Vijaya married was necessarily a Pandyan Princess. It is a pardonable exaggeration on the part of the author of the Mahavamsa to describe her as a Princess, though the details of the account, supported by the position of eminence that the Pandyans held in the south of India at this period, and the origins of Vijaya and the alliance he had on his arrival in Ceylon, point to a different inference.

It would require a great deal of credulity to believe that some unknown king from distant Muttra (North Mathura), could have sent his daughter all the way down the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal, to be married to Vijaya, a rebel or a bandit who had landed in Ceylon from an unknown area in Vanga, (probably 'Vengi' or 'Vengadam' near the Tirupati Hills), once a Veddah dependency of the Pandyan.

It is equally inconceivable that the Pandyan King known to ancient Tamil literature as 'Tennavan,' the Lord of the South, would have sent his own daughter, with a miscellaneous company of women and artisans, to marry an adventurer about whose exploits in the Veddah-Yakka portion Ceylon, he was probably already aware!

It is not the normal custom among the respectable classes of an Eastern people, to whom the dignity and honour of a daughter are more closely bound up with the family than any other treasured possession in life, to send a daughter to the home or the country of the selected bridegroom for a matrimonial alliance. But to suggest that a Pandyan King, belonging to a recognised and powerful dynasty in the South of India would have sent his own daughter unaccompanied by him or at least by an uncle to be wedded to a neighbouring petty ruler is to ask the reader to swallow a camel.

"When the messengers were quickly come by ship to the city of Madhura they laid the gifts and letter before the king. The king took counsel with his ministers and since he was minded to send his daughter (to Lanka) he, having first received also daughters of others for the ministers (of Vijaya), nigh upon a hundred maidens proclaimed with beat of drum:—

'Those men who are willing to let a daughter depart for Lanka shall provide their daughters with a double store of clothing and place them at the doors of their houses. By this sign shall we know (that we may) take them to ourselves.'

"When he had thus obtained many maidens and had given compensation to their families, he sent his daughter bedecked with all her ornaments, and all that was needful for the journey and all the maidens whom he had found out according to their ranks, elephants and horses and waggons worthy of a king, and craftsmen and thousand families of the eighteen guilds, entrusted with a letter to the conqueror Vijaya. All this multitude of men disembarked at Mahatittha: for that very reason is that landing place called 'Mahatittha." 10

['the great landing place,' now Mantota opposite the island of Mannar Geiger, n.p. 60]

The Pandyan King, as suggested earlier, must have certainly known the antecedents of Vijaya and of his marriage with Kuveni, the Yaksha Princess of South Ceylon. Under the circumstances, one would not be far wrong in inferring that the women who came over to marry, though belonging to the Pandyan territory, were in all probability of such circumstances that they had consented to leave their homes and parents in the hope of more glamorous prospects in Lanka.

It is again a pardonable gesture that the author of the Mahavamsa should have elevated these imported

brides to the dignity of Princesses, to compensate for the doubtful history of Vijaya and his followers.

Mahanama graciously admits (vide, MHV, Ch, VII, V. 74), that it was the advent of the South Indian bride that transformed the life of Vijaya. For says he:

'When he had forsaken his former evil ways, Vijaya the Lord of men, ruling over all Lanka in peace and righteousness reigned, as is known, in the city of Tambapanni thirty-eight years.' 11

It would appear to be likely that the city in which he reigned was called Tambapanni in order to commemorate the Tinnevely area (Tambaraparani in South India), from where the brides and the craftsmen were in all probability recruited, while Andhra (Pura) recalled the country from which Vijaya himself had hailed. 12

VERY IMPORTANT NOTES AND REFERENCES

I. The Mahabharatha Legends in the Mahavamsa,' by Dr. G. C. Mendis, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Volume V, Part I, New Series (1957). Reprints of this Article were made for distribution, as it was apparently considered by the Council of this 'learned society,' a product of profound research.

2. Panduvasa

The name of this king is given as Panduvasa in the Dipavamsa (IV C. A. D.) Dr. G. C. Mendis and other local Sinhalese historians of our day prefer to retain the name Panduvasudeva, as altered by the author of the Mahavamsa, for obvious reasons.

B. C. Law (ibid p. 50) — has some interesting comments to make on this apparently deliberate alteration. He says.

"The immediate successor of Vijaya, Panduvasa (Dipavamsa or Paundravasudeva (Mahavamsa), who was the youngest brother of Vijaya, reigned for 30 years, Did the author of the Mahavamsa purposely change the name to Paundravasudeva, king of Vanga and Kalinga mentioned in the Mahabharata—in connection with the military campaign of Bhima?"

Meaning of the name Panduvasa

"It may as well be a Pali or Prakrit equivalent of Pandya varsa meaning one from the Pandyan country i.e., — Pandya by nationality. The name Panduka is apparently of the same import. According to Megasthenes the Pandyans were originally a people who maintained the tradition of a matriarchal form of society', (ibid, p. 52.,)

Panduka-Abhaya was the nephew of Abhaya, the son of Pandukasa (Pandukasudeva)., Apayan (அபயன்), was a title often used by Tamil kings, particularly, the Cholas. Panduka Abhaya ruled after Abhaya.

3. Mahavamsa Ch. XI V. 19

"For the two Monarchs Devanampiya Tissa and Dhammaseka already had been friends for a long time, though they had never seen each other"

If this description of their friendship is to be taken seriously then Asoka of Pataliputra and Tissa of Andhradhapura should be considered the earliest pen friends known to history. It may be remembered that Asoka had no jurisdiction over the Tamil States in the South, They are referred to in his Edict as 'Antas' i, e.

'foreigners'. The distance between Asoka's capital and Andhradhapura whether by land, sea or even by air exceeds 1,200 miles.

- 4. Devanampiya Tissa was the son of Muttasiva a descendant of Panduvasa (Panduvasudeva of the Mahavamsa), and was obviously a Saivite, before his conversion to Buddhism. What was his original name? Panduvasa who came from the Pandyan Tamil country is said to have been a nephew of Vijaya. B. C. Law (On the Chronicles of Ceylon, p. 65), points out that, "the two main heroes, Devanampiya Tissa and Duthagamini are missing in them," i. e., in the early inscriptions found in Ceylon.
- (a) These inscriptions, it may be observed, are in the South Indian variety of the Brahmi script, the script used in the Asokan inscriptions in Mysore as well. The name Devanampiya (Skt. Devanampiya), is the same as that which Asoka bore. I am inclined to believe that the pious Chroniclers have similarly added the name 'Tissa' to Devanampiya Tissa. Tissa was the son of Mogali, the author of the Kathavatthu and President of the third Council held in Asoka's reign under his patronage.
- (b) Dr. Mendis himself had pointed out earlier (Early History of Ceylon', 1932 Edition, p. 3) 'No independent record of any kind outside of Ceylon supports the view that Mahinda was the son of Asoka, and he believes it to be a pure invention'. (vide, Physical Anthropology of Ceylon; p. 24)
- 5. Tamraparni (Sanskrit); Tambapani (Pali); Thamiraparuni (Tamil). Thamiraparuni (தாயிரப் பருணி), is a river in the Pandyan kingdom in the extreme South of South India adjoining the Northern district of Ceylon. Tamraparni [Skt.] and Tambapani [Pali] are the Sanskrit and Pali forms respectively of the Tamil 'Thamiraparuni'. It is also known as Porunai [வாருகை] in Tamil.

'Thamiram' [தπιθτώ], in Tamil means 'red lotus' [தπιωστ] 'red'; 'copper' [Tam or Chem]. Hence 'Chempadu-'red earth' The area in North Ceylon, including Tinnevely and the adjoining districts, is called Chempadu-'red earth,' because of the redness of the soil. It was originally a part of the South Indian Tamil country.

The name of the river was given the prefix 'Tam' or 'Chem.' because of the fact that gold washings were found in its water which made it look golden or 'Copper coloured'.

Kamban in his Tamil Ramayanam [X C],—refers to the river as, "போன் திணிந்த பொருகையெனும் திருந்தி" 'The sacred river called Porunai [Thamraparuni], whose waters are thick with gold"

The Tamraparni River

"The Tamraparni rising among the wooded hills of the Southern ghats and benefiting from both the monsoons, forms a life

line for agriculture in the Tinnevelly district", (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, "History of South India", p. 44)

The Carnatic or the Tamil Plain

'This is the real old India of the South, the land where all the great historical kingdoms of South India fixed their capitals, the land of innumerable temples of indigenous arts and of almost prehistoric industries. Here artificial irrigation was practised from remote antiquity, and the irrigation system of the fertile belt between Karur and Tanjore must be old as agriculture itself'. (ibid P. 48)

Despite all this, Sinhalese historians assert that the irrigation system of North Ceylon was the work of Aryans from North India. It may be noted that our 'Aryan' conscious Sinhalese historians of our time want the world to believe that the irrigation system in North Ceylon had to wait till the Indo - Aryans introduced the cultivation of rice, a plant unknown to the pastoral Aryan marauders of North India during the second millenium B. C. Dr. S. Paranavitane, once the accredited head of Ceylon Archaeology and history, has discovered that even Tamralingam, an early Saivite South Indian settlement in the Malay Peninsula, is the Sinhalese Tamralingama. One has only to add 'a' to the tail end of a Tamil word and the word-becomes original Sinhalese.

6. Silappadikaram

References in the Silappadikaram, (a Tamil Epic of which the heroine is Kannakai or Pattini, a popular deity worshipped in Ceylon as well by the Sinhalese), to the Vihara built by Mahendra—

i. e., Mahinda of the Pali Chronicles, may be found in

- (a) Ch. X. lines 13-14
 - (b) Ch. XXVII, line 92

In 'Buddhism and Tamil', p. 25, by Mylai Seeni Vengadasamy, (The Saiva Siddhanta Press, Tinnevelly, Madras.), we read:-

சிலப்பதிகாரத்தில் காவிரிப்பூம் பட்டினத்தில் இருந்ததாகக் கூறப்படுகிற 'இந்திர விகாரை'' என்பது மகேந்திரதேரரால் கட்டப்பட்ட விகாரை என்று ஆராய்ச்சியா எந் கூறுகிருர்கள்.

"Research students are of opinion that the Vihara (Indra Vihara), was built by the Thera Mahendra (Mahinda), at Kaveri - poom-pattinam" (Mahendra becomes Mahinda in Pali).

Other references to Mahendra Vihara in the Tamil country,
Manimehkalai (A Tamil Buddhist Epic)

Ch. 26, line 55 Ch, 28, lines 69-70

7. Sihala

It has been already pointed out that this reference to Sihala in the Pali Chronicles is possibly a later interpolation, as in the subsequent chapters of these early Chronicles, no mention whatever is made of either a Sihala island or a Sihala people. The names by which the island is mentioned are Lanka, Tambapanni, Nagadipa. Vijaya the alleged founder of the 'Sihala race', is said to have been the son of Sihabahu who had slain his father and later married his own sister. The Chroniclers certainly did not want us to believe that Vijaya's followers were called Sihala not after Vijaya but after his father Sihabahu, the parricide.

- B. C. Law, commenting on the names 'Sihala' and 'Tambapanni's states: 'They offer us cheap and fantastic explanations for the origin of the two names of the island, Sihala because of the epithet Sihala carried by Vijaya's father Sihabahu since he had slain the lion, and Tambapanni because of the fact that on their first landing in the island the hands of Vijaya's companions were coloured red with the dust of the earth.' B. C. Law, ibid. p. 49.
- Br. Mendis arbitrarily. It is however in keeping with his description of the early period of Ceylon History as "North Indian". Such has been the anxiety of the Sinhalese writers to establish an Aryan ancestry for themselves that some of their historians have made an effort to prove that the Pandyans, the oldest and the most distinguished of the early Tamil dynasties, were Aryans. It is well known that the kings and queens of Ceylon considered it a pride to ally themselves with the Pandyan dynasty of South India. It is equally well known that in Tamil writings that the Aryans are referred to often with contempt.
- J. D. Derrett of 'The School of Oriental and African Studies, in his essay on the 'Origins of the Laws of the Kandyans,' in the University of Ceylon Review (Vol XIV No. 3 & 4, p. 149), gives a possible explanation for this belief. He writes,

'Yet of course the Sinhalese were not Aryans. From whence came the notion that their descendants are? This presents no difficulty. The Buddhists referred to any respectable member of the Sangha as an Aryan, and the usage must have been common during the former Buddhist world. Moreover the Dravidians were accustomed to refer to non-Dravidians as Aryans''.

The Buddhists used the term 'Arya' in the sense of 'noble'— The Dravidians used the term Aryan to mean Mlechchas i.e., an 'outcast', 'an unclean stranger', etc. Vide, V. Visvanathapillai's "Tamil and English Dictionary", published by the Madras School Book and Literature Society. for the definitions of Aryan (ஆரியன்)

Pandyan origins

"The Pandya kings claimed descent from a tribe styled Marar, which however had for many years another important representative in the princes bearing the title Palaiyan Maran whose capital was Mogur, near the Podiya hill not far from Comorin".

('Camb. Hist. of India', p. 539)

Palaiya (பழைய) has the same meaning as 'pandu' (பாண்டு) in Tamil, and means 'old' or 'ancient.'

9. Vijaya paid an annual tribute to the Pandyan king (MHV, Ch, VII v. 73); after the death of Panduvasa (Panduvasudeva) his eldest son became the lawful king. 'Panduvasudeva's mother is said to have been the daughter of the Mada king, Geiger states that Mada is the Sankritised form of Madras. Madras is a recent city that came into prominence during the British period, Mada, in fact, means Madurai and not Madras which did not exist during this period. MHV. Ch. VIII, v. 7 v. 10. Sumitra the father of 'Panduvasudeva' is said to have married the daughter of the Mada king. Geiger in n. I, below writes, 'Madda-Sanskrit Madura now Madras.' This is by no means an isolated instance of Geiger's notes needing revision. Had Geiger known as much of Tamil and Tamil Literature as he knew Pali and Pali Literature, he is not likely to have made so many misleading slips in his comments and notes in dealing with Tamil words and place names in the Mahavamsa.

For the significance of the term Mada which means Madura, Vide, Kanagasabhai's, 'Tamil Eighteen Hundred Years Ago'. (p. 13)

"Madura at this time was the capital city of the Pandyans. The high towers over the four gates of the fort distinguished it from other towns in the Tamil country. Hence it was familiarly known as Nan-Mada--k-kudal or kudal. The site of the ancient town was most probably Pala-Madura (Upungwor) i. e., 'old Madurai', It was situated at a distance of about six miles south of the Southeast of the modern town of Madurai'.

The city referred to as 'Mada', in the Mahavamsa is obviously Madurai, Mada being an abbreviation of the familiar designation Nan-Mada-k-kudal. Though the Mahavamsa says that the daughter of king Pandu of the Maddas reached Gonamuka near Mannar, on the second day, Dr. Mendis has taken considerable pains to show that, here, Mada or Madurai meant Muttra or Mathura on the banks of the Jumna, in the North of India.

Note. Gonamuka is the Prakritised form of the Tamil Kona-Mukam (கோணுமுகம்); which means 'a maritime district surrounded by salt marshes.' It is more than 1500 miles from Mathura in North India, for any ship or ships to reach Gonamuka from the nearest sea port that was available to the alleged 'Pandu of Mathura' - 'on the second day.' Madura, the Pandyan Capital, on the banks of the Vaigai is less than 150 miles from Gonamuka,

APPENDIX I. anipho anyimal

Vijaya's Alleged Home and tinerary SOVIRA - SOPARA - SOPARAKA

The Dipavamsa (IV A.D.), and the Mahavamsa (VI A.D.), the two early Pali Chronicles of Ceylon, were composed nearly 1,000 years after the supposed landing of Vijaya, the alleged founder of an 'Aryan Kingdom' in Ceylon. The authors of the Dipavamsa from which work the Mahavamsa had obtained the main facts for its version of the early History of Buddhist Ceylon, appear to have had a confused knowledge of the Geography of India.

No one could blame those Buddhist monks who led a secluded life in some isolated Vihara in the interior of Ceylon, for the lack of an accurate knowledge of the Geography of India. But the credibility of modern Buddhists in Ceylon, in not merely accepting but in elaborating with conviction, these tales of an early day, is puzzling. The Dipavamsa and the Mahavamsa have mentioned and mixed up such places us LALA, MAGADHA, VANGA, KALINGA and SINHAPURA, and have found no difficulty in making the exile Vijaya and his followers (who are said to have taken ship somewhere in the East Coast of India and landing at Suppara or Supparaka on the West Coast), being driven away from there for their wicked and savage conduct, disembark at Tambapanni - by which name the Chronicles designate Lanka or Ceylon.1

While the Dipavamsa says that the grandmother of Vijaya by her marriage with a lion produced two boys, the Mahavamsa improves upon the tale by making one child a boy and the other a girl. These marry and become the progenitors of Vijaya. But both agree on the criminal and unsocial character of Vijaya and his followers. Both agree also in stating that they set out

from a port in-Vanga — modern Bengal — (or was it Vengi or Vengadam, a Veddah Pandyan dependency on the Southern border of southern Andhra or Kalinga?), and that they landed at Soppara, a once famous port on the western sea board of the Andhra country. Driven away from there, they are said to have reached Tambapanni of the Asokan Inscription.²

They did not either know or think it necessary to investigate whether the Tambapanni of the Asokan inscription did in fact mean Lanka.

The Mahavamsa, however in making the king of Vanga marry a Kalinga Princess, gives a hint with regard to the persistent tradition in Ceylon that this particular band of early colonists hailed in fact from Kalinga or Andhra, an early Dravidian state, well known for its sea - faring activities and maritime trade.

Kalinga was one of the early Dravidian states Aryanised in speech and converted to Buddhism after its conquest by Asoka.

The Pujavali (ya), a Ceylonese Chronicle of XIV Century, agrees with the Mahavamsa version that the daughter of the Kalinga country married a king of the Wanga country. It refers to the place where Vijaya landed as Tammenna³ and not as Tambapanni. By the XIV century, Buddhist monks in Ceylon must have realised that Tambapanni was in fact Tamraparni in South India to which the Asokan edict had referred.

Some Buddhist writers of our day claim that Sopara or Soparaka, was a seat of great Buddhist culture in early days ('Times of Ceylon', 27-6-61). Some of these seem to have discarded the story of the early Chronicles that Mahinda, the apostle of Ceylon Buddhism, had travelled through the air and landed in Lanka (Ceylon). It is now alleged by them that Mahinda took ship at the port of Sopara,

The tradition in South India, supported by the early Chinese Buddhist traveller Hiuen Tsang has been that Mahendra (Mahinda), had done missionary work in South India. He had probably crossed over from Tamraparni ruled over by the Pandyan King, to Ceylon, in a Tamil merchantman.

B. C. Law, in his Classic 'On the Chronicles of Ceylon', p. 60, writes:-

"MAHINDA'S coming through the air throws suspicion on the account - and this is enhanced by the more probable story that Mahinda's Missionary work had been directed to the country of Malayakuta which is no other than Tamraparni of the Great Epic, situated in the extreme South of the Deccan. below Pandya or Dravida, and the Tambapanni of the Asokan Edicts."

In Plate XL ('Buddhist India' by Rhys Davids), where a map of India with the principal sites of the Buddhist period is found, no mention is made of Sopra. But on pages 60—61, Rhys Davids says:-

- 1. "Sea going merchants...... were in the habit, at the beginning of the seventh (and perhaps at the end of the eighth) Century B. C. of trading from ports on the South-West Coast of India (Sovira at first, afterwards Supparaka and Bharukaccha), to Babylon, then a great mercantile Emporium".
- 2. "These merchants were mostly Dravidians not Aryans. Such Indian names of the goods imported as were adopted in the West (Solomon's Ivory, apes and peacocks, for instance, and the word rice) were adaptations, not of Sanskrit or Pali, but of Tamil words".

The fact is that Sovira, later Sopara or Supparaka, was not a North Indian port but an Andhra-Tamil Mart on the West Coast of Damarike, as the Tamil country was called by the Greek merchants. (Damarike means Tamilakam.)

Sopara (SUPPARA), was a port south of Barygaza, (that is Broach on the coast of modern Gujarat), and Caliena (which is often locally associated with on Kelaniya, on the west coast of Ceylon, because of the similarity in sound, by Buddhists who wish to claim a North Indian origin) is further South. Sopara and Caliena were Andhra-Tamil ports. In later times Muziris and Nelcynda, still further South, became more important. These ports were in Damarike.

B. C. Law has also pointed out "that the legend recorded by Hiuen Tsang mentions South India as the scene of action of the Lion and the Princess. Presumably behind this legend was the history of Sinhapura in the Southern portion of Kalinga." (Ibid. p. 48)

The Sinhalese people influenced by the Pali Chronicles continue to show a partiality for Sinhapura on the Northern Border of Kalinga - even as they have preferred to connect the Pandyan Tamil brides sent to Vijaya and his followers from Madura, with Muthra further North - (West).

REFERENCES

- 1. Dip. Ch. IX, vv. 15-20; MHV. Ch, VI, vv. 46-47,
- 2, Dip. Ch. IX, vv. 1-31; MHV. Ch. VI, vv. 34-47.
- 3. PUJAVALIYA, Ch. I.
- 4. MHV. Ch. XIV, v. 15.
- 5. 'KELANIYA', is from the Tamil (apost), KALANI meaning 'an agricultural tract', 'field', 'paddy field' etc. D. E. D. See. 1141,

S. J. Gunasegaram.

APPENDIX II THE STORE OF THE ST

Early Period - North Indian or South Indian?

Dr. G. C. Mendis, in his 'Early History of Ceylon' (1954 - Edition), calls the early period beginning with 247 B. C, 'The North Indian Period'. He says little about the period from Vijaya to Mutasiva in his Magnum Opus.

According to his own Map which appears on page 23, of his 'Early History of Ceylon,' Northern Ceylon was known as Nagadipa. Now, Nagadipa is the Sanskrit transliteration of the Tamil Serentivu² (Serendib of the Greeks and the Arabs), or the island of the Cheras, a historic Tamil Kingdom closely associated with the Pandyas.

The Northern portion of the Island was, from the remotest times - under the rule of the Tamils with the famous pearl fisheries of Mannar on the West coast and Tamblegam on the East coast under their control.³

It was South Ceylon, that was known to early Tamil Sangam literature⁴ and referred to in the third Century B. C., cave inscriptions⁵, as Izham (Ilam). It was ruled by petty Chieftains of the Nagas, a Dravidian tribe⁶,' till Vijaya appeared on the scene.

Vijaya himself was a Hindu and an adventurer - probably from the Pandyan - Andhra⁷ border known as Tiruvengadam, once a Veddah dependency of the Pandyan King. It will be noted that the Mahavamsa 'written for the edification of the pious', in attempting to synchronise the accession of Vijaya with the death of Gautama Buddha⁸ has created a good deal of Chronological confusion.

Regarding the character of Vijaya and his companions before their arrival in this Island, the Dipavamsa and the Mahavamsa give a lurid picture. The Mahavamsa is of opinion that his reformation was brought about only after his marriage with the South Indian Tamil bride. 10

Vijaya and his immediate successors were not Buddhists. We are told in the Mahavamsa that the Yakka Temples were respected, and halls were built for Hindus at Anuradhapura. No reference is made to a single edifice for Buddha. To protect Vijaya and his men Vishnu is said to have tied threads on their arms. 12

Though Vijaya had left no issue by his South Indian wife, Panduvasa¹³ who succeeded him is said to have been his nephew'. (Note the Dravidian Matrilineal descent observed)

The fact that there was an interregnum between the death of Vijaya and the coming of Panduvasa, points to the delay in finding and transporting a suitable successor to Vijaya from the Pandyan Country.

While Panduvasa and Abhaya were full blooded Tamils from the Pandyan Country, Abhaya's successor Panduka Abhaya was a 'Usurper'. The uncles of Citta (the youngest daughter of Panduvasa by his South Indian queen), were opposed to the illegitimate son of Citta¹⁴ by Dighagamini¹⁵, succeeding Panduvasa. The interregnum following Abhaya's death was perhaps due to this,

Cittu, Cita. Citi (Tam.) 'small', 'young', 'little' (D. E. D. 2073; 1326)

Their son was named Panduka Abhaya, the name being a combination of the names of Panduvasa and Abhaya, the grandfather and the eldest uncle respectively of Citta

They avoid giving the name of either Dighagamini's father or of his grandfather. But Panduka Abhaya appears to have gathered to his side local leaders such as Cittarajah, 16 probably a Naga, and Kharavela, 17 a Yakka, to strengthen his precarious position. 18

The town of Anuradhapura was however, completed by Panduka Abhaya, and he appointed an officer, a Nagara Guttika, 19 apparently a Tamil officer, imported from the Pandyan Kingdom. It is the Pali-ised form of the Tamil 'Nakaram', meaning a city (3554), and Katti - Karan. (i. e.,) 'a regulator or builder' (961).

He also built the tank called Abhaya Vapi; Vapi' being the Pali · ised form of the Tamil 'Vavi'(335), 'a tank', also known as Baswa - kulam, probably an abridged form of 'Panduvasa Kulam.' Kulam, again, is a Tamil word for 'a tank' (1518).

Panduka Abhaya gives his son a Tamil Saiva name Mutasiva. We are not told whom he married, but his second son Devanampiya Tissa succeeds him. His real Hindu name is not known. B. C., Law has pointed out that the name of neither Devanampiya Tissa nor of Duttugemunu, the two heroes of the Maha vamsa, is found in the early inscriptions.²⁰

Mutasiva had apparently married a local Naga Chieftain's daughter. Some of the sons of Mutasiva, along with 'Devanampiya Tissa', had become Buddhists, as their names suggest. Devanampiya Tissa is referred to as having belonged to the Moriya clan - a Dravidian tribe. As a Buddhist, possibly, in order to win the support of the Buddhist priesthood and the Naga converts to Buddhism, he preferred to align himself with the Moriya clan to which his mother in all probability belonged.

Devanampiya Tissa is followed by his brothers as rulers, and then the Cholas replace them - Sena, Guttaka and Elara, the greatest of them being the last. Dutugemunu, again, was the son of Kakavanna Tissa, a Naga chieftain in the extreme South of Ceylon. It is interesting to note that the Dipavamsa, the earlier Chronicle, on which the Mahavamsa itself was apparently based, does not speak of a war between Elara and Dutugemunu. Dutta (Duttha) Tam, 'the wicked', 'mischievous person,' (2696)

On what grounds could the periods either before or after Devanampiya Tissa be called North Indian? Does

the fact that Asoka, a North Indian King, had sent out Buddhist Missionaries towards the South, and the fact that a local Hindu ruler in South Ceylon had become a convert to Buddhism justify the conclusion that the period was North Indian?

Is the distinction and the honour of tracing a North Indian or 'Aryan' ancestry so overpoweringly great and sacred that the reasonable inferences from recorded events and statements should be brushed aside?

Note

The numbers against words indicate the relevant section in the 'Dravidian Etymologial Dictionary,' by T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1961.

Notes & References

- 1. Dr. G. C. Mendis, 'Early History of Ceylon', p. 16; (1954 Edition.)
- 2. L. A. Krishna Iyer and L. K. Balaratnam, 'Anthropology in India, 1961. pp. 195:96. 'Chera or Sera is the Dravidian equivalent of the Nagas'.
- 3, E. H. Warmington, 'Commerce between the Roman Empire and India'. The Embassy to Claudius from Ceylon in the first Century A. D., was from the Seres of North Ceylon, 'perhaps merely to confirm the earlier embassy by the Tamils'. (p. 119) 'Tamils control the North during the first two Centuries; Ibid. p. 120. It will be noted that Vijaya paid tribute to the Pandyan king; and the mixed descendants of Panduvasa continued to rule till the Cholas took over. It follows that Ceylon, in fact, was under Tamil control from the very beginning of recorded history.
- 4. Tamil Sangam work Pattupattu (Pattinapalai), line 191, 'Ilam' (Izham).

- 5. In the third century B. C. cave inscriptions in Ceylon as well as in the Pandyan country, the language used is Tamil. Ceylon is referred to as 'llam', K. A. N. Sastri, 'History of South India.' p. 87.
 - 6. Gilbert Slater, 'Dravidian Element in Indian Culture', p. 33. 'That Cobra worship was dominant among the Dravidians in the Vedic period is shown by the term Naga generally superseding other names used in Sanskrit literature for the Dravidians.'
 - 7. Pujavali; Mahavamsa Ch. VI, vv. 1 2, Geiger, 'Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times', refers 'to the renewal of the connection of Vijaya with the Kalinga dynasty.', in the X Century.
 - 8. Mahavamsa, Ch. VI. v. 47. Vijaya is said to have landed in Ceylon on the day Buddha attained Nirvana, i. e., in 483 B. C.
 - 9. Dip. Ch. IX, vv. 47 19: MHV. Ch. VI., vv. 39 42.
- 10. MHV. Ch. VII vv. 72 74. Vijaya forsakes his evil ways after marrying a Tamil woman from the Pandyan country.
- 11. Tennent's 'Ceylon' Vol. I, p. 340.
- 12. Tennent, Ibid. p. 340, n. I.
- 13. Dipavamsa, the earlier Chronicle refers to the King as Panduvasa. Ch. X, v 2, In the MHV., composed, two hundred years later, he is referred to as Panduvasudeva. B. C., Law remarks 'Did the author of the Mahavamsa purposely change the name to Panduvasudeva mentioned in the Mahabharatha? 'On the Chronicles of Ceylon', p. 50, 'Panduvasa means one from the Pandyan country.' Ibid. 52. 'Panduka, has the same import'. (Ibid).
- 14. MHV. Ch. IX. vv. 15 21.

 Digha was apparently a local Gramani; Citta was the

youngest of Panduvasa's children. 'Cita' is an affectionate term in Tamil used for a 'small girl', or a 'young boy'.

- 15. MHV. Ch. IX., vv. 26 27.
- 16. MHV. Ch. X, vv. 84 88; Citta Rajah is the, Pali, - ised version of the Tamil, Chitt - Arasu, Citta 'small' (2073); and (169), Arasan - 'King', (i. e.,) 'a sub king'.
- 17. Ch. X., vv. 104. Karavela was a Yakka Chieftain. Karavela does not stand for the Sinhalese 'dried fish', but rather for the Tamil 'Karuvalan', corresponding to the English 'Mr. Black'. The Yakkas and Veddas seem to have adopted Dravidian names, (Kalu: Karu (1175), both mean 'black', in Tamil.)
- 18. Ibid. mos and of vitarizons all of pairs out nolval 19. MHV; Ch. X v. 81.
- 20. B. C. Law ibid. p. 65 66, 'but no inscription is found until now to confirm the truth of the battles fought by Dutthagamani with Elara and his lieutenants.
- 21. Dr. G. C. Mendis, Ibid. p. 15.
- 22. Dip. Ch. XVIII. vv. 49 54. B. C. Law, Ibid. p. 66, "but no inscription is found till now to confirm the truth of the battles fought by Dutthagamini with Elara and his lieutenants". Nor does the Dipavamsa (IVC), refer to a war between Elara and Dutthagamini, who has become today, the national hero of the Sinhalese.

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APPENDIX III

TAMRAPARUNI - TAMBAPANI - TAPROBANE

Taprobane is a term which was, for the first time, used by Megasthenes, a Greek Ambassador at Pataliputra, (Fourth Century B. C.), to indicate a kingdom in the extreme south of the Indian sub-continent. Megasthenes, however, knew very little of the geography of the south of India, and wrote a fabulous account of the south from hearsay reports of the Dravidian merchants of the eastern coasts of India who had visited Pataliputra. By "Taprobane", he was actually referring to Tambraparni (Skt.) in the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula, a portion of the Pandyan Tamil kingdom. Ceylon too owing to its proximity to the southern tip of India, was considered to be an extension of Tambraparni or Taprobane. It has been pointed put that the Tambapani of the Asokan Edict, probably, referred, to the extreme south of India watered by the Tambaraparni river. (B. C. Law, "On The Chronicles of Ceylon," P. 60). Hence the alternative use of the names "Tamba pani" and "Lanka," to indicate Ceylon, found in the early Pali Chronicles of the Island.

It will be known that Hugh Neville of the Ceylon Civil Service (XIXC), edited the now almost forgotten Taprobanian which he rightly called a 'Dravidian Journal.'

Early trade of the historic Tamil kingdoms with Egypt is a well established fact. Reference to the "Cambridge History of India", will show that the words for rice, ginger, cinnamon, sandalwood and peacock known to the Egyptians, Hebrews and Greeks were all of Tamil origin.

Dr. Barnett (Cambridge History of India, p. 594) says — 'Long before the beginning of the Christian era, the Dravidian south had developed a considerable culture

of its own, and its inhabitants had consolidated themselves into powerful kingdoms carrying on a thriving trade with Western Asia, Egypt and later with the Greek and Roman Empire." In his "History of South India." p. 76. Nilakanta Sastri writes, — "It has been pointed out rightly that "rice, peacock, sandalwood, every unknown article which was imported by sea to Babylon before the fifth century B. C., brought with it a Dravidian and not a Sanskrit designation." Reference also may be made to B. Lal's discoveries establishing "a significant link between the ancient Nubians of upper Egypt and the early Dravidians of South India" (Vide, report in the "Ceylon Observer", 25-5-62).

A study of the "Commerce between the Roman Empire and India" (E. H. Warmington), will show that the Pearl Fisheries of Tuticorin, the Gulf of Mannar and Tamblegam were, through the ages, till the occupation of Ceylon by the Portuguese, mainly under the control of Pandyan Tamil kings. Most of the wars in Ceylon (according to Warmington, ibid. p. 120), were largely due to the rivalry between the Pandyan and Chola Tamil kings, for the control of the Ceylon Pearl Fisheries.

The Mahavamsa does not refer to any "Sinhalese kings", as such sending an embassy to Egypt. Buddhism, however, was popular among the Tamils of South India and North Ceylon, during the early centuries of the Christian era, as is evidenced by the Tamil Buddhist Epic, The Manimehkalai."

NOTES & References

1. There was a time when the Gulf of Mannar did not exist and the southern most part of the Indian Continent i.e., Tambraparni or Tamraparuni, took its name from the river crossing it i.e., Tamraparuni with gold.'

Just facing Ceylon, on the South Indian shore, runs

- 2. KAMBAN (XC) in his Tamil Ramayanam wrote —
 ் பொன் திணிந்த புனல் பெருகும்
 பொருகை யெனும் திருகதி........''
 'The sacred Porunai (Tamraparuni) river, stuffed
- 3. Of Tambraparni Nilakanta Sastri in his "History of South India," p. 44 writes 'We may note that the Tamraparni, rising among the wooded hills of the southern ghats and benefiting from both the monsoons forms a life line of agriculture in the Tinnevelly district. At its mouth, in the Gulf of Mannar, are

the famous Pearl fisheries.....

APPENDIX IV

MAHINDA

According to Dr. G. C. Mendis, 'no independent record of any kind outside of Ceylon supports the view that Mahinda was the son of Asoka, and he believes it to be a pure invention'.

(Quoted in 'Physical Anthropology of Ceylon,' 1961, p. 24.) And still Dr. G. C. Mendis wants us to believe that the Mahavamsa is reliable in its account from the time of Devanampiya Tissa.

The Indian tradition is that Buddhist Missionaries led by Mahendra, a brother of Asoka, penetrated as far as Tamraparni river in the Pandyan kingdom of South India, the Tambapani of the Mahavamsa."

(Prof. L. Mukherjee, 'History of India,' Hindu Period p. 106.)



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JAFFNA.