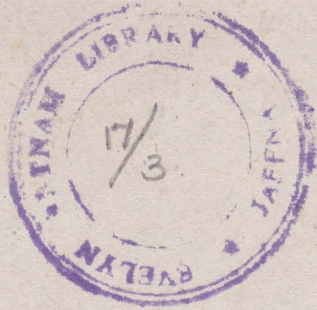


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**BUDUMUTTAVA**  
**TAMIL INSCRIPTION No. ii**





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# BUDUMUTTAVA

## TAMIL INSCRIPTION No. II

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At Budumuttava a village situated about a mile to the north-west of Nikavaratiya in the Kurunegala District there is a Buddhist temple founded during the Kandyan times. Two stone pillars which were taken from the ruins of earlier buildings in that area and which now form part of the structure of this temple bear two Tamil inscriptions which have been published by Dr. Paranavitana in *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol: III, Part 6, Page 302 under No. 33 with his translations and comments. This paper is about the second of the two inscriptions. With regard to this the learned Doctor says "This record which like its companion is dated in the eighth year of Jayabahu I is of considerable historical interest. It introduces us to a princess whose name has been read with some doubt as CUNDHAMALLIYALVAR whose father was the Cola King Kulottunga and who was the wife of a Pandyan prince called Virapperumal. This princess and her husband are both unknown from South Indian sources."

The text and English translation of the inscription are as follows:-

**Text:**

“Sri Jayavagu-devarkku yandu ettavadu Pandiyanar Virapperumal nambirattiyar Kolottunga Coladevar tirumagalar CUNDHAMALLIYALVAR Magalana Vikkirma - Calamega - purattu Vikkirma - Calamega - Isvaram Udaiyarkku candiradittavar ninreriya itta tiru nanda vilakk onrukku yitta kacu pattu,  
mun can nilattil tara nilai - vilakku onru”

**Eng: Trans:**

“Prosperity: In the eighth year of Jayavagudevar CUNDHAMALLIYALVAR, the wife of Virapperumal the Pandyan and daughter of Kolottunga Coladevar gave ten kacu for (maintaining) one sacred perpetual lamp given so that it may last and burn as long as the moon and sun (endure) to the Lord Vikkirma-Calamega-Isvara in Magala alias Vikkirma-Calamega-pura.

One standing lamp of brass three spans in height (was also given).”

Dr. Parnavitana has correctly identified Kolottunga as the Cola Emperor Kulottunga I (1070 - 1118 A. D.) who was a contemporary of Vijayabahu I (1059-1114 A. D.) the elder brother of Jayabahu I to whose reign this inscription belongs. He has further identified Pandiyanar Virapperumal the husband of the Cola princess as the Sinhalese prince Manabarana alias Virabahu who was the eldest of the three sons of Mitta the sister of Vijayabahu and son-in-law of the latter by virtue of his marriage with Ratnavalli a daughter of Vijayabahu.



The chief reasons given by him for this identification of Virapperumal are as follows:-

- (1) The slight similarity in the two names Virapperumal and Virabahu.
- (2) Virapperumal is described in the inscription as Pandyanar Virapperumal, and Virabahu according to the Mahavamsa was the son of a Pandyan Prince.
- (3) The temple to which the gift in question was made was in the territory ruled by Virabahu.

It may be noted here that in the other companion Tamil inscription Virabahu is described as Virabahu-devar, but in this inscription Virapperumal is mentioned without the honorific 'devar'.

We learn from the Culavamsa that the relations between Kulottunga and Vijayabahu were far from satisfactory. Kulottunga sent an embassy to Ceylon seeking the friendship of Vijayabahu, but the latter seemed to prefer the friendship of the Chalukyas, the enemies of the Colas who had also sent an embassy to seek Vijayabahu's friendship. After some unpleasant incidents Kulottunga's attempt failed, and the relations between the two rulers deteriorated to such an extent that finally Vijayabahu sent a challenge to Kulottunga through his envoys either for a single combat or for a battle with the full strength of his army at any spot to be chosen by the latter - Part I, Ch. LX, Fol. 29-32, p 217.

We also learn from the same book that Kulottunga had earlier requested Vijayabahu for the hand of his sister Mitta, and that Vijayabahu proud of his

family had refused that request and given his sister in marriage to an un-named Pandyan prince of whom we hear no more in Ceylon History, although he is said to have been the father of three distinguished princess and rulers, viz: Manabarana, Kirti Srimega and Sri Vallaba. In the light of such definitely hostile relations between the two rulers Dr. Paranavitana's identification which means that Kulottunga whose empire extended from Cape - Comorin to the boarders of Bengal and who has been described by the Doctor himself as one of the greatest potentates of India bent so low as to give his daughter as the second wife of Manabarana who was a son of Mitta and son-in-law of Vijayabahu cannot be accepted by any fairminded student of History without at the same time branding Kulottunga as a person devoid of all sense of self-respect, honour and dignity.

However, in the absence of contrary views with regard to the identity of Virapperumal Dr. Paranavitana's identification has been accepted at least provisionally by Ceylon as well as Indian historians who have consequently assessed Kulottunga's conduct and achievements with regard to Ceylon on the basis of that identification. Referring to this part of Ceylon History, Professor Nilakanta Sastri observes:- "The tortuous policy of Kulottunga failed completely. The Velaikkara rebellion was suppressed and the mercenaries bound themselves to serve the king loyally thereafter and the chief Buddhist shrine of Polonnaruva was placed under their protection. Kulottunga apparently made his peace with Vijayabahu for one of his daughters Suriyavalliyar married **Virapperumal**, a Sinhalese prince of the Pandyan party in Ceylon and made a gift of a perpetual



lamp to an Isvara Temple in the reign of Jayabahu I the successor of Vijayabahu." (Colas: Vol. II, Part I, Ch. XIII. pp. 24-25.)

The object of this paper is to examine whether Dr. Paranavitana's identification is correct and to suggest an alternative which will be in keeping with the honour of Kulottunga and which will at the same time throw light on several obscure and disputed matters in Ceylon history. Whatever may be the probative value of the reasons given by Dr. Paranavitana history shows that at this time there was no necessity for Kulottunga to seek such an ignominious peace with Vijayabahu. He had vanquished the Chalukiyas, Pandiyas and a host of other enemies and re-established the boundaries of his empire as they stood before the Cola civil war. In fact Kulottunga was at this period strong enough to take military action against Ceylon if he considered it necessary. We have seen that the dictates of honour demanded such action. Let us also see the political implications of the failure of Kulottunga's attempt to conclude a treaty of friendship with Vijayabahu. In this connection the following extracts from Professor Nilakanta Sastri's Colas will be helpful in understanding Kulottunga's reactions to the failure of his peace moves.

- (1) "The wisdom of Kulottunga's statesmanship lay in adjusting his aims, in his not forsaking the possible good in the pursuit of the impossible better, and in his preferring the well-being of his subjects to the satisfaction of his personal vanity". Vol. II, Part I, Ch. XIII, p. 2.

- (2) The Cola empire had nothing to fear from the independence of Ceylon, if only it kept its power on the mainland unimpaired. The case of the Pandiya kingdom was different. If the Cola king failed to reduce it to subjection it was sure to become a menace to the very existence of the Cola power. Kulottunga knew this etc". Ibid.p. 18.

With regard to the first extract Kulottunga rightly preferred the friendship of Ceylon to military conquest as we may see from his embassy to Vijayabahu. With regard to the second extract it is true that Ceylon could not have at that time made a direct attack on the Cola empire inspite of the empty boast of the Mahavamsa about Vijayabahu's preparations for the invasion of the Cola country. It is clear that these preparations were really intended to defend Ceylon against an imminent Cola invasion. So the question arises why then did Kulottunga seek the friendship of Ceylon. It seems to have been the long-standing policy of the Sinhalese rulers to maintain a balance of power among the Tamil kingdoms of South India. They did not want any of these kingdoms to become excessively strong as that would be a danger to their own independence. Kulottunga must have known that in persuance of this policy an unfriendly Ceylon would try to create trouble in the Pandiya country and even render any possible material help to its princess to revolt against Cola rule. That must have been the reason which prompted Kulottunga to seek the friendship of Ceylon. But when his attempt failed he had no alternative but to take military action to prevent Ceylon from doing any mischief in the Pandiya Country.



So it is clear that for vindicating his honour as well as for ensuring peace in the Pandiya country Kulottunga was bound to take military action against Ceylon. His inscriptions and Kalingattupparani say that he took such action through his general Karunakara Thondaiman and won victories. But these claims of Kulottunga have been discredited by historians merely because the Sinhalese chronicles do not mention any invasion of Ceylon by Kulottunga. It is therefore necessary to decide, before we proceed further with the identification of Virapperumal whether Kulottunga ever invaded Ceylon and if so with what result. Ceylon historians generally ignore Tamil historical works as unworthy of serious consideration. It is true that these works which were written in comparatively later periods and were based to some extent on popular traditions do not give a reliable and sustained account of historical events and cannot be regarded as histories in the proper sense of the word, but it cannot be denied that they contain here and there scraps of information very useful for those engaged in historical research. They are often useful for checking and correcting the one-sided accounts of Sinhalese authors and for filling up gaps left by them either deliberately or by oversight.

With the exception of Kailayamalai which confines itself to a few subjects such as the coming of Yalpadi, the founding of the Kingdom of Jaffna by a Pandyan prince called Singai Ariya Mal and the colonisation of Jaffna by some Velala families from Tamil Nad all other books on Jaffna history refer to the coming of Thondaiman the ruler of Thondaimandalam. He is said to have come to Jaffna and obtained from the ruler of this land the concession to collect and transport to his

country the salt which was produced here. For this purpose he is said to have settled families near the salt fields of Karanavai etc., and also deepened the Vadamaradchy Lagoon in order to provide safe anchorage for his vessels in times of bad weather and returned to his kingdom. For this reason the Lagoon came to be known in later times as Thondaimanaru which means the river of Thondaiman. Thereafter his vessels came to Jaffna regularly bringing food and clothing to those engaged in the salt manufacture and also to others and returned home laden with salt. Of all the books on Jaffna history the one written by Muttuthambipillai alone and first published in 1912 gives some additional information about Thondaiman. He says that Thondaiman had a representative in Jaffna (கர்மாதிசாரி) called Virapparayan and that a division of Vadamaradchy is still known as Veerapparayan Kurichchy. In fact this Kurichchy is always mentioned in the land deeds of the area as Veerapathirayan (வீரப்பதிராயன்) Kurichchy. This is in Kara navai South which adjoins the lagoon and where some of the salt fields were situated till some years ago. Muttuthambypillai says in his preface that one of the sources from which he gathered his facts was a Tamil Edu (Ola Book) on a subject called Kadaloddukkathai (கடலோட்டுக்காதை) story of navigation, which was given to him by one Ambalavanar who was working as a clerk in the P. W. D. Office at Maradankadavela, and who obtained this Edu from a Sinhalese in the village of Kekirawa.

Mudaliyar Rasanayagam whose services to Jaffna history are inestimable has identified this Thondaiman as Karunakara Thondaiman the Pallava descendant and foremost general of Kulottunga I. Though the Mudaliyar



thought in the first instance that Thondaiman must have invaded and conquered Jaffna on behalf of Kulottunga yet as the Sinhalese books do not mention any invasion of Ceylon by Kulottunga, in the end he concluded that Thondaiman's expedition in search of salt must have been exaggerated by Kulottunga in his inscriptions and in the Kalingattupparani as victories won in Ceylon. It is a pity that the Mudaliyar who discredited and dismissed the Mahavamsa in several matters believed it in this most important matter not knowing that herein lay the key for the solution of all his difficulties in answering the Sinhalese historians who opposed him with regard to the descent of Manabarana and the location of Sinhapura, the birth place of Parakramabahu, Nissanka Malla and Sahasa Malla. If he had made further research about Thondaiman's expedition there can be no doubt that he would have seen the truth about the nature of that expedition and the course of subsequent events in Ceylon which led to the rise of the powerful Tamil Hindu Kingdom of Jaffna under kings known as Arya Chakkravartis which has not so far been explained as satisfactorily as one would wish it to be.

It is true that there is no other external evidence to corroborate Kulottunga's claims of his victories gained in Ceylon but his general Thondaiman has left his history in Thondaimanaru which after all the ravages of wars and time particularly after the spread of English education with its consequences of the break-up of families, traditions and customs still retains a good deal of evidence to enable us to form an idea as to the purpose of Thondaiman's advent to Jaffna. Strangely enough no Jaffna historian has made any mention of this place Thondaimanaru situated on the northern coast

of Jaffna at the meeting place of the Lagoon and the sea and which really perpetuates the name of Thondaiman and has preserved some valuable internal evidence about him and his activities in Jaffna in the form of traditions, temples, land-names, lullabies and “opparies” or wailing songs etc.

One of the temples in Thondaimanaru is the Veeramaali Amman Temple. In the Register of Temples in Jaffna compiled about one hundred years ago and preserved at the Jaffna Kachcheri it is mentioned that this Temple was built by King Pararajasekaran. All students of Jaffna History know that the Jaffna Kings before they went to battle worshipped at the Veeramakali Amman Temple in their capital Nallur. The fact that members of the same priestly family are even today the proprietors (ஆதினகர்த்தர்) of the two temples in Thondaimanaru and Nallur in the North and South of the peninsula proves the truth of the entry in the Temple Register that the Veeramakali Amman Temple in Thondaimanaru was built by a King of Jaffna. This indicates that Thondaimanaru was originally a military colony and that it had a historical connection with the royal house of Jaffna.

Land names such Aththippadaiandavankollai (அத்திப்படை ஆண்டவன்கொல்லை) which means the land of the commander of the elephant section of the army, and Rakkha Valavu also testify to the military status of the colony. This name Rakkha is well-known in the Ceylon history of this period. We find a number of Rakkhas such as Senapathi Rakkha, Commander Rakkha, Kesadhatu Rakkha, Adhikarin Rakkha and Thakku Rakkha serving under Vikkramabahu, Parakramabahu and others. All private lands have names but



they are ordinarily known only to their owners, but this Rakkha Valavu in Thondaimanaru is known to all the grown-up persons in Thondaimanaru from one end to the other. This land now planted with palmyrah is situated on the bank of the lagoon about one hundred yards to the South of the bridge on the road to the Selvasannithy Temple where the crossing was in ancient times. Several generations of Rakkhas must have lived there as guardians of the crossing and hence its name and undying popularity.

The long traditional lullaby sung in some of the old families of Thondaimanaru ends with the following lines:-

முத்தே முதல் தரமே மோ திரத்தின் கல்லொளியே-உனக்கு  
முத்தளப்பார் செட்டி முடிதரிப்பார் ஆசாரி  
ஆசாரி முடிதரிக்க ஆயிரம் பேர் அருகிருந்தோ சங்குத  
சங்கு முழங்கச் சமுத்திரங்கள் ஓசையிட  
என்பட்டத்துரையே படைமுகத்தின் இராசாவே  
நீபோருக்குச் சென்றிடுவாய் பொழுதோடே வென்றிடுவாய்  
வென்ற களரியிலே வீரபட்டம் சூட்டிடுவாய்

### Transliteration:

muththee muthal tharamee moothiraththin kallolhiyee-unakku  
muththalhappaar cetti muti tharippaar aacaari  
aacaarimuti tharikka aayiram peer arukirunthoo cangkuutha  
cangku muzhangka camuththirangkal oocaiyita  
en pattaththuraiyee pataimukaththin racavee  
nii poorukku centituvaai pozhuthootee ventituvaai  
venta kalhariyilee viira pattam cuuttituvaai

**Eng. Translation:**

O, my pearl, O first rate one, the lustre of the stone  
in my ring

The Chettiar will measure out pearls to you

The aachchariya will place the crown

When the aachchariya places the crown

One thousand persons around you will blow their chanks

As the chanks roar the oceans will resound

O, my heir to the title, O my king of the battle-front

You will go to battle and win before sun set

In the victorious battle-field

You will win the honour of a hero.

In the lullaby sung in some other families the following  
lines occur:-

உன் கைக்கோ கனகவெள்ளி  
காலுக்கோ வீரதண்டை  
தண்டையுமோ பொன்னாலே  
தாள்வடமோ முத்தாலே

**Transliteration:**

*un kaikkoo kanakavelhhi  
kalukkoo viirathantai  
thantaiyumoo ponnalee  
thalhvatamoo muthhaalee*

**Eng: Translation:**

To your hands gold and silver

To your legs warrior anklets

Anklets made of gold and garlands made of pearls.



The mention of the warrior anklets made of gold in the above lines reminds one of the Thirumukkudai Inscription of Cola emperor Vira Rajendra an uncle of Kulottunga in which reference is made to a Kurukulaththaraiyan with the golden anklets who was the commander of Vijayabahu's army which opposed the Cola army and who was killed in battle. (பொன் கழல் குருகுலத்தரையனும் ... பட்டுவீழ)

There is a section of Tamils in Thondaimanaru who are today called the Minority Tamils who were also according to tradition brought by Thondaiman. Till about 25 or 30 years ago it was customary for the women-folk of this section when they attend the funeral of a person belonging to an old family of Thondaimanaru to begin their lament by repeating the following lines:-

எங்களை ஆளும் ஐயாவே  
நீங்கள் வாடமுன்னம் வந்தேனில்லை  
உங்கள் வர்ணமுகம் பார்த்தேனில்லை  
நீங்கள் சோரமுன்னம் வந்தேனில்லை  
உங்கள் சொர்ணமுகம் பார்த்தேனில்லை  
நீங்கள் பகலோடு போனீர்களோ  
படை முகத்தில் சாய்ந்தீர்களோ  
பொழுதோடு போனீர்களோ  
பொன்னின் முடி கண்டீர்களோ  
நிலவோடு போனீர்களோ அங்கேஉள்ள  
நீலமலை கண்டீர்களோ?

### Transliteration:

engkalhai aalhum aiyavee  
niingkalh vaatamunnam vantheenillai  
ungkalk varnamukam parththeenillai  
niingkalh cooramunnam vantheenillai

*ungkalh corna mukam paarththeenillai*  
*niingkalh pakalootu pooniirkalho*  
*patai mukathhil cainthiirkalho*  
*pozhuthootu pooniirkalho*  
*poonnin muti kantiirkalho*  
*nilavootu pooniirkalho - angkeulhha*  
*niila malai kantiirkalho*

**Eng: Translation:**

Sire, who rules over us  
I wish I had come before you faded  
And seen your beautiful face  
I wish I had come before you collapsed  
And seen your golden face  
Did you depart in the day time  
And did you fall in the battle-front  
Did you depart by sun-set  
And did you see the golden pinnacle  
Did you depart in the moon-light  
And did you see the blue mountain there?

These lines further confirm the view that the original colonists of Thondaimanaru belonged to the fighting services. The reference in the last line to the blue mountain (Nilgris) is significant. These women-folk had no knowledge of geography to know about the Nilgris. These lines must have been handed down from the time of the original colonists who must have known the Nilgris from which area some of them must have come. This seems to be confirmed by lines such as the following which were usually repeated in some families by the village-mid-wife at the instance of the elderly females of the family when a new-born baby is given its first bath:-



காகப்பையோடும் வந்தாயோ தம்பி-அந்த  
காகமலை நாடும் கண்டுவந்தாயோ தம்பி  
அரிசிப்பையோடும் வந்தாயோ தம்பி-அந்த  
அரிசிமலைநாடும் கண்டுவந்தாயோ தம்பி  
உள்ளிப்பையோடும் வந்தாயோ தம்பி-அந்த  
உள்ளிமலை நாடும் கண்டு வந்தாயோ தம்பி?

**Transliteration:-**

*kaacuppaiyootum vanthaayoo thampi-antha  
kaacu malai naatum kantuvanthaayoo thampi  
aricippaiyootum vanthaayoo thampi-antha  
arici malai naatum kantu vanthaayoo thampi  
ulhlhippaiyootum vanthayoo thampi-antha  
ulhhi malai natum kantu vanthaayoo thampi.*

**Eng: Translation:**

“Have you come with the money bag baby  
Did you see the mountain land of money  
Have you come with the rice bag baby  
Did you see the mountain land of rice  
Have you come with the garlic bag baby  
Did you see the mountain land of garlic?”  
Several such lines are repeated during the bath, all  
referring to the mountain country.  
The women-folk in some families when lamenting the death  
of a much-loved person sometimes lament as follows:-

காஞ்சி புரமோ கன்னடியார் சீமைக்கோ  
மூங்கில் வனமோ முகமறியா சீமைக்கோ  
போய்யென் தொண்டைமான் இராசாவே?

**Transliteration:-**

*Kaanjci puramoo kannatiyaar ciimaikkoo  
muungkil vanamoo mukamariyaa ciimaikkoo  
poonai en thontaimaan raacavee*

**Eng: Translation:-**

“To Kanchipura or to the Canarese land  
To the bamboo forest or to a strange unknown land  
You have gone O my Thondaiman King.”

It may be safely stated that about 30 or 40 years ago no-one in Thondaimanaru knew anything about the connection of Thondaiman with Kanchi although the women have been repeating these lines from the time Thondaiman departed from Jaffna. It appears that Thondaiman departed to India from Thondaimanaru and the people bid him farewell with a heavy heart. There is another important inference which we may draw from these lines. Thondaiman was at this time the chief of Vandalur in the Cola country. His Pallava ancestors left Kanchi about two centuries earlier when the Pallava empire collapsed in 890 A.D. It is most unlikely that any of the people who were brought by Thondaiman would have known anything about his ancestry and his connection with Kanchi unless they were closely connected to him. According to the tradition which has been handed down in some of the old families of Thondaiman<sup>— aru</sup> settled his kinsmen in Thondaimanaru at the head of the organisation which he created for the proper management of his affairs in Jaffna. If this is true then it is not strange that his kinsmen knew about Thondaiman's ancestry and his connection with Kanchi, and their women-folk have been perpetuating that knowledge in the above lament. I do not know whether Vandalur is in a hilly country and whether one could have a sight of the Nilgris from Vandalur. If this is true then it would strengthen the tradition that Thondaiman settled some of his kinsmen in Thondaimanaru. Or it may be that some of the



colonists came from the hilly land of the Gangas who were allied to the Pallavas in several ways. One could see from the Mahavamsa that from this period the Gangas and the Aryas appear on the scene and begin to play an important part in the history of Ceylon.

When we come to the later historical period more concrete facts become available. Queyroz the Portuguese Historian has in his book on the Conquest of Ceylon referred to a person called the Kinglet of the Careas who seems to have played an important part in the last struggles of the Jaffna Kingdom against the Portuguese. When the Portuguese captain of Mannar heard that Changli Kumara the last protector of the Jaffna Kingdom had seized the government he came to Jaffna ~~AND~~ after some negotiations with Changli entered into a temporary agreement with him. One of the terms of the agreement was that Changli should not allow in his kingdom the Kinglet of the Careas. This is the first reference in Queyroz to this Kinglet. From this we may infer that this Kinglet whom Queyroz has described in another place as "a great enemy of the Portuguese" must have fought the Portuguese during the time of Changli's predecessor and lost and fled to India. In spite of the agreement the Kinglet returned to Jaffna shortly afterwards with an army given by Naik of Tanjore and assisting Changli to put down all internal troubles restored peace in the kingdom. But the Portuguese came with a large army from Colombo and fought a big battle in Nallur in which this Kinglet is said to have been present with twenty-thousand men of that kingdom. However, Changli and the Kinglet lost the battle and both fled to India. Changli was captured by the Portuguese in the mid-sea

off Point - Pedro and was taken to Goa and executed, but the Kinglet escaped to India. Thereafter he landed several times in Thondaimanaru with armies obtained from the Naik and fought and died. This was the end of the independence of the Tamils.

The status of this Kinglet and his relations with the Naiks of Tanjore have been misunderstood by Tamil as well as Sinhalese historians. In later history books written by them they have altered the designation of Kinglet and referred to him as leader and chief of the Careas. The very fact that this Kinglet took refuge with the Naiks of Tanjore several times and returned to Jaffna with armies under his command even after Changli's death must be enough to show that the Naiks knew this Kinglet and his descent very well and that he was by birth qualified to command armies which must have had several persons of good lineage as sub-commanders. Though Queyroz has not expressly stated there can be little doubt that this Kinglet had his residence in Thondaimanaru, and the inference that he was the last representative of the Ganga Pallava kinsmen of Thondaiman settled in Thondaimanaru cannot be far from the truth.

All the above details about Thondaimanaru which I fear may have been boring to the audience were intended to show that Thondaimanaru was originally a naval and military colony founded by Thondaiman. Thondaiman could have done it only if he had conquered Jaffna. This is the great historical fact which has been suppressed by the author of the Mahavamsa for reasons best known to him, and this suppression is at the bottom of so much confusion and misunderstandings in



later Ceylon history. Thondaiman's conquest of Jaffna must have taken place in about 1088 A. D. following in the footsteps of the suppression of the Velaikkara rebellion which may have been due to several reasons. It is not possible to say whether Kulottunga had any connection with it. This conquest may be regarded as Kulottunga's answer to Vijayabahu's challenge and the failure of his peace embassy to the latter. Wise king as he was who adjusted his aims to his needs Kulottunga must have realised the folly of attempting to conquer Polonnaruwa and decided to conquer Jaffna instead. He must have understood that the conquest of Jaffna and the maintenance of an efficient army there which could be strengthened at short notice was enough to reduce the Sinhalese ruler to silence and to prevent him from interfering in the affairs of the Pandiya kingdom. At the same time Jaffna supplied the salt which his country needed so much.

Virapperumal of the Budumuttava Inscription whether he was a Pandiyan prince or a Pallava prince of Vandalur, as I believe, was most probably the same person as the Virappathirayan of Mutthuthambipillai's history. This name seems to have been the shortened form of Virapperumal Pathirayan which means Virapperumal the deputy ruler. If this identification is correct then the conclusion that Virapperumal was Kulottunga's pro-consul in Jaffna will become inevitable. The common people who knew nothing about Kulottunga must have regarded him as the representative of Thondaiman. If Virapperumal was a Pallava prince of Vandalur he might have been described in the inscription as Vandaiyanar Virapperumal வண்டையனார் வீரப்பெருமான். If that was so there will be no difficulty in identifying

him with the warrior lord of Arya country who, according to the Mahavamsa (Culavamsa Part I. Ch.-LXI. Fol. 36-47, pp, 228-229) landed in Mahatthitha with a large army and after defeating Vikkrama Bahu occupied Polonnaruva and shortly after-wards came to an unexpected and tragic end in the vicinity of that city, and also with the Singai Arya Sekeran and Vadalariyar Koman sung by the Tamil poet Pugalendi who was attached to the court of Virapperumal's brother-in-law Vikkrama Cola the son and successor of Kulottunga Cola, - Vide Rasanatagam' Ancient Jaffna' Chap. VII. p. 285.

The next point which must engage our attention is with regard to the gift made by Kulottunga's daughter who was in Jaffna to the Siva Temple in the domain of Manabarana in South Ceylon. This gift shows that there was a change in the former hostile relations between Ceylon and the Colas. In this connection Dr. Paranavitana says "We do not know exactly when and how relations of a different nature started between Ceylon and the Colas". Books on Ceylon History do not help us very much to discover the exact nature of this change and the manner in which this was brought about, but one fact is clear. From this period onward one can note a gradual decline of the Sinhalese power and a corresponding rise in the power of the Ceylon Tamils which culminated with the founding of the kingdom of the Aryachakkravarties with their capital at Singainagar which stood on the present Vallipuram site. The Sinhalese kings retreated from Polonnaruva as far as Kotte and the Tamil kings pursued them even there and exacted tribute.



Mudaliyar Rasanayagam has shown that there was a Kalinga dynasty ruling in Jaffna from about the 9th. century A. D. with its capital at Sinhapura which became Singainagar under the Aryachakkravarties, (Ancient Jaffna-Chap. VI, p. 242.) This conclusion of the Mudaliyar has been consistently opposed by the Sinhalese historians. I wish to give here a small piece of evidence which will show beyond doubt that there was a period of Kalinga ascendancy in Jaffna. Some of the sub-divisions of Vadamaradchchy in which Singainagar was situated are known and described in the land deeds even today by names such as SamarabahuthevanKurichchy, VenribahuthevanKurichchy, SinhabahuthevanKurichchy and Mani-VeerabahuthevanKurichchy, all of which are obviously Kalinga names. These names support the conclusion of the Mudaliyar and strengthen the view that the Jaffna Peninsula was the Kalingadesa or the Kalingaratta, and the Singainagar of the Aryachakkravarties was the Sinhapura of mediaeval Sinhalese history with which the Sinhalese rulers had political and matrimonial alliances in order to secure the unswerving loyalty of that kingdom and to use it as a buffer state between themselves and the Tamil Kingdoms of South India.

Mudaliyar Rasanayagam has also shown that the un-named husband of Mitta was not a Pandiyan prince as stated in the Mahavamsa, but the Kalinga ruler of Jaffna (Ancient Jaffna, Chap. VII, pp. 311-320.) Though the Sinhalese kings from the time of Vijaya must have realised the strategic position of Jaffna and its vital importance for the defence of South Ceylon and must have taken all possible measures to bring it under their direct or indirect control and to provide for its

defence, the Sinhalese chronicles are very silent about their activities in Jaffna. Vijayabahu after sending his challenge to Kulottunga is said to have sent his army to Mahatthitha in Mannar, but nothing is said about any defensive measures which he took in Jaffna which he must have known as the most vulnerable place for a Cola attack. A reasonable inference is that he had entrusted its defence to the Kalinga ruler of Jaffna who was the husband of his sister Mitta as concluded by Mudaliyar Rasanayagam and who must have been killed in the battle against Thondaiman-Ancient Jaffna-Ch. VII, PP 311-317. In anticipation of a Cola invasion Mitta and her sons must have left Sinhapura for Polonnaruva and the Velaikkara army which had in the mean-time rebelled and was in temporary occupation of that city captured them. This is a feasible explanation one can offer for the fate of Mitta and her sons while her brother Vijayabahu was able to leave the city after collecting all the valuables when the rebellion broke out in Mahatthitha. This will also explain how Manabarana and his brothers happened to rule in South Ceylon after the death of Vijayabahu. These Kalinga rulers of Jaffna seem to have had a precarious existence mostly as allies or feudatories of the Sinhalese and occasionally as feudatories of the Colas or Pandiyas.

How Manabarana was restored to the throne of his ancestors in Jaffna probably after the death of Virapperumal with the full support of the Cola and Kalinga factions, how the Kalinga dynasty which was politically and matrimonially allied to the Sinhalese royal house was gradually changed into a powerful full-fledged Tamil Hindu dynasty with political and



matrimonial alliances with the Tamil royal houses, particularly with the Gangas and Pallavas of Tamilnad, how Kalinha Magha who has been rightly identified by Tamil historians with Kulankai Chakkravarti of Jaffna history and about whom Dr. Paranavitana recently came out with a new theory of Malaysian origin which has been effectively countered by Professor Nilakanta Sastri was able to raise armies from Tamilnad and Kerala with the help of his Ganga Pallava kinsmen such as Siyaganga and Kopperunjinga Pallava, and whence the later Jaffna Kings derived their great strength which enabled them to force the Sinhalese kings to retreat as far as Kotte and to exact tribute from them must form the subject of a separate contribution.

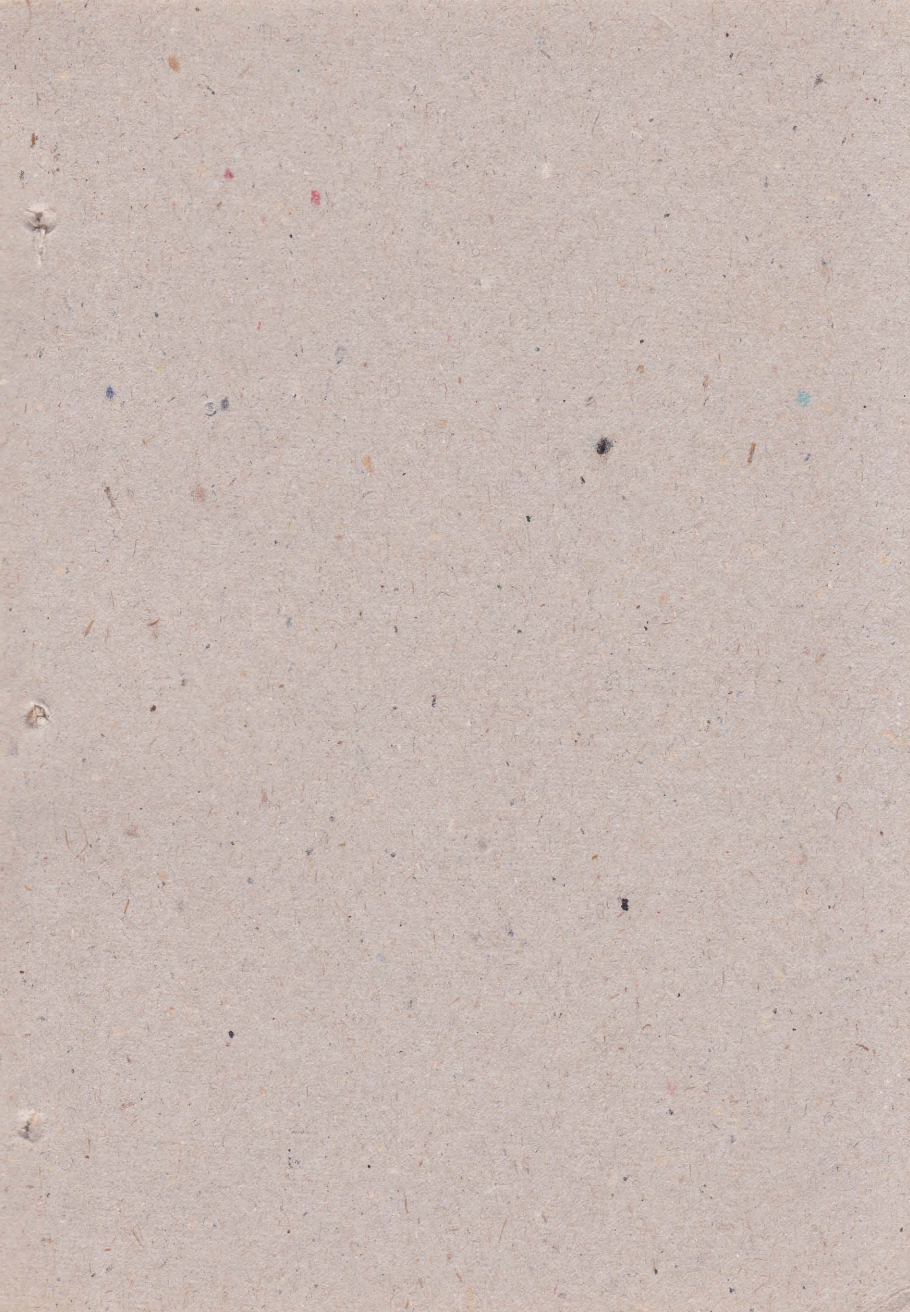
Though this paper has already become too long I wish to refer to one evidence which seems to indicate that Kalinga Magha or Kulankai Chakkravarti got the best part of his army from the Pallavas and the Gangas. The Jaffna chronicles say that the founder of the Jaffna Kingdom stationed in the four quarters of his kingdom armies under the commands of Vallia Mathakkan, Jmayana Mathakkan, Senpaha Mathakkan and Vetti Mathakkan. This term 'Thakkan' is most probably the Tamil form of the North Indian 'Thakku' which does not appear to have been in use in the Cola or Pandiya armies, but was in use in the armies of the Pallavas whose northern affiliations are admitted by all historians, Vide-Minakshi: 'Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas' Note, - page 46, 'Videlvidugu Pallava Perun-taccan'. Perun-thakkan is the same as Ma-thakkan.

Kulottunga seems to have pursued a policy towards the vanquished Kalinga royal house of Jaffna which his

Cola ancestors, perhaps in their pride never thought of. He seems to have beaten the Sinhalese kings in their own game and brought about a number of matrimonial alliances between the Kalinga royal house and the Tamil sub-royal houses of the Gangas and Pallavas in which his daughter Suriyavalliyar and his son-in-law Virapperumal and the Ganga, Pallava chiefs settled in Thondaimanaru played the leading parts. They seem to be the Aryas referred to by Ratnavalli the mother of Parakrama Bahu when she objected to the marriage of her daughter to the son of Sri Vallaba who was the youngest brother of her husband Manabarana on the ground that his son was only an Arya although born of Sri Vallaba himself. We know that Sri Vallaba was already married to Sugala a grand daughter of his uncle Vijayabahu. This son of Sri Vallaba must have been born by a second Ganga or Pallava wife; Hence Ratnavalli's antagonism to the marriage. These alliances after a slight setback during the time of Parakrama Bahu when princes of mixed descent like Nissanka Malla and Sahasa Malla sought temporary asylum in the Cola capital bore ample fruits in the long distance of time, and their descendants stood together to the very last of the kingdom which was built with the blood of their ancestors. If this theory is right then Kulottunga the architect of the grand new edifice of the kingdom of Jaffna which gave protection to the Ceylon Tamils and enabled them to live without fear and to prosper may be truly regarded as the spiritual father of the modern Ceylon Tamils.

END.





S SARAVANAPAVANANDAN

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