THE

HERITAGE AND LIFE OF CEYLON SERIES

THE EARLY HISTORY OE CEYLON

OR

The Indian Period of Ceylon History

BY

G. C. MENDIS, B.A., Ph.D

Lecturer in History, University of Ceylon

WITH A FOREWORD BY

PROFESSOR WILHELM GEIGER

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PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

I HAVE attempted in this book to satisfy, as far as possible, the need for a work on the early history of Ceylon. I made it my aim to eliminate all myths and legends, and base my history only on facts which are fairly certain. I cannot say that I have been altogether successful. To the research student many of the statements about the early history of Ceylon appear as problems to be investigated, rather than as facts on which a stable structure can be erected.

This book, therefore, does not pretend by any means to be exhaustive or correct in all its details. It will take a long time before it will be possible to write such a history, as the amount of research yet to be done is great. Though the *Mahāvaṅsa* has been edited and translated with critical notes, most of the other literary works have not received sufficient attention at the hands of scholars. A large number of inscriptions have still to be edited and published, and therefore even this certain source of information cannot yet be fully exploited. The archæological work, too, has not advanced very far, and has never been carried out with such thoroughness as in India. Even of Anurādhapura a greater part has yet to be excavated, and there are a number of other places, which, when explored and excavated, are bound to yield useful results.

I am indebted to the work of many for my information, but it is not possible to mention all of them here. I cannot, however, omit to acknowledge the use I have made of *A Short History of Ceylon* by Mr. H. W. Codrington, and the English translation of the *Cūla-vaṅsa*, with critical notes, by Professor Wilhelm Geiger. I have to thank Prof. R. Marrs, Prof. S. A. Pakeman, the Rev. E. C. Dewick, the Rev. Dr. Isaac Tambyah, the Rev. F. Kingsbury, Mr. L. E. Blazé, Mr. J. L. C. Rodrigo, Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, Mr. A. M. K. Cumaraswamy, Bhikkhu Nārada, Mr. E. H. van der Wall and the Rev. C. H. S. Ward for their criticisms and suggestions. My thanks are also due to Mr. S. Paranavitana, for the invaluable help he gave me in various ways; and to Professor Geiger, for writing the Foreword.

The picture of the Väddas is taken from Seligmann's *Veddas*, with the kind permission of the Cambridge University Press. All the other illustrations were obtained from the Archæological Department. The maps were drawn by Mr. D. J. Lokugē.

For the spelling of names of persons and places I have followed a uniform system, though sometimes it differs from the way in which the words are popularly spelt. In the case of names of kings and places I have adopted the forms most popular among the people, without keeping strictly either to the Pāli or the Sinhalese forms of these names, but all of them are given in Appendix II.

G. C. MENDIS.

Marian Cottage,
Dehiwala, Ceylon.
August, 1932.

PREFACE TO FOURTH EDITION

IN this edition I have revised the greater part of the book, bringing the facts up-to-date by making use of the latest research. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the history of the Cōḷas by Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sastri and to many articles that have been written by Prof. Wilhelm Geiger and Dr. S. Paranavitana. Dr. E. W. Adikāram has been good enough to allow me to make use of his valuable researches into the Pāli Commentaries, and I am indebted mainly to him for the changes made in sections five, six and seven of the second chapter.

My thanks are due also to many persons who made suggestions for the improvement of the book, and I wish to acknowledge my special obligation to Mr. A. T. A. de Souza for his very useful criticisms.

G. C. MENDIS.

10*th October*, 1939.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

In this new edition almost the whole book has been rewritten. Additional matter has been included, and the arrangement of the material has been changed in many places. Four illustrations and seven maps have been added.

The book has also been brought up-to-date by the use of many new books and contributions to magazines. In this connection I wish to make special mention of *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, edited by Prof. H. H. Dodwell, *The History of Buddhist Thought* by Dr. E. J. Thomas, *The Ancient Irrigation Works* by Mr. R. L. Brohier, and the articles in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* and the *Ceylon Journal of Science* by Mr. S. Paranavitāna, the Acting Archæological Commissioner, for whose discoveries and corrections of earlier conclusions one cannot be too grateful.

My thanks are also due to many persons who have made suggestions for the improvement of the book.

August, 1935.

PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

In this edition I have revised parts of certain sections and brought the book up-to-date by making use of the latest research. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the article on *The Gampola Period of Ceylon History* by Mr. H. W. Codrington in the *R.A.S. (C.B.) Journal*, Vol. xxxii, No. 8.

April, 1938.

FOREWORD

By Prof. Wilhelm Geiger of Munich

It is a well-known fact that for hardly any part of the continent of India is there such an uninterrupted historical tradition as for the island of Ceylon. This tradition up to the year A.D. 362 is contained in the two Pāli chronicles, the *Dīpavaṅsa* and the *Mahāvaṅsa*, but the *Mahāvaṅsa* was continued later on up to the eighteenth century, by diverse authors at diverse times, so that now it comprises the whole history of the island, from the first immigration of the Āryans under Vijaya till the arrival of the English. This chronicle is supplemented, and sometimes also corrected, by a large number of works composed in the Pāli or the Siṅhalese language. But it would be a great mistake to assume that a simple extract from these books would yield true history, for they all require a constant and penetrative criticism. Their authors are often one-sided, and lay stress on things which are of less importance to the historian than other events which they have passed over in silence. This does by no means involve upon them the reproach of lack of sincerity; for it is quite intelligible for instance, that a *bhikkhu*—and the compilers of the various parts of the *Mahāvaṅsa* were all *bhikkhus*—has deeper interest in the rise and the decline of his Church than in secular affairs. Moreover, the tradition of the oldest period is wrapped up in myths and legends, and it is very difficult to find out their historical kernel. In judging the more recent parts of the chronicle, we ought not to forget that the whole *Mahāvaṅsa* is a *kāvya*, subject to all the rules of *alaṅkāra* valid in Indian literature; and that always more ancient *kāvyas* served as models for later compositions. Finally, regarding the historical books outside the *Mahāvaṅsa*, we should always keep in mind whether the divergent or the supplementary information contained therein is taken from a trustworthy source or is simply inventions and fictions of their respective compilers.

Under such circumstances, it is a real pleasure for me to write this Foreword to the work of Dr. G. C. Mendis. For when I read the manuscript, I saw with great satisfaction that this History of Ceylon is written by a scholar who looks at the historical tradition with critical eyes. Eliminating all legends and doubtful information, he has based his description on facts which are certain or at least probable. Moreover, he has not confined himself to a mere enumeration of events and names and chronological dates, but has also tried to describe the whole mental and economic culture, agriculture and commerce, art and literature, of the Sinhalese, and their development from their beginnings up to the modern period. Thus Dr. Mendis' book will be a rich source of interesting information to all its readers; and this information is reliable, as far as this is possible under the present conditions. I myself, though I may sometimes dissent from the author in minor details, have read the manuscript with great pleasure and advantage, and I trust the book will find as many friends and admirers as it deserves.

WILH. GEIGER.

München-Neubiberg.
August, 1932.

a greater variety of racial stocks than the peoples of most parts of India.

2. THE VÄDDAS

The earliest settlers that came to Ceylon have left no written records, and it is not possible to say with any certainty when, whence, or how they came to this island. Nor is it possible to describe with any accuracy their life and character. The only traces they have left of their existence are a few tools, which consist of shells, chert and quartz, a dolmen or chamber of stone, a few cists or primitive altars, and rock engravings found in two rock-shelters.

The shells, cherts, and quartz so far discovered belong to what is called the Palæolithic or the Old Stone Age. It is not certain who used these implements, but since they have been found near caves occupied by the Väddas they might have been used by these people before they learnt the use of iron from the Āryans.

The life and character of the Väddas[1] and their history have been studied by those who are interested in the primitive races of mankind, and it is possible to gain some idea about their migrations and the nature of the life they led in the dim past.

The Väddas or hunters are a short, wavy-haired, long-headed race, with moderately long faces and moderately broad noses. They belong to the same racial stock as the pre-Dravidian jungle tribes of South India such as the Irulas and the Kurumbars, and are said to be racially connected with the Toalas of the Celebes, the Batin of Sumatra, and the Australian aborigines.

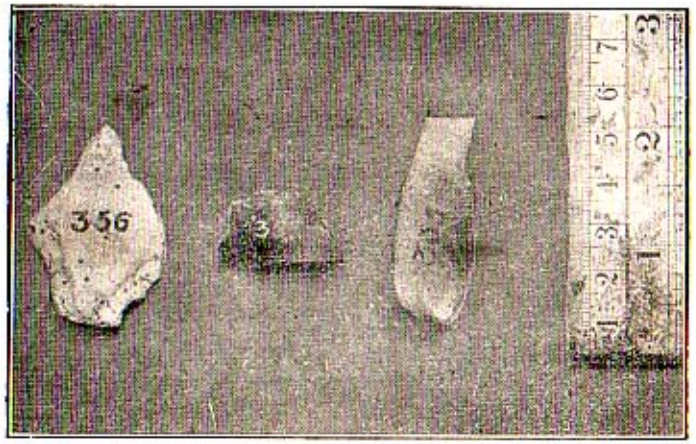
The original home of these peoples has not yet been discovered, and it is also not known how they spread from India as far as Australia. It is possible that, like the wild animals that came from South India to Ceylon, the Väddas occupied this island at a time when it was not separated from India as now by a stretch of sea.

[1] The letter 'ā' is pronounced like *a* in *balcony*.

At the time the Väddas came to Ceylon they were, as a few of them still are, in the earliest stage of man's development. Their chief occupation was hunting, and they lived on the flesh of wild animals which they killed with their bows and arrows. In the rainy season they took shelter in caves, and in the dry season lived near the rivers to which the wild animals came to quench their thirst. They did not know the use of cotton or wool, and their clothes consisted of garments of *riti* bark or of leaves. Their strongest ties were those of the family, and the whole family had to answer for the acts of its members. Each individual, therefore, subordinated his interests to those of his family in order to obtain its protection. The families further united in clans for purposes of hunting and for defence against their enemies. The religion of the Väddas was a form of animism. They believed in a life after death, and, when they were overwhelmed by sickness or misfortune, they sought through offerings the help of their dead ancestors.

Since the Väddas lived by hunting they had a very difficult existence. They were often not sure of their food, and were constantly in danger of their life. They had to shift from place to place according to the movements of the wild animals, and their time was taken up so much in providing themselves with the bare means of existence that they found hardly any leisure for other pursuits.

The settlement of the Väddas in Ceylon led to no important results. They made no contribution to the civilization of Ceylon and their only service lay in the help they rendered in forming the Siṅhalese race. According to Dr. Seligmann, who has made the most thorough study of the Väddas, the up-country Siṅhalese have absorbed a considerable amount of Vädda blood. This mixture probably took place as the Väddas adopted agriculture, learned the Siṅhalese language and lived side by side with the Siṅhalese community. Dr. Seligmann is also of opinion that the Baṇḍāra cult among the Kandyans, which consists of making offerings to deceased chiefs



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SHELL, CHERT AND QUARTZ
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From Seligmann's Veddas *Copyright, Camb. Univ. Press*

A ROCK SHELTER OF THE VADDAS
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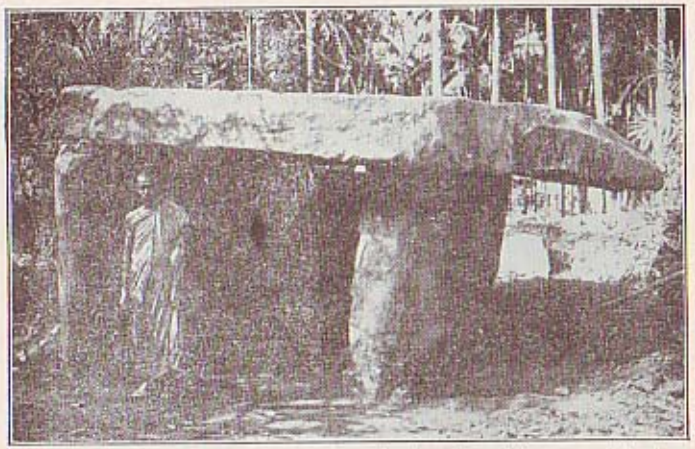

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THE DOLMEN AT PADIYAGAMPOLA

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A FRAGMENT OF A SCULPTURE OF MĀYĀ'S DREAM

(*Page* 40)

and prominent ancestors, is a remnant of the Vädda practice of propitiating the dead.[1]

3. The Peoples of the New Stone Age

The dolmen and the cists referred to in the previous section belong to the Neolithic or the New Stone Age. The dolmen is found at Padiyagampola, near Rambukkana, and the cists in the Batticaloa District and in the Nuvaragam Palā.a of the North Central Province. Similar monuments have been discovered in South India, but it is not certain what peoples erected them.

The ancient tribes of Ceylon mentioned in the *Mahāvaṅsa* are Siṅhala (lion), Taraccha (hyena), Lambakaṇṇa (hare or goat), Balibhōjaka (crow), Mōriya (peacock), and Kuliṅga (fork-tailed shrike). All these names probably show that the early tribes of Ceylon were people who took their clan names from totems, or emblems of beasts and birds which they worshipped. There were no totemistic tribes among the Āryans referred to in the *Rigvēda*, the collection of the poems of the Āryans who settled in N.W. India and, therefore these tribes could not have been Āryan by blood. There was a tribe called the Mōriyar in South India at the beginning of the Christian era. According to the *Mahāvaṅsa* there was in South India a tribe by the name of Lambakaṇṇa in the twelfth century. Therefore it is possible that these tribes of Ceylon were also peoples of another stock who had occupied India before the arrival of the Dravidians. But more evidence is necessary before we can connect these tribes with the neolithic monuments that have been discovered.

[1] It is most probably the Väddas that are referred to in the story of Vijaya in the *Mahāvaṅsa* as the Pulindas who lived in the region of Adam's Peak. The Pulindas, according to Sanskrit literary works, were outcaste tribes that lived in the hill-districts of India. The Sabaras was also a name given to hill-tribes that lived by hunting. Hence the name of the village Habaragama near Ratnapura, which gave its name in Portuguese times to the province of Sabaragamuva, is probably reminiscent of their occupation of this region around Adam's Peak. It is not known by what name the Väddas called themselves in those days.

4. The Āryans

The next people to come to this island were the Āryans. The word Āryan is the name given to those Indo-European peoples who settled in Persia and India. The term Indo-European, strictly speaking, does not refer to a race, and is the name given to a large group of peoples who speak languages that had a common origin. The oldest of these languages is Sanskrit, and the others include Persian, Greek, Latin, Celtic and Gothic. It is not yet known definitely in which region the parent of all these languages was spoken. Some locate it in Central Asia, some in South Russia, some in North Germany, and others in Hungary.

The Āryans, from whatever region they started their wanderings, entered India long before 1000 B.C. The *Rigvēda* gives us some idea of their life and customs when they were living in the Indus valley. They were in the main a pastoral people, but were acquainted with the methods of agriculture. They lived in tribes and were ruled by kings who were also their military leaders. The kings could not act as they liked. They had to be guided by the tribal assembly called the *samiti* or *sabhā*, where all important matters affecting the tribe were discussed. They were assisted by other chiefs such as the *purohita*, the domestic priest, and the *grāmaṇī*, who was either a village headman or a petty military leader.

From the north-west the Āryans migrated eastwards and southwards mainly along the banks of rivers, and before long spread over the whole of India north of the Vindhya Mountains. As they scattered they mixed with other races, and their language was adopted by many non-Āryan tribes.

The Āryans who settled in Ceylon[1] came no doubt from the northern part of India, but it is not certain from which part of that region the original settlers came. One way to fix their Indian habitat is to find out to which ancient Indian language old Siṅhalese

1 The coming of the Āryans to Ceylon is represented in the *Mahāvaṁsa* by the landing of Vijaya and his followers, but this legend is a story of later growth and offers no certain basis for making any inferences.

is most closely allied, but so far the study of ancient Indian dialects and of Siṅhalese has not advanced sufficiently for us to draw any definite conclusion.

The Āryan settlers probably came to Ceylon about 500 B.C. from the west and the east coasts of India in merchant vessels that travelled along the Indian coast; and were no doubt attracted by the fertility of the soil, the hospitable climate, the open plain extending inwards from the coast on all sides, the harbours which are safe for small vessels, and the many navigable rivers which afford easy access into the interior. The earliest evidence of their settlements is found in pre-Christian inscriptions in an Āryan dialect from which modern Siṅhalese developed; and these show that before the beginning of the Christian era they had settled in the northern, the south-eastern and the eastern plains of the island. The western and the south-western coasts were little occupied, but a few people settled at Kālaniya and went into the interior along the river.

There is no definite information which sheds any light with regard to the character of these Āryans who settled in Ceylon apart from the fact that they spoke an Āryan dialect. Hence it is not possible to state whether they were Āryan by blood or whether they were a non-Āryan people who had adopted an Āryan dialect as their language. If the latter is true it is possible that they were no others than the totemistic tribes themselves to whom reference has already been made. The Siṅhala clan was probably the most influential of these tribes, and gradually gave its name[1] to the people and the language, and then to the island itself.[2]

1 The Angles similarly gave their name to the people and the language of England and then to the country—Angle-land.

2 The modern name of the island, Ceylon, and the name given to it by the Arabs, Serendib, are only modifications of the old name Siṅhaladīpa, the island of the Siṅhalese. The name by which Ceylon was first known in India is Tambapaṇṇi. Lanka means island.

The chief occupation of the Āryans at this time was agriculture, and they led a settled life attached to their homes and the soil. They had a better control over the supply of their food than hunters and pastoral folk, and this afforded them some security. As agricultural activities did not keep them busy throughout the year, they had a chance of leading a social life, of improving their minds, and of satisfying their spiritual needs.[1]

The coming of the Āryans marks the beginning of an important stage in the history of Ceylon. Few people influenced the course of its history as these early Āryan adventures did. Siṅhalese, their language, is still the most widely spoken in Ceylon. Iron which they introduced is yet the most widely used metal in the island. Agriculture, which they brought to this island, is even today the main occupation of the people, and rice, which they first cultivated, is still the staple food of Ceylon. They were also the first to introduce the system of village government, which persists up to the present day in the form of the *gansabhā* and their system of central government continued to flourish till the early days of British rule.

5. The Dravidians

Another stock of people who helped to form the Siṅhalese race was the Dravidians. There is no evidence to show when they first came to this island, but they undoubtedly came from the earliest times onwards, either as invaders or as peaceful immigrants. Most of them gradually adopted the Siṅhalese language, as some of them still do in some of the coastal districts, and were merged in the Siṅhalese population.

1 There is no record which gives any account of the struggles of the Āryans with the earlier inhabitants. The Yakshas and the Nāgas mentioned in Buddhist works of this time do not refer to human beings. Hence if the Āryans were the totemistic tribes the only people they could have met were the Vāddas. There is no evidence to show that the Vāddas passed through a Copper or Bronze Age. Therefore they with their weapons of stone could not have raised any serious opposition to the Āryans who had already entered the Iron Age.

When the Dravidians came to India they mixed with the earlier inhabitants as the Āryans did later, and many Indian tribes in turn adopted their language. The word 'Dravidian,' therefore, does not represent a distinct race, but, like the word 'Āryan,' is a convenient label to designate those who speak Dravidian languages such as Tamil, Malayāḷam, Kanarese, or Telugu.

At the time the Āryans entered India the Dravidians occupied not only South India, but also the greater part of North India,[1] but there is no definite evidence to show from where they came to these regions. In Baluchistān there exists up to the present day a form of Dravidian speech called Brāhūī. As there is hitherto no evidence of any tribe having migrated out of India by the north-west passes to settle elsewhere, some think that the existence of this Dravidian dialect in Baluchistān is sufficient evidence for inferring that the Dravidians, like the Āryans, entered India from the north-west.

There is sufficient evidence to prove that in the early centuries of the Christian era the Dravidians helped to form the Siṅhalese race, but nothing has so far been discovered to show that during that time they made any noteworthy contribution to the civilization of Ceylon. The Dravidian influence became considerable after the invasions and the occupation of Ceylon by the Cōḷas, and it grew stronger with the Pāṇḍya invasions. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Dravidians established an independent kingdom in the north, and in the fourteenth century even exacted tribute from the south. They exercised their cultural influence mainly through Hinduism, which not only became firmly established in the eleventh century, but also influenced Buddhism to a considerable extent.

1 In the *Rigvēda* there is a second series of dental letters ,the so-called cerebrals. These letters are absent in Persian and in all Indo-European languages, but are characteristic of the Dravidian languages. The Āryans could not have borrowed these sounds had there not been Dravidians living in North India at this time.

It is difficult to gauge the extent of Tamil blood among the Siṅhalese, but there is no doubt that it is considerable. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why the Siṅhalese language, not only in its vocabulary but also in its structure, shows the influence of Tamil so strongly, and why the Siṅhalese caste-system is so similar to the caste-system of South India.

6. Buddhism

There is no satisfactory evidence to give us any idea of the religion of the early Āryan settlers of Ceylon, but by the time that definite evidence is available (i.e. by the first century B.C.) Buddhism had spread into every part they occupied.[1]

The rise of Buddhism was preceded by many centuries of religious development in India. The Āryans, when they occupied north-west India, had a religion with a fairly extensive ritual. Their gods consisted mainly of natural phenomena like the sun and thunder. Since in their experience only living beings moved and acted, they looked upon these not as lifeless objects but as personal agents that could influence their lives. In their hymns they gave them names, calling the sun 'Visḷṇu' and thunder 'Indra', and described them as wearing clothes, bearing arms, and riding in chariots like themselves. They were convinced that their own happiness and misfortunes depended on these gods. They offered them prayers and sacrifices, and expected the gods in turn to grant them favours and save them from harm.

This nature-worship in course of time underwent a great change. The sacrifices offered to the gods were gradually elaborated by the Brāhmin priests into a complex system of rites and ceremonies. Great emphasis was laid on these, and people began to concentrate more on the correct performance of ceremonies than on good living. About the same time there arose in India the belief that men and women were born over and over again in this

1 It is sometimes assumed that the religion of the Āryans who came to Ceylon was Brāhmanism; but there seems to be no justification for holding such a view. At that time the chief centre of Brāhmanism was the central portion of North India, and there were many tribes of Āryan descent who were outside the pale of Brāhmanism.

universe, and that the position of an individual in each rebirth depended on his *karma* or his actions in his preceding life. The spread of this belief made many ponder deeply on the evils of life and the problem of recurring births and grow dissatisfied with the mere performance of sacrifices and rites which assured them not release from suffering but only of a birth in a higher state of life. These, seeking a means of obtaining *moksha* or complete release from suffering in this life itself, withdrew from the worldly life and followed the ways of asceticism.

Many who took to this ascetic life suggested ways of release, and one of these teachers was Gautama Buddha, who was born about 563 B.C. He belonged to the Sākya clan, a semi-independent tribe that lived to the south of Nepal. He rejected the worship of gods and the offering of sacrifices, as these did not lead to release. He did not advocate extreme forms of asceticism like self-mortification, as these gave him no satisfaction. He accepted the ascetic view that existence is pain, and attributed this pain to *tanhā* or craving. To overcome this craving he suggested the practice of the noble eightfold path, which consists in right views, right thoughts, right speech, right action, right means of livelihood, right endeavour, righ mindfulness, and right concentration. In other words he preached a course of self-culture and self-control, which was to end in the state of an *arahat* or sainthood and the attainment of *nirvāṇa* or a state of bliss free from rebirth.

It was not possible for a man who led the life of a householder to carry out this course of self-culture and attain the state of an arahat. Therefore the Buddha established a *saṅgha* or order of *bhikshus* or monks which those who wanted to follow him might join. He made the bhikshus cut themselves off from the hindrances of worldly ties and pleasures and lead a life of celibacy and poverty, depending for their food and clothing on the alms of the laymen.

This does not mean that the Buddha neglected those who were not willing to give up the life of a householder. To them he gave moral discourses, and urged them to give up killing, and to live a life of purity that they might obtain happiness in this life and be born next time in a higher state of life. But he did not establish

for them any organization such as the Christians have. Nor did he try to wean them away from their worship of gods or other religious practices, so long as they did not act contrary to his teaching.

The Buddha when alive was treated with great reverence, not only as the teacher of the way of release but also as one who lived the highest form of life and had attained great spiritual powers. After his death in 483 B.C. his followers further showed him their respect and devotion by paying their homage to bo-trees, under one of which he is said to have reached enlightenment, and the *dāgābas*, which were believed to contain his relics.

7. The Coming of Buddhism from India to Ceylon

The spread of Buddhism at first was due mainly to the efforts of the bhikshus who handed down the *dhamma*, the teaching of the Buddha. The first home of Buddhism was in Magadha (South Bihār), the capital of which was Kājagaha (Rājagṛiha), which stood between modern Patna and Buddh Gayā, where Buddha reached enlightenment. From there Buddhism gradually spread westwards along the well-known routes and became well-established in Avantī, the region to the north of the river Narbadā, and in regions as far off as Kashmir in the north-west.

As Buddhism spread and grew the Saṅgha, owing to differences of opinion, divided themselves into various schools such as the Mahāsaṅghikas, the Thēravādins, the Sarvastivādins, Vajjiputtakas, and the Mahiṅsāsakas. The chief centres of the Thēravādins in the early days were Kōsambī on the river Jumna, near modern Allāhābād, and the district of Avantī, where the Thēravāda or Pāli Canon of Ceylon is believed by many to have been elaborated.

Buddhism probably made a quicker advance from the last quarter of the fourth century B.C., when Chandragupta, who belonged to the Maurya (Mōriya) clan, became the ruler of the whole of North India, and established peace within his dominions. His grandson, Aśōka (274-237 B.C.), is unique among rulers as one whose chief aim was to spread morality and make his people lead good lives. After he had reigned for some years he became a convert

to Buddhism, and took a personal interest in spreading his new faith in India and in foreign countries with which he had political and trade relations. Of the missionaries that left India a few, led by Mahinda, came to Ceylon, and within two centuries Buddhism spread into every inhabited part of the island.

The quick spread of Buddhism in Ceylon was due to many reasons. King Dēvānaṅpiya Tissa, who ruled at Anurādhapura[1] at this time, welcomed missionaries sent under the patronage of a powerful emperor like Aśōka, and did his best to help them in spreading their teaching. Mahinda and his followers found it easy to preach to the people, as their language was not very different from their own and they could make themselves understood. There was no religion sufficiently powerful or organized to oppose them, and they did not come into conflict with the worship of local gods, for their chief aim was to make people join the Saṅgha or make them lead good lives and not to wean them away from existing cults. Moreover, as agricultural activities gave the Siṅhalese sufficient leisure for religious and cultural development, the *vihārēs* (the Buddhist monasteries) as centres of learning and instruction supplied a need which had hitherto not been satisfied.

8. The Influence of Buddhism on Ceylon

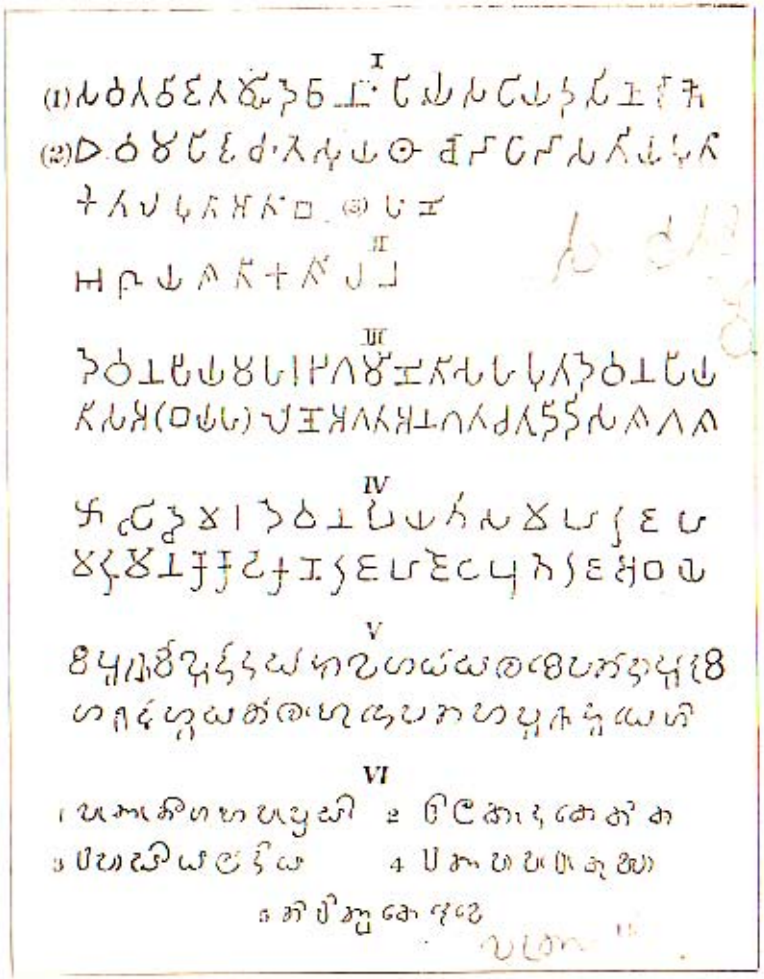
At the time Buddhism was introduced the people of Ceylon were superstitious and to some extent barbarous in their practices, and their religion was nothing more than animism and worship of capricious gods and demons. Under such conditions Buddhism did not fail to exercise a vital influence. Its doctrine of *karma*, the law of cause and effect, showed at least the more intelligent people that happiness or suffering depended partly on themselves and not on the whims and fancies of gods and demons. Its lofty moral code helped them to develop an ethical turn of mind. Its religious practices such as the observance of the five precepts gave them some discipline, and its teaching of kindness to men and animals and the noble examples set by the bhikshus helped to wean

[1] The form 'Anurādhapura' appears to have come into existence only towards the end of the North Indian Period I. Earlier it was called Anurādhagama.

them away from family feuds and tribal warfare which hindered their agricultural activities.

The introduction of Buddhism had also other results. The Buddhist missionaries brought not only a religious message but also much of the culture of their land. Their scriptures, the Pāli Canon, were the first literary works that came to this country. They consisted of a large number of books and were composed in a mixed Āryan dialect which was later called Elu. Elu is a language rich in expression, and it continued to be used by the bhikshus of Ceylon for the writing of books, just as Latin continued to be employed in medieval times in Europe by the monks of the Christian Church. Siṅhalese, which is akin to Pāli, is indebted to it for many of its ethical, psychological, and philosophical terms.

The Pāli Canon is also called the *Tipiṭaka*, or the three baskets, as it is divided into three sections—the *Vinaya*, the rules of discipline for the *bhikshus*; the *Dhamma* or the *Sutta*, the discourses of the Buddha and some of his disciples; and the *Abhidhamma* which deals with the philosophy of Buddhism. The books of the *Sutta Piṭaka* deal mainly with topics that help a bhikshu to lead a religious life, but a few works, are of a popular character and have a special appeal to the laity. Of these the best known is the *Jātaka*, which along with its introduction, the *Nidāna Kathā*, and its commentary, consists of tales dealing with the life of the Buddha in his previous births. They relate how as a *bōdhisattva* or one destined to be a Buddha he put off the attainment of *nirvāṇa* and followed an arduous career in order to prepare himself for Buddhahood for the sake of saving others. These stories have always been popular with the Siṅhalese people, both on account of the fascination of the tales and the moral lessons they embodied. Many of the Pāli and the Siṅhalese literary works begin with an account of the life of the Buddha, including his activities as a *ṭōdhisattva*, while some of the *Jātakas* have been chosen by Siṅhalese poets as subjects of their poems, and others have influenced the growth of legends such as those of Vijaya and Paṇḍukābhaya.



THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SIṄHALESE SCRIPT

(*Page* 15. *See also Appendix III, p.* 126)

Archæological Survey of Ceylon

THE MINNĒRIYA TANK
(*Page* 31)

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The art of writing also came to Ceylon along with Buddhism. The characters in the earliest inscriptions of Ceylon, which are yet to be seen above or below the drip-ledges of caves (e.g. at Dambulla), and from which the modern Siṅhalese script developed, are almost the same as the Brāhmī script in the inscriptions of Aśōka.

The Brāhmī script is the parent of all modern Indian alphabets, including Tamil. It is similar to the type of Phœnician writing of the ninth century B.C. found carved on a stone in Palestine. The Siṅhalese alphabet, therefore, like all modern European alphabets, has to be traced ultimately to a Semitic origin or to some other script like that discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa which too shows some affinities with the Brāhmī script.

The evolution of alphabets usually took a long period of time and Ceylon was fortunate in getting through the bhikshus an alphabet sufficiently developed to express all the different sounds in the Siṅhalese language.[1]

Siṅhalese brick and stone architecture and sculpture first appeared after the introduction of Buddhism. The earliest buildings erected in Ceylon were dāgābas and vihārēs while the oldest sculptures represented some feature of Buddhism. The spread of Buddhism thus helped considerably the development of architecture in the island, and the art of sculpture received a great impetus later when it became the custom to have an imagehouse in every vihāre that was built.

This development in architecture and sculpture was partly due to the fact that the Buddhist missionaries who came to Ceylon

1 The art of writing began with rough pictures of the things the people wanted to represent. The Väddas, for instance, never went beyond this stage. Next a symbol was substituted for the full picture, as in Chinese writing. In the third stage, as in the Siṅhasēse alphabet, the symbol came to be used for the thing as well as the sound. This simplified the art of writing. Otherwise, as in China, the student would have to learn hundreds of symbols in order to express his thoughts in writing.

did not break away altogether from their brethren in India. The Āryans, once they settled here, did not long keep up their connection with their kinsmen in India. The bhikshus, on the other hand, kept in touch with the Buddhist centres in India, and thus helped the people of Ceylon to benefit by the social and cultural movements that took place on the sub-continent.

Buddhism further gave a certain sense of unity to the people. It is true that, unlike the Christian Church, the Buddhist Saṅgha was not united under a single administrative system, and that each community of bhikshus lived its own life uncontrolled by a higher authority. It is equally true that the bhikshus interfered very little in the secular affairs of the people and made no attempt to organize them in any way. Nevertheless, the Buddhist teaching and the common culture that the bhikshus spread throughout the island gave the various tribes and races common ideals which gradually linked them in one common society.

CHAPTER II

THE NORTH INDIAN PERIOD I

It has already been seen how much the beginnings of the history of Ceylon depended on events that took place in India. The later history of Ceylon up to the coming of the Portuguese, too, cannot be studied intelligently without some knowledge of at least the most important changes that occurred in the sub-continent. Ceylon during this period formed a unit of the civilization of India, and whatever was thought and done on the mainland had a profound influence on the life of the people of this island. This era up to the coming of the Portuguese, therefore, may appropriately be called the Indian Period since the periods of Ceylon history are determined mainly by the coming of foreign influences and the later periods are already called the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British Periods.

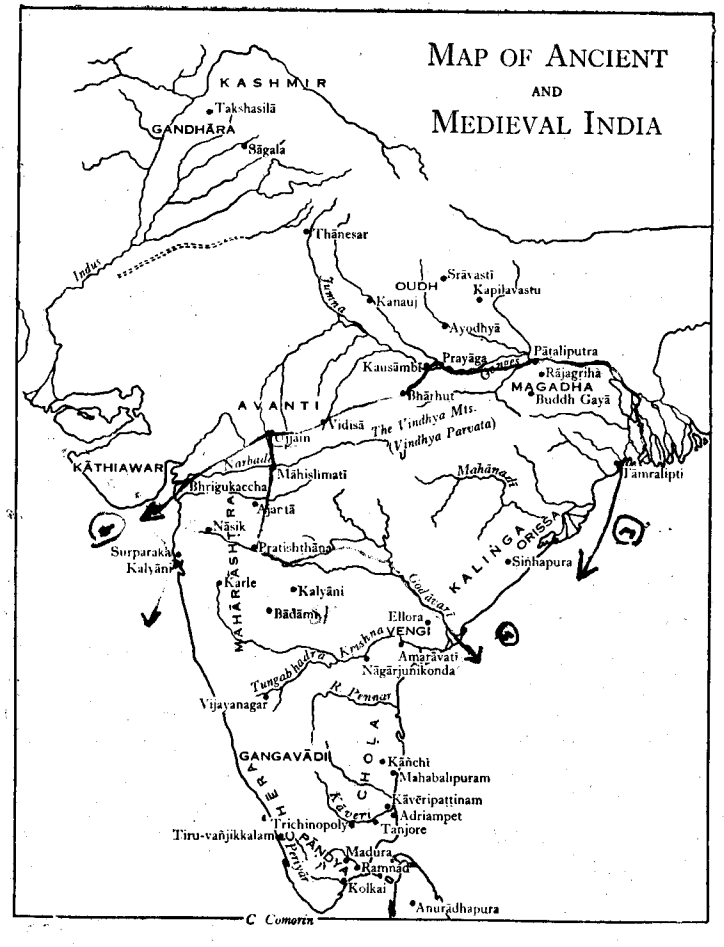
This Indian Period may be divided again into the North Indian and the South Indian Periods, since Ceylon was influenced mainly by North India up to the Cōḷa conquest and by South India during the following five centuries up to the arrival of the Portuguese. The North Indian Period may be further divided into two periods.

The North Indian Period I may be said to begin with the reign of Devānaṅpiya Tissa (247-207 B.C.), the contemporary of Aśōka (274-237 B.C.), as it is only after the coming of Buddhism that it is possible to write any connected story of the events of the history of Ceylon. This period ends with the reign of Mahasen (A.D. 334-362), the great builder of tanks, who was the first to work against the bhikshus of the Thēravāda community and to support the sects that opposed them. This period is marked by four South Indian invasions, but, in spite of them, Ceylon during this time made great headway in agriculture and irrigation and benefited by the influence of Buddhism and the Aśōkan civilization.

1. India

The peaceful condition of India, which was referred to in the last chapter, came to an end at the death of Aśōka. His successors were weak rulers, and the various kings who had been obliged to acknowledge his supremacy began to assert gradually their independence. India once more fell into a state of confusion. It became a medley of warring kingdoms trying to extend their dominions at the expense of their neighbours. At the same time the frontiers, which had hitherto been carefully guarded, began to be neglected, and the north-west passes lay open to invasions by races from Central Asia.

In the confusion that prevailed the Kāliṅgas, who occupied the region watered by the Mahānadī, the Suṅgas, whose capital was Vidisā (modern Besnagar), the Sātavāhanas who occupied a part of the Deccan including the Āndhra country between the Gōdāvari and the Kṛishṇā, and the Greeks, who came through the north-



west passes, all tried to be the supreme power in India.[1] The Sātavāhanas from about the second century B.C. extended their dominions westwards up the valley of the Gōdāvarī to the table-land of the Nāsik district, and during the first century B.C. wrested Ujjain and, later, Vidisā from the Suṅgas. Thus they acquired a great kingdom and maintained their power till the middle of the third century A.D.

Apart from these military successes there was another reason that led to the rise and prosperity of the Sātavāhanas. The Greek kingdom of Syria, which extended from the north-west border of the Mauryan Empire to the Mediterranean Sea, broke up even before the death of Aśōka, and it became difficult for goods to be conveyed safely from India by the north-west passes to Europe. As a result goods from Pāṭaliputra were carried to Bhrigukaccha on the west coast through Vidisā and Ujjain and then by sea, either by way of the Persian Gulf or by the Red Sea. Since routes from north, south, east and west met at Ujjain, this became the chief emporium of trade in India, while Vidisā, the home of Mahinda, which lay on its east, also became an important town. The remarkable position to which Vidisā rose can be realized even today from the large number of ancient monuments in its neighbourhood (e.g. in Sānchī), which were set up during the successive dynasties of the Mauryas, the Suṅgas and the Sātavāhanas.

The Sātavāhana kings were followers of Brāhmanism, but they gave Buddhism every encouragement. The widespread activities of Buddhism under them can be seen from the remains of dāgābas and sculptures at Amaravati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa on the river Kṛiṣṇā,

1 The political divisions of India at the period now under consideration consisted of three main regions. The most important of the three consisted of the plains in the north watered by the Indus and the Ganges. The second in importance was the Deccan plateau, lying to the south of the Narbadā and the Vindhya mountains and to the north of the Kṛishṇā and the Tungabhadra rivers. The western half of it formed the ancient Mahārāshṭra, and the eastern half Telińgana, with Kalińga on its north. The third region, which was generally called South India, lay to the south of the Kṛishṇā and the Tungabhadra, and consisted of the three Tamil states of Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya, and Cēra.

and the famous halls cut out of the rocks at Karle, Nāsik and Ajaṇṭā in Western India. Nāgārjuna, the great Buddhist teacher, who lived in the latter part of the second century A.D., and gave the doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism a definite form, was a native of the Āndhra country, and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was probably the place in which he lived.[1]

South India consisted of three kingdoms, Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa and Cēra[2] or Kēraḷa. Asōka mentions them in his inscriptions. Buddhism and Jainism had converts in these regions before the Christian era; for caves in the Madura and the Tinnevelly districts, occupied by Jain and Buddhist bhikshus, possess inscriptions in pre-Christian Brāhmī characters. Greek and Roman writers mention these kingdoms even earlier, beginning from the fourth century B.C.

It is not possible, however, for want of proper records, to give a connected political history of South India during this period, though a large number of literary works dealing with war, love

1 Ceylon's connection with North India was maintained during this time through three well-known routes, two of which passed through the Sātavāhana kingdom. All the three routes started from Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna). One of these passed through Prayāga (Allāhābād), Kausāmbī (Kōsambī), Bharhut, Vidisā, Ujjain, Māhishmatī (Mandhāta), and Pratishṭhāna (Paithān) to the mouths of the Gōdāvarī and the Kṛishṇā, and thence to Ceylon. The second continued from Ujjain to the seaport of Bhṛigukaccha (Bhārukaccha and modern Broach), from which people sailed southwards along the coast of western India to Ceylon, after touching at Surpāraka (Sopāra) in the Thāna district of the Bombay Presidency. Along the third route people travelled direct by ship across the Bay of Bengal. They started from Pāṭaliputra, went along the Ganges to Tāmralipti (Tamluk), and from there to Ceylon, along the east coast. The bhikshus who came to Ceylon probably followed the first route, and the traders the second and the third. The second was the best known at the beginning of the Christian era.

2 Ancient Pāṇḍya included the greater part of the modern Madura and Tinnevelly districts. Its capital was at first Kolkai, on the river Tāmraparṇī, and later Madura. Cōḷa extended along the east coast from the Penner to the Vellār, and westwards as far as Coorg. Its capital at first was Uraiyur (old Trichinopoly) and later Kāveripaṭṭinam. Kāñchi (Conjeeveram) was another of its large towns. Cēra, or Kēraḷa, consisted of modern Travancore and Cochin and the Malabar district. Its capital at first was Vañji (now Tirukarūr, on the Periyar river near Cochin) and later Tiruvañjikkalam, near the mouth of the Periyar.

and religion appeared at this time. A few kings such as Karikāla of Cōḷa and Senguṭṭuvan of Cēra are mentioned in the early poems but what is said even about them is not always reliable and cannot be taken as true history.

These literary works, generally called the 'Sangam' literature, show that Tamil society at this time was going through a transformation as a result of the influence of Brāhmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. They refer to Hindu gods like Siva and Vishṇu as well as local deities like Muruhan, who later found a place in the Hindu pantheon as Siva's son, Skanda, and Patt'ṇi who are worshipped in Ceylon even at the present day. The literary works themselves are often based on Sanskrit models and their contents show the influence of Āryan ideas which came to South India through the Jains, the Buddhists and the Brāhmins.

South India was well known at the time on account of its oreign trade. The people who came to trade with this region first were the Arabs. Their place was taken at the beginning of the Christian era by the Greek subjects of the Roman Empire, who discovered that the monsoons could be made use of to carry ships from the Gulf of Aden over the high seas to India. From the time of the Roman Emperor Augustus (31 B.C.-A.D. 14) till the death of Nero in A.D. 68 there was a great demand in the Roman Empire for spices, muslins, pearls, and precious stones, and that the Greeks conveyed to Rome these articles from South India is shown by the fact that the Greek words for pepper, ginger, and cinnamon are derived from Tamil words.[1] After the death of Nero the trade dwindled, but it continued till the early part of the third century. The produce of Ceylon, too, was taken at first to South India to be sold to the Greeks there, but this trade with India ceased in the second century A.D. when the Greeks came direct to Ceylon for the exports of this island.

1 Pepper, Gk. *peperi*, T. *pippali*; ginger, Gk. *ziggiberris*, T. *iñji-ver*; *cinnamon*, Gk. *karpion*, T. *karuppu*.

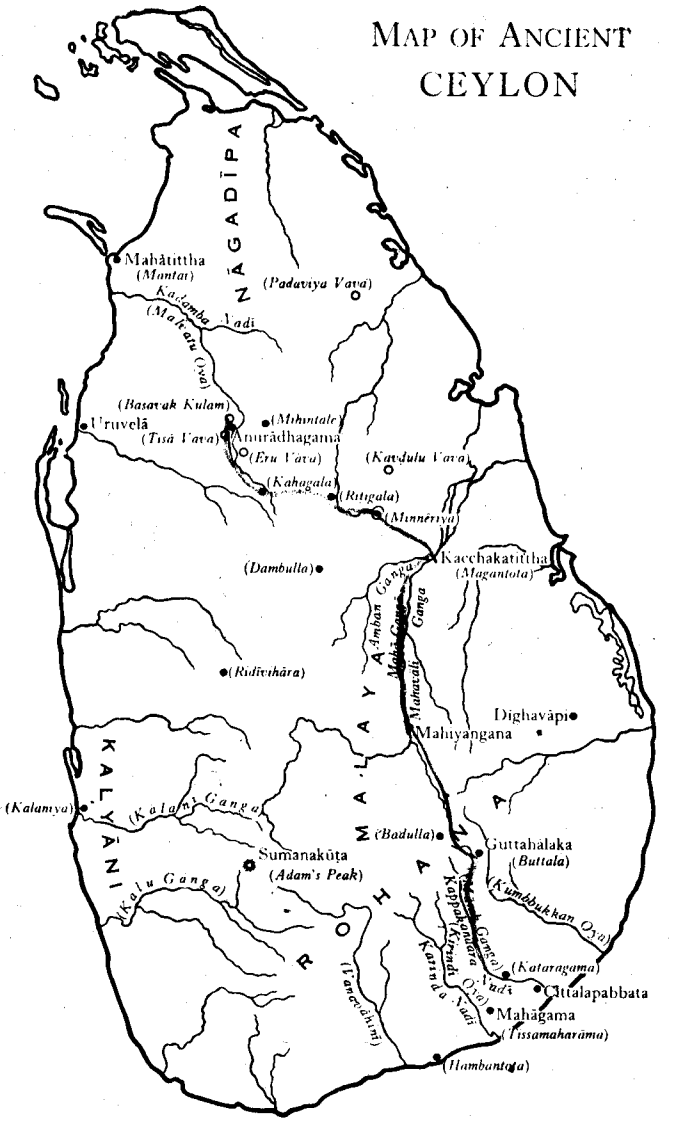
2. The Early Settlements

At the beginning of this period there were two main settlements or centres of population in Ceylon. They were the northern plain, with Anurādhapura as its capital, and Ruhuṇa, the south-eastern part, the capital of which was Māgama.

In the northern region access into the interior was along the main rivers, and the sources of these were not far from one another. Anurādhapura became the capital both on account of its central position and of its strategic position on the Malvatu Oya. The Malvatu Oya flows into the sea not very far from Māntai (Māṭoṭa) near Mannar, and the invaders from South India after landing at Māntai usually came along the river in order to reach the interior of the island. Anurādhapura was safe from sudden attack as it was some distance from the coast, while at the same time it was so placed that the march of the enemies into the interior could be checked from there. The south-eastern settlements were mainly along the four rivers—Valavē Gaṅga, Kirindi Oya, Mānik Gaṅga, and Kumbukkan Oya—which flow into the sea in almost parallel lines from the southern edge of the central mountains. Māgama, too, was in a central position and was safe from attack by foreigners on account of its distance from the sea.

The chief reason for the more extensive occupation of these areas was the scope they gave for agriculture. They were watered by many rivers and covered by a jungle not too dense, and were far more suitable for the cultivation of rice than the south-west and the mountainous region, which were covered by dense forests and possessed little flat land close to the rivers to be used as fields.

These two regions had close relations from the earliest times as they were connected by the Mahaväli Gaṅga. There was a direct route in those days between the two capitals Anurādhapura and Māgama. It passed through Kahagala and Riṭigala, and reached Māgantoṭa (Kacchakatittha) which is near the junction of the Mahaväli Gaṅga and its tributary, the Amban Gaṅga. From there it went along the bank of the Mahaväli Gaṅga to Alutnuvara (Mahiyaṅgaṇa) and then to Buttala, which lay on the upper part of the Mānik Gaṅga, before it finally reached Māgama.



There was a third settlement in the area watered by the Kälaṇi Gaṅga, but there is very little information about it either in the chronicles or in the inscriptions. This region probably did not come under the influence of the kings of Anurādhapura or Māgama. Owing to the heavy rainfall it must have been thickly wooded on either side and difficult of penetration. It was also not easily accessible from the north or the south-east as the rivers of this region flowed from east to west.

It is not certain which of the coastal regions was first occupied. It is possible that the Āryans first settled in the north-west of Ceylon owing to the pearl-banks in its neighbourhood, and then gradually made their way to the south-east. But it is equally likely that all the three coastal regions were independently occupied by sea-going people, who gradually went into the interior along the rivers.

The central highlands, called Malaya, were little occupied as they were difficult of access. The few Āryan settlers who penetrated into this region probably went up along the Mahaväli Gaṇga and the Valavē Gaṅga. The difficulties of access often made it, even during this period, the home of rebels and of defeated causes.

3. Political History

The Āryan occupation of these regions led to the rise of a number of villages which were ruled by *gāmaṇis* or village chiefs. The gāmaṇi of Anurādhagama in the north and the gāmaṇi of Māgama in the south-east gradually extended their power, and at the time Buddhism was introduced into this island they had become kings of the north and the south-east respectively.

Reference has already been made of King Devānaṅpiya Tissa (247-207 B.C.) in whose reign Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon. He belonged to the Mōriya clan and his descendants ruled over Ceylon till the throne was seized by an usurper called Subha in A.D. 120. Some time after the death of Devānaṅpiya Tissa adventurers from South India are said to have invaded Ceylon twice, seized Anurādhapura, and ruled for some time over the island. The second of these invasions was made by a Tamil named Eḷāra

(145-101 B.C.) who ruled over the north region till he was put to death by Duṭugämuṇu (101-77 B.C.) the ruler of Ruhuṇa. Duṭugämuṇu at the end of the second century B.C. subdued many petty kings and the Tamil Eḷāra, and became the chief ruler of the northern and the south-eastern districts. He is the greatest hero of Siṅhalese legend, which describes him as a mighty warrior who freed Ceylon from Tamil rule, and as a generous benefactor of Buddhism who built the Ruvanväli Sāya and the Lōvamahapāya (Brazen Palace), which were the dāgäba and the *uṭōsatha* house of the Mahāvihārē.

Duṭugämuṇu was succeeded by his brother Saddhā Tissa (77-59 B.C.) who according to the *Mahāvaṅsa* completed the building of the Ruvanväli Sāya and rebuilt the Lōvamahapāya, as that built by Duṭugämuṇu had been burnt down. At the beginning of the reign of his son, Vaḷagambā (43-29 B.C.) a Brāhmin called Tissa raised a revolt and was supported by a large number of people. Some members of the royal clan of Pāṇḍya[1] took advantage of this situation. They invaded Ceylon, deposed Vaḷagambā from the throne, and five of them ruled in succession. After fourteen years Vaḷagambā put an end to the rule of the Pāṇḍyas and established himself once more at Anurādhapura. One of his successors was Iḷanāga (A.D. 96-103), whose reign was marked by a rebellion of the Lambakaṇṇa clan who were the rivals of the Mōriyas. The Lambakaṇṇas dethroned him and administered the government for a few years, but Iḷanāga fought once more against them and recovered his throne. The Lambakaṇṇas, however, met with success in A.D. 126. Their leader Vasabha (A.D. 127-171), who later won fame as a builder of tanks and canals, made himself king by putting to death Subha (A.D. 120-126) who had seized the throne from the Mōriya ruler Yasalālaka Tissa. Thereafter the Lambakaṇṇas kept the throne to themselves for more than two centuries.

One of the successors of Vasabha was his grandson Gajabā (A.D. 174-196). Later legends, without sufficient reason, represent him as one who invaded South India successfully and brought back

1 The Pāṇḍya kings belonged to the tribe of Mārar, and two of these invaders bore the names of Panayamāra and Piḷayamāra.

a large number of captives to the island.[1] One of his descendants was Abhaya Nāga, the younger brother of Vēra Tissa (269-291) who was forced to flee to South India on account of a crime he had committed. His career is of some interest as he was the first Siṁhalese king who seized the throne with the help of a Tamil army. Legends have made famous another king of this dynasty, Siri Saṅgabō (307-309), who is represented as a saintly person. Mahasen (334-362) was the last king of this period who is best remembered as the builder of the Mini ēriya Tank.

4. The System of Government and Political Ideas

There is no definite source from which one can learn how the government of the country was carried on at this time, but some idea can be formed from stray bits of information in the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the inscriptions and the corresponding conditions that prevailed in India during this period.

When the early Āryans came to Ceylon, they settled in villages, and established as their form of government gansabhās with gāmaṇis or the elders of the village as their chiefs. When the gāmaṇis of Anurādhapura and Māgama established themselves as kings over the northern and the south-eastern regions, a form of central government was imposed over the village councils.

A king's duties in those days were very few compared with the activities of a modern government. He considered it his chief business to protect the people from any sort of disorder within the country or invasions from without. What was most essential for the progress of agriculture was peace and order, and every sensible king realised that good government was a necessity in the interests of both himself and his people. As he could not perform all the duties of government he appointed chiefs to administer the different districts and officials to attend to the various duties of the central

1 Neither the *Mahāvaṁsa* nor any early Tamil literary work has any evidence in support of the story. The Silappadikāram, however, mentions a Kayavāgu (Gajabāhu) as a contemporary of the Cēra king Senkuṭṭuvan.

government. Some of these officers no doubt formed a council which he consulted in matters which vitally affected the country.

There were no large industries in those days and very little use on money. Wealth consisted mainly of the products of the land, and it was land that all people tried to possess. All payments were also made in land or its produce, and kings paid their chiefs by granting them lands for their sustenance as long as they rendered him service. He adopted the same method to compensate people such as soldiers and craftsmen who worked for him.

Kings also granted lands for the maintenance of vihārēs and the supply of food for bhikshus. Society at this time was based on the principle of co-operation. There was no room for competition as lands were granted for services only according to the needs of the king or the government. The people who performed different duties were looked upon as the limbs of an organic body. The bhikshus were considered essential for the performance of religious duties on behalf of the rest, and the supplying of their needs was considered the best field for the accumulation of merit both by the kings and the people.

The kings at this time were absolute rulers and there were no checks to the exercise of their power; but they usually observed the customs of the people and did not act against the popular interests. If they acted as they liked and disregarded the welfare of the people, they knew that some aspirant to kingship might seize the throne and rule with the approval of the discontented people.

A king maintained his power mainly with the help of the army. His troops did not consist of ordinary tenants as in Europe but of men who received lands from him for fighting on his behalf. Such a system freed him from any serious opposition from his chiefs, who had no troops depending directly on them, or from the people who had no military training or any national or district organization that linked them together. Nevertheless it placed a great deal of power in the hands of the *sēnāpati*, the commander-in-chief, who directly controlled the army. If he was popular with the army he had often the opportunity to depose an unpopular ruler and place another on the throne, or become king himself.

The succession of kings under normal conditions depended also on ideas of inheritance. In the Sinhalese joint-families the eldest male was recognized as the chief, and at his death the family possessions were controlled by his brother next in seniority. The Sinhalese royal family followed the same custom, and a king was succeeded first by his brothers and then by his sons.

The chief difficulty that stood in the way of good government at this time was the lack of proper communications. As there was no way of sending a message quickly, the kings found it difficult to control the chiefs, to whom they delegated the rule of the provinces, or to give promptly any help their subjects needed. The people, therefore, organized themselves in small bodies for their own protection and for the carrying on of their activities which needed co-operation. Families which were closely connected usually banded together in order to protect their members, and looked after those who through sickness or old age were unable to provide for themselves. Similarly people who followed different crafts formed into guilds to safeguard their personal interests as well as those of their trade. Religious orders, too, had their own organizations. Each community of bhikshus, for instance, was governed by an assembly of all its members. Whenever they could not come to a unanimous decision, the matter was generally referred to a small committee of referees, as they voted on a motion and accepted the decision of the majority only on exceptional occasions. The most widespread form of corporation, however, continued to be the gansabhā or the village-council which exercised both administrative and judicial functions, and satisfied the needs of the cultivators who formed the main section of the population.

When the king had to deal with any matter which affected any locality or people, he usually acted through the representatives of these corporations. These corporations and not individuals were considered the units of society at this time. The individual did not receive the protection which the state provides today through the police and other organizations, and he, without claiming any special rights for himself, sought his safety in identifying himself entirely with one of these bodies and enjoying the rights and

privileges which it afforded. It was also not the custom for a king to interfere with these bodies, as long as they paid their taxes and did not call upon him to enforce their decrees on recalcitrant members who refused to obey them.

The existence of such local bodies helped the people to carry on their daily activities even when the central government was disorganized by the murder of a king or by a break in the succession. The normal order of things was not usually upset unless a rebellion was prolonged or the country was invaded by foreign forces.

The Siṅhalese during this period, unlike most ancient peoples, attached no special sanctity to kings. They did not believe that they were of divine origin or that they possessed divine powers. The kings themselves, unlike Indian rulers, did not trace their origin to the Sun or to the Moon and claim to belong to the Solar or Lunar Dynasty.

It was probably too early at this time to attribute any divine powers or a high origin to kings who had risen from positions of gāmaṇīs and still retained that title in their inscriptions. Moreover their ideas were mainly influenced at this time by Buddhist books, and, according to the Theravādins, the first mythical king, Mahāsammata, was raised to that position by the people and promised a share of their paddy only on his undertaking to perform certain duties to their satisfaction.

The ancient Siṅhalese, however, believed that a king who performed his religious duties and ruled righteously could confer boons on his people. For instance, they believed that by fasting and paying penance a king could cause the rain to fall on a country affected by drought and thus save it from harm. But since similar deeds could be performed even by others who had attained great spiritual powers, it did not mean that kings were associated with any divine powers merely because they were kings.

5. Agriculture and Irrigation

The Āryan settlers realised very soon that Ceylon was a favourable place for their agricultural activities. They found that it

warm climate and the fertile soil favoured the cultivation of rice, and that they were able to carry on their work in comparative safety as the sea that surrounded the country saved them from constant attacks of enemies. They had, however, one obstacle to overcome. Rain fell only during four months in the northern and the southern-eastern parts of the island, which they chiefly occupied. Even this fall was not heavy and the supply was quite inadequate for the cultivation of a grain like rice which required a large amount of water. Further, they had to guard themselves against occasional periods of drought when even the regular supply of rain failed and many rivers ran dry.

The obtaining of the necessary supply of water, therefore, became one of the chief objects of the kings and the people. They did not dig wells or tanks near the fields, as to draw water from them would have demanded great labour. Instead, they took advantage of the undulating nature of the country, and constructed tanks by building dams or bunds across shallow valleys down which seasonal streams flowed. The water thus collected on higher ground was let out through sluices made of stone or brick, and then sent to the fields through channels. Another way they obtained water for cultivation was by building massive causeways or anicuts across the larger rivers and turning the water into excavated channels, which sometimes conveyed it many miles and finally brought it into large reservoirs. They were so careful about conserving the water supply that at times they built a chain of reservoirs of varying elevations so that each one might take the overflow of water from the one above it.

If the history of these tanks and canals could be traced it would be possible to find out the manner in which the country was developed. Unfortunately, information is lacking about most of these tanks, and it is not possible at present to give for most of them even the probable dates of their construction or the likely order in which they were built.

The earliest tanks were no doubt constructed at Anurādhapura and Māgama where the population increased most quickly. The Abhayavāva (now called the Basavakkulam), the Tisāvāva, and

the Nuvaravāva at Anurādhapura were three of the first to be constructed. Vasabha (A.D. 127-170) is credited with eleven tanks and twelve channels. One of these tanks is either the Nāchchaduva Tank or the Ēruvāva, to the south-east of Anurādhapura. Dēṭu Tis I (A.D. 323-334) is said to have built six tanks and his brother, Mahasen (A.D. 334-362), sixteen tanks and a channel which began its course among the mountains. One of these sixteen is identified with Kavḍuluvāva, which lies to the south of the Kantalai Tank. Another is the Minn ēriya Tank which when full covers 4,560 acres and has a dam forty to fifty feet high. One of the canals built during this period was the Ālahāra Canal. It is about twenty-five miles in length, and now connects the Minnēriya Tank with the Amban Gaṅga (Kāra Gaṅgā) near the village of Ālahāra. The Amban Gaṅga flows from the Mātalē hills carrying a great volume of water, and the Ālahāra Canal diverts into the Minnēriya Tank a part of this water which would otherwise flow unimpeded into the sea through the Mahaväli Gaṅga. The tanks and canals built by Vasabha and Mahasen must have led to great progress in agriculture and an increase of population in the region between Anurādhapura and the Mahaväli Gaṅga. And the people, who benefited by the Minnēriya Tank, before long raised Mahasen to the position of a god, and worshipped him.

There are hardly any records which deal with the construction of irrigation works in Ruhuṇa. The earliest tanks constructed around Māgama were probably the Tisāvāva and the Duratisāvāva, now called the Yōdavāva, built by Ḷanāga. Another tank which goes back to very early times is the Dikvāva (Dīghavāpi) which lies about twenty miles to the west of Kalmunai. The land around the four rivers, the Valavē Gaṅga, the Kirindi Oya, the Mānik Gaṅga, and Kumbukkan Oya were cultivated with rice from very early times. The necessary water was obtained mainly by the building of anicuts across the rivers and their tributaries, and by diverting the water through channels into tanks or directly into fields.

In spite of the large number of tanks built and the water collected in them, four famines took place during this period. The

first of them, the Akkhakhāyika Famine occurred during the reign of Duṭugämuṇu. Food became so scarce at that time that the people were obliged to live on the nuts called *akkha*, which ordinarily were used only as dice. The second famine occurred during the rule of Vaḷagambā. It followed the revolt of the Brāhmin Tissa and continued for twelve years during the rule of the first three Pāṇḍya invaders. The situation became so serious that some Buddhist bhikshus left Anurādhapura for Malaya and others for India, and they returned only after the famine had run its course. Those who stayed behind lived on roots and leaves, *madhu* fruits and husks, stalks of water-lilies and bark of plantain trees. Many people died of starvation, and some even fed on human flesh to keep themselves alive. The third and the fourth famines were the result of drought and took place in the reigns of Kuḍḍa Nāga (248-249) and Siri Sangabō (307-309). In the time of Kuḍḍa Nāga the quantity of food available for each was so small that it was called the Ēkanālika Famine.[1]

The severe suffering caused by these famines could not be alleviated to any considerable extent in those days as means of relief were not ordinarily available. The south-western and the central parts of the island, which depended on the South-West monsoon, were little developed and could not provide with food-stuffs the northern and the south-eastern parts when the North-East monsoon failed to give the usual supply of water. It was difficult to obtain a supply of food from outside Ceylon, as each country provided food mainly for its own use, and, even if there was a surplus anywhere, it could not be easily obtained as there were no regular means of communication or of transport. Moreover the lack of communications within the island itself hindered Government from carrying out any measures of relief adequate enough to relieve the sufferings of the people.

6. Buddhism and Other Religions

Buddhism, as it was pointed out in the last chapter, was at first essentially a monastic religion. Its only organization was

1 A nāḷi is a measure equal to four handfuls. *Ēka* = one.

that of the Saṅgha, and its history was really the activities of the bhikshus. But even before Buddhism was brought from India to Ceylon, it was marked by three main lines of development. The Saṅgha divided itself into a number of sects mainly as a result of disagreements among its members with regard to rules of discipline. It evolved new doctrines which led to much controversy. It made an attempt to make Buddhism something more than a mere system of morality for the layman by providing him with objects of veneration.

In Ceylon too Buddhism went through further changes in the same directions. Before many centuries elapsed disagreements arose over rules of discipline and the Thēravāda sect ceased to be the only monastic order in Ceylon. In the time of Vaḷagambā the bhikshus of the Mahavihārē expelled an elderly bhikshu for breaking the rule which prohibited bhikshus from frequenting the families of laymen. A pupil of his tried to obstruct them when they took this step, and he too was expelled from the Saṅgha. Thereupon he went with a large number of his followers to the Abhayagiri Vihārē and formed a separate faction. Shortly afterwards some followers of the Dhammaruci Ācāriya of the Vajjiputtaka sect came from India, and he accepting their doctrines took upon himself the title of Dhammaruci Ācāriya. Thus came into existence the Dhammaruci sect. In the time of Goḷu Abā (A.D. 309-323) some bhikshus of this sect went away from the Abhayagiri Vihārē when it proclaimed the Vaituliya doctrines as the teaching of the Buddha, and resided in the Dakkhiṇa Vihārē, the dāgāba of which is the so-called Eḷāra's tomb; and in the time of Mahasen they occupied the Jētavanārāma Vihārē. At the Dakkhiṇa Vihārē they accepted the teaching of a bhikshu called Sāgala, and were thenceforth known as the Sāgaliyas.

The developments that arose with regard to Buddhist doctrines were concerned mainly with the person of the Buddha. At this time greater emphasis was laid on the personality of the Buddha as shown in the veneration paid to relics and sacred bo-trees, and some of the Buddhist commentaries go further and teach that the Buddha, unlike ordinary human beings, was not subject to disease and decay.

Another new doctrine that established itself during this period was connected with Mahāyānism, or Vaitulyanism as it was called in Ceylon. Mahāyānism is a form of Buddhism which came into existence in India about the first century A.D. It has been pointed out already how in the *Jātaka* the Buddha was looked upon as one who, when a bōdhisattva, sacrificing his own advantage for the sake of others, gave up *nirvāṇa* and prepared himself for Buddhahood. It has also been shown that the Buddha, according to the *Tipiṭaka*, did not teach his disciples to follow him and attain Buddhahood but pointed out to them how they, by pursuing a course of self-culture and self-control, might attain the state of an arahat and obtain their own release. In the last century before the Christian era there grew a new idea among the members of certain Buddhist sects. They taught that the followers of the Buddha need not necessarily aim at the state of an arahat but might, if they so desired, follow the career of the Buddha himself; they might by becoming bōdhisattvas aim at being Buddhas and work for the release of others.

No objection was raised at first to this additional teaching, as it did not go against the *Tipiṭaka* but merely supplemented it. But later some who adopted the bōdhisattva ideal preached against the old ideal of attaining the state of an arahat as a low or base career (*hīnayāna*) and advocated that everyone should work for the attainment of Buddhahood, which they called the great career (*mahāyāna*). Since this teaching went definitely against the *Tipiṭaka* which taught the way to attain the state of an arahat, there naturally arose a conflict between the Thēravādins who followed the *Tipiṭaka* and the Mahāyānists who advocated the bōdhisattva ideal exclusively.

At this time the Hindus in India did not merely offer sacrifices to win the favour of gods, but often devoted themselves to the worship of one god like Siva or Vishṇu, believing that the god of their devotion would grant them salvation. Influenced probably by this religion of devotion (*bhakti*) the Mahāyānists, in addition to praising the arduous career which a bōdhisattva had to lead to become a saviour, extolled the advantages of worshipping bōdhisattvas and winning their favour. The Buddhist layman,

who yet worshipped gods besides following the moral precepts of Buddhism, now found in the bōdhisattvas a substitute for his earlier objects of devotion. He began to attach even more importance to the bōdhisattvas than to the Buddhas, as the former could confer boons on him and save him from all sorts of misfortunes. But as time passed he began to look upon even the Buddhas not as those who showed the way but as beings similar to the gods of the Hindu pantheon.

Mahāyānism was opposed at first in Ceylon and the Siṅhalese kings Vīra Tissa (A.D. 269-291) and Goḷu Abā are said to have suppressed it; but a Mahāyānist bhikshu from Cōḷa, called Saṅghamitta, who was versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits and who had visited Ceylon in the time of Goḷu Abā, came again in the time of Mahasen. He induced the king to cease from supporting the Mahāvihārē bhikshus on the ground that they did not teach the right rules of discipline. As a result the Mahāvihārē was neglected for some years, and the material of some of its buildings was used for additions to Abhayagiri Vihārē which was treated generously by Mahasen.

The increasing attention paid to the laity by the Saṅgha at this time is evident from many sources. It has been pointed out already that the Buddha and the bhikshus contented themselves at first mainly with teaching morality as far as the laity were concerned. It is possible that the veneration paid to relics and the sacred bo-trees by the offering of flowers and lamps arose in India as the laity needed some forms of worship. According to the Pāli commentaries it was believed during this period that merit could be acquired by venerating a relic and that it was a heinous crime to destroy a dāgāba or a sacred bo-tree. It is also possible that religious festivals came to be established at this time as the laity needed more of religious ceremonies to keep up their interest in Buddhist practices.

Another ceremony which became popular at this time was that of *Pirit*, in the performance of which the bhikshus recited certain texts of the Pāli Canon which gave a code of ethics to be

practised in one's everyday life. The object of this recital was to exorcise evil spirits or to protect a person from evil influence, and the ceremony gave the people a substitute for charms to which they were already accustomed.

Religions other than Buddhism also existed in Ceylon at this time. Niganṭhas and Ājīvikas are said to have lived in Anurādhapura. Of these, the Niganṭhas, better known as Jains, were the followers of Mahāvīra, a religious teacher contemporary with the Buddha, who preached the attainment of salvation through the practice of extreme forms of asceticism. The Ājīvikas also lived in the time of the Buddha and were referred to by their opponents as those who professed asceticism in order to gain a livelihood. There is also mention of Brāhmins and *dēvālēs*, and it is possible that the Hindu gods Siva and his son Skanda were worshipped in Ceylon at this time. The common people kept up also the old religious cults. They continued to propitiate evil spirits and to worship local gods and natural objects such as trees, which they believed to be the habitation of divine beings.

7. Literature

Though the Buddhist bhikshus brought the art of writing to Ceylon they did not write any books for nearly two centuries. The Pāli Canon of the Thēravāda sect, which was brought from India, was not written down but was handed down orally from teacher to pupil. During the severe famine that followed the revolt of the Brāhmin Tissa many of the bhikshus, who had committed to memory parts of the Canon, died, while others, owing to the severe straits to which they were driven, ceased to be bhikshus as they could not follow the strict path prescribed for them by the *Vinaya*. These events brought home to the bhikshus, who remained loyal to their Order, the need for finding better methods to preserve the Scriptures on which their religion depended. The only way open to them was to deviate from the practice hitherto followed and commit the Scriptures to writing. This they did at Aluvihārē near Mātalē, as they had abandoned Anurādhapura during the famine and had continued to live in Malaya. After the

writing down of the Pāli Canon was completed, they wrote down also the commentaries, which were in Siṅhalese, and appear to have finished their work about the middle of the first century A.D.

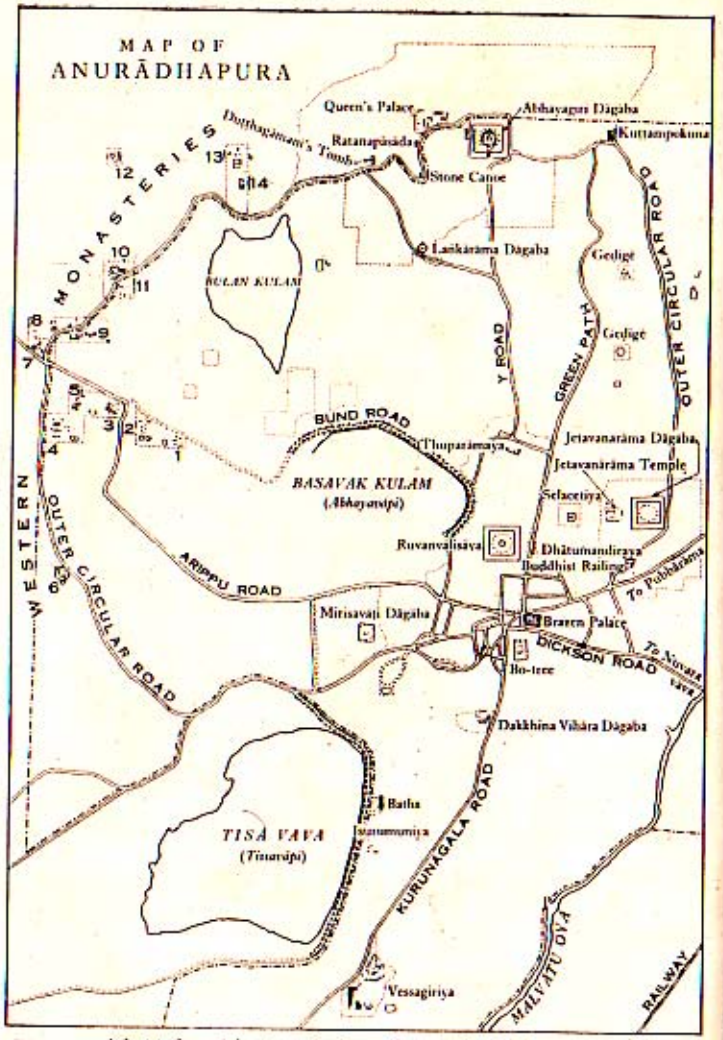
The Siṅhalese language at this period, as the inscriptions show, differed little from the other Āryan dialects of India.[1] The Siṅhalese characters inscribed on rocks also show hardly any deviation from the script of Aśōka till the first century A.D. when a sudden change took place. The new forms that came into use at this time, however, do not represent a natural evolution from the old characters. They resemble those in the inscriptions of the Āndhra Kingdom and were probably introduced from this region.

8. Architecture and Sculpture

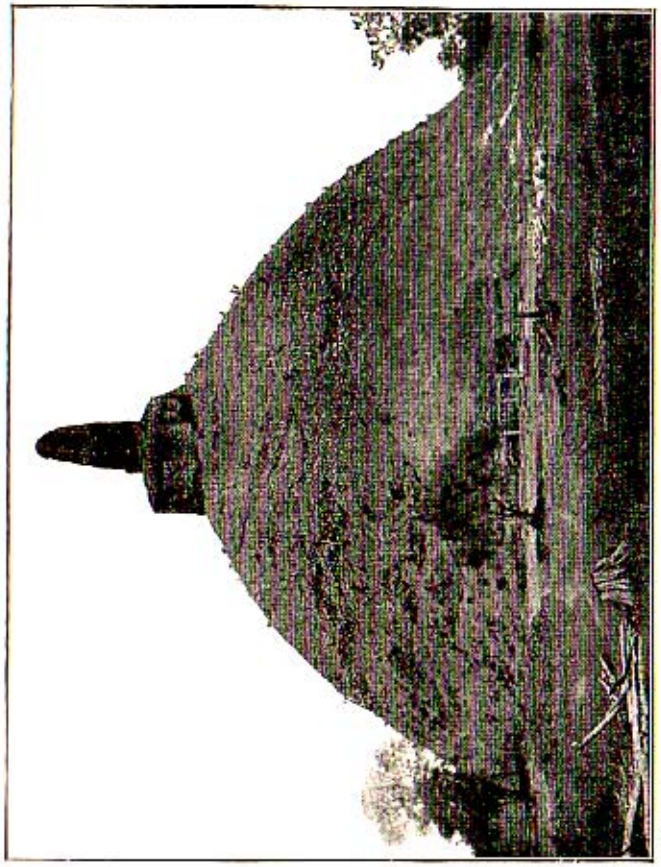
The Buddhist bhikshus who came to Ceylon lived at first in stone caves, such as those at Mihintalē, Vessagiriya and Isurumuniya in Anurādhapura, Situlpahuva[2] near the Māṇik Gaṅga, and in groves such as the Mahāmēghavana in Anurādhapura. Not long after their arrival the dāgāba called the Thupārama was built, and the Bo-tree, which still exists to the south of Anurādhapura, was planted. After the first century A.D. the use of caves for residential purposes went out of fashion, as from the first century B.C. both in the north and the south-east vihārēs began to be built. The most famous of the ancient vihārēs were the Mahavihārē, the Abhayagiri Vihārē, built by Vaḷagambā, and the Jētavanārāmaya, built by Mahasen, in Anurādhapura and the Tissamahārāmaya in Māgama. The Mahāvihārē, which became famous on account of its literary activity, was the great centre of orthodoxy, while the Abhayagiri

1 Old Siṅhalese, or Eḷu is closely akin to Vēdic, the earliest form of Sanskrit. The chief difference from Sanskrit lies in the shortening of long-vowels, the de-aspiration of consonants (Sanskrit, *bhāryā*; Pāli, *bhariyā*; Siṅhalese, *bariya*), the reduction of double consonants into single ones (Sanskrit, *Dharmarakshita*; Pāli, *Dhammarakkhita*; Siṅhalese, *Damarakita*), the omission of nasals (Sanskrit and Pāli, *saṅgha*; *Siṅhalese*, *saga*), and the change of *s* into *h*. Such modifications are found also in other Āryan dialects of India, such as Pāli, but they have been carried to the greatest extent in the Siṅhalese language.

2 Cittalapabbata.



Adapted, with permission, from the Map of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon



Archæological Survey of Ceylon

THE ABHAYAGIRI DAGABA, ANURĀDHAPURA
(Page 39)

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THE SO-CALLED 'FIGURE OF THE KUSHTARAJA'
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Vihārē and the Jētavanārāmaya were generally associated with heretical beliefs. The buildings of all these vihārēs covered a wide area, and each of them accommodated a large number of bhikshus. The grounds of the Mahāvihārē, for instance, extended from the Thūpārāma to the Dakkhiṇa Vihārē Dāgāba (Eḷāra's tomb).

The vihārēs built in the early centuries of the Christian era had foundations of stone, as many of the remains at Anurādhapura show, while the upper parts were made of wood, clay or brick. The buildings usually consisted of the living quarters, a refectory and an *upōsatha* house. At the upōsatha house the Siṅgha assembled on the fortnightly fast-day (*upōsatha* or *pōya*) of the full moon and the new moon and recited the formulary of confession. The best known example of an upōsatha house is the Brazen Palace, which belonged to the Mahāvihārē.

Every vihārē had also a dāgāba within its premises. The most popular dāgāba of this period is the Ruvanvāli Sāya in Anurādhapura, the dāgāba of the Mahāvihārē. Like most of the others of this time it was built on the same pattern as those at Sānchī in Central India. Iḷanāga (A.D. 96-103) built the dāgāba at Tissamahārāmaya in the south, Gajabā (A.D. 174-196) enlarged the Abhayagiri Dāgāba, which thus became the largest built during this period and larger than the third pyramid of Gizeh. The Kālaniya Dāgāba also belongs to this period. Thus the largest dāgābas were built at the seats of kings and sub-kings, and are an index to their wealth as well as to their ability to organize labour.

The dāgābas, also called *cētiyas* or *thūpas*, are of pre-Buddhistic origin. They were of various shapes. The Thūpārāma Dāgāba originally was in the shape of a heap of paddy. The others of the period were generally built in the shape of a hemishpere. They were erected on a round or square platform, and at the base of each there were three terraces. On the topmost of these rose the hemispherical dome. Above the dome was a square called the *hataräs koṭuva*, on which stood the round *dēvatā koṭuva* which formed the base of the spire. Originally the spire was in the shape of an umbrella standing on a stone shaft.

So far no traces have been discovered of buildings of this time used by laymen. The people probably lived in caves or dwellings made of destructible material. The only non-religious structure mentioned in the *Mahāvaṅsa*, apart from the king's palace which stood within the citadel, is the citadel wall built by Kūṭakaṇṇa Tissa (A.D. 16-38) and raised by Vasabha (A.D. 127-171) to about twenty-five feet.

With the development in architecture there arose a certain amount of activity in sculpture. The examples extant are carved in limestone and belong to the style of the Āndhra sculptures at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa on the river Kṛishṇā in South India. The specimens which represent the great miracle of Srāvasti and Māyā's Dream (Colombo Museum Nos. 46 A and 46 B) appear to have been brought from India to Ceylon. The others of this style, such as the illustrations of the cobra king, the seven-hooded cobra, and the bōdhisattva in the attitude of preaching, were carved in Ceylon to adorn the altars of the Jētavanārāma Dāgāba.

9. References to Ceylon in Indian and Greek Literature

Four Indian works of this period make reference to Ceylon, and the writers of them appear to have considered this island as a sort of fairy-land occupied by *yakshas* or non-human beings. The *Valāhassa Jātaka* calls Ceylon Tambapaṇṇi and mentions Nāgadīpa and Kalyāṇi. According to it Ceylon was occupied by *yakshiṇis*, or she-demons. The *Divyāvadāna*, a Sanskrit Buddhist work of the second century A.D., calls Ceylon Tāmradvīpa and gives an account of a merchant's son, called Siṅhala, who subdued *rākshasis*[1] in Ceylon and ruled over the island. The tale of Vijaya and Kuveni probably grew from these two stories. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the great Indian epic, also describes Ceylon as being occupied by *rākshasas* whose king was Rāvaṇa, while the *Saddharma Lankāvatāra*

1 The terms, *rākshasis* and *yakshiṇis*, are often interchanged. The landing of Siṅhala is represented in the Ajaṇṭā frescoes.

Sūtra (Sūtra of the Entrance of the Good Doctrine into Laṅka) represents Rāvaṇa as a good Buddhist layman.

The references of the Greeks who came as traders stand in strong contrast to those of the Indian religious writers who kept to the literary tradition. The Greeks refer to Ceylon from the time of Alexander the Great, and call it Taprobane (Tāmraparṇī). The *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, a merchant's practical guide to a coasting voyage from the Persian Gulf to the west coast of India written in the first century A.D., says that pearls, precious stones, muslins and tortoise-shell were exported from Ceylon and that its chief town was Palæsimundu. It exaggerates the size of the island and makes it almost touch Africa. Ptolemy, the Greek astronomer and geographer who lived in Egypt in the second century A.D., calls Ceylon Salice. According to him the products of Ceylon were rice, ginger, beryl, sapphire, gold, silver and elephants.

Too much reliance, however, cannot be placed on these accounts, as the Greeks did not have an accurate knowledge of Ceylon. Still the fact that Malaya, Anurādhagama and the Mahavāli Gaṅga are marked with fair accuracy in Ptolemy's map shows that in the second century A.D. the Greeks knew something of the interior of the island.

CHAPTER III

THE NORTH INDIAN PERIOD II

The North Indian Period II of Ceylon begins with the reign of Mahāsen's son Kit Siri Mevan (Kīrti Srī Mēghavarṇa), who ascended the throne in A.D. 362, and ends with the Cōḷa conquest of Ceylon in 1017 in the reign of Mihindu V.

During this period there were further advances in the system of government, in agriculture and irrigation and in Buddhist activity. Ceylon continued to be influenced by North India and was affected by South Indian invasions. Though there was no

important difference in these respects from what happened in the preceding period, there occurred a great cultural change as a result of certain events that took place in North India. The great Indian emperor Samudragupta (A.D. 335-385), who brought the greater part of North India under his rule, ushered in a new era which brought about a revival in Hinduism and in Sanskrit literature. Kit Siri Mevan who was his contemporary had dealings with him, and Ceylon from this time up to the Cōḷa conquest was influenced mainly by the Gupta civilization. Hence this period from Kit Siri Mevan to Mihindu V needs to be separated from the early period though it forms a part of the North Indian Period of Ceylon history.

1. North India

After the break-up of the Āndhra kingdom in the middle of the third century A.D., there was no great power in North India or the Deccan till the rise of the Guptas. The first of this dynasty of kings probably reigned at Pāṭaliputra in the last quarter of the third century A.D., but the first great ruler of this line was Samudragupta, who was one of India's ablest and most versatile rulers. He was quite different from Aśōka, and has left behind an inscription proclaiming his conquests by war. This record shows that he first conquered the neighbouring kingdoms in the Ganges valley and then marched southwards as far as the river Krishṇa where he was opposed by a confederation of kings led by a Pallava king of Kāñchī. Though Samudragupta failed to conquer a great part of India, his supremacy appears to have been generally acknowledged, as he says that he received the homage of the Siṅhalese who lived farthest from his capital.

Samudragupta achieved fame not only as a great conqueror but also as a poet and musician ; and during the reign of his successor Indian civilization and culture rose to a very high state. Chandragupta II, who bore the title of Vikramāditya (A.D. 385-413), extended his empire westwards as far as the sea-coast, and made Ujjain the chief seat of his empire. Many men of letters adorned his court, and it was in his time that Kālidāsa, the great Indian writer, flourished.

The Gupta Period was the Golden Age of India. Hinduism and Buddhism made headway during this time, and both religions were supported by the kings. Literature, science, architecture, sculpture and painting reached a high level. Sanskrit became the language of the learned, and the Gupta kings used it regularly in their inscriptions. The Indian epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇā*, and other Sanskrit works such as the *Laws of Manu*, and Kauṭalya's *Arthe śāstra* took their final form about this time if not during this period. Kālidāsa wrote his famous drama, *Shakuntalā* and his poems such as the *Ritusaṁhāra*, the *Raghuvaṁsa*, and the *Mēghadūta*. Sculpture, which exhibited extraordinary beauty of figure, dignity of pose and restraint in the treatment of details, and paintings, such as the frescoes of Ajaṇṭā, reached an extraordinarily high standard of excellence.

Under the Guptas, India became the leading power in the East. It had dealings with the Persian, the Roman, and the Chinese emperors. Chinese pilgrims such as Fa-Hsien visited India, and Indian sages like Kumārajīva visited China. In short, the influence of India was so extensive that many Asiatic countries looked to it for the sources of their inspiration.

The glory of the Gupta dynasty lasted till the death of Skandagupta, who died about A.D. 470 after subduing internal rebellions and checking the invasions of the Huns, who were called Hūnas in India. His successors, however, retreated before the later invasions of the Huns, and ruled over a much smaller area. They probably reigned over the region around Pāṭaliputra till about the end of the seventh century A.D. One of these, Narasiṁhāgupta, was the founder of the great temple of Nālandā, the famous Buddhist university described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang, who visited India at the time of Harsha.

The Huns ruled over North India only for a short time, and with the collapse of their power many new dynasties rose into preminence, such as the Vardhanas of Thānesar, which lay to the north of Delhi, and the Cāḷukyas, who occupied Mahārāstra. At the beginning of the seventh century Harsha (606-647) became

king of Thānesar and the chief ruler of North India. He then advanced southwards with his army until his progress was checked near the river Narbadā by the Cāḷukya king, Pulakēsin II.

Harsha was a Buddhist and took a great interest in his religion. He favoured the Mahāyānists, and thus helped the spread of Mahāyāna teaching in India. After his death North India broke up once more into a number of kingdoms. These carried on a struggle for supremacy till the greater part of North India was occupied by the Gurjara Pratihāras whose empire lasted till the beginning of the tenth century. After that North India gradually fell into the hands of the Muslims who made their way from the north-west passes.

2. South India

The civilization of South India described in the 'Sangam' works, referred to in the last chapter, appears to have been submerged by a conquest of South India by the Kaḷabhras, of whom little is known. Their power was subdued towards the end of the sixth century A.D. in Pāṇḍya by the Tamil chief Kaḍuṅkōn and in Cōḷa by Siṅhavishṇu, the Pallava king of Kānchī.

The successors of Kaḍuṅkōn maintained their power till the end of the ninth century. The greatest king of this dynasty, Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha (815-860), defeated all his neighbours in the early part of his reign. He, however, met with many reverses shortly before his death while his successor suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Pallavas. Pāṇḍya began to decline after the reigns of these two rulers, and in the tenth century became a part of the Cōḷa Empire.

The history of the Pallavas from the seventh century is mainly an account of their wars with their neighbours the Western Cāḷukyas, who from the middle of the sixth century to the middle of the eighth century occupied the region to the west of the River Kṛishṇā. The greatest of the Pallava kings was Narasiṅhavarman Mahāmalla (c. 625-660), and he defeated the greatest of the Western Cāḷukya kings, Pulakēsin II (609-642), who checked the southern

advance of Harsha. These wars exhausted both the peoples, and the Pallava power began to decline at the end of the ninth century.

The Pallavas did a great deal for the development of religion, literature, architecture and sculpture in South India. They were patrons of Sanskrit learning and of writers like Daṇḍin, the author of *Dasakumāracarita* and *Kāvyadarsa*. They supported the worship of both Siva and Vishṇu and the activities of the Vaishṇava and the Saiva saints, who are well known for their devotional hymns and as a result of whose work Buddhism and Jainism declined in South India at this time. They were the first South Indian rulers to build temples of stone. They caused to be made cave-temples cut out of rock, monolithic free-standing temples and temples constructed out of stone. Some of the best examples of their architecture and sculpture can be seen at Mahabalipuram (Mahāmallapuram), which lies to the south of Madras. Here are to be seen seven beautiful temples, each of which is cut out from a rock-boulder, scenes carved with remarkable skill in bas-relief on the face of a cliff and a temple of the later Pallava style constructed out of stone.

With the decline of the Pallavas the Cōḷas not only asserted their independence but also made conquests at the expense of both the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas. The Cōḷa king Parāntaka I (907-953) expelled Māravarman Rājasiṅha II of Pāṇḍya from his throne, but his attempts to extend the boundaries of the Cōḷa kingdom further were checked by a people called the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

The Cōḷa king Rājarāja I (985-1014) began once more to extend the Cōḷa dominions. He made himself master of Pāṇḍya and Cēra, established a protectorate over Veṅgī, which was ruled by the Eastern Cāḷukyas[1], and conquered Rajaraṭa in Ceylon and the Maldive islands. Rājarāja was the greatest of Cōḷa rulers, and during his time Cōḷa was the most powerful empire in India. He was the builder of the great temple at Tanjore, the Rājarājēśvara, the finest specimen of Tamil architecture in South India.

1 Pulakesin II made his brother the ruler of Vengī, and the latter's descendants were called the Eastern Cālukyas.

3. The Political Divisions

During this period the northern region of Ceylon, the capital of which was Anurādhapura, came to be called Pihiṭiraṭa. It was also called Rajaraṭa, as this region was directly ruled by the king himself. The south-eastern region continued to be called Ruhuṇa and the mountain region at the centre Malaya.

Rajaraṭa was further divided into Uttaradēsa (the Northern District), Pachchimadēsa (the Western District) Pācīnadēsa (the Eastern District) and Dakkiṇadēsa (the Southern District). Of these sub-divisions Dakkhiṇadēsa was the largest in size. From the time of Agbō I (568-601) its government was given over to the Mahapā[2] or mahayā, the heir to the throne, and this region came to be known as Māpā (Mahapā) or Māyā (Mahayā) raṭa as opposed to Rajaraṭa, the King's Division. It soon became so important that it along with Rajaraṭa and Ruhuṇa were considered the three main divisions of Ceylon.

All these regions were under the Anurādhapura kings, but the amount of control they exercised over Dakkhiṇadēsa and Ruhuṇa depended on the strength and character of each individual king. Ruhuṇa rulers appear on the whole to have been controlled very little, and it is likely that some of them acted as if they were independent.

Anurādhapura continued to be the capital of Ceylon during this period, except during the reign of Kāśyapa I. It was a large city for those days, and contained many thorougfares and side-streets. The numerous shrines within it made it a place of pilgrimage and the residence of a large number of bhikshus. The tanks provided the necessary water for a great deal of agricultural activity which supported the large population of the city. It was the seat of government and the residence of many foreign merch-

2 *Mahapā=mahā āryapāda. mahayā=mahā ārya.* Both these meant the chief prince, while *āpā* (*āryapāda*) meant a prince.

ants. Its administration was looked after by a special officer called the Nuvara-laddā[1].

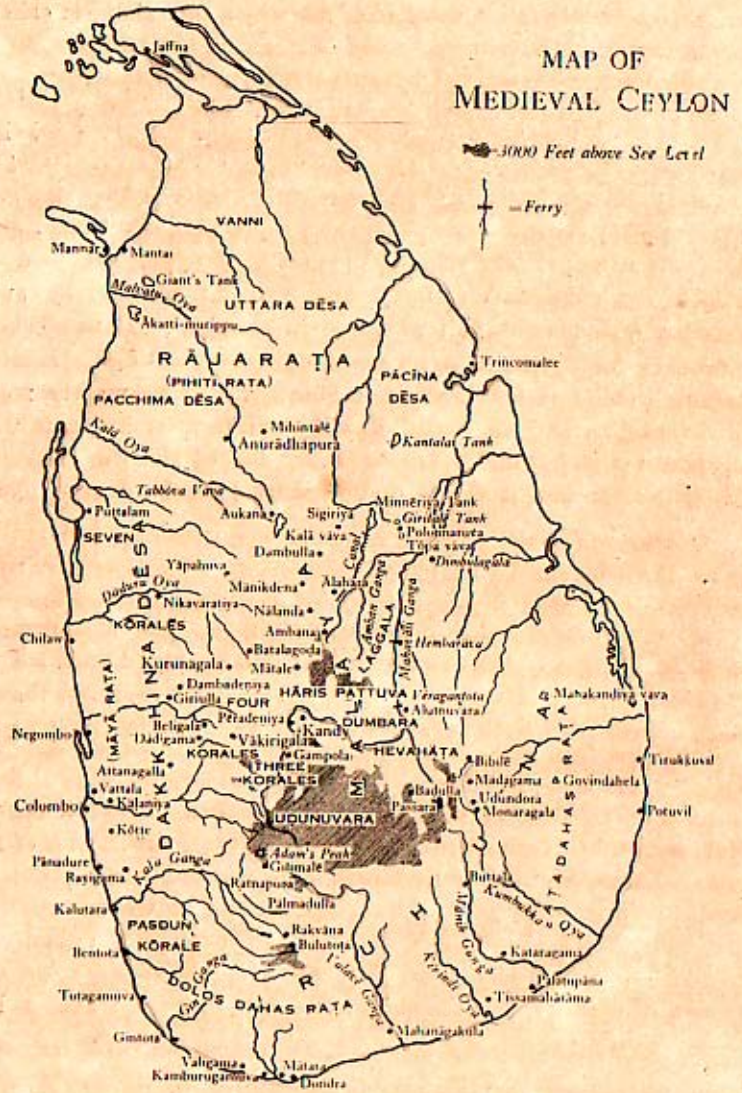
Three other towns grew in importance during this time. Sigiriya came into prominence because of its occupation by Kāsyapa I. Polonnaruva had been important on account of its strategic position against invasions from Ruhuṇa. The extension of irrigation in the country around made of this now a prosperous town. Agbō IV (A.D. 658-674) and Agbō VII (A.D. 766-772) occupied it temporarily, and Sēna V (A.D. 972-981) resided there after he came to terms with his sēnāpati who rose in rebellion. It was called Jananātha Maṅgalam after its occupation by the Cōḷas. Māntai (Mātoṭa), owing to its closeness to South India, became the most important port and was called Rājarājapuram after Rajaraṭa was occupied by Rājarāja I. The large number of ruins of tanks in the district around it shows that it must have been a populous town.

4. Political History

Sixty-six kings ruled in Ceylon during this period, and most of them belonged to the two royal clans, Mōriya and Lambakarṇa. Their reigns were of varying length, a few lasting even less than a year. A complete list of them is of little value beyond helping to make up the chronology of the period.

Kit Siri Mevan, the first king of this period, was a son of Mahasen and thus belonged to the Lambakarṇa clan. One of his successors was his nephew Buddhadāsa, who is said to have provided medical aid in every part of his kingdom and to whom tradition attributes marvellous and impossible cures. Buddhadāsa's second son was Mahānāma (A.D. 409-431), in whose reign the Buddhist bhikshu, Buddhaghōsa, and the Chinese traveller Fa-Hsien visited Ceylon.

1 The *Nuvara-laddā* probably held a position similar to that of a *gamladdā* or lord of a *nindagama* who had a minor civil and criminal jurisdiction over his tenants.



This succession of Lambakarṇa kings was maintained till a minister set up an adventurer called Mit Sen on the throne. Mit Sen's unpopularity was used by adventurers from Pāṇḍya as an opportunity for invading Ceylon. Aften they slew him, six of them ruled in succession. The unpopularity of the Pāṇḍyas gave the Mōriya clan an opportunity to assert their power once more. Dhātusēna (460-478) of this clan, who lived in Ruhuṇa, fought against these Pāṇḍyas and succeeded the last of them. His son, Kāśyapa I (478-496) had no right of the thone, as his mother was not one of the chief queens. He, joining the sēnāpati, whom his father had offended, rebelled against Dhātusēna and caused him to be put to death. His brother, Mugalan I, the rightful heir, escaped to South India, and Kāśyapa, fearing an invasion by his brother, left Anurādhapura and occupied the rock-fortress of Sīgiriya. Mugalan returned from South India in the eighteenth year of Kāśyapa's reign, defeated him, and ruled from Anurādhapura.

This line of the Mōriya kings came to an end with Siva who was put to death by the Lambakarṇa Upatissa II. Upatissa married a princess of the Mōriya clan probably to strengthen his position on the throne, but was soon after dethroned by his son-in-law Silākāla who brought the hair-relic to Ceylon.

The Lambakarṇa dynasty was driven from power once more by Mahānāga (556-568) of the Mōriya clan. He was the sēnāpati of Kit Siri Mē, whom he defeated after rebelling against him. Agbō I (568-601), the builder of the Kurunduvāva and the Mihintalē Tank, and Agbō II (601-611), the builder of the Kantalai and the Giritalē Tanks, were his immediate successors.

The last of these Mōriya kings Saṅgha Tissa II was overthrown by the Lambakarṇa Daḷa Mugalan. This change of dynasty was followed by a civil war which lasted some years and caused great suffering. The combatants at times plundered vihārēs and dāgābas, and the people not only lost their foodstuffs but also found it difficult to cultivate their fields. During this war in the reign of Silāmēghavarṇa a sēnāpati called Sirināga went to South India, returned with Tamil troops and raised a rebellion. Agbō III,

Dāṭhopa Tissa I (626-641), Dāṭhopa Tissa II (650-658) and Mānavamma (676-711) also went to South India and brought Tamil forces to secure the throne. The step taken by these had very serious results. The Tamil soldiers gained much power and at times not only influenced the succession but even got the government into their power. Later when South Indian rulers invaded Ceylon they usually joined their countrymen and fought against the Siṅhalese kings.

Manavamma (Mānavarman) was the son of Kāśyapa II A.D. 641-650), and after his family was overthrown by Dāṭhōpa Tissa II (650-658), he fled to India and served under Narasiṅhavarman I. He fought for this Pallava king against Pulakēsin II, and was in turn helped by him to become king of Ceylon. On his first attempt he captured only Anurādhapura, but came again later and seized the throne. This time he was successful, probably because the king who was reigning at the time he landed was not a member of the royal family, and was really the tool of a Tamil called Potthakuṭṭha, who administered the kingdom.

Though the civil war came to an end with the accession of Mānavamma, the people of Ceylon before long had to face fresh troubles. The Pāṇḍyas, who established themselves in power at the end of the sixth century, under Śrī Māra Srī Vallabha (815-860), invaded Ceylon in the reign of Sēna I (831-851) and were supported by the Tamil mercenaries in the island. Śrī Māra ravaged the country, occupied Anurādhapura, and carried away much booty. Towards the end of his reign he lost much of his power, and his son rose in revolt in 860. Sēna II (851-885), who was looking out for an opportunity to avenge Śrī Māra's invasion of Ceylon, supported this disaffected prince, besieged Madura, and placed him on the throne.

After this Ceylon was friendly with Pāṇḍya, but had to contend with the rising power of Cōḷa. In 910 the Cōḷa king Parāntaka I (907-953) defeated the Pāṇḍya ruler Māravarman Rājasiṅha II, and the latter sought the aid of Ceylon. The learned Siṅhalese king Kāśyapa V (913-923), who himself feared the Cōḷas, sent an army to support Rājasiṅha II, but the combined army of the

Pāṇḍyas and the Siṅhalese was defeated by Parāntaka I. The Cōḷas continued to press on Rājasiṅha II, and the latter, unable to resist the Cōḷas any more, came to Ceylon in the reign of Dappula V (923-934). But Dappula, who was troubled by strife among his chiefs, could not give him any assistance, and Rājasiṅha leaving his headgear and regalia went to Cēra to seek aid from the Cēra king.

In order to seize the headgear and regalia Parāntaka I invaded Ceylon in the reign of Udya III (945-953). Udaya was a drunkard and a weak ruler, and he immediately fled to Ruhuṇa; but Parāntaka instead of pursuing him had to retrace his steps to South India as in 949 the Rāshṭrakūṭas, under Kṛishṇa III, had inflicted a severe defeat on the Cōḷas and Eūtuga, the brother-in-law of Kṛishṇa III, had put his son to death. Udaya seized this opportunity and ravaged the borders of the Cōḷa Kingdom.

Though the Cōḷas lost much of their territory after this defeat, Ceylon was invaded again about 959 by Parāntaka II (953-973) as Mihindu IV (956-972) helped Pāṇḍya in a revolt against the Cōḷas. Mihindu IV's forces not only checked this invasion but even put to death the Cōḷa general. Mihindu IV's career is also important as he was the first Siṅhalese king to form a marriage-alliance with Kaliṅga, a connection which affected the course of Ceylon history in later times.

Mihindu IV was followed by the inefficient ruler Sēna V (972-981). The Cēra mercenaries revolted in his time, and he fled to Ruhuṇa where he lived for some time. His brother Mihindu V (981-1017) was even weaker as a king. His government was so helpless that people refused to pay taxes, and as a result, his army, which he could not pay, mutinied in 991. He fled to Ruhuṇa to escape their wrath, and Rajaraṭa fell into the hand of the Cēra, the Kanarese, and the Siṅhalese troops.

Rājarāja I (985-1014), who was extending the Cōḷa empire in every direction, did not fail to take advantage of the confusion that prevailed in Ceylon. His troops invaded Ceylon in 993 and occupied Rajaraṭa. They destroyed many of the buildings in Anurādhapura, made Rajaraṭa a province of Cōḷa and Poḷonnaruva

its capital. Rājēndra I (1014-1044), the son of Rājarāja, renewed the conquest begun by his father and brought the whole island under his rule. He captured Mihindu V in 1017 and sent him to South India along with the Pāṇḍya regalia. Though the Siṁhalese had held their own against the Cōḷas in the tenth century, they found the mighty power of the Cōḷa empire under Rājarāja I too strong to resist. Hence Ceylon for the first time came under the direct rule of a foreign power.

5. The System of Government and Political Ideas

The kings of this time, like those of the preceding period, were despotic, and their power was limited only by the customs and the traditions of the country. The succession, as before, was from brother to brother, and then to the son of the eldest brother and his brothers. Further all these had to be of noble descent on the mother's side as well. Next to the king was the sub-king or *yuvarāja*. He was sometimes consecrated as *uparāja*, when he appears to have had a share in the government of the country. The yuvarāja was usually the heir to the throne, and was called the mahaāpā. After him came the rulers of Ruhuṇa and Malaya who were usually members of the royal family.

More information is available also with regard to civil and military officials. The post of sēnāpati, as in the North Indian Period I, was the most important. It was given to one whom the king trusted fully, and it was usually a member of the royal family that was appointed. Three other posts mentioned are those of the *mahālēkha* (the chief scribe), the *chattagāhaka* (the parasol-bearer), and the *asiggāhaka* (the sword-bearer). The chief duty of the *mahalēkha* was the drafting of the king's edicts, a work which was considered very important. The *chatta* or parasol was the symbol of royal dignity, and played to some extent the part of a flag in modern times. The bearer of it and the bearer of the sword became important as the king's immediate and trusted attendants. They were also usually connected with the royal family. In addition to these there was a council which carried out the orders of the king.

There is also more evidence in the inscriptions with regard to the system of village self-government. The administrative duties of the gansabhā consisted mainly in the maintenance of peace and order, the punishment of offenders, and the supervision of village works such as the building of the bunds of tanks. The judicial work consisted of inquiring into complaints regarding offences committed in the village, and deciding what punishments should be given to the guilty persons. The punishment meted out for murder or the slaughter of cattle was death, for robbery hanging, for assault and theft fines, and for the stealing of cattle branding. In the case of menials who could not afford to pay fines their hands were cut off, while those who effaced brand marks were made to stand on hot iron sandals. As at this time it was not the individual but the family or the corporation to which the individual belonged that was considered the unit of society, if anyone other than a menial did not pay a fine his family had to pay the sum. Similarly the village had to be responsible to the king for the actions of its inhabitants. If, for instance, a criminal of a village was not found within forty-five days the king's officials, when they came on their annual circuit, exacted a fine from the entire village.

The villages that belonged to the vihārēs were also administered according to definite rules. The bhikshus, unlike Christian monks, according to their rules of discipline could neither attend to the work of cultivation nor administer the lands that belonged to the vihārēs. Hence special lay wardens were appointed to protect the property of the vihārē, collect the revenues due from the lands leased out, exact the services due from the tenants, and supply the necessaries of the bhikshus. In the larger vihārēs there were a number of lay officials such as the steward, the clerk, the registrar of caskets, the keeper of the caskets, and the almoner, besides servants and slaves. All these were given lands belonging to the vihārē as payment for services, and the lands passed from father to son as long as the services continued to be rendered. The officials had to keep a record of all services and payments. They had no right to accept gifts from the tenants of the vihārē lands or demand any services for themselves.

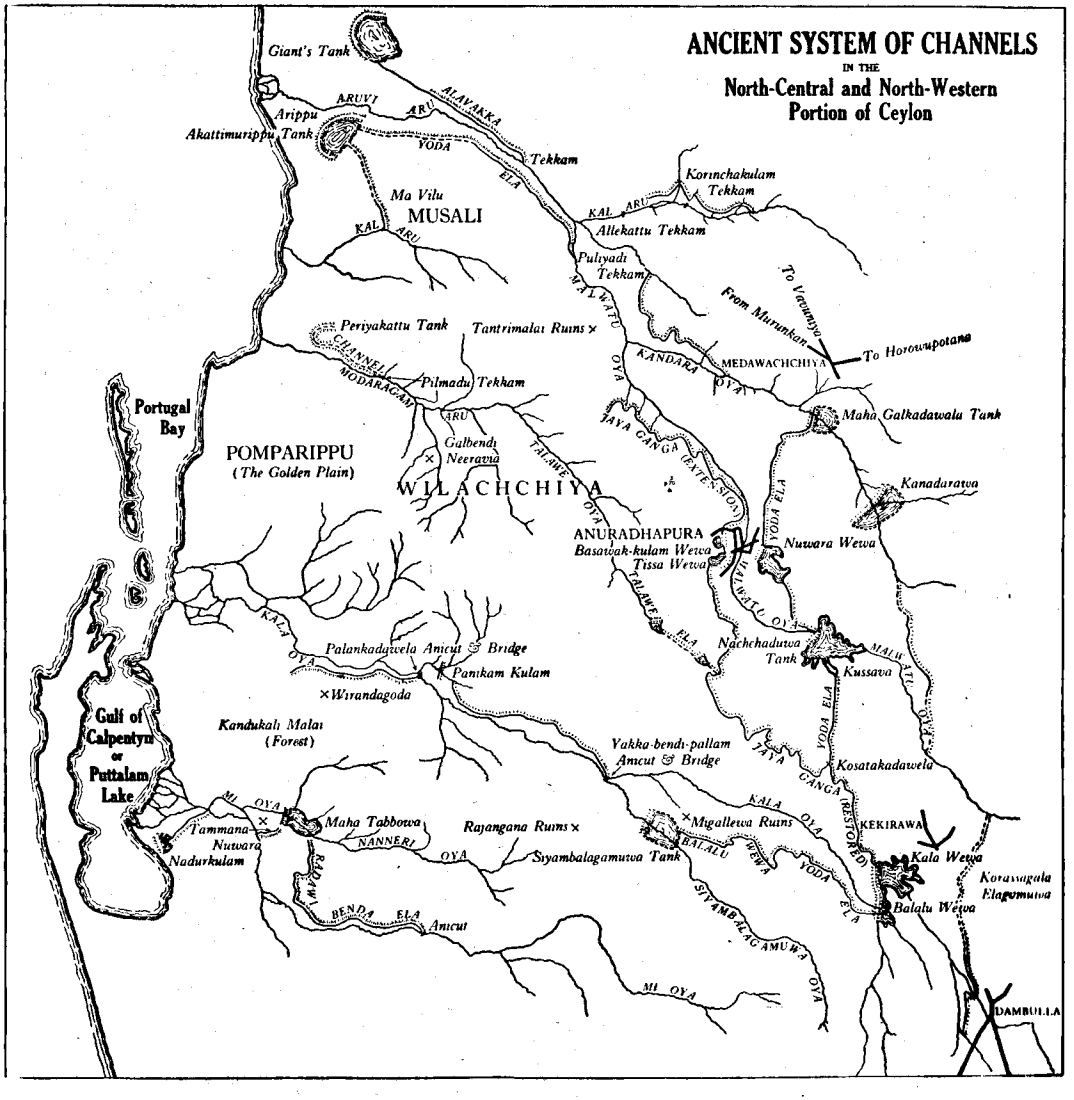
The vihārēs and the lands that belonged to them were considered sanctuaries. The king's officials could not demand any services from them, cut trees within them for timber, or arrest offenders that took refuge in them. The king, however, had the right to punish such villages if they did not punish criminals that took refuge in them.

The views about kingship underwent a change at this time. As a result of the influence of Mahāyāna Buddhism, kings were regarded no longer as ordinary human beings, but were looked upon as bōdhisattvas, or beings who deserved to be worshipped. In the ninth century the kings themselves, probably influenced by the ideas of the *Purāṇas*, tried to gain prestige by tracing their descent to the Sun, and thus claiming to be members of the Solar dynasty.

6. Agriculture, Irrigation and Trade

There was continued expansion in agriculture and irrigation during this period. The cultivation of rice was carried on with great vigour. The practice of constructing large tanks, begun towards the end of the preceding period, was continued during the first half of this period when some of the largest tanks were built. At the beginning of the fifth century Upatissa I built the Tōpāvāva in Poḷonnaruva. Dhātusēna (A.D. 460-478) built the Kalāvāva by setting up a dam across the Kalā Oya. Mugalan II (A.D. 537-556) also built many tanks. The Kurunduvāva, which is either the Giant's Tank or the Ākattimurippu (Ākatti Breached Tank), was built by Agbō I (A.D. 568-601), who is said to have constructed also the Mihintalē Tank and restored the Ālahāra Canal, constructed during the preceding period. Agbō II (A.D. 601-611) built the Kantalai and the Giritalē Tanks.

The Kalāvāva when full covered nearly seven square miles. Its dam is about three-and-a-half miles long and thirty-six to fifty-eight feet high, while its spill is constructed out of hammered granite. It appears to have been fed by water flowing from the Mātalē hills by connecting its feeding stream, the Dambulla Oya, with the Nāḷanda Oya, a tributary of the Amban Gaṅga. In turn it served


ANCIENT SYSTEM OF CHANNELS
IN THE
North-Central and North-Western
Portion of Ceylon
Giant's Tank
Arippu
Akattimurippu Tank
ARUVI ARU
ALAVAKKA
YODA ELA
Tekkam
Ma Vilu
MUSALI
KAL ARU
Korinchakulam Tekkam
Allekattu Tekkam
Puliyadi Tekkam
MALWATU OYA
To Vavuniya
From Murunkan
To Horowupotana
MEDAWACHCHIYA
KANDARA OYA
Periyakattu Tank
Tantrimalai Ruins
CHANNEL
MODARAGAM
Pilmadu Tekkam
ARU
Galbendi Neeravi
Portugal Bay
POMPARIPPU
(The Golden Plain)
WILACHCHIYA
TALAWE OYA
JAYA GANGA (EXTENSION)
Maha Galkadawalu Tank
Kanadarawa
ANURADHAPURA
Basawak-kulam Wewa
Tissa Wewa
YODA ELA
Nuwara Wewa
MALWATU OYA
TALAWE ELA
Nachchaduwa Tank
MALWATU OYA
Kussava
KALA OYA
Palankadawela Anicut & Bridge
Pankam Kulam
Wirandagoda
Gulf of Calpentyn or Puttalam Lake
Kandukali Malai
(Forest)
Yakka-bendi-pallam Anicut & Bridge
YODA ELA
JAYA GANGA (EXTENSION)
Kosatakadawela
KALA OYA
KEKIRAWA
Migallewa Ruins
BALALU WEWA
YODA ELA
Kala Wewa
Koraswagala Elagomuwa
Balalu Wewa
MI OYA
Tammana-Nuwara
Nadurkulam
Maha Tabbowa
NANNERI OYA
Rajangana Ruins
Siyambalagamuwa Tank
ROAD
BENDA ELA
Anicut
SIYAMBALAGAMUWA OYA
MI OYA
DAMBULLA

as a storage reservoir which fed through canals the district between the Kalā Oya and the Malvatu Oya.

Of the canals that conveyed water from the Kalāvāva the best known was the Jaya Gaṅga, now called the Yōda Āla, which connected the Kalāvāva with the Tisāvāva in Anurādhapura. It is fifty-four miles in length and forty feet wide. Its construction shows great engineering skill, as the gradient for the first seventeen miles is only six inches for a mile. The Jaya Gaṅga provided water for a district of about one hundred and eighty square miles, and was the chief source of water-supply for Anurādhapura.

The Ākatti-murippu has a bund four-and-a-half miles long and was fed by constructing an anicut (*tekkam*) across the Malvatu Oya and diverting a part of its water through a canal. The Giant's Tank has a very much longer bund, and covers an area of six-thousand four-hundred acres. It is also fed by water from the Malvatu Oya sent through an excavated channel (*ālavakka*). The embankment of the Kantalai Tank is over a mile in length and is about fifty-four feet high. At full level it covers about three-thousand, seven-hundred acres.

The amount of labour needed for constructing these bunds and canals much have been very considerable. The inhabitants around Giant's Tank are said to have informed the Dutch governor van Imhoff that five hundred men would take four to five months merely to repair its bund. The building of such huge tanks and such large dāgābas was possible because the people, who cultivated rice and other cereals, did not usually have work for more than half the year ; and the king was able to exact *rājakāriya* from the people whenever he needed their services.

The *Cūlavaṃsa* refers incidentally to four famines that took place in the reigns of Kit Siri Mē (556) Silāmēghavarṇa (617-626) Dāṭhōpatissa I (626-641) and Udaya I (885-896). The famine that took place in the time of Dāṭhōpatissa I was due to the prolonged civil war but the causes that led to the others are not known.

The Siṁhalese rulers, who depended mainly on the grain-tax for their revenue, did not pay much attention to trade, but the spices drew foreign traders to Ceylon from very early times.

It is not certain whether the Arabs, who came before the Christian era to south-west India, had dealings with Ceylon. From the second century A.D. till the early part of the third century Greek traders came to the island. There was again a revival of trade after the time of Constantine (A.D. 323-337), who made Byzantium (Constantinople) the capital of the Roman Empire[1] and brought it into close contact with the East.

Another people that came to Ceylon to trade were the Persians, who took ship from the Persian Gulf. The Persians were originally followers of Zoroaster, the great teacher still followed by the Parsees of India and Ceylon, but those who came to Ceylon were Christians who belonged to the Nestorian sect. Just as the Mahāyānists disagreed with the Hīnayānists with regard to the personality of the Buddha, so the Nestorians differed from other Christians in their belief with regard to the personality of Christ. The Persians also traded with south-west India, and the Syrian Christian Church of Travancore goes back to their times.

The Persian trade with Ceylon ceased in the seventh century, when Persia was captured by the Muslims. Muhammad, before his death in A.D. 632, had become ruler over all Arabia, and his successors, called the Cāliphs, within ten years of their teacher's death conquered Syria, Egypt and Persia. Their conquest of Alexandria in A.D. 638 stopped Ceylon's direct trade with the Byzantine Empire, and this led before long to trade relations between Ceylon and Yemen in Arabia. Before the end of the tenth century the Arabs established a trading settlement in Colombo.

These Arabs carried on their trade as far as China, but in the tenth century when the Sung dynasty (960-1280) came into power the Chinese tried to trade directly with other countries. Then

[1] It was another Byzantine emperor, Justinian (A.D. 527-565), who got the immense mass of existing laws codified, and his 'Body of Civil Law' was adopted later by most of the European countries, and was introduced into Ceylon by the Dutch governor, Joan Maatzuyker.

Chinese junks came to Ceylon to exchange their goods with those of foreign traders who came from the West.

7. Buddhism and Hinduism

Buddhism, too, made great advances during this period. Probably as a result of the influence of Mahāyānism, it took a more popular turn, and satisfied the needs of the laity better. There was a great increase in the number of shrines, and the use of images as an aid to worship became popular. There was also regular preaching on Pōya days and religious festivals became common. The bhikshus, too, entered more into the life of the people by the more frequent performance of ceremonies such as *Pirit*.

The Buddhist Bhikshus, however, did not exercise any political power, like Christian monks and Brāhmin priests. They sometimes became the teachers of kings, but they never served as government officials or political advisers. Unlike Christian churchmen, they did not usually oppose kings in political matters or claim powers that came into conflict with the kings' rights. The influence of the bhikshus depended on their own character, their good work on behalf of the people, and the respect in which they were held by kings and other laymen, who were anxious to enjoy bliss and escape the dreadful sufferings of hell.

The different Buddhist sects made great headway, and there was a certain amount of rivalry among them. The Dhammarucis increased in numbers, and dwelt in the Mahāvihārē and at Sīgiriya and Mihintalē. The Chinese writers mention that there were in Ceylon at this time the Buddhist sects called the Mahiṁsāsakas and the Dharmaguptakas. Both these sects disagreed with the Thēravādins on matters of discipline. The *Cūlavaṁsa* mentions the existence of the Mahāsaṅghikas, who were the first to separate from the Thēravāda sect, and some of their ideas are found in the Pāli commentaries. The Paṁsukūlikas, who were hitherto merely distinguished by their stricter ascetic practices, formed into a separate sect in 871 in the reign of Sēna II.

The Siṁhalese bhikshus, who belonged to these sects, did not limit their activities to this island. They went on pilgrimages to places sacred to Buddhism in India like Buddha Gayā, and it is

said that Kit Siri Mevan sent an embassy with gifts to Samudragupta in order to obtain permission to build a vihārē at Buddha Gayā for the use of Siṅhalese pilgrims.

Siṅhalese Buddhist bhikshus further did missionary work in various parts of India. One of their centres was Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, where recently the remains of a vihārē used by them was discovered. Chinese books tell us that when Chinese women wanted an order of bhikshuṇis established in their country, it was the bhikshuṇis of the Dharmaguptaka sect in Ceylon that came to their help, in spite of the grave dangers involved in a sea-voyage at that time.

Buddhism spread to China in the first century A.D., during the rule of the Han dynasty (206 B.D.-A.D. 220), and after that time bhikshus from Ceylon visited China, and Chinese pilgrims came to India to visit the holy places of Buddhism as well as to take copies of the Buddhist Scriptures. One of these, Fa-Hsien, visited Ceylon about A.D. 412 and spent two years in this country. The Siṅhalese kings such as Mahanāma sent embassies to Chinese emperors owing to their common interest in Buddhism from early in the fifth to the middle of the eighth century, when China reached the zenith of its power under the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907).

The Buddhist bhikshus and bhikshuṇis thus rendered great services in spreading their faith in Ceylon and other countries. They kept up also learning and culture and educated such of the laity who came to them to learn reading, writing, and other subjects they knew. Many of these no doubt led noble lives, but the endowments made by kings and chiefs to the vihārēs made many, who desired a life of ease, join the Saṅgha. These often did not keep to the standards expected of bhikshus and eight kings during this period had to expel unworthy bhikshus from the Saṅgha.

At the beginning of this period, in the time of Kit Siri Mevan, the *daladā*, which was believed to be a tooth of Gautama Buddha and worshipped in Kaliṅga in India, was brought to Ceylon. It was placed in a special building, and even in those days it was taken out in procession once a year, when there was great rejoicing. The people regarded it as a symbol of the Buddha, and before long

it became the *palladium* of the Siṅhalese kings. It was believed to possess miraculous powers, and the possession of it, like the headgear and the regalia, was considered necessary for a king. Hence kings, whenever they changed their capital, removed it and placed it in a new building in the new town they occupied.

In the time of Mugalan I (A.D. 496-513) the *kēsadhātu* (the hair-relic) of the Buddha was brought to Ceylon. This too was put in a precious casket and placed in a special building.

Mahāyānism also exercised much influence over the island, and the cult of the bōdhisattva gained a strong footing especially in the Abhayagiri and the Jētavana Vihārēs. Many bōdhisattva images were made and worshipped, and some of them, such as the so-called Kushṭarajā figure at Väligama, are to be seen even today. Nātha, who is worshipped even up to the present day, was originally no other than the bōdhisattva Avalōkitēsvara or Lōkēśvara Nātha, whom the Mahāyānists looked upon as the saviour of mankind. In the seventh century a temple was built to the god Kihireli Upuluvan by Dappula, and there is reason to think that this god too was a Mahāyānist bōdhisattva.

One of the chief results of the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism was the impetus it give to the study of Sanskrit, in which language its scriptures were written. A Sanskrit inscription in Ceylon of the seventh century A.D. records the wish of the author to be a Buddha by the merit he has gained. Another Sanskrit inscription, which belongs to the eighth century, contains the regulations for the guidance of the bhikshus and the laymen living within the precincts of the Abhayagiri Vihārē in Anurādhapura, or in lands belonging to it. The Abhayagiri Vihārē was well-known for its tolerance of heresies, and the inscription shows that its inmates must have had a good knowledge of Sanskrit.[1]

The study of Sanskrit in turn had far-reaching results. Students in Ceylon came into touch with the great Sanskrit literary

[1] Later Siṅhalese works reveal a knowledge of the works of Mahāyānist Sanskrit writers, such as Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* (The Garland of Birth Stories), Chandragomin's grammar, and Sāntidēva's excellent poem, *Bōdhicariyāvatāra* (The Entrance into the Training for Enlightenment.)

works such as the Indian epics and the works of Kālidāsa. They borrowed from Sanskrit a large number of words that the Siṅhalese language lacked, and thus increased its richness of expression. They hitherto knew only the books of the Pāli Canon, but now found new models in Sanskrit for literary works. They began to consider words from a new angle by the study of grammar, phonetics and etymology and to write more skilfully in verse by the study of prosody and poetics. Sanskrit writers dealt also with such subjects as astronomy, medicine, the magic arts, music, architecture and politics, and these sciences began to be studied in Ceylon. In other words while a knowledge of Pāli gave almost exclusively an education in religious matters, Sanskrit brought to the people a knowledge of secular subjects.

The spread of Sanskrit in Ceylon at this time was due also to another cause. Sanskrit was the language of Hinduism just as Pāli was the language of Thēravāda Buddhism, and Hinduism began to influence Ceylon as a result of its revival in India under the Gupta kings. In the seventh century there was a Hindu revival also in South India. It was caused mainly by the activities of the Saivaite and the Vaishṇavaite saints who composed and sang hymns in praise of Siva and Vishṇu. This revival too was not without its effects on Ceylon. Temples for the worship of Siva were set up at Māntai and Trincomalee probably by Tamil settlers. The image of the Hindu god Vishṇu which is now at the Mahādēvālē in Kandy is said to have been brought to Dondra in 790, while a Vishṇu temple was built also at Kantalai before the end of this period.

Hinduism was able to spread on account of two reasons. It was not usual for kings of India and Ceylon to persecute any religious sects. On the other hand, they generally conferred their boons on all alike, and as had long been the case with the bhikshus, so now the Brāhmin priests were maintained by the kings. The other reason was that the Brāhmin priests did not come into direct conflict with Buddhist *bhikshus*. They were not an order of ascetics, and their chief duties lay in carrying out for the people the domestic rites and sacraments which the bhikshus themselves did not consider it within their province to perform. The gods

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FIGURES OF A MAN AND A WOMAN AT ISURUMUNIYA
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A FRESCO AT SIGIRIYA

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they introduced perhaps replaced some local gods, but for the worship of these there was no such order of priests who could oppose the Brāhmins.

8. Literature

The growing interest in Buddhism and the influence of Sanskrit led to a great deal of literary activity. The earliest work of this period is the *Dīpavaṅsa*, a compilation of Pāli ballads and verses, most of which were composed during the North Indian Period I. It deals with the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon and the history of Ceylon up to Mahasen. The study of Pāli and the use of it for the writing of books became more common with the arrival of Buddhaghōsa from India in the reign of Mahānāma (A.D. 409-431). He is the author of *Visuddhi Magga* (The Path to Purity) in which he gives a restatement of Buddhist doctrine. He is also said to have translated the Siṅhalese commentaries on the canonical works into the Pāli language. His works had a profound influence on later Buddhists, and his methods of exposition of the scriptures were followed in later times even in Burma.

The most important Pāli work of this period is the *Mahāvaṅsa*, written about the sixth century A.D. It covers the same ground as the *Dīpavaṅsa*, but gives much more matter, borrowed from the *Aṭṭhakathā*. It is an epic and a work of art, and shows the influence of Sanskrit both in language and in style. The *Mahāvaṅsa* was one of the two works that most influenced later Pāli and Siṅhalese literature. The other was the *Jātaka*, with its introduction, the *Nidāna Kathā*. The *Mahābōdhivaṅsa*, which shows the influence of these two works, also appeared at the end of this period, and gives the history of the bo-tree in Anurādhapura.

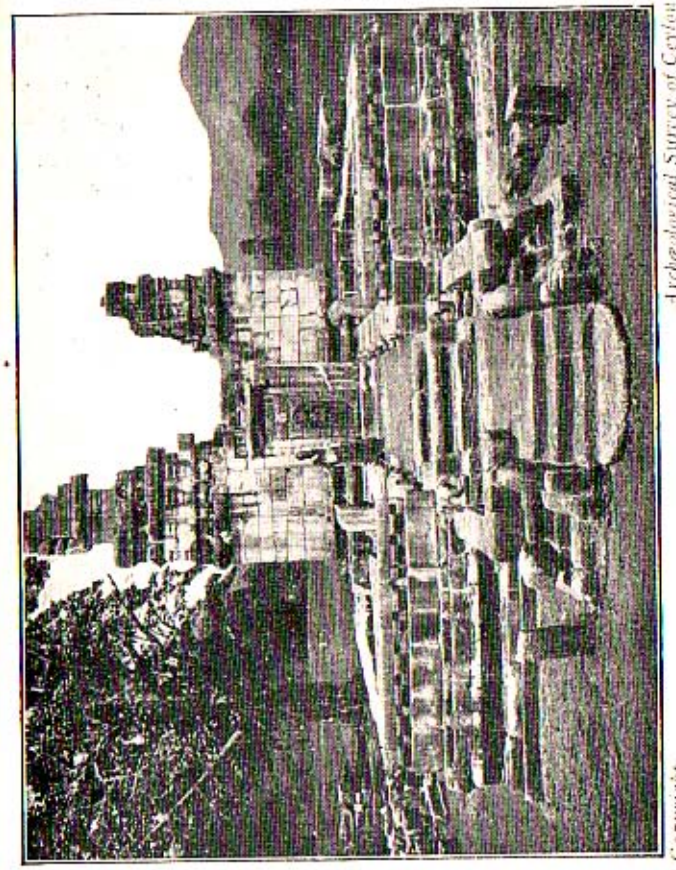
There was one great Sanskrit work composed during this period. It is Kumāradāsa's *Jānakīharṇa* or the Abduction of Sitā, which shows the influence of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṅsa*. The author of this work is not the king Kumāra Dhātusena (A.D. 513-522), as is assumed by many. Whoever he was, his work became famous among scholars even in India.

Literary activity in Siṅhalese was much less than in Pāli. In the time of Buddhadāsa, at the end of the fourth century A.D., some sections of the Pāli Canon were translated into Siṅhalese. In the time of Agbō I (A.D. 568-601) it is said there were twelve Siṅhalese poets. Four Siṅhalese works, which still exist, appeared before the end of this period. The *Siyabaslakara* is a work composed about the ninth century A.D., and testifies to the extensive influence of Sanskrit at this time. It is an adaptation of Daṇḍin's Sanskrit work *Kāvyadarśa* which deals with *alaṅkāra* or figures of speech. The other three works are purely of religious interest. The *Sikavalanda Vinisa* and the *Heraṇasika Vinisa* consist of a summary of precepts to be observed by *bhikshus* and *Sāmaṇēras* (novices) respectively. The *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya* is said to have been written by Kāsyapa V (A.D. 913-923). It is an explanation of the words and phrases in the Pāli *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*.

At the beginning of this period the Siṅhalese language began to take a distinctive form. The script, too, went through a change about the same time, but it began to take on its modern rounded form only at the end of this period, when the language also began to be strongly influenced by Pāli and Sanskrit.

9. Architecture, Sculpture and Painting

The spread of Buddhism and the growth of prosperity as well as the relations with India led also to a great advance in architecture. The shrines erected at first during this period consisted of two sections standing on two platforms connected by an enormous slab. One of these sections formed the real shrine, while the other was used for the beating of the drums. Later much grander structures were erected. For instance the building lying to the west of the Jētavanārāma Dāgāba was originally a vaulted building. Its brick walls and immense door-posts of stone are yet to be seen. It has a porch (*maṇḍapa*), a nave, a communication passage, and a shrine, and resembles in some respects a Christian church. The dāgābas of this period are small in size, and the platforms on which they stand are square.



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THE GEDIGĒ, NALANDA
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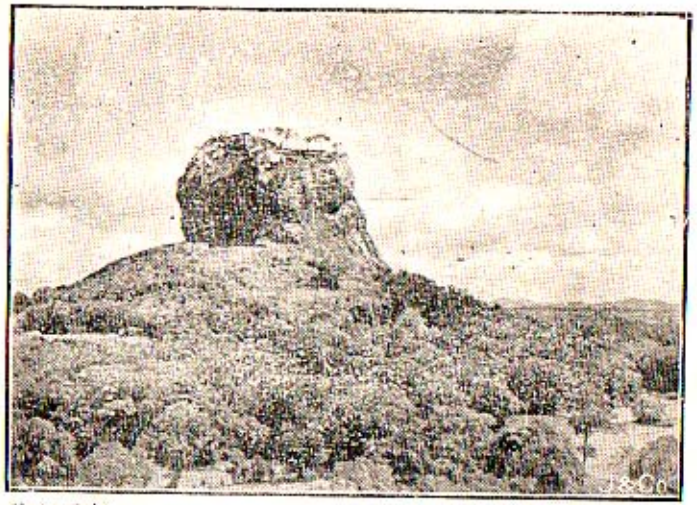

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CHAPTER I

THE EARLY SETTLERS AND THE INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM

1. The Island

The landing of Vijaya with his seven hundred followers is generally regarded as the starting point of the history of Ceylon. This is not surprising as the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the chief authority for the reconstruction of the early history of this island, refers to this event as its first human settlement. But the story of man in Ceylon goes back to earlier times, and it is necessary to begin with settlers who probably came thousands of years before the people who spoke an Aryan language became the masters of this island.

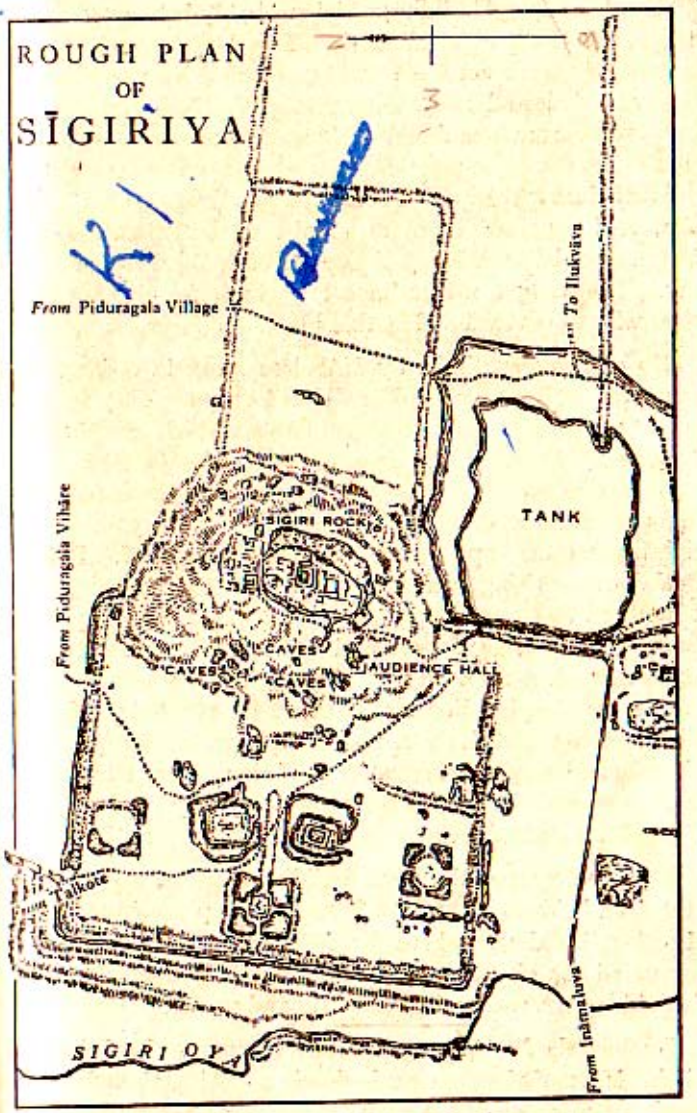
Before these settlements are dealt with, it is essential to study the geographical situation of Ceylon, as it exercised a great influence on its history. A glance at a map of Asia will show how close Ceylon is to India and how it is separated from other countries by a large expanse of water in the south, the east, and the west. This situation had the inevitable result of linking the fortunes of Ceylon very closely with those of India. Every great change in India—political, economic, social or religious—had its repercussions in this island, and every wave of Indian civilization up to the end of the fifteenth century made its way to this land and left its mark on the life and thought of its people. This closeness to India also explains why the majority of the people of Ceylon are of Indian origin, and why Siṁhalese and Tamil are still the main languages and Buddhism and Hinduism the chief religions of the people.

Though this closeness caused Ceylon to be influenced continuously by India, the fact that it is cut off from the mainland by a narrow stretch of sea has helped it to maintain a continuity in its civilization much better than any part of India where great invasions and upheavals have often shattered the vestiges of its past. Buddhism, though it arose in India, submitted gradually

to the encroachments of Hinduism and practically disappear with the Muslim invasions. Thēravāda Buddhism, on the oth hand, which made its way to Ceylon in the third century B.C., h maintained itself in spite of the many vicissitudes it has go through, and still has more adherents than any other religion in t island.

Another cause that drew Ceylon away from India, in additi to its being an island, is its position in the highway of sea-traf midway between Europe and the Far East, which brought Ceyl into touch with traders from the East and the West. Trade, first, on account of its small volume exercised little influence ov the history of Ceylon, but its sudden development after t Crusades, owing to the increasing demand for the excellent Ceyl cinnamon in European countries, made this island a place of i portance for commercial nations, and attracted the Portuguese, t Dutch, and the British. Its strategic position in the highway sea-traffic and the command it gave over the western and easte coasts of India also made it important to these nations and we the chief causes that led to its conquest by the British. Moreov its insular position made it easy for these great sea-powers to g control of it, stamp on it the influence of their civilization, a draw it away from the main currents of Indian history. It is this reason that the Portuguese succeeded in establishing so fir the Roman Catholic Church and the Dutch their legal system Ceylon.

The fact that Ceylon lay near the southernmost edge of t Indian sub-continent also had a vital influence on its history. T narrowness of the intervening sea made it easy from the earl times for people to migrate from South India and make th contribution to the population of this island. In the absence any land beyond, each set of people that came could be driven further by their successors. Hence the earliest settlers had ei to mix with the new-comers or to escape to the central highla and there take refuge for a time. The result is that the peopl Ceylon, as the various castes partly show, derive their origin f



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Another type of building which probably belongs to this peri is the *gedigē* (temple) at Nālanda. It is built entirely of stone i the style of the structural buildings erected by the later Palla rulers who followed Narasimhavarman I. Nālanda lies midwa on the road from Dambulla to Mātalē, and was a military p owing to its strategic position between Malaya and Anurādhapur The army during this period consisted partly of Hindus from Sou India, and some of them no doubt were Pallava soldiers, Mānavamma became king of Ceylon with the help of a Palla army. This temple might have been built for the use of Hin troops who were stationed at this place.

No castles were built by Siṅhalese kings in order to prot themselves, as kings and nobles did in Europe. They merely bui one or more walls round their cities, which were sometim surrounded by moats. In times of special danger they sometim took refuge in rock-fortresses, which gave them greater protecti The best example of an old rock-fortress in Ceylon is Sīgiriy which became the capital in the time of Kāsyapa I. It is a hug unscalable rock rising suddenly from the ground to a height of abo six hundred feet, and Kāśyapa I must have been a person wh possessed great imagination and courage to have attempted t transform such a rock into an impregnable fortress. The figu of the huge sleeping lion, constructed on the ledge of the roc which gave to the rock the name of Siṅhagiri or Sīgiriya (the Li rock), the galleries and the wall around them, covered with marb like plaster, and the beautiful frescoes certainly display very gre skill, and are undoubtedly a credit to Kāśyapa's æsthetic taste.

Kāsyapa erected the royal buildings on the top of this roc In the area below, on the west side, he set up the council chamb and other buildings where he held his public functions. H constructed the city by enclosing two oblong level spaces, one o either side of the rock, with ramparts and moats.

Some of the best pieces of Ceylon sculpture also belong to thi period. Most of the carving is done on gneiss, though it is mor difficult to work on it than on limestone which was used in th preceding period. In the early part of this period the influence o

the Gupta style is to be seen in the bas-relief at Isurumuniya of a man and a woman, and in other pieces of sculpture, such as the figures of the Buddha, seated in the posture of meditation, and the moonstone carved on hard stone at the entrance of the so-called Queen's Palace at Anurādhapura.

There are also examples of the Pallava style. The carvings of figures of elephants on either side of the cleft of the rock at Isurumuniya reminds one of the great bas-relief at Mahabalipuram, representing the origin of the Ganges, where the central cleft represents the river. The figure of the man and the horse's head at the same place is also a piece of sculpture in the Pallava style.

The frescoes of Sīgiriya are the oldest noteworthy paintings in Ceylon, and bear a remarkable resemblance to some of the wall paintings in the caves at Ajaṇtā in western India. They contain either singly or in couples some twenty-one half-figure portraits representing *apsarasas* or divine musicians, or, as considered by many, queens and princesses with their ladies-in-waiting. 'The pose of these figures is singularly graceful, while the actual brush work indicates a sound knowledge of modelling and technique. On the whole, while these examples do not exhibit quite the skill of the best works at Ajaṇtā, they are nevertheless very charming works of art.'[1]

CHAPTER IV

THE POLONNARUVA PERIOD

It has already been shown in the previous chapters how Ceylon was influenced in turn up to the Cōḷa conquest by the Aśōkan and the Gupta civilizations. The influence of North India waned after the tenth century as this region fell into the hands of the Muslims and its Hindu civilization received a set-back. South India, however, continued to be Hindu till 1565, and during this time three great empires, the Cōḷa, the Pāṇḍya and the Vijayanagara, rose in succession. Ceylon had direct relations with all these three

[1] *Indian Painting* by Percy Brown, p. 33.

empires and for short periods came under the rule of the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. The result was it came to be strongly influenced by South India during the period from the Cōḷa conquest up to the coming of the Portuguese.

This South Indian Period may be divided further into two periods : one from the Cōḷa conquest in 1017 up to the end of the reign of Māgha in 1235, and the other from the reign of Vijayabāhu III (1232-1236) to the arrival of the Portuguese in Ceylon in 1505. Poḷonnaruva was the capital of Ceylon from 1017 to 1235 and this period may appropriately be called the Poḷonnaruva Period.

The choice of Poḷonnaruva as the capital was due to many reasons. It now surpassed Anurādhapura as a centre of agricultural activity. As it lay in a strategic position against invasions from Ruhuṇa, it was more important than Anurādhapura to the Cōḷas, who had no enemies from South India to fear. After the expulsion of the Cōḷas the Siṅhalese kings, too, preferred to reside in Poḷonnaruva, as Anurādhapura was in ruins, and the situation of Poḷonnaruva was more central and, therefore, more suitable for the direct government of the whole island.

Two of the greatest Siṅhalese kings lived during this time. One of these, Vijayabāhu I, who commenced his career as ruler of Malaya, made Ceylon independent of the Cōḷas, and ruled over the whole island. The other, Parākramabāhu the Great, who also ruled over the whole island, made war in South India and Burma, set up an efficient system of administration, developed agriculture by constructing extensive irrigation works, and spread Buddhism by encouraging Buddhist literature and by setting up religious buildings.

1. The Cōḷas

The great Cōḷa empire established by Rājarāja the Great reached the zenith of its power under his son Rājēndra I (1014-1044). Rājēndra I strengthened the position of the Cōḷas in India and Ceylon, and gained control of the Malay Peninsula and the East Indies. In 1016 the Western Cālukyas, who had regained their power, made war on the Cōḷas, and the struggle between the

two peoples absorbed to a great extent the attention of Rājēndra's successors, Rājādhirāja I (1044-1054), Rājēndra II (1054-1064) and Vīrarājēndra (1064-1070). At the accession of the next ruler Adhirājēndra in 1070 there was a civil war which led to his death, and the throne was immediately seized by the Eastern Cālukya Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1120).

Kulōttuṅga's reign was spent partly in fighting the Cālukyas and subduing his rebellious subjects in Pāṇḍya, Cēra, and Kaliṅga. His successors, Vikrama Cōḷa (1120-1135) and Kulōttuṅga II (1135-1150) maintained intact the empire left by him, but in the reign of the next ruler, Rājarāja II (1150-1173) the Cōḷa administration began to show signs of weakness. The local rulers began to assert their power and even waged wars without any reference to the Emperor. Such a war was the one begun by two Pāṇḍya rulers at the end of the reign of Rājarāja II and continued during the reigns of his successors Rājādhirāja II (1173-1182) and Kolōttuṅga III (1182-1218). The Cōḷa rulers gave their aid to the party which appealed for their help and acknowledged their supremacy. The result was that Pāṇḍya, coming under a single ruler, grew in strength and took steps to assert its independence. About the same time another people came into prominence. The Western Cālukyas, defeated by the Kākatīyas about 1173, lost much of their power, and their vassals the Hoysalas began to free themselves from their control.

In 1216 Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya made war on Kulōttuṅga III. Kulōttuṅga, unable to resist him, fled leaving his capital to Māravarman's mercy. Later he regained his throne by acknowledging the supremacy of Pāṇḍya, as he was helped by the Hoysala ruler who feared the rising power of Pāṇḍya. Thus the great Cōḷa Emperor who ruled over a great part of India now became a subordinate of his erstwhile feudatory Pāṇḍya.

2. The Cōḷa Rule in Ceylon and its Overthrow by Vijayabāhu I

The Cōḷas who conquered Ceylon in 1017 maintained their rule till 1070. Before this Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa adventurers had seized

the Siṅhalese throne and become masters of the island; but their rule made little difference to the people, as they merely took the place of Siṅhalese kings and ruled the country more or less as the Siṅhalese kings did before them. In 1017 Ceylon for the first time ceased to be an independent kingdom, and became a mere unit of the mighty Cōḷa empire. It is not known whether the Cōḷas changed the administrative system in any way, apart from appointing their own people to the higher administrative and military posts. Though the Cōḷa soldiers attacked Buddhist shrines in times of war, it is not likely that the Cōḷa governors deviated from the usual custom of Cōḷa kings and persecuted Buddhism. They, being Hindus, no doubt offered their patronage mainly to Hinduism, but in this they did not adopt an altogether new policy, as Siṅhalese kings had supported Brāhmins before them. In culture the Cōḷas did not differ much from the Siṅhalese, as they had come even earlier under the influence of the civilization of North India. Nevertheless, the Cōḷa occupation could not have been liked by the Siṅhalese chiefs, who lost their power and influence, or the people as a whole, as the country was no longer ruled primarily in their interests. The wealth of Ceylon partly went to enrich the Cōḷa kings, who spent a good deal on expensive wars and in building and maintaining temples in South India, such as the one built at Tanjore by Rājarāja the Great, for the maintenance of which even the income of five villages in Ceylon was devoted from 1014.

In the early part of the reign of Rājēndra I (1014-1044) the Siṅhalese made no attempt to regain their power, but about 1022 they helped Pāṇḍya and Cēra in their attempt to put an end to the suzerainty to Cōḷa. Rājēndra crushed this rebellion, expelled the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra rulers from their thrones, and made one of his sons the ruler of these territories. Some members of these South Indian royal families then came to Ceylon and carried on war against Cōḷa in Ruhuṇa either independently or in alliance with the Siṅhalese.

The first attempt to expel the Cōḷas from Ceylon was made in 1029 by Vikramabāhu, the son of Mihindu V. He was followed by five others whose power lasted only for short periods. The last

three of them were Vikrama Pāṇḍya of the Pāṇḍya royal family and Jagatpāla of Kanauj, both of whom ruled from Kalutara, and Parakrama Pāṇḍu, the son of the king of Pāṇḍya.

After the last of these was put to death by the Cōḷas, a Siṅhalese general named Lōkēśvara (1049-1055), assisted by a section of the Siṅhalese, captured Ruhuṇa about 1049, and established himself at Kataragama on the Mānik Ganga, while Kīrti, a descendant of the Siṅhalese royal family, supported by those who opposed Lōkēśvara, made himself ruler of Malaya. Lōkēśvara maintained his hold over Ruhuṇa for six years, and on his death another Siṅhalese chief called Kēsadhātu Kāśyapa succeeded him. Soon after his accession he was attacked in turn by the Cōḷas and by Kīrti, who had now a great following in Pasdun Kōralē. He successfully defended himself against the Cōḷas, but Kīrti defeated him and occupied Kataragama.

Kīrti, who now assumed the name of Vijayabāhu, decided to free Ceylon from the Cōḷas and become its ruler. With this object in view he began to make preparations for a war; but, before he was strong enough to start his campaign, a Cōḷa army marched to Ruhuṇa to crush his power. Vijayabāhu was too shrewd to risk his position by fighting against the Cōḷas. Therefore he made a hasty retreat to Malaya, and stayed there till the Cōḷa troops withdrew. After that he came back to Ruhuṇa, and resided at Tambalagama (on the upper Gingaṅga), where he was safer from an attack of the Cōḷas than at Kataragama.

At this time there was a great deal of opposition to Cōḷa rule in Rajaraṭa, and an army had to be sent from South India to break down this resistance. Once Rajaraṭa was subdued, the Cōḷa army marched south-wards, and ravaged Ruhuṇa. Vijayabāhu thereupon occupied the rock-fortress of Paluṭṭhagiri[1] and fortified the place. When the Cōḷas attacked him there, he defeated them, put their general to death, and occupied Poḷonnaruva. The Cōḷa king, Vīrarājēndra (1064-1069) having heard of this disaster, despatched

[1] Paluṭṭhagiri is probably the same as Palaṭupāna, a rock fortress near Magul Maha Vihārē, which lies about eight miles to the east of Tissamahārāma.

in 1067 a large army from South India. Vijayabāhu sent forces to check its advance, but his army received such a defeat near Anurādhapura that he was compelled to flee from Poḷonnaruva and defend himself for three months on the rocky hill of Vākirigala lying to the west of Kaḍugannāva.

When Vijayabāhu was in these straits there was an insurrection at Buttala led by a brother of Kesadhātu Kāsyapa, and he had no alternative but to leave for Ruhuṇa and subdue the rebels. Kesadhātu Kāśyapa's brother was defeated, and he went over to the Cōḷas. Vijayabāhu, who was not quite secure, once more occupied Tambalagama which he further fortified. From there he went to Mahānāgakuḷa on the lower Valavē Gaṅga and began to prepare for another war against the Cōḷas.

As a result of the rebellion that took place in 1070 at the accession of the Cōḷa ruler Adhirājēndra and the confusion that followed his death, Pāṇḍya was able to assert its independence and Vijayabāhu also took the opportunity to expel the Cōḷas from Ceylon. He sent one army from the west through Māyāraṭa which captured Anurādhapura and occupied Māntai and another along the east coast towards Poḷonnaruva. After that he himself marched through Mahiyangaṅa with another army and captured Poḷonnaruva. Thus he put an end to Cōḷa rule in Ceylon and made Poḷonnaruva his capital which he re-named Vijayarājapura.

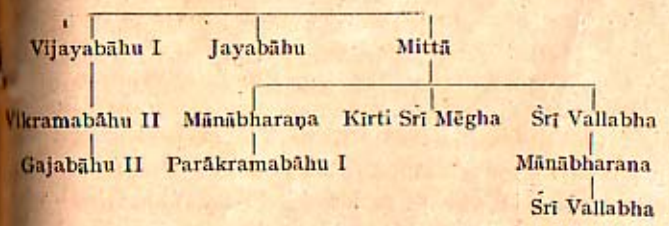
3. Vijayabāhu I and his Successors

Vijayabāhu I (1070-1114) ruled as sole monarch for forty-four years, but he could not achieve much as an administrator as his reign was not altogether peaceful. Immediately after he expelled the Cōḷas from the island, he had to crush a rebellion of one of his generals. Again three brothers who held high posts in the country raised a rebellion which spread through Māyāraṭa, Ruhuṇa, and Malaya. The third rebellion, which took place in 1085, affected his position even more seriously. The ambassadors he sent to the Western Cālukya king, Vikramāditya VI, were ill-treated by the Cōḷas, and to avenge this insult he prepared to make war on Cōḷa. But before his two generals could leave the island, the Tamil

mercenaries called the Vēḷaikkāraṛs, who were unwilling to fight their kinsmen in India, mutinied, killed the two generals, and burnt the king's palace. To save himself Vijayabāhu fled to Vākirigala with all his valuable possessions. Returning from there with troops, he subdued the rebels, and caused to be burnt to death the ringleaders who had dared to oppose his wishes.

After Vijayabāhu's death his brother Jayabāhu[1] became king. The next in succession was Vikramabāhu, the son of Vijayabāhu by a princess of Kaliṅga, and he according to custom should have become the yuvarāja (sub-king) and ruler of Māyāraṭa. Jayabāhu, however, favoured the sons of his sister Mittā who had married a Pāṇḍya prince, and her eldest son Mānābharaṇa became the ruler of Māyāraṭa, got himself consecrated as *uparājā*, and thus made himself recognized as the successor of Jayabāhu. Vikramabāhu who did not wish to be deprived of his rights, immediately marched with his forces, and met near Buttala Mānābharaṇa and his two brothers Kīrti Srī Mēgha an Srī Vallabha, who were already on their way to fight him.[1] He defeated them in a number of skirmishes, and, expelling Jayabāhu from the throne, became king of Rajaraṭa. Mānābharaṇa continued to rule over Māyāraṭa from his capital, Pankhagāma,[2] while his two brothers divided Ruhuṇa between them. Srī Vallabha from Mahānāgakuḷa ruled Dolosdahasraṭa (i.e. Ruhuṇa, west of the Valavē Gaṅga), and Kīrti Srī Mēgha from Udundora (Uddhanadvāra, probably Galabädda, near Monaragala) Aṭadahasraṭa, the eastern part.

About a year afterwards the three brothers marched with troops once more to fight against Vikramabāhu, but, being defeated at Bōdhisēnapabbata, withdrew to Pasdun Kōralē. Vikramabāhu



[2] This has been identified with Dädigama.

chased them as far as Kālaniya, but had to return to check the march of an Indian adventurer called Vīradēva who took this opportunity to invade Ceylon. Vīradēva, won a victory near Mannar, and chased Vikramabāhu to Poḷonnaruva, which he occupied. Vikramabāhu at first retreated to Koṭusara, a place which seems to have stood to the south of the Mahaväli Gaṅga, but later defeated Vīradēva, and once more became king of Rajaraṭa.

After this the three brothers made no attempt to oust Vikramabāhu from the throne. There was, however, constant fighting between the troops on either side of the frontiers, and this led to a certain amount of misrule and disorder in the country.

Mānābharaṇa died after ruling for a few years and his brother Kīrti Srī Mēgha became the ruler of Māyāraṭa, and Srī Vallabha obtained the whole of Ruhuṇa. Vikramabāhu II died in 1137 and was succeeded by his son, Gajabāhu II. The two brothers Kīrti Srī Mēgha and Srī Vallabha, made an attack against Gajabāhu too, but Gajabāhu, like his father, defended himself successfully.

4. The Early Life of Parākramabāhu I

A new figure now came on the scene. He was Parākramabāhu, the son of Mānābharaṇa, who by his shrewdness and ability brought the whole country once more under a single ruler. Fortunately there is a good deal of information about him in the *Cūlavaṁsa*, and his life forms an interesting study. His career can be divided into three periods. The first of these he spent in intriguing against his uncle, Kīrti Srī Mēgha, and his cousin, Gajabāhu. The second period consists of his rule over Māyāraṭa and his wars against his cousins, Gajabāhu, and Mānābharaṇa, the son of Srī Vallabha. The third period, during which he was master of the whole island, was spent in erecting religious buildings, constructing irrigation works, and in waging wars in Burma and in South India.

At his father's death Parākramabāhu went to Ruhuṇa and lived with his uncle, Srī Vallabha at Mahānāgakuḷa. After some time he returned to Māyāraṭa and resided at Saṅkhatthalī with Kīrti Srī Mēgha. Before long his ambition for power got the better

of him, and he conspired to seize the throne of his uncle who gave him hospitality. He marched with forces to Batalagoḍa,[1] which stood about ten miles away from Saṅkhatthalī, and, murdering his uncle's best general who was stationed there, he seized all the treasures that were with him. From there he proceeded to Buddhagāma (Mānikdena in the Mātalē District) slaying the soldiers who pursued him, and allied himself with Gajabāhu's general at Kalāväva.

At this stage Kīrti Srī Mēgha sent a large army to capture his nephew, who was becoming a danger to him. Parākramabāhu, to avoid capture by this army, retreated first to Bōgambara, which lies to the north-east of Mātalē, and from there to the Laggala mountains. But when he came from this place to Ambana, he was defeated and his forces were scattered by his uncle's troops. Then, finding no alternative, he came to terms with Gajabāhu, his uncle's enemy, and resided with him at Poḷonnaruva.

Parākramabāhu again acted treacherously against his host. He made use of his stay at Poḷonnaruva to get supporters for himself, and to find out details with regard to the extent of the wealth and the resources of Rajaraṭa. As soon as he noticed that he had roused the suspicions of Gajabāhu, he fled from Rajaraṭa and came back to Māyāraṭa. Kīrti Srī Mēgha was not prepared to receive him at first, but, when Parākramabāhu's mother interceded on his behalf, he yielded to her entreaties, and allowed him to reside with him. Kīrti Srī Mēgha, who was now quite old, died soon after, and since his brother, Srī Vallabha, was already dead, Parākramabāhu succeeded Kīrti Srī Mēgha as ruler of Māyāraṭa.

5. The Wars with Gajabāhu and Mānābharaṇa

Parākramabāhu was too ambitious to be satisfied with being a ruler of only a part of Ceylon, and made it his aim to capture Rajaraṭa. First of all he strengthened the forces that guarded the frontiers, and then made careful preparations for a war. He planned his campaign so as to attack Rajaraṭa both from the west and from the south at the same time. Before he ordered the march

[1] Badalatthali

from the south, he got one of his generals to occupy Malayaraṭa in order to prevent an attack from the rear, and made him conquer Dumbara to begin his operations from this district. As soon as Dumbara was occupied Gajabāhu sent an army to check the aggression of Parākramabāhu. Parākramabāhu defeated these forces and began his campaign from the west. His troops first occupied the west coast of Rajaraṭa and the pearl-banks and then pressed eastwards along the Kalā Oya, driving away the forces on the frontier. After they had forced their way beyond Dambulla, Gajabāhu sent fresh forces and recovered the territory that was lost on the west, but his forces sent to recover Dumbara were defeated and scattered by Parākramabāhu's troops.

After this victory Parākramabāhu started an attack once more both from the west and the south. The army on the west captured again the district of the coast, and marching eastwards occupied Anurādhapura, while the army on the south marching northwards occupied the Ālahāra District. From these two places both armies pressed on Poḷonnaruva and took Gajabāhu prisoner.

Gajabāhu's supporters immediately sought the help of Mānābharaṇa, the son of Srī Vallabha, who now ruled Ruhuṇa; and Mānābharaṇa, in spite of the alliance he had already made with Parākramabāhu, came with his forces, and captured Poḷonnaruva. Instead of releasing Gajabāhu, he cast him in a dungeon and made himself ruler of Rajaraṭa.

Gajabāhu, who now found himself in a worse plight, sought Parākramabāhu's help, and Parākramabāhu captured Poḷonnaruva once more. Mānābharaṇa, being defeated, fled to Ruhuṇa, while Gajabāhu, who was set free, fled to Koṭusara, from where he directed his attacks against the forces of Parākramabāhu. After some time with the help of some bhikshus he came to terms with Parākramabāhu. They made each the other's heir, and promised to live in peace with each other and to support each other in case of attack from a third party.[1]

[1] It is possible that one of the causes that led to the war between Parākramabāhu and Gajabāhu was the coming of some foreign princes to the court of Poḷonnaruva and the fear of Parākramabāhu that one of these would be made Gajabāhu's successor.

Gajabāhu after this kept his promises, and refused offers of alliance from Mānābharaṇa. But on his death Parākramabāhu had to fight again to become the ruler of Rajaraṭa as Mānābharaṇa, who was equally anxious to seize Rajaraṭa and become the chief ruler of the island, marched with his forces to wage war against him.

Parākramabāhu immediately stationed troops along the Mahāväli Gaṅga to prevent Mānābharaṇa from crossing it. Hence most of the fighting took place at first near the fords of the Mahāväli Gaṅga, such as the ferry near Hembarāva, thirteen miles to the north of Alutnuvara, Dastoṭa and Māgantoṭa. Parākramabāhu succeeded in repelling all attacks, but failed to win a decisive victory and drive the enemy away. Thereupon he adopted a new method of attack. He sent an army from the north-west of Ruhuṇa by way of Ratnapura to attack the enemy from the rear. Mānābharaṇa now sent a part of his troops to check the march of the enemy from the west. But, before Parākramabāhu could take advantage of this partial withdrawal of the troops, his general, Nārāyana, who was stationed at Anurādhapura, rose in rebellion and he was obliged to send a part of his troops to crush him. Although this rebellion was quickly subdued, Mānābharaṇa defeated his forces soon after; and he was compelled to retreat to Poḷonnaruva, and then to Dambulla and Vikramapura near Nikavāvaṭiya. Mānābharaṇa followed the enemy as far as Giritalē. From there he sent one army to Anurādhapura, to attack Māyāraṭa from the north-east, while he himself decided to march to Mānikdena to attack it from the east. This plan of campaign however failed as his army which went to Anurādhapura was defeated near Kalāvāva. After this Parākramabāhu pressed forward against Mānābharaṇa, and at the end of six months' fighting won a decisive victory. Mānābharaṇa fled immediately to Ruhuṇa where he died soon after, while Parākramabāhu, having captured his son Srī Vallabha, occupied Poḷonnaruva, and got himself consecrated as king in 1153.

6. The Conquest of Ruhuṇa

The opposition in Ruhuṇa to the rule of Parākramabāhu did not come to an end with the death of Mānābharaṇa. Some of its

chiefs who expected punishment at the hands of Parākramabāhu, supported by Sugalā, the mother of Mānābharaṇa, rose in rebellion in 1157. Parākramabāhu, like the Cōḷas, found it no easy task to subdue the rebels, as they when defeated retreated to the hill districts and carried on a guerilla warfare.

As soon as the rebellion broke out, Parākramabāhu, in order to capture the Tooth and the Bowl relics, sent an army to Udundora, the seat of Sugalā. But its progress was hindered for some time by a rebellion of the Vēḷaikkāṛa, the Kērala and the Siṅhalese mercenaries. After these rebels were overcome Parākramabāhu's army fought its way along the Mahāväli Gaṅga, and took the road towards Bibilē. A section of the army, however, was sent by way of Passara to prevent the enemy stationed there from making a flank attack. The main army, after this section rejoined it, fought its way through Mādagama, and won a great battle at Udundora. Sugalā, however, fled with the Tooth and the Bowl relics, but Parākramabāhu's army, strengthened by the troops which had subdued the rebels in the district of Dikväva (Mahakaṇḍiyavāva), pursued her and captured the relics.

After this, a section of the army occupied once more the district to the north of Badulla to prevent a flank attack from this direction, while the main army marching southwards fought two battles near Buttala. But it could not proceed further south owing to the guerilla warfare that was carried on by the defeated rebels.

Parākramabāhu then invaded Ruhuṇa from the west. One army went along the coast, and captured Gintoṭa, Väligama, Kamburugamuva, Mātara and Dondra. Another army fought its way through Pālmaḍulla and Rakvāṇa to the region of the Urubokka mountains, and finally occupied Mahānāgakula. Then the two armies joined together, and after defeating the enemy in many places captured Māgama. After further fighting in eastern Ruhuṇa they defeated Sugalā, and captured Udundora once more. Thus Ruhuṇa was subdued.

The supremacy of Parākramabāhu was challenged twice after this, in Ruhuṇa in 1160 and at Māntai in 1168. Both rebellions were easily quelled.

7. The Kaliṅga Dynasty

Parākramabāhu the Great had no son to succeed him, and he arranged that his sister's son, the Kāliṅga prince Vijayabāhu should take his place. But this arrangement was not favoured by one section as Vijayabāhu was a foreigner, and on the very day of his accession there was a revolt which fortunately for him was suppressed by a general that supported him. Once order was restored Vijayabāhu did not believe in working against his opponents but tried to win them over to his side. He released those whom Parākramabāhu had imprisoned and restored to them the lands that had been confiscated.

At the end of one year Kīrti Nissaṅka Malla (1187-1196), who too came from Kaliṅga, succeeded Vijayabāhu who was assassinated. He was a very able ruler and did much for the improvement of Ceylon during his short reign of nine years. He too adopted a policy of conciliation like Vijayabāhu II and tried to win over his enemies. He put down lawlessness and gave the people security to carry on their activities. He made constant tours to study the conditions of the country and tried to remove all causes of disaffection.[1]

Niśśaṅka Malla was followed by three members of the Kāliṅga dynasty all of whom ruled only for one year. The last of them appears to have been deposed by a general, of the anti-Kāliṅga faction who placed Parākramabāhu's queen Līlāvatī on the throne. After this the two factions appear to have struggled for supremacy placing in turn their nominees in power. During this time four princes from Kāliṅga and a prince from Pāṇḍya ruled over Ceylon. The last ruler was Māgha of Kaliṅga (1214-1235) who did not follow the policy of conciliation and persuasion of Vijayabāhu and

[1] In spite of all this good work done by Niśśaṅka Malla, some of the Siṅhalese chiefs appear to have resented his rule. Niśśaṅka Malla argues in one of his inscriptions that the Kāliṅga dynasty had the best claim to be rulers of Ceylon as the first Sinhalese king Vijaya was from Kaliṅga. The Cōla and the Pāṇḍya princes were unsuitable as they were hostile to Buddhism while the members of the *Govikula* had no right to be kings as they were not *kshatriyas*.

Nissaṅka Malla but adopted pure terrorism to crush all opposition. He with his army ravaged Rajaraṭa, treated with violence the bhikshus and the laity, and caused destruction everywhere.

The confusion that followed the reign of Parākramabāhu I was due to many causes. Parākramabāhu had no successor in whose rule the whole country would acquiesce, and, once the strong hand of Parākramabāhu was removed, those kept in subjection by him began to assert themselves. He left behind a number of experienced generals who had seen service in Ceylon and other countries. These had much influence with the army and some of them tried to seize power by placing their own nominees on the throne or by getting rid of those who did not favour them. Lastly the determination of the Kāliṅga dynasty not to abandon their right to rule over Ceylon led to many invasions; and these resulted in such devastation of the country that the kings that followed made no attempt to restore the cultivation of these regions.

8. The System of Government and Political Ideas

The system of administration during this time did not differ much from that which existed in the preceding period, but Parākramabāhu the Great made it more efficient. When he was a ruler of Māyāraṭa, he separated the army department from the finance department and placed each of them under a separate official. After he became the ruler of the whole island, he appointed a governor to each province and a minor official to each of the districts. He also established a number of departments to supervise the various fields of administration.

The king's council at this time consisted of the yuvarājā, the princes, the sēnāpati, the principal chiefs, the mahālēkha, the governors of the provinces, the chiefs of the districts, and the principal merchants. In all important matters he took the advice of this council, but its exact powers are not known.

The king's income during this period depended on the same sources as in the earlier periods. As the chief occupation of the people was agriculture the main source of revenue was the grain-tax. All lands except those given away for services, whether

fields, *chēnas* or gardens, had to pay a share of the produce. In Nissaṅka Malla's time lands were divided into three classes and the rates of land revenue were fixed according to their productivity. Those who held no lands but carried on trades and occupations paid special taxes in money or kind. It is possible that the *marāḷa* or death duty referred to in an inscription at the end of the fifteenth century was levied also at this time. By it one-third of the movables of a deceased person went to the king if he left any sons and the whole if he left no heir.

The strong influence of South India at this time affected the ideas about the rights of succession. The Āryans of North India always claimed their descent from the father's side, as they followed the patriarchal system. Some at least of the Dravidians, on the other hand, followed the matriarchal system, and traced their descent from the mother's side. In the last chapter it was pointed out that a king had to be of noble descent not only from his father's side but also from his mother's side. In this period this idea was carried further, and many rulers, e.g., Parākramabāhu, traced their descent from the mother's side. It is possible that it is this belief in the rights of matrilineal descent that induced the sons of Mittā to contest the right of Vikramabāhu to the throne of Rajaraṭa.

The ideas about kings, too, changed to some extent during this period. In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that a king was looked upon as a bōdhisattva. According to Nissaṅka Malla an impartial king was like a Buddha, and though kings appeared in human form they were to be regarded as gods. Hindus always looked upon their kings as gods, and Nissaṅka Malla's statement clearly shows the strong influence of Hinduism at this time.

9. Warfare

There is a great deal of information with regard to the wars that took place during this period and it is possible to give some account of the weapons used and the methods adopted by the armies in fighting one another in these times. Ancient Indian works usually refer to armies as consisting of riders on elephants,

cavalry, charioteers, and infantry. In Ceylon horses, chariots, and elephants appear to have been used at times in warfare, but an army in which they formed a part was rather the exception than the rule. The chief reason for this was that they could not be easily used in a country like Ceylon, which was thickly wooded and in which there were no convenient routes for the armies to follow. There was only one well-known road at this time, and it ran from Māntai to Māgama. Nissaṅka Malla even set up stones along it to mark every two miles. But armies could not always keep to this road, and had at times to cut their way through jungles and along steep paths, which could hardly be traversed by elephants, chariots and horses. Under such circumstances the soldiers as a rule travelled on foot. The generals, however, got themselves carried in palanquins, and parasols were held over them as a sign of their authority.

The chief weapons used by the soldiers for attacking the enemy consisted of swords, lances, javelins, daggers, darts, catapults, and clubs. For self-defence shields and doublets made of buffalo hide were used. Archers often played an important part in defending cities and fortresses and at times they used poisoned arrows.

The troops consisted of either the local militia or the mercenaries. In the North Indian Period I the mercenaries were almost entirely Siṅhalese, but in the next period mercenaries from Cēra, Mysore and other parts of India began to be employed. A part of the army formed the bodyguard of the king, and the rest were placed at the frontiers, at ports of landing, and in other strategic places. These came under the supervision of the rulers of the districts to which they belonged.

The Vēḷaikkāras were mercenaries who first came to Ceylon with the Cōḷa army under Rājēndra I. They appear to have been employed by a commercial corporation which had its headquarters in Mahārāshṭra, with branch establishments in various parts of South India, Ceylon, Burma and other parts of Further India. Although the usual work of these soldiers was the protection of the commercial establishments, they often served in the armies of the kings under whose rule they lived. They were a powerful body

and in Ceylon they gave trouble to kings like Vijayabāhu I, Gajabāhu II and Parākramabāhu the Great. After the death of Vijayabāhu I, the *daladāgē* built by him was placed in their charge so that it might be safe from any attack. Little is known about the commercial body which employed them. It probably carried on its activities somewhat on the lines of the later East India Companies of the Europeans, and employed soldiers to protect its merchandise in times of war and disorder.

Cities for purposes of defence were fortified with walls and trenches. Defeated armies often retreated to rock fortresses such as Vākirigala, where they could more safely defend themselves. At times temporary fortresses were made by driving rows of stakes like spear-points into the ground, and by digging between them ditches, in which sharpened stakes and thorns were placed.

The chief routes which the armies followed were along the banks of the rivers. Though rivers were thus a help to conquest, they were, however, a hindrance whenever armies had to cross them. The armies from the south could march along the right bank of the Mahaväli Gaṅga, but found it difficult to get to Rajaraṭa as they had to cross the river at some place. There were a number of fords extending from Vēragantoṭa near Alutnuvara to Māgantoṭa near Poḷonnaruva; but these were as a rule carefully guarded. Hence Poḷonnaruva had sometimes to be attacked by marching through Māyāraṭa and approaching it from the west. The armies that marched south on the eastern side usually went by way of Bibilē, Mādagama, and Monaragala. Their march was often checked near Buttala, as, in order to reach it, they had to cross the Kumbukkan Oya and a mountain pass. Therefore Ruhuṇa was often attacked from the west, and the invading armies marched along the coast or by the route that led through Pālmaḍulla and Bulutoṭa. Malaya was always difficult to conquer owing to the dense forests and the mountainous nature of the district.

Some wars, especially those which lasted a long time, led to much destruction and disorder. The troops cut down trees like the coconut palm on which the people depended for their sustenance. They set fire to villages and market-towns destroying

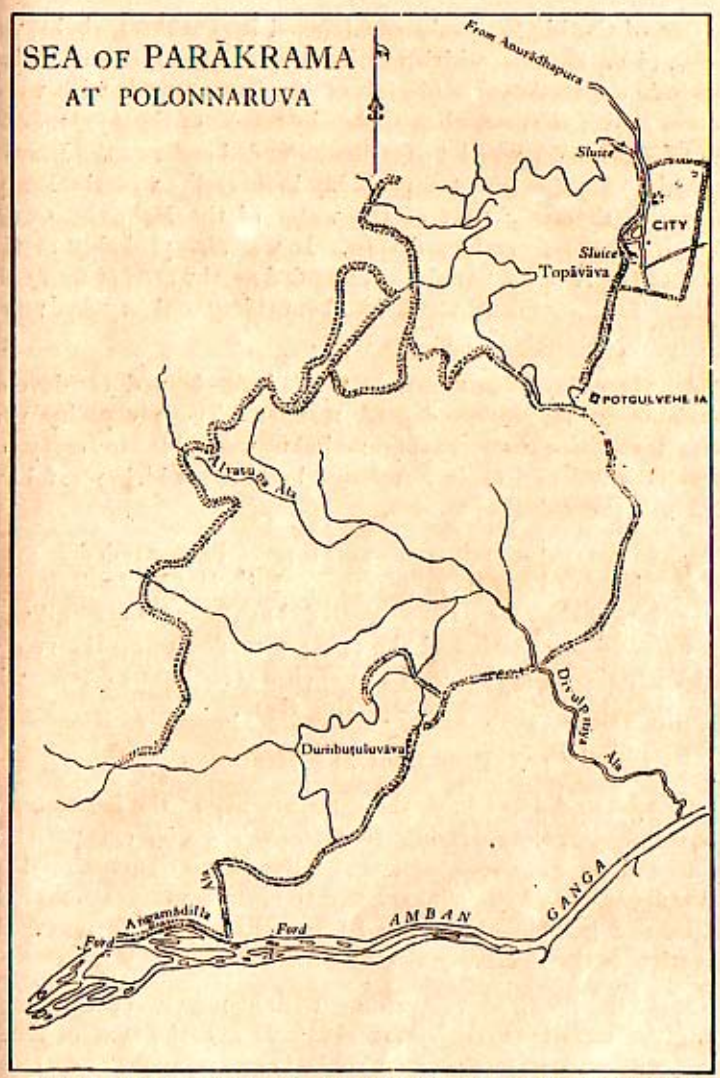
the houses and the possessions of the people. They pierced the bunds of tanks which were full, and destroyed the dams built across rivers and canals in order to destroy crops and hinder cultivation. In some places they devastated the lands to such an extent that it became impossible to trace the sites of old villages.

Chiefs, living in inaccessible districts, refused at such times to obey royal commands and withheld the taxes due from their territories. Slaves and workmen refused to carry out the services which they had to perform for their masters, and thus the lands which they had to cultivate were neglected. Some of them acting against custom became mercenaries and obtained high offices to which they were not entitled. Some people plundered towns or took to highway robbery, as there was no one to punish them for their misdeeds. Thus there was no law or order and no safety for life or property.

10. Agriculture and Irrigation

In spite of the numerous wars that took place during this period, there was a great deal of agricultural activity. Vijayabāhu I repaired a large number of tanks which had been neglected during the rule of the Cōḷas. Parākramabāhu the Great, when he became ruler of Māyāraṭa, built many causeways across the Dāduru Oya, and diverted its water into excavated channels. He cleared the jungle around these channels, and converted into fields the land which he opened up. He enlarged the Pāṇḍavāva, which lies to the north-west of Kurunāgala, and repaired a number of tanks, such as the Tabbōvavāva, which lies to the east of Puttalam, and the Māgallavāva near Nikaväraṭiya. He also drained the swamps of Pasdun Kōralē and converted them into fields.

After he became the ruler of the whole island, he carried out a well-planned and extensive scheme of irrigation works. He repaired a large number of tanks and put into working order many important canals, such as the Jaya Gaṅga, which joined the Kalāväva to the Tisāväva. He is said to have built also many new tanks and canals. But as most of the names given in the *Cūlavaṁsa* are no longer known to the people, it is difficult to say what most of them represent today.



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One of the biggest tanks constructed by Parākramabāhu was the Sea of Parākrama, which was built by enlarging the Tōpāvāva to include the modern Dumbuṭuluvāva. To supply it with water he connected it to the Amban Gaṅga by means of the Aṅgamādilla Āla (Ākāsa Gaṅga), which he further extended as far as the Minnēriya Tank. Another channel probably built earlier was the Minipē Āla, which diverts a part of the water of the Mahaväli Gaṅga before it takes its northward turn. It was also probably at this time that the Ālahära Canal was extended northwards as far as the Kantalai Tank, and southwards for about thirty to thirty-five miles, by building a dam higher up the river.

All these tanks and canals must have helped to develop agriculture in an unprecedented manner. The prosperity that followed explains how Parākramabāhu was able to carry on expensive wars and erect numerous buildings which must have cost him a great deal of wealth.

These extensive irrigation works must have needed a great deal to labour of keep them in repair. Niśśaṅka Malla during his reign saw that they were not neglected, but the invasions and wars that followed his death and the ravages made during the rule of Māgha left the irrigation works in such a state that no ruler who followed took up the task of repairing them.

II. Buddhism and Hinduism

Buddhism did not have the same vitality at the beginning of this period as in the preceding centuries. The Cōḷa occupation of Ceylon and the numerous wars that followed gave such a set-back to Buddhism that Vijayabāhu I had to effect a purification of the Saṅgha and get bhikshus from Burma (Rāmaññā) to renew the succession of the Order.

After the death of Vijayabāhu Buddhism suffered once more during the wars between Vikramabāhu II and the sons of Mittā, when even Buddhist vihārēs were robbed of their images and wealth. Parākramabāhu I also had to expel unworthy bhikshus from the Order. Enlisting the sympathies of the fraternity that lived at Dimbulagala, he brought about a union of the three sects associated

with the Mahāvihārē, the Abhayagiri Vihārē, and the Jētavana Vihārē. Buddhism undoubtedly made great progress during his reign, but there appears to have been some decline soon after his death, as Niśśaṅka Malla also claims to have expelled unworthy bhikshus and reconciled the three sects. At the end of this period Buddhism suffered badly once more at the hands of Māgha of Kaliṅga, who not only did not support Buddhism but destroyed Buddhist shrines and seized their wealth.

Adam's Peak was a place of worship from very early times, as the depression on the rock at its top was believed to be a footprint of the Buddha. But it was not until this period that it became a common practice to make pilgrimages to this spot. Vijayabāhu I provided resting-places along the roads to this peak, and set apart the revenue of the village of Gilimalē in the Ratnapura district for the supply of food to pilgrims.

It was also during this period that the possession of the *daladā*, which was brought to Ceylon during the time of Kit Siri Mevan, was definitely considered necessary for a king. Princes who fought for the throne at this time aimed at capturing this relic as well as the alms-bowl. One of the religious buildings credited to Vijayabāhu I is a Tooth Relic Temple which he got his general to build. Parākramabāhu and Niśśaṅka Malla also built temples for the *daladā*.

Hinduism received a great deal of encouragement in Ceylon during its occupation by the Cōḷas, and Hindu influence did not disappear with their expulsion. When Vijayabāhu I became king of Rajaraṭa he did not deprive the Hindu shrines of their revenues ; and the kings after him, who were children of princes and princesses of Pāṇḍya or Kaliṅga, not only observed Hindu rites but also built Hindu temples.

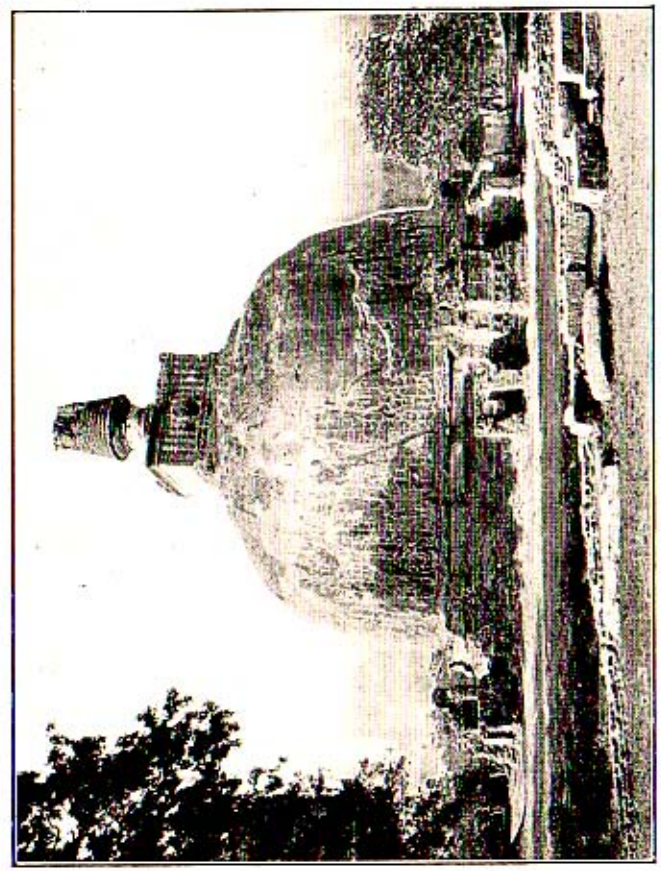
The spread of Hinduism led to a greater observance of the rules of caste. Some kings of Ceylon are said to have followed the *Laws of Manu* which, among other things, deal with the rules of caste. Vijayabāhu I built on Adam's Peak a lower terrace, from which people of the so-called lower castes could worship.

Caste is an institution which keeps together a community of people by not allowing its members to marry outside their group. It further prevents its members mingling freely with those of other castes by forbidding them to take meals in common with anyone outside their caste. Caste, however, has neither a chief nor an organization such as a council to enforce its rules. But the various families, which make up a caste, see that its rules are carried out by their members. Each family punishes its disobedient members by casting them out of its circle and thus depriving them of the privileges to which its members are entitled. Caste, in other words, exists on account of the family system, and in the past the family-system was a necessity for the life of the individual as it gave him protection and satisfied his social needs. Its members, therefore, upheld its interests even at the expense of their own, especially by marrying to the advantage of the family as a whole.

It is often assumed that castes are mere divisions based on occupation. This view cannot be accepted generally as correct, as recent research has shown that many castes are of racial or tribal origin. The peculiar occupations associated with many of them were not the causes that separated them from others, but many tribes which were distinct units followed these occupations at the time they changed into castes.

The institution of caste is essentially Hindu and rests partly on the doctrines of the religious unity of the family and of *sva karma*. The religious unity of the family is represented by the offerings made to deceased ancestors. Further the Brāhmin priests unlike Christian churchmen did not consider the whole religious community as a unit and bring them together on a basis of equality, but helped to strengthen the family-system by carrying out religious rites for individual families who asked for their services. According to the doctrine as *sva karma* the state of life into which a man is born is due to his actions in his previous births and it is his duty to perform the obligations due from those in that station of life.

The Buddhist bhikshus, though they accepted the doctrine of *karma* in a modified form, were on the whole opposed to the



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THE KIRI VEHERA, POLONNARUVA
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THE LAṄKĀTILAKA VIHĀRĒ, POḶONNARUVA

(Page 88)

observance of caste regulations. The *Vinaya* rules, for instance, do not prohibit any man from joining the Saṅgha on account of caste. Nevertheless the Buddhist bhikshus could not prevent the laity from adopting the caste system, as they did not provide them with an institution similar to their own which ignored caste distinctions and hindered them from adopting Hindu ideas.

12. Literature

During this period there was a great deal of literary activity, mainly due to the revival of Buddhism under Parākramabāhu the Great. The practice of using Pāli was kept up, and most of the books written in this language were expositions or summaries of the works of the Pāli Canon, such as the *Abhidhammatha Saṅgaha*. There were written also a number of *ṭīkās*, or sub-commentaries explaining and supplementing the commentaries on the Pāli Canon written in the preceding period.

Another Pāli work that belongs to this period is the poem *Dāṭhāvaṁsa*, a history of the tooth-relic. It is in subject matter similar to the Pāli prose work, the *Mahābōdhivaṁsa*, and is written like it in a form of Sanskritized Pāli. To Dharmakīrti, the author of *Dāṭhāvaṁsa*, is also attributed the first part of the *Cūlavaṁsa* which is a continuation of the *Mahāvaṁsa*. It is influenced to a great extent by the Sanskrit *kāvya* literature and by the rules of Indian poetics called *alaṁkāra*. The author of the *Cūlavaṁsa* reveals a knowledge of many Sanskrit works, such as the *Arthaśastra* of Kauṭalya[1] and the works of Kālidāsa.

Few works were composed in Siṁhalese, for the tradition was still in favour of writing in Pāli. A few more glossaries and translations of works of the Pāli Canon were made. Towards the end of this period two important prose works and two poems were written. The prose works are the *Amāvatura* (the flood of ambrosia) and the *Dharmapradīpikāva* (a commentary on the Pāli *Mahābōdhivaṁsa*), both written by Guruḷugōmi at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The two poems, which are the oldest extant in Siṁhalese,

[1] A work on the art of government which is often compared to Machiavelli's *Prince*.

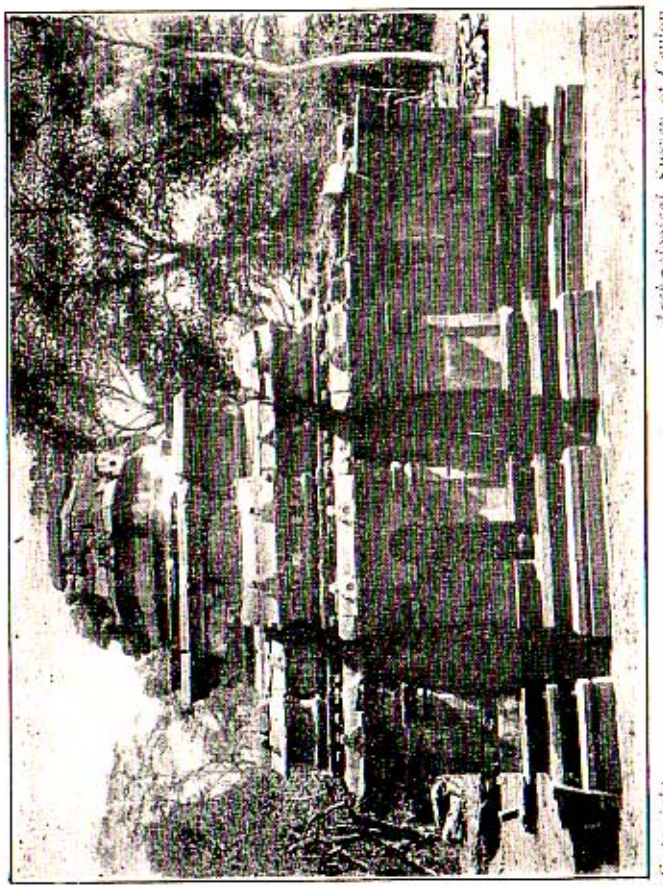
are the *Sasadāvata*, written during the first period of Līlāvati's rule (1197-1200), and the *Muvadevdāvata*. The subjects of the two poems are *Jātakas*. The *Sasadāvata* (*Sasajātaka*) deals with the story of the *Lōdhisattva* when he was born as a hare. The *Muvadevdāvata* gives the story of the *Makhādēva Jātaka*. The form of the poems reveals a close imitation of the Sanskrit works of Kalidasa and of his successors like Kumāradāsa.

The extensive study of Sanskrit works by bhikshus continued to influence both Pāli and Siṅhalese and the forms and subjects of literary works. Some bhikshus, deviating from the usual religious topics and taking Sanskrit works as their models, composed works on Pāli prosody, grammar and lexicography. The Pāli grammar of Moggallāna, for instance, was based on the Vyākaraṇa of Chandragōmin, and the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* on the *Amarakosha*, the Sanskrit dictionary.

13. Architecture, Sculpture and Painting

The prosperity under the Poḷonnaruva kings led to a great deal of activity in architecture, sculpture, and painting. Vijayabāhu I had not much time to put up new buildings, as he had first to repair the vihārēs and the dāgāḅas which had fallen into decay; but in the time of Parākramabāhu the Great the erection of new buildings was begun on a grand scale. Parākramabāhu built the largest dāgāba on record, the Demala Mahasāya in Poḷonnaruva, which survives today only a mound. The Kiri Vehera, another dāgāba built by him, and the Rankot Vehera, built by Niśśaṅka Malla, are also large in size and hemispherical in shape like the large dāgābas of Anurādhapura.

The vihārēs of this period are also the largest built in Ceylon, and are made of brick and lime mortar. The Laṅkātilaka Vihārē and the Jētavanārāma Vihārē (which lies to the north of the Demala Mahasāya) were built by Parākramabāhu. The Thūpārama has above it a sort of dome, and on its walls there is a good deal of stucco work, which shows a remarkable devlopment in this period. All these there are similar in style to the building to the west



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SIVA DĒVALĒ NO. 2, POḶONNARUVA

(*Page* 112)

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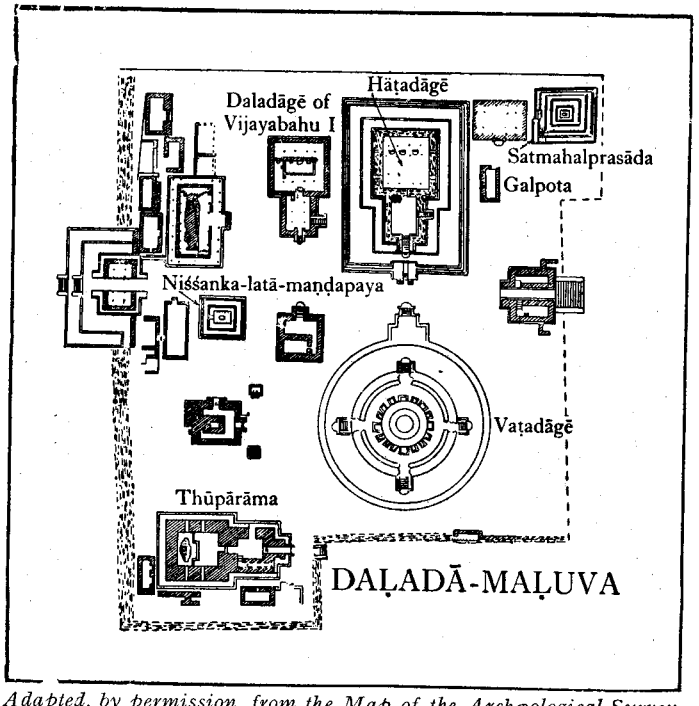
THE VĀPAHUVA ROCK
(*Page 97*)

Adapted, by permission, from the Map of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon



Adapted, by permission, from the Map of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon

of Jētavanārāma Dāgāba in Anurādhapura. Two other religious buildings of importance are the Vaṭadāgē and the Hāṭadāgē (Tooth Relic Temple) built by Niśśaṅka Malla. The ruins of Parākramabāhu's palace are still to be seen and cover a large area. The influence of the Cōḷa rule on architecture is to be seen in the temple in Poḷonnaruva which is known as Śiva Dēvālē No. 2. It was built of stone during the Cōḷa occupation in the style of their buildings of the tenth century.

The figures carved out of rock during this period are in high relief, and are large in size. The images of the Buddha at Aukana (near Kalāvāva) and at the Gal Vihārē (Uttarārāma) in Poḷonnaruva, are some of the largest in Ceylon. The best piece of

sculpture of this period is the figure of the Hindu sage cut out of the rock near the Potgul Vehera in Poḷonnaruva, identified by some as Parākramabāhu the Great and by others as Agastya. But other pieces of sculpture in Poḷonnaruva, such as the moon-stones, show a decline in art. There is no longer the simplicity and the vitality of the Gupta style. On the other hand, perhaps as result of Dravidian influence, there is a tendency towards over-ornamentation and excessive detail.

In the Jētavanārāma in Poḷonnaruva there are several wall-paintings, some of which depict certain birth stories of the Buddha, such as the *Sasajātaka*.

14. Foreign Relations

Ceylon had direct dealings with many foreign countries during this period. In the time of Vijayabāhu I the foreign policy depended on the Cōḷa menace. Vijayabāhu naturally tried to be friendly with those countries which were opposed to Cōḷa or were in danger of a Cōḷa invasion. When he was trying to free Ceylon from the Cōḷa yoke, he sought the help of Anoratha (1044-1077), king of Burma, who also wished to be friendly with Ceylon because of their common interest in Buddhism. After the war was over he made an alliance with Kaliṅga which was hostile to Cōḷa by marrying Tilōkasundarī, a princess of that country, and became an ally of the Western Cāḷukya king, Vikramāditya VI, who was an enemy of the Cōḷa king, Kulōttunga I (1070-1120).

When Parākramabāhu the Great ascended the throne there was no need for such alliances. There was no longer any fear of a Cōḷa invasion, and Ceylon was in a position to act freely in its own interests. At this time Bhuvanāditya Alaungsithu (1112-1167), the powerful king of Burma, interfered with the elephant trade and made it a royal monopoly. The inevitable rise in prices led to a quarrel between Ceylon and Burma, which ended in the ill-treatment of Ceylonese ambassadors and the capture by Alaungsithu of a Siṅhalese princess who was on her way to Cambodia. About the year 1164 Parākramabāhu, to avenge these insults, declared war on Burma, and sent under Kit Nuvaragal a fleet to

invade its territory. Alaungsithu was now feeble with age, and offered little resistance. The Siṅhalese forces captured Passein (Kusumi), and carried on the war for another five months until Alaungsithu agreed to satisfactory terms.

After that Ceylon and Burma continued to be on friendly terms, and Vijayabāhu II and Niśśaṅka Mala had dealings with the Burmese king. Niśśaṅka Malla claims to have had dealings also with Gujarat, Mysore, Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa, Veṅgī, Kaliṅga, Bengal and Burma.

In the time of Parākramabāhu I the Siṅhalese waged war also in South India. The power of the Cōḷas became so weak after the reign of Rājarāja II (1150-1173) that they exercised hardly any control over Pāṇḍya. As a result in 1169 the Pāṇḍya king Parākrama's right to the throne of Madura was contrested by the Pāṇḍya king Kulasēkhara of Tinnevelly. Parākrama sought the help of Ceylon against his rival, and Parākramabāhu sent an army under his general, Laṅkāpura, who captured Rāmēśvaram and Madura. Madura was then in the hands of Kulasēkhara, who had defeated and killed Parākrama; and Laṅkāpura restored the dead king's son, Vīra Pāṇḍya, to the throne. After further fighting Kulasēkhara took refuge with the Cōḷa king Rājādhirāja II (1173-1182), and with his help won back the throne of Pāṇḍya. He defeated Laṅkāpura, and nailed his head to the city-gate of Madura.

Parākramabāhu, smarting under this ignominious defeat, collected forces once more at various ports such as Ūrāṭṭuṟai (Kayts), Puḷaicceri, Mātoṭa (Mantai), Valikāmam and Maṭṭivāḷ and prepared for a naval attack. At this time Srī Vallabha, whom Parākramabāhu took captive at the defeat of his father Mānābharaṇa, had escaped from Ceylon, and was living in the kingdom of Cōḷa. Rājādhirāja II, knowing him to be a claimant to the Siṅhalese throne, sent him with forces to fight against Parākramabāhu. Srī Vallabha destroyed the Siṅhalese fleet, ravaged Māntai and other villages, captured much booty, and frustrated the plans of Parākramabāhu.

Though Kulasēkhara acknowledged the supremacy of Cōḷa to gain the kingdom of Madura, he had no desire to be subservient

to the declining power of Cōḷa. With the object of making himself free from the control of his suzerain he made an alliance with his old enemy Parākramabāhu of Ceylon. The Cōḷas enraged by his disloyal act made war on him and defeated him in spite of the help he received from the Siṅhalese. After that they re-instated Vīra Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama and former ally of the Siṅhalese.

In 1182 at the death of Rājādhirāja II Vīra Pāṇḍya too, assisted by the Siṅhalese, tried to assert his independence. The Cōḷas thereupon expelled him, placed one Vikrama Pāṇḍya on the throne of Madura, and drove the Siṅhalese out of South India. A few years later Vīra Pāṇḍya helped by the king of Cēra made an effort to regain his throne, but met with no success. Niśśaṅka Malla claims to have sent an expedition to South India about this time, and his troops probably took part in this war.

All that Ceylon gained out of this war was the island of Rāmēśvaram, and Niśśaṅka Malla renovated the Hindu temple there and called it Niśśaṅkēsvara.

CHAPTER V

THE DRIFT TO THE SOUTH-WEST

This chapter deals with the history of Ceylon from the reign of Vijayabāhu III (1232-1236) till that of Parākramabāhu VIII (1484-1509), in whose reign the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon. It is a continuation of the South Indian Period of Ceylon history, but differs from the Polonnaruva Period as during this time Ceylon was mainly influenced not by Cōḷa but by the new South Indian empires of Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagara.

Another important feature of the history of this period is the establishment of a Tamil Kingdom in the north and the gradual drift of the seat of the Siṅhalese Government to the south-west of the island. The Siṅhalese kings that followed Māgha, with one exception, did not rule from Polonnaruva, but chose as their capitals towns in the west which gave them better security. They

had not the power to keep under their control the Tamil Kingdom in the north or to resist successfully the invasions from South India by Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagara rulers, and at times were not able even to maintain themselves against other Siṅhalese chiefs who tried to be the supreme ruler of the Island.

The kings of this period, further, had not the means to restore to their former prosperity the regions around Anurādhapura and Poḷonnaruva, and thus did not receive the large revenues obtained by former kings by means of the grain-tax. Therefore, they began to pay more attention to the income derived from the sale of cinnamon and other articles of export. The desire to control this trade led them at the beginning of the fifteenth century to choose Kōṭṭē as the seat of government, and thus live far away from the earlier centres of civilisation such as Anurādhapura, Poḷonnaruva and Māgama.

There were only two great kings during this period, Parākramabāhu II and Parākramabāhu VI. The former was more famous for his literary and religious activities than for his performances as a warrior or statesman. According to available evidence, though he conquered Anurādhapura and Poḷonnaruva, he does not appear to have ruled over the Jaffna peninsula. Parākramabāhu VI was the greatest king of this time, and he held sway over the whole island.

1. The Pāṇḍya and the Vijayanagara Empires

It has already been shown how Pāṇḍya became an independent kingdom under Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1217-1238) and brought Cōḷa under its suzerainty. Under one of his successors Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (1253-1270) it reached its widest limits. It extended as far as Nellore in the north and was victorious against Ceylon in the south. Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya who conducted the war against Ceylon claims to have killed one of the two kings of Ceylon, captured his army, chariots, and treasures, and to have planted the Pāṇḍya flag with the double fish on

Kōṇamalei[1] (Trincomalee) and received elephants as tribute from the other king of Ceylon.

The next Pāṇḍya king, Māravarman Kulasēkhara (1270-1310), invaded Ceylon twice and brought Ceylon under his rule. He was put to death about 1310 by his son Sundara Pāṇḍya, and this murder was followed by a civil war between Sundara Paṇḍya and his brother Vīra Pāṇḍya. Sundara was defeated, and he took refuge with the Muslims who led by Malik Kāfūr defeated Vīra and placed him on the throne. These events helped King Kulasēkhara of Cēra to conquer both Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa in 1315, and thus the great Pāṇḍya empire came to an end.

Though Kulasēkhara was not able to maintain his conquests for long owing to further Muslim invasions, there arose another Hindu empire which preserved the ancient Indian civilisation until it was overthrown in 1565 by the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan. The Vijayanagara Empire was established by five Hoysala or Kanarese chiefs. It gradually extended its power southwards from the Kṛishṇā and the Tungabhadra, occupied Pāṇḍya in 1377, and claims to have conquered Ceylon in the time of Harihara II (1379-1406). The greatest of the Vijayanagara rulers was Dēva Rāya II (1421-1448) who re-organized the army and made Vijayanagara an empire to reckon with. In his reign, about 1438, Ceylon was invaded once again, and from this time the Tamil king of the north appears to have recognized the Vijayanagara emperor as his suzerain. After his death the Vijayanagara emperors paid little attention to Ceylon as they were fully occupied with their wars against the Muslim kingdoms.

2. The Political Divisions

The ancient political divisions of Ceylon went through a definite change with the establishment of the Tamil kingdom in the north, and the boundaries of the new divisions varied according to the conquests of their rulers. The Tamil kingdom roughly covered the modern Northern Province, and its capital was Sinkai Nakarai (Siṅha Nagara), which has not yet been identified. This kingdom remained for the most part independent, and was

[1] The double Pāṇḍya fish carved on stone is to be seen on either side of the main entrance of Fort Frederick in Trincomalee. These stones were taken from the old temple at Kōṇamalei.

subject only to the Siṅhalese kings Parākramabāhu VI and his successors Jayabāhu II and Bhuvanaikabāhu VI, when its capital was Yāpāpaṭuna, the modern Jaffna.

The capital of the Siṅhalese kingdom changed over and over again during this period. Vijayabāhu III who ruled only over Māyārāṭa made the rock-fortress of Dambadeṇiya his capital. This continued to be the chief town till the time of the Pāṇḍya conquest. After this event Parākramabāhu III made Poḷonnaruva the capital probably because he acknowledged the supremacy of Pāṇḍya.

The places occupied as capitals by his successors were Yāpahuva, Kurunāgala, Gampola, Rayigama, and Kōṭṭē. The first two, like Dambadeṇiya, are rock-fortresses. Gampola is situated in a mountain-pass. Kōṭṭē at this time was almost surrounded by water. The choice of all these places shows the insecurity in which the kings lived at this time. They could no longer live in the open plains like their predecessors and protect their subjects, but had to reside in places which gave protection to themselves.

The political divisions went through an important change again during the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu VI when the Tamil Kingdom broke away from Siṅhalese control and the Kandyan kingdom became independent for the first time. The new Kandyan king ruled not only over the Kanda Uda Pas Raṭa of Hārispattuva, Dumbara, Yaṭinuvara, Udunuvara and Hēvāhāṭa which formed the ancient Malaya, but also over the districts of Mātalē, Bintānna, Uva, Vellassa, Pānama, Trincomalee and Batticaloa.

3. The Kings of Dambadeniya and Kurunāgala and the Invasion of Chandrabhānu

The history of this period is obscure at many points, for the sources on the whole are unsatisfactory. It is not possible at times to follow even the succession of kings, as for some of them no information about their lineage is available.

When Māgha was ruling from Poḷonnaruva, certain Siṁhalese chiefs occupied rock-fortresses, such as Yāpahuva, Gōvindahela[1] and Gandeṇigala[2], which were difficult of access, and maintained their independence. Another chief called Vijayabāhu occupied the Vanni, the district which lay around the boundary between the Northern and the North Central Provinces, and expelled the Tamils from Māyāraṭa. After that he became the ruler of this district, and occupied Dambadeṇiya, which he fortified. He brought back the Tooth and the Bowl relics, which had been removed to Kotmalē, but placed them at Beligala as his position at Dambadeṇiya was not quite secure.

Vijayabāhu III (1232-1236) was not related to any of the Poḷonnaruva kings, and was the founder of a new dynasty. The kings after him till Parākramabāhu IV, who ascended the throne in 1325, were his descendants, and their rule was interrupted only during the period after Bhuvanaikabāhu I (1273-1284) when the Pāṇḍyas ruled over Ceylon for about twenty years.

Vijayabāhu's eldest son, Parākramabāhu II (1236-1271) was considered a great scholar in his time and was called Kalikālasāhitya-sarvajña-paṇḍita.[3] He ruled over Ruhuṇa in addition to Māyāraṭa, and attempted to expel from Ceylon the Tamils who ruled over Pihiṭiraṭa. He completed the subjugation of the Vanni, conquered Poḷonnaruva, and then defeated the Tamils near Kalāvāva. But he failed to conquer the region north of the Vanni, to the chiefs of which his son, Vijayabāhu, entrusted the protection of Anurādhapura.

After this Parākramabāhu caused Vākirigala and Kurunāgala to be fortified, and ordered the restoration of Poḷonnaruva. When the various buildings were repaired he held his consecration there, but after the festival was over he returned to the rock-fortress of

[1] The so-called Westminster Abbey, an imposing rock near the east coast twenty miles west of Tirukkōvil.

[2] Gandeṇigala has not yet been identified.

[3] 'The scholar who is entirely familiar with the literature of the Kali Age.' The Hindus divided time into great ages and each great age into four ages. The last of these is the Kaliyuga, the present age.

Dambadeṇiya. He did not make Poḷonnaruva his capital probably because he was not strong enough to withstand from there the invasions of the rising power of Pāṇḍya. At the same time Māyāraṭa was growing in importance from the time it was opened up by Parākramabāhu I, and supplied the cinnamon and other spices for which foreign traders were prepared to pay good prices.

In 1244 Ceylon was invaded by a Malay Buddhist king called Candrabhānu. He was the ruler of Tāmbralinga, a kingdom in the Malay Peninsula near the Bay of Bandon. The object of his invasion was to seize an image of the Buddha which was said to possess miraculous powers. The king's nephew, Vīrabāhu, successfully resisted the invasion; but Candrabhānu retreated to South India, and came once more with Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa mercenaries when Vijayabāhu was regent. This time he demanded the *daladā* and the Bowl of the Buddha, and advanced as far as Yāpahuva, but was defeated once more by Vīrabāhu.

The *Cūlavaṁsa* does not say that Parākramabāhu II paid any tribute to Pāṇḍya, and thus does not confirm the inscription of Jāṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya who records that he killed one king of Ceylon and exacted tribute from the other. But there is no doubt that Parākramabāhu had to take special precautions against Pāṇḍya invasions. He placed his son Bhuvanaikabāhu at Yāpahuva, and stationed another son at Vattala near Coḷombo to protect the sea-coast and prevent any attack by sea.

Vijayabāhu IV, the son of Parākramabāhu II, was put to death by his general in the second year of his reign. But the mercenaries from Rājaputāna in India, whom he employed, in turn killed the general, and placed on the throne Bhuvanaikabāhu, who fled to Yāpahuva on the murder of his brother.

Bhuvanaikabāhu I (1273-1284) also made Dambadeṇiya his capital. He brought into subjection the Vanni kings, who did not fail to make themselves independent whenever there was any disorder in the country, and defeated the Pāṇḍyas who invaded the country soon after the accession of Kulasēkhara. He realized, however, that the danger from Pāṇḍya was not at an end, and

shifted his capital to Yāpahuva, as it was easier to repel South Indian invasions from there. But this was of no avail as the Pāṇḍya invaders, who came under Ārya Chakravarti, captured Yāpahuva, and took away the *daladā*, which they delivered to Kulasēkhara.

After this for about twenty years Ceylon appears to have been ruled directly from Pāṇḍya, till Parākramabāhu III, the son of Vijayabāhu IV, made a personal visit to Pāṇḍya and brought back the *daladā*. On his return in 1302 he became king, and most probably acknowledged the suzerainty of Pāṇḍya and received its protection. He resided at Poḷonnaruva and ruled till 1310, when the son of Bhuvanaikabāhu I, Bhuvanaikabāhu II, became king. Bhuvanaikabāhu II appears to have taken advantage of the dispute over the succession in Pāṇḍya and the invasion of Malik Kāfūr, and seized the throne from Parākramabāhu III. He made Ceylon independent once more and continued to rule till 1325 from Kurunāgala, where he had resided before he became king. His successor was his son Parākramabāhu IV, who took some interest in Siṅhalese literature. A few years after his accession there was a rebellion against his rule, and this appears to have brought his reign to an end.

4. The Kings of Gampola and their Relations with the Tamil Kingdom

The king who followed Parākramabāhu IV was Bhuvanaikabāhu III. It is not certain who he was or from where he ruled. The next king Vijayabāhu V (1333-1344) ruled from a town near Adam's Peak. His son was Bhuvanaikabāhu IV (1344-1353), who ruled from Gampola. He was succeeded by his brother Parākramabāhu V (1353-1359) who counts his reign from the same year as his brother.[1] He lived first at Dādigama, and came to Gampola at his brother's death. It was probably in his reign that the Tamils of the north began to occupy the coastal towns of the west.

It is not possible to give a satisfactory account of the rise and the growth of the Tamil kingdom in the north, as the Pāli and the

1 Many kings during this period associated others with their rule. Hence more than one king often ruled at the same time.

Siṅhalese chronicles and almost all the inscriptions give an account only of the reigns of the Siṅhalese kings. The northern part of Ceylon was under the Siṅhalese kings till the time of Parākramabāhu the Great. It is not clear when it first became an independent kingdom under the Tamils. The Tamil kingdom probably came into existence with the rule of Māgha of Kaliṅga when the chief towns from Poḷonnaruva to Mātoṭa and the part to the north of these as well as the northernmost part of Ruhuṇa were under him. Though Poḷonnaruva and Anurādhapura were later captured by Parākramabāhu II, it is clear that he never ruled over the present Northern Province, which continued to be occupied by the successors of Māgha.

The next important event in the history of the Tamil Kingdom was its capture by Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya about the year 1255 when its king is said to have been killed. The results of the conquest are not known, but if the Tamil Kingdom did not come under Pāṇḍya at this time, it must have become subject to Pandya when the Siṅhalese kingdom came under this south Indian empire in 1284.

The Muslim conquest of Pāṇḍya in 1310 and the subsequent troubles in that kingdom as well as in the Siṅhalese kingdom gave the Tamil ruler an opportunity of asserting himself, and he seems to have extended his boundaries at the expense of the Siṅhalese ruler. Ibn Battūta, the Muslim traveller who visited Ceylon in 1344, says that the Tamil king, Ārya Cakravarti, was a powerful ruler who owned pirate vessels and a cultured man who could converse in Persian. His capital was a small and pretty town, surrounded by a wooden wall with wooden towers.

Not long after this the Tamil kings appear to have pressed further south, and exacted tribute from the Siṅhalese districts during the reign of Vikramabāhu III (1360-1374) who succeeded Parākramabāhu V. Vikramabāhu was a weak king, and at the beginning of his reign the real ruler was the commander-in-chief or *senevirat*, Sēnā Laṅkā Adhikāra. His place was taken later by Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra who made it his aim to check the advance of the Tamils. He built a fortress at Kōṭṭē and made it his residence. The Tamil king Ārya Cakravarti thereupon sent two

armies, one by land and the other by sea. The one that went by land advanced as far as Mātale where it was defeated. The one that went by sea landed at Pāṇadurē, but was defeated in 1368 by Aḷagakkōnāra, who also captured the Tamil encampments at Coḷombo, Vattala, Negombo and Chilaw.

After this the Tamil kingdom appears to have declined in power, and was invaded by Vijayanagara rulers. About the year 1385 it was conquered by Virūpāksha, the son of the Vijayanagara king, Harihara II (1379-1406). It was conquered again about the year 1438, in the time of Deva Rāya II and brought under the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara Empire, to which it henceforth paid tribute.

The rise of the Tamil kingdom created problems to which Ceylon was not hitherto accustomed. In Ceylon so far Siṅhalese had been the chief language and Buddhism its main religion. In the Tamil kingdom Tamil became the chief language and Hinduism its main religion. Before long a distinction arose also in economic conditions. The Tamil kingdom arose in the Dry Zone and the Tamils followed the methods of cultivation suitable to this area. The Siṅhalese, on the other hand, gradually abandoning the Dry Zone began to occupy the Wet Zone which was more productive and suitable also for the cultivation of products other than rice. These differences created a gulf between the two peoples, and they are partly responsible for the present divisions between the Siṅhalese and the Tamils.

5. The Kings of Rayigama and Kōṭṭē

Vikramabāhu continued to be the nominal ruler till 1374 when he was succeeded by Bhuvanaikabāhu V whose reign lasted till about 1405. The real rulers during this time were Niśśaṅka Aḷagakkōnāra and his successors who ruled from Rayigama, which lies to the east of Pāṇadurē. One of these was Vīrabāhu II (1391-1397), the brother-in-law of Bhuvanaikabāhu V and nephew of Niśśaṅka Aḷagakkōnāra, who came into power by defeating his brother Vīra Alakēśvara (1387-1391). He is said to have fought victoriously against the Tamils, the Malaiyāḷis, and the Muslims. Vīra Alakēśvara, who fled to India after his defeat, returned to the island in 1397, and became the ruler once more.

Besides Candrabhānu other rulers demanded the *daladā* from the Siṅhalese kings. The Chinese emperor, Kublai Khan, who established the Yuan Dynasty (1280-1368), sent for it in 1284, and Chinese envoys came for it twice more in the fourteenth century. In 1405 the Chinese eunuch, Ching-Ho, came to Ceylon at the request of the emperor, Yung Ho, of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), to take away the *daladā*, and was treated badly by Vīra Alakēśvara. He came again in 1410, captured Vīra Alakēśvara, his queen and his officers, and took them to China. Vīra Alakēśvara was released later, but he did not become king again. His successor was Parākramabāhu, a grandson of Sēnā Laṅkā Adhikāra, *senevirat*, from whose time till 1459 Ceylon seems to have paid tribute to China.

The next king of Ceylon was Parākramabāhu VI (1415-1467), a descendant of Parākramabāhu V. He began to rule at Rayigama in 1412, and occupied in 1415 Kōṭṭē which was better protected. He probably changed his capital because from Kōṭṭē he could command the route to the interior, which crossed the Kālani Gaṅga near modern Grand Pass, and the route to Coḷombo from the north, which crossed the same river at Vattala, and thus control the extensive trade in cinnamon which passed through Coḷombo to Europe.

Parākramabāhu VI was the only king of this period who ruled over the whole island. The chief political events of his reign were the conquests of the Vanni and the Tamil kingdom, and the suppression of a rebellion in the hill-country.

After his accession to the throne he gradually strengthened his position, and is said to have successfully repelled an invasion of the Vijayanagara Empire. Some years later he fought against the chiefs of the Vanni, who were probably under the Tamil king. After they were brought into subjection he sent his adopted son, Sapumal Kumāraya, to conquer the Tamil kingdom. The Tamil king acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara ruler at this time, but probably received little or no protection during the last days of Dēva Rāya II. Sapumal Kumāraya was not successful when he made the first attack, but the second time he defeated

the troops of the Tamil king, and brought the Tamil kingdom under the rule of Parākramabāhu.

Probably on account of this war a Siṅhalese ship laden with cinnamon was seized by a Vijayanagara chief, and Parākramabāhu retaliated by sending an expedition and attacking the Vijayanagara port of Adriampet.

During this time too the prince of Gampola ruled only in name over Malaya, which was now called the Kanda Uḍa Pas Raṭa, and the real ruler was his minister the Lankā Adhikāra Jōti Siṭāṇa. In the year 1463 Jōti Siṭāṇa ceased to pay the yearly tribute and rebelled against Parākramabāhu's suzerainty. Thereupon Parākramabāhu sent Ambulugala Kumāraya to crush his power. Ambulugala subdued Jōti Siṭāṇa and entrusted the rule of the district to the prince of Gampola.

Parākramabāhu VI was succeeded by his grandson Jayabāhu II (1467-1473) probably because he had no sons; but Sapumal Kumāraya, who ruled from Yāpāpaṭuna (Jaffna) the territory ruled by the Tamil kings, killed him, and became king of Kōṭṭē under the name of Bhuvanaikabāhu. Sapumal Kumāraya and his brother Ambulugala Kumāraya according to one authority were Indian princes brought up as sons by Parākramabāhu VI, and Sapumal's murder of Jayabāhu and his accession to the throne could not have been welcomed by the Siṅhalese. About the year 1476 the people of the country between the Kalu Gaṅga and the Vaḷavē Gaṅga rose against his authority and he sent his brother Ambulugala, the ruler of the Four Kōralēs, to subdue this rebellion when the people of the Four Kōralēs also rose against him. It took four years before the rebels were subdued, and even then Bhuvanaikabāhu VI succeeded only because he adopted a conciliatory attitude and punished the leaders only with imprisonment.

The turbulent chiefs of Kanda Uḍa Pas Raṭa, who had paid little heed to the authority of their prince until Jōti Siṭāṇa's power had been crushed by Parākramabāhu VI, took this opportunity to rise against Vikramabāhu who appears to have come into power about the same time as Bhuvanaikabāhu VI. Though Bhuvanaikabāhu was not in a position to give him adequate help, Vikramabāhu suppressed the rebellion, moving from Gampola to Pērādeṇiya and then to Kandy which he ultimately made his capital. After that he made himself independent of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē and established himself as suzerain over the Mātalē district and the region to the east extending from the Trincomalee harbour to the Vaḷavē Gaṅga.

The Tamils of the north also took advantage of this revolt. Pararājasekaran (1478-1519), a son of the king whom Sapumal Kumāraya dethroned, now won back the kingdom, and asserted his independence.

Bhuvanaikabāhu VI was followed in turn by Parākramabāhu VII (1480-1484) and by Prince Ambulugala. The latter took the name of Parākramabāhu VIII (1484-1509). In his reign the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon.

6. Agriculture and Trade

There is hardly any reference to the construction of any important irrigation work during this period. It is due to the fact that the Siṅhalese kings at this time lived in the Wet Zone where paddy cultivation depends mainly on the rains. There are references, however, to cultivation of coconut and jak on the south-west coast. Though these products are mentioned in writings of earlier times it is likely they began to be cultivated extensively only at this time, as the Dry Zone, which the earlier kings occupied, was not so suitable for their growth.

Foreign trade played an important part during this period After the Crusades there was a great demand in European countries for the excellent Ceylon cinnamon, and for it merchants were prepared to pay high prices. Bhuvanaikabāhu I (1273-1284) in order to increase his profits sought an agreement with the Sultan of Egypt in 1283 to supply him with cinnamon, precious stones, and elephants. His embassy travelled by sea up to the head of the Persian Gulf and thence by land to Cairo, passing through Baghdad and the Syrian Desert. According to Ibn Batti ta the Tamil king of the north in 1344 traded in cinnamon with the

merchants of the Coromandel and the Malabar coasts and obtained in exchange cloth and other articles. Colombo in the same year was in the hands of a Muslim 'wazir and ruler of the sea' called Jālasti who had a garrison of about five hundred Abyssinians. This occupation of Colombo was to control the sale of cinnamon, and the disappearance of the Muslims from Colombo a few years later was probably due to the conquest of this region for the same object by the Tamils of the north. The desire to control this trade was probably one of the chief reasons which led Alagakkōnāra, who was himself a merchant, to expel the Tamils from these parts. It was no doubt the same reason that drove Vīrabāhu II to fight the Tamils, the Malaiyāḷis and the Muslims, the Chinese to capture Vira Alakēsvara, Alagakkōnāra and his successors to rule from Rayigama, Parākramabāhu VI to shift his seat of government to Kōṭṭē, and the Portuguese to come to Ceylon in 1505.

This trade, though important in many respects, affected the people very little. The cinnamon plant was not cultivated by them, but grew wild. The peeling was done by a special caste who, according to the custom of the time, were paid with grants of land. The selling of cinnamon was a royal monopoly and it was carried away from Ceylon by foreign merchants. Thus the people as a whole had no share in its production or sale, and derived little or no benefit by the increasing demand for it. In other words, the people did not take to commerce but continued as before to carry on their agricultural activities.

The trade, however, led to the settlement of a large number of Muslims in Ceylon. They occupied in addition to Colombo many other parts, like Bēruvala, and penetrated even into the interior setting up mosques in the villages in which they settled. They made pilgrimages to Adam's Peak, as they believed the depression on the peak to be a footmark of Adam, who according to the *Bible* was the first man that lived on earth.

7. Buddhism and Hinduism

The unsettled state of the country during this period had an adverse effect of Buddhism. Five kings of this period had to enforce the rules of discipline on the bhikshus, and expel from the Saṅgha those who led unworthy lives. The deterioration of the Saṅgha

was no doubt due to the disturbances caused by invasions from without and civil strife from within, which made it impossible for most of the bhikshus to live according to their rules of discipline.

The *daladā* received even more attention than in the Polonnaruva Period. Kings took great care to keep it in their possession, and a change of capital was followed by the building of a new Daladā Māligāva.

The Mahāyānist beliefs continued to spread, and were not affected by the purification of the Saṅgha and the reconciliation of opposing sects. The worship of Nātha or Avalōkitēsvara came into even greater prominence, especially from the time of Parākramabāhu VI. This *bōdhisattva* is referred to in many literary works of the time, and some inscriptions show that his image was worshipped in many temples. There are also references to Baddhapūjā or offerings to the Buddha. This practice might have been the result of the influence of either Mahāyānism or Hinduism.

Buddhism brought Ceylon into touch with other countries also during this period. Dhammazedi (1472-1492), the ruler of Burma, sent bhikshus to secure valid ordination from the Saṅgha of Ceylon. On their return they bestowed the ordination on the bhikshus of their country and those who came from Siam. Earlier in the time of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV his commander-in-chief built a vihārē at Kānchī (Conjeeveram) in South India, while Thēra Dharmakīrti who lived about the same time caused to be repaired the two-storied vihārē at Amarāvatī on the River Krishṇa.

The influence of Hinduism also grew at this time. Some of the Siṅhalese kings not only supported Brāhmin priests but also employed a special *purōhita* to carry out the various religious rites in the palace. A Maha Saman Dēvalē was built near Ratnapura in the reign of Parākramabāhu II. Parākramabāhu IV built a temple for Vishṇu at Alutnuvara, which lies a few miles south-west of Kadugannāva. Alagakkōnāra, when he fortified Kōṭṭē, built for its protection four temples which he dedicated to the gods Kihireli Upuluvan, Vibhīshaṇa, Skanda, and Saman whose worship, associated with Adam's Peak, was very popular at this time. Hindu

gods began to be worshipped also either in dēvālēs attached to the Buddhist Vihārēs or in the vihārēs themselves. In the Laṅkātilaka Vihārē, near Gampola, images of Hindu gods were placed between the inner and the outer wall of the building. Siṅhalese writers, after paying their homage to the Buddha, the *Dhamma*, and the *Saṅgha*, begged Hindu gods, such as Brahma, Siva and others for their blessings. The *Lōdhisattva* Nātha, and Saman, began to be identified with the Hindu gods, Siva and Lakshman, the brother of Rāma.

8. Literature

The really noteworthy progress made during this period was in the field of literature. The writers of this time received every encouragement from kings, some of whom wrote books themselves. Vijayabāhu III and Parākramabāhu II paid much attention to the education of the bhikshus, which had been badly neglected in the time of Māgha, and from the time of Parākramabāhu II there was a continuous production of books till the end of this period. The largest output was in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI whose conquests and the bringing of the whole island under his rule gave a special impetus to the growth of literature. The writing of books, however, was still an occupation limited mainly to the Saṅgha, who alone had the necessary leisure, and the subjects chosen were generally religious as in the preceding period.

The practice of writing in Pāli continued in spite of the decline of Buddhism in India and the works were similar to those of the Poḷonnaruva Period. The *Thūpavaṁsa*, a history of the dāgābas, is similar in language, style, and subject-matter to the *Mahābodhivaṁsa*. The second part of the *C lavaṁsa* shows greater influence of Sanskrit than the first part. Two other works on historical subjects are the *Hatthavanagalla Vihāra Vaṁsa*, which gives the story of the saintly life of Sri Sangabō, and the *Saddhamma Sangaha*, a history of Buddhism.

Other Pāli works include the *Rasavāhini*, a prose book containing one hundred and three stories, by Vēdēha Thēra; the three poems, the *Samantakūṭa Vaṇṇanā* (an account of Adam's Peak by

the same author), the *Jinacarita* (a life of the Buddha by Vanaratana Mēdhaṅkara), and the *Jinālaṅkāra* (the ornament of the Buddha), the *Bālāvatāra*, a grammatical work based on the Pāli grammar of Kaccāyana and written by Dharmakīrti, and the *Bhēsajja Mañjūsā* (the casket of medicine) written in the time of Parākramabāhu II.

The striking change is the appearance of a large number of Siṅhalese works. The decline of Buddhism in India probably discouraged the continued use of Pāli, but Sanskrit did not take its place, as during this time, owing to the occupation of India by Muslims, its importance decreased. Siṅhalese, now enriched by the influence of Sanskrit, was more suitable than before as a means of expression and was in a condition to be used freely by writers in Ceylon.

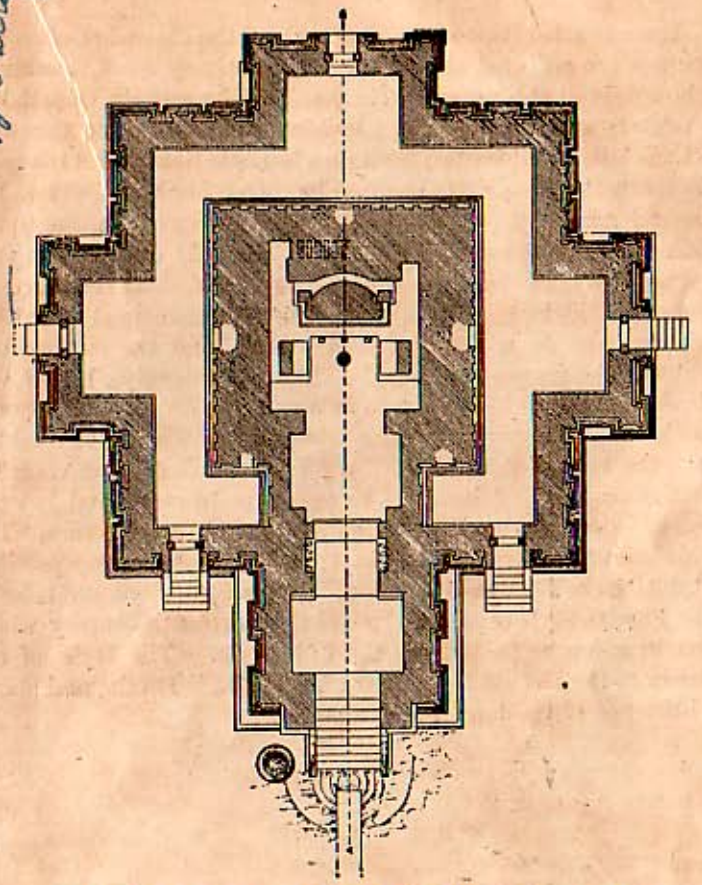
The Siṅhalese works, however, are in many cases translations of Pāli works and show little originality. Of such a nature are the Siṅhalese prose works, the *Thūpavaṁsaya* by Parākrama Paṇḍita written in the reign of Parākramabāhu II, the *Attanagaluvaṁsaya*, the *Pōḷhivaṁsaya* by Vilagammūla Mahāthēra, the *Daḷadā Pūjāvaliya* based on the *Dāṭhāvaṁsa*, and the *Daladā Sirita* by Deva Rudadam Pasaṅgināvan written in the time of Parākramabāhu IV, the *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* (the ornament of good doctrine), a selection of stories from the *Rasavāhinī* by Dharmakīrti II of Gaḍalādeṇiya who lived in the time of Vīrabāhu II, and the *Pansiyapanasjātakaya*, a translation of the Jātakas made in the time of the Gampola kings. The *Pūjāvaliya* (the garland of offerings) by the Mayūrapāda Thēra Buddhaputta written in the time of Parākramabāhu II gives a good deal of historical information. The *Nikāya Saṅgraha* by Dharmakīrti II of Gaḍalādeṇiya is a similar work, and gives the history of Buddhism and its sects. Two other works are Dharmasēna's *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* (a string of the gems of the good doctrine), an extensive collection of Buddhist stories illustrating the moral aphorisms of the *Dhammapada*, and the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* (a mine of jewels of the good doctrine), a treatise on Buddhism by Vimalakīrti, a pupil of Dharmakīrti II.

There appeared also a number of religious poems. The *Kavsilumiṇa* or *Kusadāvata*, written by Parākramabāhu II, gives the story of the *Kusajātaka*, and is similar in language and style of the *Sasadāvata*. The *Kāvyaśēkharaya* of Toṭagamuvē Śrī Rāhula and the *Guttila Kāvya* are also Jātaka stories related in verse. Other poems are the *Buduguṇālaṅkāraya* (an ornament of Buddha's virtues) written in the time of Bhuvanaikabāhu VI, and the *Lōvāṭa Sangarāva* (a compendium of the bliss of the world) both by Vīdāgama Maitreya Thēra and the *Pārakumbasirita*, a panegyric on Parākramabāhu VI.

The only new feature is the appearance of the *Sandēsa* (message) poems. These show the Hindu influence of the time, and are written in imitation of Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*. They embody a message, as the name implies, to be conveyed by a bird to the shrine of a god, invoking his blessing either on the sovereign or a member of the royal family, or imploring the aid of the god for victory in war. There is always a description of the route taken by the bird, and the poems give much information about towns, villages and buildings of the time. Seven of these poems are still to be found and two of them are by Toṭagamuvē Śrī Rāhula.

Just as the study of Sanskrit led to the writing of works on Pāli grammar, lexicography and medicine during the Polonnaruva Period, so at this time it led to similar works in Siṅhalese. The Siṅhalese grammar *Sidat Saṅgarāva* was composed at the request of a minister of Parākramabāhu II, and it standardised the language of literature. The *Piyum Mala* (a garland of lotus flowers) is a Siṅhalese vocabulary of synonyms written before 1410. The *Ruvan Mala* (a garland of gems) and the *Nāmāvaliya* (a garland of names) by Nallurūtun Miṇi, a minister of Parākramabāhu VI, are similar works. The *Yōgārṇava* written in the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu I by the chief of Mayūrapada Parivēṇa and the *Yōgaratnākara*, both books on medicine, also belong to this period.

Kālidāsa's influence is seen also in a Tamil work of this period. It is the *Rahuvaṅsam*, a Tamil version of the *Raghuvaṅsa*, written by Arasakēsari, the son-in-law of Pararājaśēkaran, who became the ruler of the Tamil kingdom in 1478.



GROUND PLAN OF THE LAṄKĀTILAKA VIHARE, NEAR GAMPOLA

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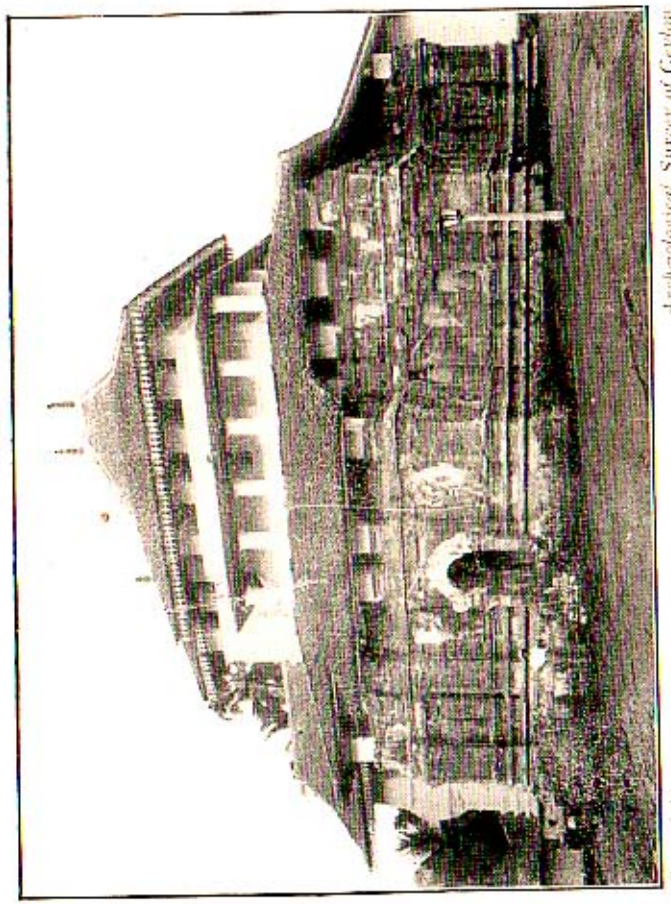
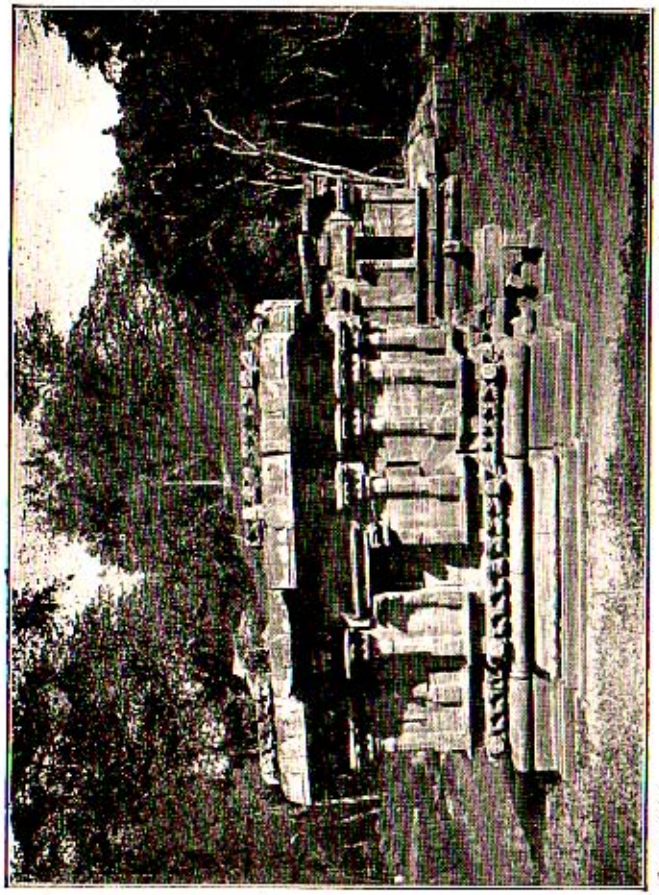
9. Architecture and Sculpture

The unsettled state of the country and the limited resources of the kings are reflected also in the comparatively small number of the buildings of this period. The Laṅkātilaka and the Gaḍalādeṇiya Vihārēs were the only large buildings put up during this time. The Laṅkātilaka Vihārē was built on a hill near Gampola in the reign of Bhuvanaikbāhu IV (1344-1354) by Sēnā Lankā Adhikāra, the commander-in-chief. It is of brick and its interior is similar to the buildings of the Poḷonnaruva period. The only difference is that there are two ante-chambers to the shrine; and this is enclosed by an outer wall, which makes the building square instead of oblong. The inner temple is the Buddhist vihārē, and the surrounding corridor is the temple of the gods. The Gaḍalādeṇiya Vihārē was built on the flat rock of Dikgala between Yaṭiṅuvara and Uḍunuvara also in the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV by Thēra Dharmakīrti I with the help of a South Indian architect called Ganēsvarācāri. It is the only vihārē built up to this time in stone and has the characteristics of the Vijayanagara style of architecture. The temple known as Siva Dēvālē No. 1, at Poḷonnaruva, was possibly built during the Pāṇḍya occupation. It is built of stone and belongs to the Pāṇḍya style of architecture of the thirteenth century which differs in a few respects from the Cōḷa style. The style of the stairway of the Daladā Māligāva at Yāpahuva is Hindu, and shows the influence of the later Pāṇḍya style.



THE LAṄKĀTILAKA VIHĀRĒ, NEAR GAMPOLA
(Page 112)



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SIVA DEVĀLE NO. 1, POLONNARUVA
(*Page* 112)

EPILOGUE

THE last chapter gave an account of the final phase of the history of Ceylon before the coming of the Portuguese. The Portuguese occupied the maritime provinces including the Tamil kingdom in the north and left the Siṁhalese independent only in the highlands. The Dutch captured the maritime districts from the Portuguese; and the British, who in turn took them from the Dutch, also occupied the mountainous district and put an end to Siṁhalese independence.

This narrative stops with the arrival of the Portuguese in Ceylon, as it puts an end to the Indian Period of Ceylon history. From this time the people of Ceylon began to look more to the West than to India for its progress, and the influence of Hinduism was gradually replaced by that of Christianity. They also began to adopt western methods and customs and to lay the foundations for the great advance made in the last hundred years.

There is no doubt that Ceylon has changed vastly since the British occupation, and some of the most significant features of its modern life have had their beginnings only in recent times. The new forces at work have transformed the life of the people considerably, and Ceylon is once more at a turning-point in its history.

Nevertheless, in spite of these great changes, many of the old forces are still at work. Though the study of the English language and literature has to some extent given the people a new outlook on life, the languages which are yet most widely used are Siṁhalese and Tamil. Though the influence of the Christian Church is quite out of proportion to its numbers, Buddhism and Hinduism have still far more adherents, and the number of Muslims is not much less than that of the Christians. Though agriculture is carried on to-day more for commercial purposes, rice-cultivation is still the occupation of a large number of people. Though the railway, the motor-car, the telegraph, and the telephone have become an inseparable part of the life of the people, and have helped Government to spread its tentacles in every direction, affecting almost every aspect of life, yet some of the old methods of travelling and

some of the old forms of administration have not yet altogether disappeared. Moreover, there is now a revived interest in the old forms of architecture, sculpture and painting. More attention is being paid to the restoration of old tanks and channels. And there is a tendency on the part of some to look to India once more for their inspiration.

It is not possible for the people of Ceylon to break away altogether from its past history, for the roots of the present lie too deep for that, and some of the factors, such as the geographical conditions, that influenced Ceylon in the past, have not changed very considerably. The people of Ceylon, like all living organisms, can only change, adapting themselves to new conditions. What is important is that they should preserve what is of enduring value, abandon what is obsolete, and absorb from without whatever is necessary for their growth. Hence the time was never more opportune for a correct appreciation of the past heritage of Ceylon, and this book will serve its purpose if it helps the people of this island, even in a small way, to obtain a better understanding of their past history.

APPENDIX I

THE SOURCES

1. *The Mahāvaṅsa.* The chief source used for the writing of this history of is the *Mahāvaṅsa*, an epic written in the Pāli language. Its first part, which relates the history of Ceylon from its legendary beginnings to the end of the reign of Mahasen (A.D. 362), was composed at the Mahāvihārē, in Anurādhapura, by a Buddhist bhikshu, about the sixth century A.D. The age of its oldest available manuscript, written on *ola* leaves, is perhaps not more than two hundred years, but its text was more or less fixed by a *ṭīkā*, written about the twelfth century A.D.[1] The second part of the *Mahāvaṅsa*, the *Cūlavaṅsa*, consists of three parts. The first of these three parts (Chs. XXXVII, 51—LXXIX, 84), which continues the story to the end of the reign of Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1186), was composed early in the thirteenth century, most probably at Polonnaruva, by a Buddhist bhikshu called Dharmakīrti. The date and the author of the second part (Chs. LXXIX, 85—XC, 102), which ends with Parākramabāhu IV, are not known, but it must have been written later than A.D. 1333, as the narrative is continued up to that year. The third part was composed in the reign of Kīrti Srī Rājasiṅha (A.D. 1747-1781) by the Buddhist bhikshu, Tibboṭuvāvē Siddhārtha Buddharakshita, who continued the epic up to his time.[2] The *Mahāvaṅsa* thus gives the history of Ceylon from its beginnings up to the middle of the eighteenth century. Few countries possess such an unbroken record, and no part of India has such a valuable source for the reconstruction of its history.[3] Nevertheless, since

1 According to tradition the name of the writer of this part is Mahānāma.

2 Geiger, *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI. p. 205 and *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Band* VII, p. 259.

3 The *Mahāvaṅsa* has been brought up-to-date by two Buddhist *bhikshus*, the first of whom in 1877 brought it up to the conquest of Ceylon by the British in 1815.

the *Mahāvaṅsa* is not a history in the modern sense, its statements have to be carefully examined before they are accepted as historical evidence.

2. *Vijaya to Duṭugämuṇu.* The records, which formed the basis of the first part of the *Mahāvaṅsa*, were a portion of the historical tradition contained in the *Aṭṭhakathā*, the Siṁhalese commentaries on the Buddhist Scriptures, which were at the Mahāvihārē. According to one account of the *Dipavaṁsa* (the older Pāli chronicle in verse compiled about the fourth century A.D.) the Mahāvihārē was built by Saddhā Tissa (77-59 B.C.), the brother of Duṭugemuṇu, and according to both chronicles, the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the *Atthakathā* were put into writing in the reign of Saddhā Tissa's son, Vaḷagambā (Vaṭṭa Gāmaṇi Abhaya), who lived in the latter part of the first century B.C. An examination of the *Mahāvaṅsa* shows that its information is generally reliable only from the reign of Saddhā Tissa, and it is most likely that definite records began to be kept only from the time of Vaḷagambā.

The events recorded about kings prior to Saddhā Tissa, the earliest of whom may not even be historical persons, are wrapped in myth and legend, and it is no easy task to unravel the stories and lay bare the truth that underlies them. Perhaps on this account too much has been made of these stories, and far too many incidents related have been regarded as events that actually took place. In recent times there has been a tendency on the part of some to reject most of the events related about Vijaya and Paṇḍukābhaya as mythical, and accept as correct the *Mahāvaṅsa* story in the main from the time of Dēvānaṁpiya Tissa. There is no doubt that the *Mahāvaṁsa* has more of history in it from the time of Dēvānaṁpiya Tissa, but there is no sufficient ground for accepting the story as correct from the time of this monarch and leaving out only those passages which are obviously fictitious. No independent record of any description outside Ceylon, for instance, supports the view held in Ceylon that Mahinda was a son of Aśōka. On the other hand, researches carried out in recent times into the legends of Aśōka tend to support the judgment of Oldenberg, who

some decades ago looked upon the story of Mahinda's parentage as a pure invention.[1] The building of the Ruvanväli Sāya and the Lōvamahapāya is attributed in the *Mahāvaṅsa* to Duṭugämuṇu, but the accounts in the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa* when critically examined, give room to doubt this statement.[2] The *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṅsa* also do not agree with regard to the persons who erected some of the other pre-Christian buildings. Nor is there a complete list in the *Mahāvaṅsa* of the buildings put up during this time. The Kälaniya Dāgäba was one of the most famous of the ancient dāgäbas, but the *Mahāvaṁsa* does not say when or by whom it was built.

Information has been sought for this period from the writings of geologists, zoologists, anthropologists and ethnographists, but the results obtained have been small, as, apart from the studies of the Väddas, the work on these sciences in Ceylon is still at a very elementary stage.

3. *Saddhā Tissa to Mahasen.* From the first century A.D. onwards we are on safer ground. The dynastic lists of rulers from Saddhā Tissa (77-59 B.C.) to Mahasen (A.D. 334-362) are generally confirmed by inscriptions, and they probably formed a part of the most ancient records.

The accounts of buildings erected from this time also seem to be more accurate, as there is generally no disagreement, as before, between the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa* with regard to the persons who built them. It is likely that the dynastic lists, with the length of the reign of each king, were first kept, and that the legends about persons and the traditional accounts of buildings were added later.

4. *Kit Siri Mevan to Parākramabāhu I.* A good deal of the information of the first part of the *Cūlavaṁsa* also deals with pious acts, such as the erection of religious buildings, and legends and stories of doubtful historical value related mainly for purposes of

[1] Przyluski, *La Legende de l'Empereur Aśōka.*

[2] See *Dīpavaṁsa, chap.* xviii, xix, xx and *Mahāvaṁsa*, xv; 168-172, 205; xxvii, 1-8; xxix, 52-56; xxxii, 1-6.

edification. But the account in the main seems to be correct, as it is often confirmed by inscriptions, both Ceylon and Indian, as well as by foreign literature such as the records of Fa-Hsien and Hiuen Tsang which also add to the information in the *Cūlavaṅsa*.

The *Cūlavaṅsa* up to Chapter LIV appears to have been based on records kept at Anurādhapura, and the statements in this section are the most reliable. Chapters LV and LVI are less satisfactory. They deal with the period when Ceylon was under Cōḷa rule when no accounts appear to have been put into writing. The account in the *Cūlavaṅsa*, however, has been supplemented by very useful information found in the Cōḷa inscriptions. Chapters LVII to LX are much more satisfactory, as records are said to have been kept of the achievements of Vijayabāhu I.

The rest of the first part of the *Cūlavaṅsa* consists mainly of an account of the reign of Parākramabāhu I, the hero of the author of this part. Parākramabāhu is made to appear a sort of ideal king, and is credited with even miraculous performances. His virtues are sometimes exaggerated and facts unfavourable to him are occasionally suppressed. Moreover, as the *Cūlavaṅsa* was meant to be an epic or a *kāvya*, the author has not hesitated to add from his own knowledge of Sanskrit literature such matter as would adorn the poem. Nevertheless, it is clear that the account is only an adaptation of the actual events that took place, as the statements are generally supported by Ceylon and Indian inscriptions, literary works, and ancient monuments.[1] The account of the war in South India is supplemented by information from South Indian inscriptions which modify, and add greatly to the story in the *Cūlavaṅsa*.

5. *Vijayabāhu II to Parākramabāhu VIII.* The second part of the *Cūlavaṅsa* is similar to the first part in many respects, but deals very briefly with many rulers. Chapter LXXX covers fourteen reigns and devotes only ten verses to an important ruler like Niśśaṅka Malla. This was probably due to the fact that owing to the constant wars no proper records were kept during these fifty years. The history of this period, however, can be reconstructed to some extent owing to the large number of inscriptions that have been left by many of these rulers.

[1] Geiger, *Culavansa*, Eng. Trs., p. vi.

There are fuller accounts of the reigns of Vijayabāhu III, Parākramabāhu II and Vijayabāhu IV. The account of the reign of Parākramabāhu II, the hero of the writer of the second part, occupies a good deal of space, but as an historical record it is even less satisfactory than that of the reign of Parākramabāhu I. The accounts of the successors of Vijayabāhu IV from Bhuvanaikabāhu I to Parākramabāhu IV are scanty. In these times too no proper records appear to have been kept owing to foreign invasions and civil wars.

The third part of the *Cūlavaṅsa* is short and gives no information at all about certain kings. The accounts of some of the Gampola kings appear to have been based on the Siṅhalese work *Rājaratnākara*, a not too reliable record belonging to the sixteenth century. The best account of the Gampola kings and of Aḷagakkōnara is given in the *Nikāya Saṅgraha* which gives in addition many details about the early history of Buddhism not found in the *Mahāvaṅsa*. Another work which gives additional information, though less reliable, is the *Rājāvaliya*, composed probably at the end of the seventeenth century. Further information for this period has been gleaned from inscriptions and from accounts of foreign writers like the Muslim traveller Ibn Battūta.

6. Another source of information for the reconstruction of the history of Ceylon has been coins and monuments. Coins have been specially helpful in tracing Ceylon's connections with foreign countries. The ancient monuments and works dealing with them have helped considerably to throw light upon foreign influences and developments in life and thought in Ceylon.

7. *The Chronology.* The dates in the *Mahāvaṅsa* are reckoned from the traditional date of the death of the Buddha, which according to calculations made from dates given in Indian and Greek records and the *Mahāvaṅsa*, is considered to have taken place in 483 B.C. According to reckonings made in medieval times in Ceylon, the date of the death of the Buddha falls in 543 or 544 B.C. This gives a difference of about sixty years, which must have been due to an alteration made by someone, if it did not occur owing to wrong reckonings of fractions of years.

Professor Geiger thinks that the chronology of Ceylon started from the year 483 B.C. up to the beginning of the eleventh century, when for some reason or other 544 B.C. was accepted as the year of Buddha's *nirvāṇa*. The chronology was therefore in confusion, and the author of the first part of the *Cūlavaṅsa* tried to correct it by altering the length of the reigns of the earliest kings in his list. Professor Geiger, therefore, corrects the error by deducting these sixty years from the reigns of Kit Siri Mevan, Deṭu Tis II, and Buddhadāsa.

The round numbers, in which most of the reigns at the beginning are given, reveal their fictitious nature, and probably the dates, too, have some reality only from the reign of Saddhā Tissa or his brother, Duṭugämuṇu. The dates even of kings from Saddhā Tissa up to Vijayabāhu I can be taken only as approximate. The chronology of the second and third parts of the *Cūlavaṅsa* is also far from definite. The number of years some of the kings ruled is not given, and the reckonings are further complicated by the fact that more than one king ruled at the same time.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF KINGS WITH DATES[1]

No.		B.C.
1.	Vijaya	483
	Interregnum of one year	445
2.	Paṇḍuvasdev (Paṇḍuvāsudēva), nephew of 1	444
3.	Abhaya, son of 2	414
	Interregnum	394
4.	Paṇḍukābhaya, nephew of 3	377
5.	Muṭasiva, son of 4	307
6.	Dēvānaṁpiya Tissa (Devanapä Tis), second son of 5	247
7.	Uttiya, brother of 6	207
8.	Mahāsiva, brother of 6	197
9.	Sūra Tissa, brother of 6	187
10 and 11.	Sēna and Guttika, Tamils	177
12.	Asēla, brother of 6	155
13.	Eḷāra (Eḷāla), Tamil	145
14.	Duṭugämuṇu (Duṭṭhagāmaṇi)	101
15.	Saddhā Tissa (Säda Tis, Gamiṇi Tisa), brother of 14	77
16.	Tullatthana (Thūlathana, Tulnā), son of 15	59
17.	Lajjitissa (Lañjatissa, Lämäni Tis, Tisa Abaya), brother of 16	59
18.	Khallāṭanāga (Kaḷunnā), brother of 16	50
19.	Vaḷagambā (Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, Gamaṇi Abaya), brother of 16	43
20-24.	Five Tamils, Puḷahattha, Bāhiya, Panayamāraka, Piḷayamāraka, Dāṭhika (Dāṭhiya)	43
19.	Vaḷagambā (restored)	29
25.	Mahasiḷu Mahatis (Mahācūḷi Mahātissa, Mahadäliyā Tissa), son of 18	17
26.	Cōra Nāga, son of 19	3
27.	Tissa (Kuḍā Tissa), son of 25.	9
28.	Anulā (with Siva, Viṭuka, Dārubhatika Tissa and Niliya), widow of 26	12
29.	Makalan Tissa (Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa, Kuḍakaṇa, Kāḷakaṇṇi Tissa), brother of 27	16
30.	Bhātiya I (Bhātikābhaya, Bhātika Tissa), son of 29	38
31.	Mahadäliya Mānā (Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga), brother of 30	67

1 The dates are based mainly on *Cūlavaṅsa*, Vol. II, pp. ix-xiv, and the names on *Epigraphia Zeylancia*, Vol. III, pp. 1-40.

No.		A.D.
32.	Aḍagāmuṇu (Āmaṇḍa Gāmaṇi Abhaya), son of 31 ..	79
33.	Kaṇirajānu Tissa (Kiṇihiridaḷa), brother of 32	89
34.	Cūlābhaya (Kuḍā Abā Suḷu Abhā), son of 32	92
35.	Sivali, sister of 34	93
	Interregnum of three years	93
36.	Iḷa Nāga (Eḷunnā), nephew of 35	96
37.	Sandamuhuṇu (Candamukha Siva), son of 36	103
38.	Yasalālaka Tissa (Yasasiḷu), brother of 37	112
39.	Subha (Saba)	120
40.	Vasabha (Vähäp)	127
41.	Vaṅkanāsika Tissa (Vakaähä Tis, Vannäsinambapa), son of 40	171
42.	Gajabā I (Gajabāhuka Gāmaṇi), son of 41	174
43.	Mahaḷunā (Mahallaka Nāga, Mahaḷu Mānā), brother-in-law of 42 and grandson of 40	196
44.	Bhātiya Tissa II (Bhātika Tissa, Bātiya), son of 43 ..	203
45.	Kaniṭu Tis (Kaniṭṭha Tissa, Cūla Tissa), brother of 44 ..	227
46.	Kuhunnā (Khujja Nāja, Suḷunā), son of 45	246
47.	Kuḍḍa Nāga (Kuñca-Nāga, Kuḍānā), brother of 46 ..	248
48.	Siri Nāga I (Sirinā Kuḍā Sirinā), brother-in-law of 47 and son of 44	249
49.	Vēra Tissa (Vohārika Tissa), son of 48	269
50.	Abhaya Nāga (Abā Sen, Abhā Tissa), brother of 49 ..	291
51.	Siri Nāga II (Sirinā), son of 49	300
52.	Vijayindu (Vijaya Kumāraka), son of 51	302
53.	Singha Tissa I	303
54.	Siri Saṅgabō I (Siri Saṅghabōdhi)	307
55.	Goḷu Abā (Gōṭhābhaya, Mēghavaṇṇābhaya) brother of 52	309
56.	Deṭu Tis I (Jēṭṭha Tissa, Kalakan Deṭa Tis, Makalan Deṭa Tis), son of 55	323
57.	Mahasen (Mahāsēna), brother of 56	334
58.	Kit Siri Mevan (Kitti Siri Mēghavaṇṇa son of 57 ..	} 362
59.	Deṭu Tis II (Jeṭṭha Tissa), brother of 58	
60.	Buddhadāsa (Bujas), son of 59	
61.	Upatissa I, son of 60	
62.	Mahānāma, brother of 61	409
63.	Sotthi Sēna (Sengot), son of 62	431
64.	Chhattagāhaka (Satgāhaka, Lämäni Tis), son-in-law of 62	431
65.	Mit Sen (Mittasēna, Karal Sora)	432
66.	Paṇḍu, Tamil	} 433
67.	Pārinda, son of 66	
68.	Khudda Pārinda, brother of 67	
69.	Tiritara, Tamil	
70.	Dāṭhiya, Tamil	
71.	Piṭhiya, Tamil	

No.		A.D.
72.	Dhātusena, Dāsenkäliya	460
73.	Kāśyapa I (Kassapa, Sigiri Käsubu, Kasubu), son of 72 ..	478
74.	Mugalan I (Moggallāna), son of 72	496
75.	Kumāra Dās (Kumāra Dhātusena, Kumāra Dāsen), son of 74	513
76.	Kīrti Sēna (Kitti Sēna, Kit Sen), son of 75	522
77.	Siva (Mädi Siv), uncle of 76	522
78.	Upatissa II (Lämäni Upatissa), son-in-law of 72 ..	524
79.	Silākāla (Salamevan), son-in-law of 72 and 78	524
80.	Dāpuḷu Sen (Dāṭhāpabhuti), second son of 79	537
81.	Mugalan II (Moggallāna Cūla Moggallāna, Daḷa Mugalan), elder brother of 80	537
82.	Kit Siri Mē (Kitti Siri Mēgha, Kuḍā Kit Siri Mevan), son of 81	556
83.	Mahānāga (Senevi Mānā)	556
84.	Agbō I (Aggabōdhi, Akbō), sister's on of 83	568
85.	Agbō II (Aggabōdhi, Kudā Akbō), sister's son of 84 ..	601
86.	Saṅgha Tissa II, kinsman of Agbō II's queen	611
87.	Daḷa Mugalan (Dalla Moggallāna, Lämäni Bō Nā Mugalan, Mädi Bō Mugalan)	611
88.	Silāmeghavarṇa (Silāmeghavaṇṇa, Salamevan)	617
89.	Agbō III (Aggabōdhi, Siri Saṅgabō), son of 88 ..	} 626
90.	Deṭu Tis III (Jēṭṭha Tissa, Lämäni Kaṭusara Deṭa Tis), son of 86	
	Agbō III (restored)	
91.	Dāṭhōpa Tissa I (Dāṭhāsiva, Lämäni Daḷupa Tis ..	
92.	Kāśyapa II (Kassapa, Päsuḷu Kasubu), brother of 89 ..	641
93.	Dappula I (Dāpulu), son-in-law of 88	650
94.	Dāṭhōpa Tissa II (Hatthadāṭha, Lämäni Daḷupa Tis), nephew of 91	650
95.	Agbō IV (Aggabōdhi, Siri Saṅgabō), brother of 94 ..	658
96.	Datta (Valpiṭi-väsi-Dat)	674
97.	Hatthadāṭha (Huṇannaru-riyan dala)	676
98	Mānavamma (Mahalä-pāṇō), son of 92	676
99	Agbō V (Aggabōdhi, Akbō), son of 98	711
100	Kāśyapa III (Kassapa, Kasubu), brother of 99	717
101	Mihindu I (Mahinda, Midelraja), brother of 99	727
102	Agbō VI (Aggabōdhi Silāmēgha, Akbō-Salamevan), son of 100	727
103.	Agbō VII (Aggabōdhi, Kuḍā Akbō), son of 101	766
104.	Mihindu II (Mahinda Silāmēgha, Salamevan Mihindu), son of 102	772
105.	Dappula II (Udaya, Dāpulu, Udā rāja), son of 104 ..	792
106.	Mihindu III (Mahinda, Dhammika Silāmēgha, Häligäravil Hiskä sō Mihindu), son of 105	797
107.	Agbō VIII (Aggabōdhi, Mädi, Akbō, brother of 106 ..	801

No.		A.D.
108.	Dappula III (Dāpulu), brother of 106	812
109.	Agbō IX (Aggabōdhi, Päsulu Akbō), son of 108	828
110.	Sēna I (Silāmēgha, Matvaḷa Sen, Salamevan) brother of 109	831
111.	Sēna II (Mugayin Sen, Abhā Siri Saṅgabō), nephew of 110	851
112.	Udaya (Udā Abhā Salamevan), brother of 109	885
113.	Kāśyapa IV (Kassapa, Kasup, Kasub Siri Saṅgabo), brother of 111	896
114.	Kāsapa V (Kassapa Kasup, Päsulu Kasubu, Salameyvan Abahay), son of 111	913
115.	Dappula IV (Dāpulu), brother of 114	923
116.	Dappula V (Kuḍā Dāpulu, Buddas Abahay Salamevan Dāpula), brother of 114	923
177.	Udaya II (Udā), nephew of 111	934
118.	Sēna III (Sen), brother of 117	937
119.	Udaya III (Udā), son of 117	945
120.	Sēna IV (Päsulu or Mādi Sen), son of 114	953
121.	Mihindu IV (Mahinda, Kuḍā Midel, Midel Salā), brother of 120	956
122.	Sēna V (Salamevan), son of 121	972
123.	Mihindu V (Mahinda), brother of 122	981
	Interregnum of twelve years	1017
124.	Vikramabāhu I (Kassapa, Kāśyapa), son of 123	1029
125.	Kīrti (Kitti)	1041
126.	Mahālāṇa Kīrti (Mahālāṇa Kitti, Mahalē)	1041
127.	Vikrama Pāṇḍu (Vikum Paṇḍi)	1044
128.	Jagatpāla (Jagatīpāla)	1045
129.	Parākrama Pāṇḍu I Pärakum)	1046
130.	Lokēśvara (Loka, Lokissara)	1049
131.	Kāsyapa (Kassapa, Kasub)[1]	1055
132.	Vijayabāhu I (Kitti)	1055
133.	Jayabāhu I, brother of 132	1114
134.	Vikramabāhu II, son of 132	1116
135.	Gajabāhu II, son of 134	1137
136.	Parākramabāhu I	1153
137.	Vijayabāhu II, sister's son of 136	1186
138.	Mihindu VI (Mahinda)	1187
139.	Kīrti Niśśanka Malla	1187
140.	Vīrabāhu I, son of 139	1196
141.	Vikramabāhu III, brother of 139	1196
142.	Cōḍagaṅga, nephew of 139	1196
143.	Līlāvatī, queen of 136 (with the general Kīrti)	1197
144.	Sāhasa Malla, brother of 139	1200
145.	Kalyāṇavātī, queen of 139 (with the general Āyasmanta)	1202

[1] Nos. 124-131 were rulers of Ruhuṇa. The capital of 127 was Kalutara, and Kataragama was the capital of 131.

No.		A.D.
146.	Dharmāsoka	1209
147.	Anikaṅga (Aniyaṅga)	1203
143.	Līlāvati (with the general Vikkantacamunakka)	1209
148.	Lōkēśvara (Lokissara)	1210
143.	Līlāvati (with the general Parākrama)	1211
149.	Parākrama Pāṇḍu (Pärakum Paṇḍi)	1211
150.	Māgha (Kaliṅga Vijayabahu)	1214-1235
151.	Vijayabāhu III (Vijayabāhu-vat himi)	1232
152.	Parākramabāhu II (Kalikāla Sāhitya Sarvajña Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu), son of 151	1236
153.	Vijayabāhu IV (Bosat Vijayabāhu), son of 152	1271
154.	Bhuvanaikabāhu I (Lokekabāhu), brother of 153	1273
	Interregnum	1284
155.	Parākramabāhu III, son of 153	1302
156.	Bhuvanaikabāhu II (Vat-himi Bhuvanaikabāhu), son of 154	1310
157.	Parākramabāhu IV (Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu), son of 156	1325
158.	Bhuvanaikabāhu III (Vanni Bhuvanaikabāhu)	
159.	Vijayabāhu V (Jayabāhu, Savuḷu Vijayabāhu)	1333-1344
160.	Bhuvanaikabāhu IV	1344-1354
161.	Parākramabāhu V (Savuḷu Päräkum), son of 159	1344-1359
162.	Vikramabāhu III	1356-1374
163.	Bhuvanaikabāhu V	1372-1405
164.	Vīrabāhu II, brother-in-law of 163	1391-1397
165.	Vīra Alakesvara (Vijayabāhu VI,) brother of 164	1397-1410
166.	Parākramabāhu Āpā	1410-1415
167.	Parākramabāhu VI, son of a nephew of 161	1412-1467
168.	Jayabāhu II (Vīra Parākramabāhu), grandson of 167	1467-1474
169.	Bhuvanaikabāhu VI (Sapumal Kumāraya), adopted son of 167	1473-1480
170.	Parākramabāhu VII (Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu)	1480-1484
171.	Parākramabāhu VIII (Ambulugala rāja), brother of 169	1484-1509

APPENDIX III

KEY TO ILLUSTRATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SIṄHALESE SCRIPT

1. Beginning of Aśōka's Second Rock-Edict, from Girnār, in Western India:

Text: (1) Sarvata vijitamhi Devānampriyasa Priyadasino rāñ; (2) evam api pracaṅtesu yathā Cōḍā Pāḍā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā Taṃba; (3) paṅṇī.

Translation: Everywhere in the dominions of King Dēvānampriya Priyadarśin, and likewise among (his) borderers, such as the Cōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa, the Ketalaputa, even Tāmraparṇī.

2. An inscription in a cave at Mihintalē, reading from right to left; two letters turned upside down:

Text: Upaśika Tiśaya leṇe.

Translation: The cave of the lay-devotee, Tissa.

3. An inscription in a cave at Riṭigala, in the North-Central Province:

Text: Devanapiya maharajha Gamiṇi Tisaha puta Devanapiya Tisa A(bayaha) leṇe agata anagata catu (di) disa saṅgaśa.

Translation: The cave of Devanapiya Tisa Abaya, son of the great king, Devanapiya Gamiṇi Tisa (is given) to the Buddhist Saṅgha from the four quarters, present and not present. (D. Tisa Abaya=Lañjitissa and D. Gamiṇi Tisa=Saddhā Tissa).

4. Beginning of an inscription of Bhātika Abhaya, from Mōlāhiṭiya velēgala, near Dimbulāgala in the Tamankaḍuva District:

Text: (Svastika symbol) Siddham Devanapiya Tisa maharajaha marumanaka Kuḍakaṇa-rajaha jeta-pute raja-Abaye.

Translation: King Abhaya, grandson of the great King Devanapiya Tisa, eldest son of King Kuḍakana.

5. Lines 9 and 10 of the Vessagiriya slab-inscription of Dappula V:

Text: Mapurum Buddas Abahay Salamevan Dāpula maharajhu sat läṅgū devana havuruduyehi.

Translation: In the second year after the umbrella was raised by His Majesty the great King Buddas Abahay Salamevan Dāpuḷa.

6. An inscription on a pillar standing on the embankment of the Padaviya tank in the North-Central Province:

Text: (1) Bäñda nī ganga väva si—
(2) ri Lakäda ket ka—
(3) ravā siyal diya.
(4) randavā Pārākumbā.
(5) nirindu keḷe mē.

This inscription is in verse.

Translation: Having dammed up smaller streams, rivers (and constructed) tanks in Sri Laṅkā (and) caused fields to be cultivated (and) all the water to be retained (in the tanks). King Parākramabāhu made this.

APPENDIX IV

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