SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE POLONNARUVA PERIOD

THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL

VOL. IV JULY & OCT., 1954 and JAN. & APRIL. 1955 Nos. 1, 2, 3 & 4

S. Manica Casapar

SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE POLONNARUVA PERIOD

THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL

VOL. IV JULY & OCT., 1954 and JAN. & APRIL. 1955 Nos. 1, 2, 3 & 4

COLOSSAL STATUE NEAR THE POTGUL VIHARA AT POLONNARUVA. This figure is the most remarkable sculpture in Ceylon and is perhaps unique, in that there is no known figure similar to it in all Asia. Scholars have variously identified the statue as of Kapila and Agastya, while the most recent explanation calls the figure that of a king. To the people of Ceylon however, the statue will always represent none other than their greatest ruler, King Parākrama Bāhu I.

The Ceylon Historical Journal

VOLUME IV. NUMBERS 1, 2, 3 and 4

JULY & OCTOBER, 1954 and JANUARY & APRIL, 1955

Special Number

on the

POLONNARUVA PERIOD

issued in

Commemoration of the 800th Anniversary of the accession of

KING PARĀKRAMA BĀHU THE GREAT

—

1153—1953

Edited by S. D. SAPARAMADU

ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF CEYLON

POLONNARUVA PERIOD

BY

Dr. S. PARANAVITANA
(Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.)

Published
by
THE ARTS COUNCIL OF CEYLON

With 73 illustrations &
1 colour plate

PRICE Rs. 10/-

Obtainable at the Art Gallery

TO ALL THOSE
WHO HELPED
TO FOUND AND EXTEND
THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL
THIS SPECIAL ISSUE
ON THE
POLONNARUVA PERIOD
IS DEDICATED

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

A. L. BASHAM, B. A., PH. D. (LOND.), F. R. A. S., Reader in the History of India, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Author of *The History and Doctrines of the Ajivikas* and *The Wonder that was India.*

B. C. LAW, M.A., LL. B., PH. D., D. Litt., F.R.A.S (HONY). One of the best known living Indologists. Author of *Kshattriya Tribes of Northern India, Buddhistic Studies, Buddhaghosa* and other standard works.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, PH. D., Professor of Indology at the University of Mysore. Formerly Professor of History at the University of Madras. Author of *The Cholas, The History of India* and *History of the Pandyan Kingdom.*

C. W. NICHOLAS, Head of the Department of Wild Life Ceylon. Has published considerable research on epigraphical records in Ceylon.

S. PARANAVITANA, C.B.E., PH.D. (LEYDEN), D. Litt. (Cey.) Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon. Editor of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica,* and author of *The Stupa in Ceylon, Shrine of Upulvan at Devundara* and other works. Is Ceylon's best known scholar, with an international reputation based on numerous contributions to history, epigraphy and archaeology.

O. H. de A. WIJESEKERA, M.A., PH.D. (LOND.), O.S. (LOND.), Professor of Sanskrit, University of Ceylon.

SUMANA SAPARAMADU, B.A. (Cey.) Assistant Lecturer in Sociology, University of Ceylon.

V. PANDITHA, B.A. (Cey.), C.C.S. of the Ceylon Civil Service and formerly Assistant Lecturer in Pali and Buddhist Civilisation, University of Ceylon.

H. W. CODRINGTON, B.A., C.C.S. Did considerable pioneer work on the history of Ceylon. Author of *Ceylon Coins and Currency, Short History of Ceylon* and numerous other papers on epigraphy and archaeology.

WILHELM GEIGER, one of the greatest Indologists of all time, was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Erlangen. His published works on Iranology and Sanskrit, Pali and Sinhalese linguistics and culture, are too numerous to mention. In Ceylon he is best known as the Editor and Translator of the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Cūlavaṁsa.*

S. WICKRAMASINGHE, B.A. (Cey.) Assistant Lecturer in History, University of Ceylon.

CONTENTS

Permoglaze

REG?

A LIQUID GLAZE FOR ALL SURFACES

PERMOGLAZE is a super modern paint evolved for use on any type of surface— whether of brick, plaster, cement, wood, metal or any other material. Its high quality ingredients carefully chosen and formulated to stand the extremes of climate in any part of the world have made it the finest decorative and protective paint available anywhere.

- PERMOGLAZE GLOSS FINISH dries with a glossy tile-like finish in 3 to 4 hours and withstands steam, condensation, chemical fumes and frequent washing.

- PERMOGLAZE EMULSION FINISH dries with a hard, satin surface in one hour, leaves no odour and is unaffected by moisture, washing, oil, dilute acids, etc.

- PERMOGLAZE UNDERCOAT helps provide that super finish which only PERMOGLAZE provides.

Sole Agents:

william pedris

& Co., Ltd.

PREFACE TO THE SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE POLONNARUVA PERIOD

By

S. D. SAPARAMADU

Editor, The Ceylon Historical Journal

THIS special issue of the *Ceylon Historical Journal* on the Polonnaruva Period could, I think, claim to be the most detailed and comprehensive study yet made on any single period of Ceylon History. It contains articles, written by scholars who are specialists in their fields, on almost every single aspect of the history of the Polonnaruva Period, and on the life and work of King Parākrama Bāhu the Great (1153—86), the 800th anniversary of whose accession this journal is intended to commemorate. There are however, a few shortcomings in the study, namely, the absence of articles on social and economic history, and a paper analysing the full effects of the Chola and other Tamil influences on the religious, political and social life of the period, and on the arts. This defect has been as much due to the paucity of source materials as to the absence of scholars willing to work on them. If, as we are trying, our attempt to found a society to continue the journal is successful, we hope it will be possible then, to issue these studies as supplementary articles, together with an article on the origins, authorship, etc, of the *Cūlavaṃsa* which was being prepared for this issue, but kept out as it could not be completed in time.

It is our duty here to thank those contributors whose articles appear in this journal. They have all received our many requests and publication deadlines with untiring patience, and have well satisfied our numerous and exacting demands. Professor Nilakanta Sastri of Mysore, Dr. B. C. Law of Calcutta and Mr. C. W. Nicholas should receive in addition an apology for the long delay—of over one and a half years—between the receipt of their articles and publication. The delay, which will be understood, we are sure, has been due to the difficulties of getting in *all* the articles to time. A special word of thanks should besides be paid to Mr. Vincent Panditha, of the Ceylon Civil Service, who very willingly offered to write, at almost no notice, the article on "Buddhism in the Polonnaruwa Period," which was originally promised to us by Professor G. P. Malalasekera.

While the majority of the articles have been specially written for this journal, we have thought it fit to reprint three articles that

first appeared elsewhere. The reason for this is that these three papers are the standard studies on their subjects, and we have included them as our aim is to present as comprehensive a view of the Polonnaruva Period as possible, and also as no other scholar writing on these subjects today, could hope to say anything new or better. Two of them besides are unobtainable in Ceylon, one being published in India over 15 years ago, and the other in Ceylon as far back as 1925. The third article on the "Art and Architecture of the Polonnaruva Period " by Dr. S. Paranavitana, one of Ceylon's greatest scholars with an international reputation, is reprinted from the Arts Council monograph on the subject, issued only an year ago. In this respect, we must convey our deep obligation to the Arts Council for permitting republication and for making its blocks available to us, even at a risk of jeopardising the sales of their own monograph. That reprinting has made it possible for Dr. Paranavitana's article to reach a much wider reading public, specially among students, would we hope, be accepted by the Council as the only small recompense we can offer for their generosity. Here, Mr. L. P. Goonetilleke, Secretary to the Panel of Painting of the Arts Council has been most helpful to us, while we have received a deal of help and appreciation from the Rt. Revd. Lakdasa de Mel, who received us most courteously at Bishops House, Kurunegala; while to Sir Richard Aluvihare, President of the Arts Council, too, our thanks are due. Our gratitude also to Dr. Narendra Nath Law, Editor of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for permission to reprint "Army and War in Medieval Ceylon" by the late Professor Wilhelm Geiger, which remains the standard work on a subject which is of importance for a study of the Polonnaruva Period with its incessant wars; and to the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and specially to its Secretary, Mr. Lyn Fonseka, for permission to reprint from the journal of the society, the late Mr. H. W. Codrington's 'Topography of Ceylon in the Twelfth Century," to which paper too, little new could be added today, even though 30 years of research into Ceylon History intervenes since its first publication.

Finally we must thank the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon and the Information Department for kind permission to reproduce the photographs appearing in this journal, while we are grateful to Mr. A. Benedict de Silva of the C. W. E. Printing Department for all his help and kindness. To his suggestions and excellent advice is largely due the good production and get up of this journal. We are also indebted to Mr. G. M. K. Perera of Jayatilaka Hall, Peradeniya, who very kindly gave us of his fullest services despite much personal inconvenience, and Messrs. Bandu Ratnayake, P. D. Kannangara and D. Jayasinghe also of Jayatilaka Hall, who sacrificed many precious hours in the preparation of

this journal. Our thanks are also due to Mr. M. M. H. A. Ghuthoos and Mr. M. S. M. Junaideen, who secured most of the advertisements appearing in this journal.

In conclusion, we should add that the publication of research papers without the necessary diacritical marks is another of the tribulations we have had to inflict on our contributors; and readers will understand, we are sure, that the absence of these accented letters is solely due to their non-availability with the printers, and not to any omissions by our contributors.

THE BACKGROUND TO THE RISE OF PARĀKKAMABĀHU I

By

Dr. A. L. BASHAM, B.A., PH. D. (LOND.), F.R.A.S.

Reader in the History of India, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Author of The History and Doctrines of the Ajivikas and The Wonder that was India.

NOTE: The following bibliographical abbreviations are used:

Altekar	A. S. Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, Poona, 1934.
ARSIE	*Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy*, Madras.
Codrington	H. W. Codrington, *Short History of Ceylon*, Revised ed., London, 1939.
EI	*Epigraphia Indica.*
EZ	*Epigraphia Zeylanica.*
Geiger	Notes to the *Cūlavaṃsa* translation (*Mv* below).
Hultzsch	E. Hultzsch, *Contributions to Singhalese Chronology. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1913, pp. 517—31.
Mv	*Mahāvaṃsa* (*Cūlavaṃsa*), edited by W. Geiger, London, 1925—27; translated by W. Geiger, 2 vols., London, 1929—30.
SII	*South Indian Inscriptions.*

The city of Polonnaruva [1] is not, apparently, one of the older Āryan settlements of Ceylon. It is first mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* only in connexion with Aggabodhi III (626—41) [2], who is said to have endowed a monastery there (*Mv* 44,122). Aggabodhi IV (658—74) was residing at Polonnaruva when he died (*Mv* 46,34), as was Aggabodhi VII (766—72) (*Mv* 48,79). In the reign of Sena V (972—81) a rebel general, also called Sena, made the city his headquarters (*Mv* 54,64), and Sena V himself dwelt there after suppressing the revolt (*Mv* 54,68). One or two epigraphs, inscribed on stones later utilized for building in the palmy days of Polonnaruva, and recording royal donations, also indicate the city's importance in the 9th and 10th centuries (*e.g.*, *EZ* ii, p. 49 ff., iv, p. 34 ff., 59 ff.).

1. In Pali *Pulatthinagara*. With this and a few other exceptions Pali forms are regularly used in this paper.
2. The chronology is that of *Mendis*, pp. 123—5.

The rise of Polonnaruva in importance at this time was no doubt due in part to the development of irrigation in the district [3] and the consequent increase of agricultural production and population; but it also developed owing to political factors. From Polonnaruva the Southern province of Rohaṇa was of easy access, and Rohaṇa was always a source of trouble to the Sinhalese Kings; it was difficult to control at the best of times, and often the stronghold of rebellious princes and chiefs. The well-irrigated district of Polonnaruva was usually the first part of Rājaraṭṭha (the northern part of the Island) to be occupied by any rebel advancing from the South. Hence it was of the utmost importance, as a base from which either to control the South or to resist attack from that quarter.

The adoption of Polonnaruva as the chief royal capital of Ceylon, however, was the immediate result of the Tamil invasions of the 10th and 11th centuries, and these invasions are as much a part of the history of India as they are of Ceylon. Invasions from the mainland had taken place, often with temporary success, from the dawn of history. The existence of a significant Tamil element in the population of Ceylon at the time of which we speak, no doubt the descendants partly of earlier invaders and partly of peaceful immigrants, is attested both from chronicles and inscriptions. A further Dravidian element, and one of the utmost political importance, was provided by the South Indian mercenaries, who played an ever increasing part in military and political affairs. Even in the reign of Kassapa IV (896—913) an inscription (*EZ* iii, p. 270 ff., lines 8—11) refers to the *Demeḷā-adhikāri* Utur Paṇḍiradun, thought by Dr. Paranavitana (*EZ* iii, pp. 272—3) to be the superintendent of lands granted to Tamil mercenaries [4]; from his name he may well have been himself a Tamil. More than one inscription of about this time (*e.g.*, *EZ* iii, p. 143, iv, p. 44) refers to the allotments of land to Tamils, the *Demeḷa-kăbălla*. Throughout the medieval period, it would seem, the importance of the Tamil element in Ceylon had been growing, while simultaneously the Tamil powers of South India were gaining strength.

The weakening of the Pallava dynasty of Kāñcī led to the revival of the old Pāṇḍya kingdom of Madurai. As early as the reign of Sena I (831—51) a great army despatched by the Pāṇḍyan king Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha invaded Ceylon, gained the support of the local Tamil population, and sacked Anurādhapura " as if it had been plundered by *yakkhas*," killing the *yuvarāja* Mahinda in

3. Minneriya tank, built by Mahasena (334-62), Topavava by Upatissa I (early 5th century), and Giritale by Aggabodhi II (601—11).

4. The *Damiladhikari* played a very important part in the government of the great Parakkamabahu I himself (*Mv.* 76, 39 ff.).

battle. King Sena only regained control of his domains after paying heavy tribute (*Mv* 50,12—42).

Before its final destruction the Pallava dynasty enjoyed a last taste of glory; Nandivarman III (844—66) [5], Nrpatuṇgavarman (860—96) and Aparājitavarman (879—97) [6] gradually drove back the advancing Pāṇḍyas and succeeded in restoring much of the lost Pallava power. In accordance with the time-honoured Indian doctrine of *maṇḍala*, that in warfare a king should solicit the friendship and help of the king in his enemy's rear, the Pallavas enlisted the aid of Sena II of Ceylon (851—85), the successor of Sena I. Sena II turned the tables on the Pāṇḍyas, invaded the mainland, and sacked Madurai (*Mv* 51,27—51) [7]. His victory, recorded in the chronicle, is confirmed by an inscription of Kassapa V (913—23), who was most proud of the fact that he was the son of " the great king who won the fame of victory by conquering the Pāṇḍya country " (*EZ* ii, p. 38 ff.).

Meanwhile another factor was emerging in the complex political situation of South India. Among the generals of the Pallava king Nandivarman III was one Vijayālaya, who claimed to be a scion of the line of the ancient kingly family of Cōla, which had lost its importance centuries before. About 850, Vijayālaya Cōla occupied Tanjore, which he ruled as a vassal of the Pallavas. His son, Āditya I (871—907), gained a decisive victory over the Pāṇḍyan King Varaguṇa II in about 880, and soon after attacked his overlord, Aparājita Pallava. In the war Aparājita was killed, and the Pallava empire was overthrown, to be replaced by that of the revived Cōlas, whose kings embarked on a policy of expansion which was continued for a century and a half. Ceylon fell a victim to this policy.

The successor of Āditya Cōla, Parāntaka I (907—56), captured Madurai, and virtually incorporated the Pāṇḍya domains into his empire. In the campaign the Pāṇḍyan King Rājasiṃha II sought the aid of Ceylon, and Kassapa V (913—23) sent a contingent of troops to aid him in his struggles against the Cōla. According

5. Dates of South Indian Kings are those given by Professor K. A. N. Sastri (*History of India*, part I, Madras, 1950).

6. The overlapping of the regnal periods of these and other South Indian Kings is due to the custom of associating the crown prince as joint ruler with his father, which was very prevalent in Dravidian dynasties.

7. The account of the Sinhalese campaign against Madurai as given in the *Mahavamsa* makes no mention that this was carried out in concert with the Pallavas, but states that Sena II invaded India in order to place a prince whom the Pandya king had wronged on the throne. In view of the contemporary situation in South India, however, we have little doubt that our interpretation is correct.

to the *Mahāvaṃsa* the Sinhalese forces were withdrawn owing to an outbreak of plague (*Mv* 52,70—78), from which we may infer that they had few deeds of glory to report. Their presence in the war between the Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas is, however, confirmed by an inscription of Parāntaka Cōla's fifteenth year (*SII* ii, p. 387, verses 9—11), and by a Sinhalese inscription which vaguely and euphemistically states that Kassapa " illuminated the whole of Dambadiva (*i.e.*, India) with his glory" (*EZ* ii, p. 25 ff, lines 6—7). The defeated Rājasiṃha fled to Ceylon, where he sought the help of Kassapa's successor, Dappula V (923—34). At first Dappula was inclined to help him, but the Sinhalese nobles, no doubt much prejudiced against the Tamils, intrigued against Rājasiṃha, who decided to transfer his place of exile to Malabar, leaving his crown jewels with Dappula (*Mv* 53,5—9).

These regalia was apparently looked on as a sort of palladium, the possession of which was vital to the full and lawful control of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. Hence Parāntaka Cōla and his successors were forced to make every effort to obtain them. Parāntaka first sent envoys to demand their return; but Udaya III of Ceylon (945—53), though characterized in the Chronicle as " slothful and prone to liquor," boldly refused to give them up. His refusal resulted in the first of the numerous Cōla invasions of Ceylon. Parāntaka drove Udaya into Rohaṇa, but was compelled to retreat (*Mv* 53,41—5). The Chronicle gives as the only reason for the Cōla withdrawal the fact that the army " found no way of entering Rohana," as a result of which they " betook themselves in fear . . . to their own country." In fact, the ignominious retreat of the Cōla army, without capturing the Pāndyan treasure, may well have been connected with the campaigns of Kṛṣṇa III (940—67), the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the Western Deccan, who decisively defeated Parāntaka towards the end of the latter's reign. In any case, despite his failure, Parāntaka in his later inscriptions takes the proud title " Conqueror of Ceylon."

Mahinda IV of Ceylon (956—72) was well aware of the Cōla danger, and entered into a matrimonial alliance with Kaliṅga (the coastal region of Orissa and Northern Andhra) (*Mv* 54,9), no doubt, again following the traditional doctrine of *maṇḍala*.[8] Mahinda, though an energetic, efficient and pious ruler, was also the victim of an attack from the mainland. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* " the Vallabha King " sent a force to Nāgadīpa (the

8. The immediate neighbours of the Colas to the North, the Calukyas of Vengi, were by this time much weakened by Cola and Rastrakuta attacks, and Mahinda may well have thought them useless as allies. On the other hand the connexion between Ceylon and Kalinga was very ancient, and hallowed by the legends of Vijaya and the Tooth-relic.

Jaffna peninsula and the extreme north of Ceylon), which was defeated by Mahinda's general, Sena, after which the invader and his allies made a friendly treaty with Mahinda, whose fame spread far and wide in India. We believe that the Vallabha king was none other than Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa, who is known to have penetrated as far as Rāmeśvaram, and who may well have gained a temporary foothold on the north of the Island. Both Mahinda and Kṛṣṇa, well aware of the danger from a common enemy, would be very willing to come to terms. [9] In any case the victory of Mahinda's general is indirectly referred to in an inscription which states that Mahinda " brought all the wealth of India to his feet, by means of the valour of his Commander-in-chief Sena" (*E.Z.* i, p. 29 ff, lines 5—6). Elsewhere we are told, with typical exaggeration, that Mahinda " caused other Kṣatriya dynasties of the whole of Jambudvīpa to render it (*i.e.*, the Sinhalese line of Ikṣvāku) homage" (*E.Z.* i, p. 230 ff, lines 1-2), and that " he drove away from Lankā the Dravidian foe" (*EZ.* i, p. 213 ff, line 5). The general Sena appears to have been a very important figure in the realm, for he is referred to in several other inscriptions and, as we have seen, was responsible for a very serious revolt in the reign of Sena V.

Despite the invasions from the mainland the 10th century, down to the end of the reign of Mahinda IV, seems to have been a prosperous one for Ceylon, if we can judge by the numerous donative inscriptions of the period. Under Sena V (972—81) and Mahinda V (981-1017), however, conditions changed. Both Kings were quite inefficient. The country was plundered by the Dravidian mercenaries, always a very dubious element in the body politic (*Mv.* 54,66; 55,12). The power of the boy king Sena V was much weakened early in his reign by the revolt of the general Sena, with whom the king was forced to come to terms, after which he ended his short life in debauchery at Polonnaruva (*Mv.* 54, 57—72). Mahinda V returned to the old capital of Anurādhapura, to withstand a tax-strike on the part of the peasants and a revolt of the Malabar mercenaries, who, demanding arrears of pay, besieged the king in the royal palace. He escaped, and fled to Rohaṇa, the refuge of so many discomfited kings of Ceylon (*Mv.* 55, 1—12). News of the anarchic conditions in the Island was quick to reach the ear of the Cōla Emperor, Rājarāja the Great (*Mv.* 55,13).

Rājarāja I (985-1016) and his son Rājendra I (1012—44), the mightiest and ablest of the Cōla emperors, appear to have conceived a new external policy. Already the most powerful force in the Tamil land, Rājarāja consolidated his hold there, and temporarily crippled his most dangerous enemy, Satyāśraya I (997—1008) of the

9. For further consideration of our unorthodox identification of the Vallabha king, see the appendix at the end of this paper.

revived Cālukya line of the Western Deccan, by attacking him with an enormous army which penetrated deep into Cālukya territory, and appears to have conducted itself with extreme ruthlessness. Thenceforward for some fifty years the Cōlas followed a policy of holding the frontier against the Cālukyas and concentrating their attention on the coast. They appear to have aimed at gaining complete control of both coasts of the Bay of Bengal, in order to grow rich on the lucrative sea-trade with South-East Asia and China, which they planned to foster by a great maritime empire incorporating Malaya and Sumatra. For the fulfilment of this policy control of Ceylon was essential.

So, at some time between 1001 and 1004 (*Hultzsch*, p. 524), Rājarāja invaded Ceylon and occupied the Northern part of the Island. His campaign was continued by Rājendra I, who carried Cōla arms into Rohaṇa and, in 1017, captured Mahinda V alive, together with the Pāṇḍyan crown jewels which for over seventy years had been a bone of contention between the Cōlas and the kings of Ceylon.[10] The land became a prey to pillage and violence of every kind, if we are to believe the nationalistic chronicler, who may well have exaggerated (*Mv.* 55). The reigns of the two great Cōlas were characterized, on the mainland at least, by good administration, and it seems unlikely that they would have left the Northern part of the Island, which they fully controlled, to anarchy; the numerous Hindu shrines built in this period at the Cōla provincial capital of Jananāthapura, as Polonnaruva was called by the invaders, indicate that the Cōla viceroys paid attention at least to some aspects of the care of the new province of the Empire. But, whatever the standards of government, Cōla rule in Ceylon must have been bitterly resented. Most of the earlier Dravidian invaders had been either repelled or bought off; those, such as the great Elāra, who had maintained a hold on parts of the Island for a while, had been adventurers, establishing their ephemeral capitals on the soil of Ceylon itself. The new conquerors, on the other hand, ruled from India, and revenues were drained from the predominantly Buddhist Island to maintain Hindu temples on the mainland; thus in 1014 the revenues of five Sinhalese villages were devoted to the upkeep of the great Rājarājeśvara temple of Tanjore (*Mendis.* 68). The northern half of the Island was completely under the control of the Tamils, and the successor of Vijaya a captive at the Cōla court, where he died some twelve years after his capture (*Mv* 55,33).

10. The story of the vicissitudes of the Pandyan crown jewels, as given in the *Mahavamsa*, is in part confirmed by an inscription o Rajendra I. *EI.* ix, p. 233).

From their capital at Polonnaruva the Cōlas tried to tighten their grip on the south, and their columns raided far and wide in Rohaṇa and Malaya (the central highlands); but they could not capture Mahinda's son, Kassapa, who was proclaimed King under the name Vikkamabāhu (1029—41), and who succeeded in maintaining some hold in the South. Apparently he spent the twelve years of his reign in marshalling his forces for a full-scale attack on the Cōlas, but he died suddenly as he was planning his great campaign (*Mv* 56, 1—6). On the death of Vikkamabāhu the position of the defenders seemed almost hopeless. The Chronicle gives the names of five ephemeral chiefs of Rohaṇa. Of these the first, Kitti, was a general who held power for only eight days, after which he was slain by another usurper, Mahālāna-kitti, who, after three years' rule, was defeated by the Cōla and took his own life. His son, Vikkamapaṇḍu held power for a year until he lost his throne and his life to Jagatīpāla, a North Indian adventurer who is said to have been "a sovereign's son who came from . . . Ayojjha." Jagatīpāla seems to have been a Rājput, and the fact that he came from Ayodhyā, in which region the city of Kānyakubja is situated, suggests that he was a scion of the old dynasty of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, which disappeared soon after 1019 as a result of the raids of Mahmūd of Ghaznī and the attacks of its feudatories.[11] This brave Rājput, driven from his ancestral domains to seek his fortune at the furthest end of Jambudvīpa, "ruled as a mighty man" for four years, and then he too fell before the Cōlas, his wife and daughter captured for the Emperor, Rājādhirāja's harem" (*Mv* 56,13—15). His place in Rohaṇa was taken by Parakkama, a Pāṇḍyan prince, no doubt, a refugee from Cōla overlordship.

11. The termination *pala*, typical of the later Pratihara kings, is very suggestive. The indentification is strengthened by an inscription of Rajadhiraja Cola, dated 1046 (*SII* iii, 52) in which it is stated that he deprived four kings of Ceylon of their crowns:— Vikramabahu, Vikramapandya, Vira Salamegha, and Srivallabha Madanaraja. Of these the first two are obviously the Vikkamabahu and Vikkamapandu of the Chronicle. The third is said to have originally ruled over Kanyakubja and to have died in battle, his sister and daughter captured by the Cola. Hultzsch (p. 521) rejected his identification with Jagatipala of the Chronicle, owing to the dissimilarity of the two names; but in view of the numerous *birudas* assumed by Sinhalese and South Indian kings we cannot agree with him, since the similarities are very close. Surely Rohana cannot have been ruled at almost the same time by two kings, both of whom came from the same region of Northern India, both of whom were killed in battle, and both of whose womenfolk were captured by the invader. Hultzsch originally suggested the identification of the fourth of the kings mentioned in Rajadhiraja's inscription with Parakkama, the fourth of the ephemeral rulers of Rohana according to the Chronicle, who is said to have been the son of the King of Pandya; but he later rejected the identification, owing to the dissimilarity of names; but the *biruda* Srivallabha was sometimes used by Pandyan kings, and we would keep an open mind on the identification.

Parakkama survived continuous Cōla pressure for two years, when he too fell fighting.

The terse lines of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, which delights in lengthy descriptions of the exploits of the more successful heroes of Ceylon, perhaps do less than justice to these brave chieftains, whether Sinhalese or Indians, who, in the terrible years of anarchy and foreign invasion, held out in Rohaṇa against the raiding columns of the Cōlas. It is evident, reading between the lines of the Chronicle, that their chief weakness lay in their disunity. Of the six kings mentioned in the brief 56th chapter of the *Mahāvaṃsa* only one, Vikkamabāhu, the son of Mahinda V and lawful heir to the throne, seems to have had complete control of the situation; perhaps had it not been for his untimely death he would have expelled the Tamils. Of the remaining five kings two were killed by rivals, and two by the Cōlas, while one took his own life as a result of defeat at Cōla's hands. Of the five none held power for more than four years. It seems that Rohana, after the death of Vikkamabāhu, was parcelled out between numerous petty chieftains, incapable of combination under a single leader, torn by mutual jealousies and rivalries, yet determined in their desperate resistance to the invader, for which they frequently paid with their lives. The plight of the ordinary folk in this grim period of Ceylon's history may well be imagined.

But great changes were taking place in the politics of the Peninsula. Rājādhirāja I (1018—54) succeeded in holding much of Ceylon, though, as we have seen, he could not subdue Rohaṇa. Throughout his reign, however, the Cālukyas were growing in power. Their King Someśvara I (1042—68), a dogged warrior who would not admit defeat, attacked Veṅgī, the capital of the Eastern Cālukyas, who were dependent on Rājādhirāja. Driven back by the Cōla, Someśvara was forced to yield his capital Kalyāṇī to the invader, who mercilessly sacked it; but steadily Someśvara regained the initiative. In 1054, at Koppam on the river Kṛṣṇā, Rājādhirāja fell in the midst of bitter fighting. The sub-king of the Cōlas, Rājādhirāja's brother Rājendra II (1052—64), took command of the Cōla army and won the day; but his was a Pyrrhic victory. The Battle of Koppam marked the turning point of Cōla fortunes; from now on their attention had perforce to be directed westwards, against the rising Cālukya power, and the dream of a maritime empire was quickly forgotten. The Cōlas still held Northern Ceylon, however, from which, a year or two before 1055, Rājendra II despatched another expedition against the South, and had some success (*SII* iii, 59). But the death of Rājendra's successor, Vīrarājendra (1063—69), was followed by a serious dynastic dispute. Soon after this the greatest and most ambitious of the Cālukyas, Vikramāditya VI (1076—1127), came to the throne. As Cālukya

power increased the Cōla vassals in the South, the Pāṇḍyas and the Cēras, became restless.

Meanwhile the anarchic condition or Rohaṇa had somewhat improved. In 1053, a certain Loka succeeded in unifying Rohaṇa, which he governed from Kataragama, while another war-lord, Kitti, a descendant of the old royal family, gained the hegemony of Malaya (the Central Highlands). On the death of Loka, Kitti, who according to the Chronicle was then only sixteen years old, captured Kataragama from its new ruler Kassapa, and united Rohaṇa and Malaya (*Mv* 57). About 1061, he assumed the royal name Vijayabāhu (1055—1114) and made plans for the expulsion of the Cōlas (*Mv* 58,1—3). But the Cōlas quickly attempted to forestall him; a large Cōla army invaded Rohaṇa and plundered Kataragama, forcing Vijayabāhu to the hills. After some time he succeeded in reoccupying part of Rohaṇa, when he strengthened his position by an alliance with the friendly king of Rāmañña (Burma) (*Mv* 58,4—10).

By this time the Tamils were hard put to it to control even the north of the Island; peasants refused to pay their taxes, and there were revolts against the Cōla viceroys and governors. To reduce Ceylon to order another large Cōla army was despatched from the mainland; it succeeded in putting down the revolt in the north, and then invaded Rohaṇa. Weakened by the desertion of two of his generals to the enemy, in 1067, Vijayabāhu was again driven out of Kataragama and besieged at Paluṭṭhagiri (Palaṭupāṇa, near Tissamahārāma). Here the Cōlas sustained a great defeat, and the fortunes of war at last turned in Vijayabāhu's favour (*Mv* 58,18—23). Quickly, he marched on Polonnaruva, and succeeded in temporarily occupying it; but as his forces drove on towards Anurādhapura they met an army of Cōla reinforcements, and were soundly defeated (*Mv* 58, 23—32). Once more Vijayabāhu was driven South, harassed both by the Cōlas and by rebellion in his own ranks. But the Cōlas were steadily weakening owing to dynastic disputes, and Vijayabāhu was strong enough to suppress his rivals and maintain complete control of Rohaṇa.

Soon he was able to send out two columns, one by way of the East Coast and one by way of the West, against Polonnaruva and Anurādhapura respectively. Both forces gained their objectives. It would seem that their victories were fairly easy, although Polonnaruva withstood a siege of six weeks. Vijayabāhu was apparently confident of the success of his expeditions, for he himself did not accompany them on their march, but remained in the rear, only appearing in person at the front to direct the siege of Polonnaruva

when his army was at the gates of the Cōla capital.[12] When Kulottuṇga Cōla (1070—1120) heard of the great reverses which his forces had suffered in Ceylon he decided to abandon the Island (*Mv* 58, 40—59); no doubt his attention was too deeply occupied by the Cālukya Vikarmāditya VI to contemplate equipping a large force to recapture Ceylon, possession of which was of less importance to the Cōlas, now that the long-term maritime policy of Rājarāja I and Rājendra I was virtually forgotten.

Vijayabāhu was now master of all Ceylon. He was consecrated king in 1073, in the old religious capital of Anurādhapura (*Mv* 59, 8—10), but Polonnaruva remained his chief residence and administrative capital. His reason for retaining the capital of the Cōlas is obvious; Rohaṇa had not yet fully recovered from the anarchy of the first half of the century, and was still probably largely in the hands of vassal chiefs, ready at the least sign of weakness to rise in revolt. Indeed there are several accounts of revolts in the course of Vijayabāhu's long reign, and it is evident that he was not able fully to restore the good government of the prosperous days before the Cōla occupation. One such revolt of the most serious description took place when Vijayabāhu was mustering his troops for an invasion of the Cōla domains on the mainland, where Kulottuṇga Cōla had maltreated the envoys sent by Vijayabāhu to Vikramāditya VI. The *Velakkāras*, or picked Dravidian mercenaries, revolted against the prospect of invading the lands of their kinsfolk, killed the two Generals who were to lead the expedition, and plundered Polonnaruva and the surrounding country. The royal palace was burnt to the ground, and several members of the royal family were captured. But Vijayabāhu escaped, fled to the South, and returned to wreak summary and cruel vengeance on the leaders of the rebels.

Though their revolt was thoroughly put down the Velakkāras remained a very powerful force in Ceylon politics. Tamil invasions were no longer a serious threat, but the Dravidian element in the population of Ceylon, always considerable, had much increased as a result of the invasions, and the Dravidian mercenaries became so influential that, according to a Tamil inscription at Polonnaruva (*Ez* ii, p. 242 ff), in the reign of Vikkamabāhu II (1116-37) they obtained control of the Temple of the Tooth, built by Vijayabāhu I. The Temple had been placed in their custody by none other than the Mahāthera Moggallāna, the royal preceptor, at a great assembly of the Velakkāras, who are explicitly stated to be not Buddhists by Śaivites. This inscription is generally taken to indicate that the once mutinous Velakkāras were now thoroughly loyal and

12. An inscription (*EZ*. ii, p. 202 ff, lines 22—23) confirms the Chronicle's account of Vijayabahu's triumph.

reliable (*Mendis*, 81; *Codrington*, 57). In our opinion it rather suggests that the Velakkāras had gained such power in the reign of Vikkamabāhu II that they were able virtually to demand the right to protect the temple, and, no doubt, to obtain a substantial share of the rich offerings of pilgrims for their services. With all the pride of possession the inscription refers to the Temple as " belonging to the Velakkāras of the three divisions ".[13] We cannot escape the suspicion that the protection given by the Velakkāras to religious establishments had something in common with the " protection " which American gangsters are said to force upon small business men.

Vijayabāhu I receives much praise in the Chronicle for his justice, piety and manificence. He made alliances with Burma, Kaliṅga and the Pāṇḍyas, the latter now reviving somewhat after their long subjection to the Cōlas, and his reign no doubt marked a great step in the direction of unity and good government; but he could not fully restore lasting stability, and his death led to further anarchy. Two factions arose in the state, the one led by the *uparāja* Jayabāhu, Vijayabāhu's younger brother, and the other by the *ādipāda* Vikkamabāhu, Vijayabāhu's eldest son. As was customary Jayabāhu (1114—16)[14] ascended the throne, but, against custom, he appointed his sister's son, Mānābharana as *uparāja*, in place of Vikkamabāhu, to whom the post should normally have fallen. It would seem that the nephew, Mānābharana, had obtained considerable influence over his uncle, Jayabāhu, who, now well advanced in middle age, may have been little more than a mere puppet (*Geiger*, p. 225 n.).

It is not surprising that Vikkamabāhu was soon in revolt. In a series of battles he defeated Jayabāhu and his nephews and gained control of the North, but Mānābharana and his two brothers, Kitti Siri Megha and Siri Vallabha, retained Rohaṇa and Māyāraṭṭha (the West Coast). The four rivals seem to have come to terms and divided the country between them, but their governments were inefficient and oppressive, taxing the peasants excessively, while continual frontier skirmishes further harassed the ordinary folk of the land. Vikkamabāhu II and his son, Gajabāhu II (1137—53) are reported by the Chronicle to have been anti-Buddhist, resuming the revenues of villages donated to Buddhist shrines, and even quartering troops in monasteries (*Mv* 61, 48—62). These statements are to some extent confirmed by the inscription of the

13. A similar inscription of the 42nd year of Vijayabahu II (1228) in the Trincomalee district (*EZ*. iv, p. 191 ff.) records the placing of a Saivite endowment under the protection of a Velakkara regiment.

14. Inscriptions of Vikkamabahu II and Gajabahu II are dated in the regnal years of Jayabahu, since the two former kings were never properly crowned. Jayabahu survived the triumph of Vikkamabahu II as a *roi faineant* in Rohana (*Mv*. 62, 1).

Velakkāras, who, as we have seen, gained control of the Temple of the Tooth at Polonnaruva in this period, and also by two Tamil inscriptions in the Kurunegala district (*Ez* iii, pp. 302-12). Of the latter one records the settlement of a dispute between blacksmiths and washermen, and indicates the extent of Tamil settlement in a district now predominantly Sinhalese; while the other refers to the donation of a perpetual lamp in the Śaivite temple of *Vikkirama-calāmēga-īśvara* in Māgala, alias *Vikkirama-calāmēga-puram*. The names of the temple and town indicate that both were founded by Vikkamabāhu himself, and that the King gave at least considerable patronage to Śaivism.

Thus it was in a country divided against itself, mismanaged and oppressed, that the son of the old warlord Mānābharana, by intense energy, brilliant leadership, and, we must admit, often by unscrupulousness reminiscent of the semi-legendary Kauṭilya, succeeded in bringing peace and prosperity to Ceylon, after a century and a half of invasion, tyranny and anarchy.

APPENDIX

The Invasion of Ceylon by Vallabharāja.

"The Vallabha King" is generally identified with the Cōla Parāntaka II (956-73) (*Mendis*, 54, *Codrington*, 39,53), but the dynastic title *Cōla* was well known to the Chroniclers, and if the invasion was carried out by a Cōla king it is surprising that they did not explicitly record the fact, as they did in several other instances. *Vallabha*, on the other hand, is a title regularly used by the rulers of the Western Deccan, whether Cālukyas or Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the word is so used in the *Mahāvaṃsa* itself (47,15). During the reign of Mahinda IV the last great Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Krṣṇa III, was busily engaged on his many raids on Southern India. In one of his own inscriptions (*EI* iv, p. 278 ff, lines 52-3) it is claimed that he exacted tribute from the Kings of Cēra, Pāṇḍya and Ceylon and erected a pillar of victory at Rameśvaram; moreover he is referred to as having subdued Ceylon in Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka* (*Altekar*, 118—9). Both these sources are dated 959, three years after Mahinda's accession. The inscriptions recording the victories of the general Sena are dated in Mahinda's eighth and ninth years. It is a fair inference that, very early in Mahinda's reign, Krṣṇa III, in the course of his great southern expedition, succeeded in crossing to Ceylon, and gained a temporary foothold on the North of the Island.

Against this identification Codrington (p. 53) pointed out that a Cōla inscription records that a general of Parāntaka II was killed in Ceylon. In fact, the copper-plate charter to which Codrington

refers (*Arsie* 1914, no 10) states that the donor, a local chief of Rājarāja I, built a well for " his father who died in Ilam." That the father was a general and was killed in battle during the reign of Parāntaka II is little more than a supposition; and if we accept these hypotheses, there must have been many small-scale raids on the Ceylon coast, not recorded in the Chronicle, in which a general might have been killed. Codrington (loc. cit.) claims that *Vallabha* was a Cōla title; this is not wholly untrue, for the word appears in the *birudas* of some Cōla kings; but it was especially the title of the kings of the Western Deccan, by which they were generally known all over India and in the Muslim world. In our view this fact is decisive. The Chronicler, we are sure, would never have capriciously replaced the well known word *Cōla* by the less common *Vallabha* if he had intended to refer to a *Cōla* king.

Codrington (loc. cit.) states that he earlier supported the identification with Kṛṣṇa III, but we are unable to obtain a copy of the Journal in which he published his views (*Ceylon Antiquary*, iv, part i. p. 35).

THE LIFE OF KING PARĀKKAMABĀHU I

By

Dr. B. C. LAW, M.A., LL. B., Ph. D., LITT., F.R.A.S. (Hony).

One of the best known living Indologists. Author of Kshattriya Tribes of Northern India, Buddhistic Studies, Buddhaghosa and other standard works.

KING Parākkamabāhu I was the king of Ceylon in the 12th century A.D., (1153 A.C.). His reign saw the Augustan age of the history of Ceylon. He was a wise, untiring and unwearying king with a heart full of joy. [1] He was a great leader of mankind and was able to restore order in Ceylon and carry his prowess as a conqueror to foreign lands including South India and even as far as Cambodia. He was endowed with an extraordinary energy and discernment and carried on the government for 32 or 33 years. He adorned the island of Lankā with beautiful monasteries, gardens, tanks, etc., which he constructed. He was experienced in statecraft and made Lankā peaceful. He was the son of King Mānābharaṇa.[2] According to the *Cūlavaṃsa* (lxi, v. 26) he was born at Puṅkhagāma in south Ceylon where Mānābharaṇa ruled.[3] The Kitti-Nissaṅka-Malla slab inscription states a different view, according to which king Parākkama was born at Siṃhapura[4]. He succeeded to the throne after the death of Kittisirimegha. He consolidated his position by several victories. He was succeeded by his sister's son, Vijayabāhu II.

Parākkama married Bhaddavatī [5] and Rūpavatī. [5] Rūpavatī belonged to the house of the great king Kittisirimegha. She was very beautiful, clever, virtuous, pure in action and highly famous. She learnt many sayings of the great Sage.

Parākkama was a patron of learning and was himself versed in medical lore.[6] During his reign a systematic compilation of sub-commentaries took place under the guidance of Thera Kassapa. Many works were composed in Pali and Sinhalese from the time of the Mahāthera Buddhaghosa up to his time.

Parākkama promoted the welfare of the state and the church. He relieved a great number of people from their misfortunes and by manifold gifts of diverse kinds he gave them his patronage.

1. *Akampito anolino pitisampunnamanaso—Culavamsa* (PTS) Ed. Geiger, Vol. I., p. 326.
2. *Culavamsa*, lxii, 3 ff.; v. 52. 3. Cf. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 250.
4. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II, 80—81.
5. S. Paranavitana, *The Stupa in Ceylon* 1947 (*MASC*, Vol. V), pp. 9-10.
6. "*ayubbede sayam capi nipunatta navadhipo.*"

He gave security to animals by ordering that no animal should be killed within a radius of about three and a half miles from the city of Anurādhapura. He also gave security to the fish and the birds. [7] He resided at Pulastipura (Pulatthipura) which he enlarged, fortified and adorned with many palaces and pleasure-gardens. He emulated the example of king Asoka and like him paid visits to the Buddhist church. The Ambagamuva Rock Inscription mentions his three coronations in 1153 A.D., 1159 A.D., and 1161 A.D.[8]

Parākkama finished his education at Saṅkhatthalī. His ambitious spirit made him restless. He left Saṅkhatthalī secretly and went to Badalatthalī. He then went to Buddhagāma. The inhabitants made repeated attempts to check his advance, but all in vain. He then went to Rājaraṭṭha where messengers from Gajabāhu met him with gifts. He lived at the court in Pulatthipura. He gave his sister, Bhaddavatī in marriage to Gajabāhu.

Parākkama who was the most eminent in the long list of Ceylonese kings, after consolidating his power, devoted himself to the objects of royal solicitude, religion and agriculture. He was anxious to build monasteries, temples and libraries, but not less generous in constructing or repairing tanks and works of irrigation. He was not in favour of immeasurable taxes. He re-built the city of Polonnaruva, restored monasteries, and built new religious edifices whose ruins are still seen at Polonnaruva.

He paid much attention to religion and his first task was to bring about the unification of the contending sects and the restoration of the power and influence of the orthodox church, the Mahāvihāra. A Ceylonese elder named Dhammakitti was deputed by him as one of the envoys to the king of Rāmañña. [9] The two sects, the Sāgaliyas (Sāgalikas) and the Dhammarucikas, belonging to the parent vihāra of Abhayagiri, flourished side by side along with the Mahāvihāra and continued to receive royal benefactions, until all of them were united into one order at the time of king Parākkamabāhu I (A.D. 1153-86). [10] After his death there was some trouble in the island through invasions and consequent dissensions which affected the religious institutions of the country. [11]

Parākkama tried his best to place the monks in their rightful position. In order to expand and improve the Buddhist order he

7. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II, pp. 80—83.
8. *Ibid.*, II, p. 206.
9. Lower Burma—*Culavamsa*, LXXVI, 32.
10. *Culavamsa*, XXXVIII, 75 ff.; XXXIX, 15.41; LXXVIII, 21—27.
11. Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, 494 ff.

assembled the great community of monks dwelling in the three fraternities. He called together many distinguished teachers, learned in the method of discriminating between failure and non-failure. He was well-acquainted with the monastic rules and could distinguish the genuine ascetics from the false ones. He made the Buddhist order as uniform as milk and water, so that it could last in purity for five thousand years.[12] He performed many kinds of meritorious works and continually found the highest satisfaction in the teachings of the Master. As he cherished the desire to further the advancement of the Buddha's order, it was essential that unity was to be achieved among the monks. He excluded the undisciplined monks from the order and purified the Mahāvihāra. Parākkama who was just, impartial and firm in his determination, encouraged the monks and persuaded them to agree, when any dispute arose. He established harmony among the monks of the Mahāvihāra. The monks of the Abhayagiri as well as the inmates of the Jetavana were in concord with the inmates of the Mahāvihāra, who were rich in all virtues. Within a short time the king achieved purification and unity among the monks and established again the community, as it had been in the Buddha's time. He provided lodgings for the members of the order and treated them to a constant flow of spiritual and material gifts (*EZ.*, II., p. 275).

A code of regulations for the guidance of monks was proclaimed by king Parākkama. This code and proclamation were known as *Parākkamabāhu-Katikavata* or *Polonnaruva-Katikavata*. The *Katikavata* introduced by the king became a royal proclamation. It did not in any way come in conflict with the Vinaya rules. The king's proclamation gave direction for the proper observance of the Vinaya rules and dealt with the procedure that the subjects who actually joined the order or desired to join it, should follow. The king saw the indiscriminate admission into the Order which undermined the discipline and status of the monks and tended to lower the dignity of the Order and its purity and hence he made new regulations which became a part of the law of the country.[13]

Parākkamabāhu's plan of campaign was to attack Mahānāgakula or Mahānāgahula, the capital of Rohaṇa, from the west and the north-west. He conquered Rohaṇa after pursuing the path of political wisdom, virtue and keen understanding. The dignitaries carried out his orders and became victorious under his guidance.[14] In the 16th year of his reign people dwelling in the

12. Cf. *The Gal-Vihara Inscription of Parakkamabahu* in Polonnaruva; *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II, 256 ff.
13. Dr. W. A. de Silva in the *Buddhistic Studies* edited by Dr. B. C. Law p. 495.
14. *Culavamsa*, Ch. LXXV.

province immediately bordering on Mahātittha, revolted. The monarch of Rāmañña kept friendly relations with Parākkama. A prince of Jambudīpa named Kassapa told the Ceylonese envoys that no vessel from Ceylon should be sent to his kingdom. He asked them to give in writing the declaration that if messengers were again sent from Ceylon, they would be killed. When king Parākkama heard these insults, he grew angry and wanted to capture or kill the King of Arimaddana[15]. Parākkama captured the town of Rājinā. He conquered the Paṇḍu kingdom and founded in memory of this conquest a splendid village named Paṇḍuvijaya which prospered through all times.[16] About 1165 A.D., king Parākkama sent a Tamil general, Ādicca on an expedition against Rāmaññadesa.[17]

It has been rightly pointed out by Paranavitana that the accession of Parākkama in 1153 A.D., inaugurated an era of prosperity and this king's glorious reign of 33 years was one of the greatest periods of architectural activity in the history of Ceylon. At Polonnaruva we have the best specimens of the age. Parākkama repaired most of the stūpas which suffered in turbulent times prior to his accession. He revived the practice of building colossal stūpas which had been given up by the Sinhalese Buddhists for some centuries. The Kirivihāra of Polonnaruva may be identified with a shrine said to have been built by Bhaddavatī, one of the wives of Parākkama. It is the best preserved old Stūpa in Ceylon. A stūpa built by another wife of Parakkama, Rūpavatī, is probably the ruined shrine now called the Pabaḷuvihāra. The stūpas built at his birth-place and at the place where his mother was cremated, have not yet been definitely identified, and their dimensions given by the Chronicles are much exaggerated. He started to build a giant stūpa which remained incomplete. The unfinished stūpa is the mound resembling a natural hill known as the Unagalāvihāra at Polonnaruva.[18]

Parākkama had a square-hall erected in the middle of the town with four entrances and many large rooms and instituted a great alms-giving in which everything needful was to be had daily for those who kept the precepts of moral discipline. Every year he used to give garments and mantles to each of them according to his age. Four alms-houses were built in the districts of the town and charming gardens adorned with trees were laid down. He set up store-houses supplied with money and corn and it contained all necessities such as, syrup, sugar, honey and the like.

15. Pali name for Pagan in Burma (Bode, *Pali Lit. of Burma*, p. 14).
16. *Culavamsa*, LXXVII.
17. Nilakanta Sastri. *The Colas*, I, p. 260.
18. S. Paranavitana, *The Stupa in Ceylon*, pp. 9—10.

He had a hall built for many hundreds of sick people. There he gave to each sick person a special slave and a female slave to prepare day and night medicines, food and drink according to requirements. There he had many store-houses built in which various kinds of medicines were collected. He made the skilful and intelligent physicians practise the medical art in the best manner. He used to test in every way the healing activities of the physicians and also used to examine day and night the favourable or the unfavourable condition of the sick.[19]

The excellent city of Pulatthinagara was re-built by Parākkama in grandeur[20]and beauty. It had a high chain of walls built, which on all sides enclosed the fortified town and was larger than the town-walls of former kings. He then laid down various streets. Then he erected around his own palace and around his whole dwelling a second inner wreath of walls and built thereon a palace, seven-stories high, furnished with many chambers and adorned with many pillars, painted in diverse hues. It was richly supplied with hundreds of pinnacled houses or alcoves.[21] It had doors and windows of gold and well-divided walls and stairs. It was adorned with many beds, made of gold, ivory and the like and had costly coverings. The height of its splendour was reached in the royal sleeping apartment which was decorated with a wreath of large gold lamp-stands. This charming palace was built by Parākkama who gave it the name of Vejayanta (Palace of Gods). He built the Hemamandira (" golden house ") for performing the ceremonies of expiation by the Brahmins. He gave alms to the Brahmins.[22]

He built Dhāraṇīghara "house of incantation" for the recitation of magic incantations. The Maṇḍalamandira was built for listening to the birth-stories of the great sage, which were related by a teacher appointed there for the purpose. The Pañcasattatimandira was built by him for the reception of the magic water and the magic thread given by the yellow-robed ascetics. This house of seventy-five was built for holding the *Parittā*[23] ceremonies in which water and thread play an important part. He built a *Dharmāgāra* or the hall for preaching religion and discussing religious topics. It was surrounded by an enclosure of coloured curtains and decorated with costly canopies. Its interior was constantly lighted by lamps with scented oil and perfumed by incense. It was graced by a wonderful peacock. The Sarassatīmaṇḍapa was built by him near the palace to listen to the rhythmic songs of the musicians

19. *Culav.* Chap. 73, v. 46.
20. *Visalam* means large or extensive.
21. Cf. *Ramayana,* Bombay Ed., 1902, 5.9.14.
22. *Culav.* Ch. 73, vs. 55—70.
23. Law, *History of Pali Lit.* 608; Bode *Pali Lit. of Burma,* Ch. 3—4.

and to behold their charming dance. It had golden pillars in every direction. It contained paintings showing the deeds of king Parākkama. He had the fair maṇḍapa erected bearing the name Rājavesibhujanga (the lover of a prostitute or harlot.)[24] It was like unto the mote-hall of the Gods (*Sudhammā*). It was three-storied, ornamented with pictures and surrounded by lines of fair railings (*Vedikās*). The Ekatthambhapāsāda (one-pillar palace) was built by him having in it a beautiful golden chamber (*Jātarūpanivāsana*). The king Parākkama had a private garden laid down in a spot close to the palace. The trees in it were intertwined with jasmine creepers, and were filled with the murmur of the bees. This garden contained various kinds of trees, and herbs which rejoiced the heart of the people, who went there. Campaka,[25] Asōka,[26] Tilaka,[27] Nāga,[28] Punnāga,[29] Ketaka,[30] Śālaka,[31]

---

24. Cf. *JRAS.*, CB. XXX. p. 271.

25. *Michelia Champaca Heilm*—a pretty large tree found in Bengal; flowering time, rainy season, delightfully fragrant, white and yellow flowers. See *Ramayana*, Canto xvii; *Papancasudani*, III, 1.

26. *Saraca indica* Linn—a handsome tree, flowering time, beginning of the hot season; pretty large flowers in clusters, when first opens, the flower is of a beautiful orange colour, gradually changing to red, forming a variety of shades, fragrant during the night. Cf. *Buddhacaritak*. IV, 45; *Saunda, ranandak*. Canto vii, 5; *Jataka*, V, 188; *Vimanavatthu Commy.*, p. 173.

27. *Symplocos racemosa*, Roxb—It is used for a sacrificial post (*Sadvimsa-Brahmana* III, 8; *Satapatha Brahmana*, XIII, 8.1.16; *Maitrayani Samhita* III, 1.9.). It is the same as Tirita (*Vinaya*, I, 306; *Digha*, I, 166; *Anguttara*, I, 295; *Majjhima*, I, 343.

28. Nagakesara, Nagarukkha. *Mesua ferrea* Linn—Elegant tree; flowering time, beginning of hot season; flowers large, and delightfully fragrant. It is also known as Nagesvara Campa and Nagalatarukkha (*Jataka*, I, 180). It is noted for its hard wood and great masses of red flowers (*Jataka*, I, 35; *Apadana*, I, 15; *Buddhavamsa*, Ch. II, v. 51).

29. *Calophyllum inophyllum* Linn—a most elegant tree, flowers pure white, fragrant, flowering most part of the year, especially at the beginning of the hot season (*Apadana*, II, 345; *Jat.*, I, 9; *Khuddakapatha* Comm., 50, 53; *Buddhavamsa*, II, 51).

30. *Pandanus Tictorius soland* ex Parkinson or *Pandanus odoratissimus*—flowers chiefly during the rainy season; male and female plants; male flowers are sweet-scented (*Jat.*, IV, 482; *Buddhavamsa*, II, 51).

31. *Shorea robusta* Gaertn—straight and well-grown tree, fine in girth and height, thick and strong; worshipped by villagers and towns folk as a lucky tree. Flowering time, hot season. According to Susruta gummy exudation of Sala trees mixed with clarified butter should be used in fumigation (*Susruta Samhita*, K. L. Bhisagaratna Ed., Ch. L; Cf. *Majjhima*, I, 488; *Digha*, II, 134; *Anguttara*, I, 202; III, 214; *Papancasudani*, II, 235; *Saratthappakasini*, I, 222).

Pāṭali,[32] Nīpa,[33] Jambu,[34] Kadamba,[35] Bakula,[36] Kuṭaja, Bimbijālaka[37] and Tamāla[38] trees and Navamallikā[39] shrubs were found there. It was a pleasant spot resounding with the cry of the peacocks. It contained many beautiful tanks. It had a large gleaming bath-room. The garden was resplendent with an extensive palace, adorned with many columns of sandalwood. In this garden the Silāpokkharaṇī captivated the king. Still more delightful was the Maṅgalapokkharaṇī. The king laid down a garden called Dīpuyyāna (island-park). There was a bathing-house in it.[40] Here the Dhavalāgāra (white house) was made entirely of *stucco*. This garden was decorated with a celestial mansion (*Vijjāmaṇḍapa*) because it was built to promote various branches of science. A beautiful and roomy *Dolā-maṇḍapa* (swing-pavilion) existed there. There was the *Kilā-maṇḍapa* (play-pavilion) where the king used to amuse himself. In the Dīpuyyāna the *Sanimaṇḍapa* or the pavilion of the planet Saturn which consisted of ivory, *Mora-maṇḍapa* (peacock-pavilion) and the *Adāsamaṇḍapa* (mirror pavilion), the walls of which consisted of mirrors, existed. There

---

32. Parul, *Stereospermum suaveolens*—a middle-sized tree flowering time, hot season; exquisitely fragrant; it is called the trumpet-flower tree. Citta patali signifies that the patali tree is variegated and beautiful. (Law *The Magadhas in Ancient India*, RAS Monograph, XXIV, p. 37; *Visud dhimagga*, 206; *Milinda*, 333; *Sumangalavilasini*, II, 415; *Jataka*, V, 422)

33. Kadamba—a large tree; flowering time, hot season; *Anthocephalus Cadamba* mig. or *Nuclea Cadamba*, a species of Asoka tree (Cf. *Jataka*, I, 13; *Apadana*, I, 15; *Buddhavamsa*, II, 51).

34. *Eugenia Jambolana* Linn—It is the rose apple tree. It is both a fruit and a timber tree; flowering time, hot season; it stands with its out-spreading branches, 50 yojanas in length (*Samantapasadika*, I, 119; *Jataka*, II, 160; *Apadana*, II, 346).

35. *Anthocephalus Cadamba*, Benth and Hook—Orange-coloured, fragrant blossoms; Varuni the goddess of wine established herself in the hollow of a Kadamba tree in the woods of Vrindavana. Baladeva smelling the pleasant fragrant of liquor resumed his passion for strong drink (*Visnu-purana*, Ch. XXV).

36. This tall tree has tiny flowers, very fragrant. Its branches are used in religious ceremonies (*Agnipurana*, 57. 9-14).

37. It flowers in winter and scatters its odour abroad. It is the Bimba tree (*Momordica Menadelpha*). It is *Telakuca* (*Coccinia Indica* W & A). It is called Kanduri in Hindu. Its flowers are white and large and its fruits, when ripe, are very red. Its roots and leaves are used for preparing medicines. The juice from its leaves is useful to those suffering from headache due to heat, and eczema. It gives relief to those suffering from blood dysentery. This plant is found in large numbers in Singbhum and South India (Cf. *Jataka*, I, 39; V. 155; VI, 496-98).

38. The colour of this tree resembles the colour of Sree Krisna. (*Ramayana*, Ch. IV, Lankakanda, Vangavasi Ed.).

39. *Jasminum Samboe*—flowers during the rainy season; flowers, white and fragrant (Cf. *Jataka*, I, 62; III, 291; V. 420; *Milinda*, 333, 338).

40. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II, p. 143.

the bathing pond called the *Anantapokkharaṇi*[41] captivated the people and another bathing pond by the name of Cittāpokkharaṇī (picture pond) rejoiced the king. There was a four-storied palace called the Siṅgāra-vimāna (the mansion in which "ornament, love, a particular *rasa*" stands in front). The Dīpuyyāna was decorated with *Tāla* and *Hintāla palms*, was resplendent with *Nāga* and *Punnāga*, *Kaṇṇikāra* or *Kaṇikāra*[42] trees. The king laid down three suburbs called Rājavesibhujaṅga, Rājakulantaka and Vijita,[43] adorned with 3 three-storied palaces of great beauty and crowned by three *vihāras* named Veḷuvana, Isipatana, and Kusīnārā. The town of Pulatthinagara had 14 gates.[44] The town of Parākkamapura was furnished with gates and towers, walls, moats, streets, palaces, shops and parks. It was beautiful, prosperous and wealthy. In the middle of the town of Pulatthinagara the temple of the Tooth-relic was built. King Parākkama held a great festival for the glorious relics. [45] In different places of Ceylon the king laid down gardens in order to make all articles of food needed by town-people easily available. The Nandana garden adorned with various kinds of trees, bearing fruits and flowers; the Lakkhuyyāna, a large garden where the king planted mango and bread-fruit trees, coco, areka and palmyra palms; Cittalatāvana, Mahāmeghavanuyyāna, etc., were laid out.

The king was desirous of building large *vihāras* suitable for the dwelling of monks whose number increased. He founded the great Jetavana monastery. For the Theras dwelling there he built 8 three-storied costly palaces. For the Thera Sāriputta he erected an extensive and glorious palace with rooms, terraces and chambers. For the 75 *parivenas*[46]he built many two-storied long palaces painted with charming figures, and 178 small palaces, 34 gate-towers and 2 houses, etc. He built the Tivaṅka house for the Tivaṅka image. Three sermon-halls were built together with a cetiya, 8 long cloisters and a refectory of great length and breadth and many fire-houses covered with bricks.

Eight bath-houses of stone were erected and adorned with pillars, stair-cases and railings. There were 520 buildings in Jetavana. The Āḷāhanaparivena was built which was beautiful. The Subhaddā cetiya and the Rūpavatī cetiya were also built. The

41. The layers of the stones of this pond resembled the coils of the serpent king Ananta.

42. Kannikara or Kanikara is the same as *Pterospermium accerifolium* will. It is a lily. Its colour is yellow.

43. For details of erection of these three vide Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 238 ff.

44. *Culavamsa*, Ch. LXXIII, vs. 151—163.

45. *Ibid.*, Ch. LXXIV.

46. Cells or private chambers for monks (Cf. *Vinaya* I. 49; II. 210, etc.)

king also built a twelve-storied Uposatha house named Buddhasīmāpāsāda. This house had a fixed boundary of 35 staves in length and breadth. The king laid down the foundation of the west monastery (*Pacchimārāma*). The *parivenas* in the monastery which were 22 in number, had many two-storied long palaces and 20 fire-houses, one sermon-hall, 10 gate-buildings, 41 two-storied small palaces, with many privies and cloisters. This monastery was dedicated to the monks. The king also built the Uttarārāma[47] and the Mahāthūpa, which bore the name of the Damiḷathūpa. It had a circumference of 1,300 cubits and was the largest of all the thūpas. The king built the Isipatanavihāra and the Kusīnārāvihāra in the suburbs called the Rājavesibhujanga and Siṃhapura. The former was a delightful place for the ascetics.[48] Madhurā was ruled by King Parakkama. [49] The Veḷuvana vihāra was built in the suburb of Vijita. A costly two-storied palace was built in the Kapilavihāra which was erected in honour of the sage Kapila. The Lohapāsāda destroyed by the Colas was restored by the King by raising again its 1,600 pillars. The three thūpas destroyed by the Damiḷas were restored by the King. The Ratnavālukā thūpa, the Jetavana thūpa, the Abhayagiri thūpa[50] and the Maricavaṭṭi thūpa were also restored. On the Cetiyagiri (Mihintale mountain) the king had 64 thūpas re-built. According to Parker they were simply repaired.[51]

In order to put away the sufferings of famine from living creatures the king had many tanks and canals made in many diverse places. He is said to have re-built 216 tanks belonging to the Buddhist monks among which is especially included the great tank, Uruvela[52]. The Parākkamasamudda was a great reservoir continually filled with water. The Parākkamatalāka was a great tank, built with a sluice of 100 cubits. The king had also a canal constructed called the Gambhīrā. The canals known as the Nīlavāhinī, Vettavatī, Tuṅgabhaddā, Maṅgala-Gaṅgā and Campā were constructed by the king. The Sarassatī canal built by him branched off from the Toyavāpī and led to Puṇṇavaḍḍhanavāpī. The Jamunā canal branched off from the Puṇṇavaḍḍhana to the west and the Sarbhū canal ran north-wards. The Candabhāgā canal flowed through the centre of Lokuyyāna and the Nammadā canal

47. It was also called the Northern tank of Polonnaruva with its rock cut temple now popularly called Gal-vihara containing Buddhist figures and the inscription on the vertical face of the rock.
48. *Culav.* 78. 79.
49. *Ibid.*, 76., 76.
50. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 308.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
52. *Ibid.*, 246 ff.

branched off in the domain of the Jetavana vihāra. The Nerañjarā canal flowed in a northerly direction and the Bhāgīrathī started from the Anotatta tank. The Kālindī canal flowed in a southerly direction and the Kāverī canal flowed from the Giritaḷāka tank. The king also constructed the Godāvarī canal which flowed to the Parākkamasāgara. The king erected the Sūtighara cetiya in the place of his birth called Punkhagāma. The height of this tope was roughly 180 feet. In the province of Rohaṇa the king had diverse buildings erected in villages and market-towns. On the site of his mother's pyre in Khīragāma the king constructed the Ratnāvalī cetiya, 120 cubits in height (180 feet.) The king built 5 dancing halls and founded 16 relic shrines, Bodhi tree,[53] Bodhi temples and Bodhi terraces. He had many leaking tanks repaired like the great Uruvela tank and the Paṇḍu-Koḷamba tank.

The glory of Parākkama stands up in the later history of Ceylon like an isolated peak and thirty years after his death the country had fallen almost to its former low level of prosperity.[54]

---

53. The great Bo-tree Asvattha stood as a living symbol of Buddhism and a living branch of it was brought over for planting on the virgin soil of Ceylon (Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 58.)

54. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III. p. 34.

PARĀKRAMABĀHU AND SOUTH INDIA

By

PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, PH. D.

Professor of Indology at the University of Mysore. Formerly Professor of History at the University of Madras. Author of The Cholas and the History of India.

PARĀKRAMABĀHU I (1153—1186) was perhaps the greatest of the Polonnaruva kings of Ceylon. He is rightly styled 'the Great' and Ceylonese scholarship seeks to mark its appreciation of his place in the history of the Island by issuing this special number to commemorate the eighth centenary of his accession. I deem it a high privilege to have been invited to send a contribution to the memorial number.

The famous stone statue of Polonnaruva has given rise to much controversy about the identity of the person represented and the identity of the object he holds with both his hands in front of his body; some think it is a sage with a book in his hand, others consider it to be a king with the yoke. The figure may well be a sage or a king—it is well-known that both meet in a *rājarṣi;* but the object in his hands does not seem to be a yoke, whatever else it may be. A book comprising long oblong leaves seems to come nearest the mark. So unless we get some tangible evidence that Parākramabāhu or some one else caused a portrait of his to be carved on live rock, some doubt must continue to linger about the identity of the noble figure which Codrington has reproduced as that of Parākramabāhu in his *Short History of Ceylon* (p. 61) and which appears as the frontispiece in this Journal.

But the *Cūlavaṁsa* gives the most elaborate account of the great king's life and doings. It mentions his birth in Ch. 62.37 and deals with the events of his early life incidentally but in full detail, till it begins to treat him as the central figure of the story in Ch.71 after the abdication of Gajabāhu II in his favour. The account of the reign comes to an end only with Ch. 79 and extends over the last 34 pages of Vol. I and first 124 of Vol. II in Geigers' English translation, not to speak of pages 235—314 (70 pages) giving details of his early life. In this paper I shall deal in detail with the king's relations with South India described in Ch.76 vv. 76—334 and Ch.77 comprising 106 verses. We shall see that this section of the *Cūlavaṁsa* does not give the story in its entirety but, as may be seen clearly from South Indian inscriptions, aims at being a propaganda for the glory of Parākramabāhu which glosses over the failure of the king's policy in this particular. The subject was discussed by me from the stand point of Tamil history in my *Colas* II pp. 97—107, and 120—30. It is now being reviewed from the side of Ceylon.

It was a settled principle of Ceylonese policy to hinder as far as possible the rise and establishment of a hegemonic power on the mainland of South India. We may leave out of account the quasi-legendary narratives purporting to relate to the times of Sena, Guttika and Eḷāra and the late legends relating to Karikāla Chola. During the long-drawn struggle between the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas from the seventh to the ninth century A.D., Ceylon on the whole favoured the Pallavas at the expense of the Pāṇḍyas. The Pallavas were farther away from Ceylon and had to fight all the time on two fronts—against the Chālukyas of Bādāmi on the north and the Pāṇḍyas in the south; they had little prospect of becoming supreme in South India or of threatening the independence of Ceylon. The one occasion when a Pallava ruler wanted to support the claims of a prince to the throne of Ceylon was when Narasiṁhavarman I (630—668) sent two expeditions against Ceylon in aid of Mānavarmā, a Sinhalese prince in exile at the Pallava court; the effort was not a success. The Pāṇḍyan power was not only nearer Ceylon, but threw up a number of able and aggressive soldiers among the members of its ruling dynasty; no one can look at the history of the south in this period without being struck by the extensive power of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom which spread its sway over Kerala and Koṅgu, and came into conflict with the Chālukyas, Gaṅgas and Pallavas on its northern frontier. And when Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha (815—62) invaded Ceylon and ravaged its northern province besides sacking the capital in the reign of Sena I (831—51), the next Sinhalese king Sena II (851—85) strengthened his alliance with the Pallava power, and invaded the Madura country in the absence of Śrī Māra in the north and in furtherance of the claims of a rival to the Pāṇḍyan king, probably his own son Varaguṇa II who had developed differences with the father and fled to Ceylon. Śri Māra sustained a double defeat; the Pallava Nripatuṅga defeated him on the banks of the Ariśil river in Tanjore district, and when Śrī Māra returned to Madura he found the city occupied by the Ceylon forces, and he lost his life and throne in the battle that ensued. The rebel son occupied the Pāṇḍyan throne on terms laid down by Sena II and Nripatuṅga, and had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the latter for several years.

With the rise of the Cholas of Tanjore to power under Vijayālaya and his successors from the middle of the ninth century the position changes. The Pāṇḍyas are thrown on the defensive and a common danger from Chola aggression threatens all the southern powers alike—Pāṇḍya in the middle, and Ceylon and Kerala on the east and west of it. The most natural thing was for these powers to come together and contest the newly risen power, and this is exactly what happened. This political alignment remained more or less constant till towards the close of the twelfth century, after which the Chola power collapses, the Pāṇḍyas

become ascendant and new political formations become necessary. Parākramabāhu's reign falls more towards the close of the age of Chola ascendancy; accordingly, we find him making a strenuous effort to stick to the Pāṇḍyan alliance under all vicissitudes and thwart the plans of the contemporary Chola rulers in the south.

The occasion was furnished by a rancorous civil war between two Pāṇḍyan princes—Kulaśekhara and Parākrama. The former was apparently the legitimate ruler of the kingdom, the son of Māravarman Śrī Vallabha who is known to have been reigning in the Tirunelveli district [1] about 1160—61; the latter was perhaps a subordinate member of the family, employed at first as Viceroy of Madura, but sought, after the death of Śrīvallabha to establish an independent status for himself [2]. Or, the truth might as well have been just the reverse—Parākrama the legitimate king and Madura the major capital, and Śrī Vallabha and his son Kulaśekhara Viceroys in the southern part of the Pāṇḍyan country; our knowledge of the exact succession of kings in this kingdom is still so meagre. However that be, the war opens with an attack on Parākrama by Kulaśekhara in a siege of Madura, and an appeal for aid addressed to Parākramabāhu of Ceylon from Parākrama Pāṇḍya. Says the *Cūlavaṁsa*.[3]

'Now the Paṇḍu king by name Parākkama, in the town of Madhurā, when his capital was besieged by the war-loving, hostile king named Kulaśekhara who had come thither with an army, had found in the territory of Jambudīpa no king with whom he might have taken refuge. He sent messengers to the monarch of Lankā with the message: "O Thou with whom I may take refuge, thy two feet shall be for me who am a moth in the fire of the majesty of my foe, a cage of diamond." When the sovereign of Lankā heard their speech, he spoke thus: "If the distress of him who has placed himself under my protection be not removed, how would my name of Parākkamabāhu (arm of courage) be fitting? He who trusts in me is hard to vanquish by a foe, be he who he may. From what foe among the brutes is the hare in peril who has fled to the moon? General Laṅkāpura, slay Kulaśekhara, establish the Paṇḍu King in his realm and then return." The general by name Laṅkāpura, a very courageous man, versed in the means of war, a forest fire for the wide (—spreading) wilderness of the foe,

1. PK. p. 125
2. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
3. 76. 76—85. No apology is needed for the quotations *in extenso* from the CV., this memorial number being calculated to give a clear idea of the sources of the reign of the great king. The last sentence in Geiger's n. 1 on p. 71 is wrong and must be cancelled; it reads: 'To the name Kulasekhara corresponds Kulottunga in Indian inscriptions, (E.I. VII, p. 170. ff)'

received with the words " Be it so !" the King's command like a wreath upon his head and accompanied by many war-skilled officers, he marched at the head of an army invincible in battle and came to Mahātittha.'

But events moved swiftly on the mainland, Kulaśekhara gained his objective and occupied Madura before Laṅkāpura could embark, and it became a question if the expedition should go out at all. Parākramabāhu was unwilling to accept the *fait accompli* and repeated his orders to Laṅkāpura to proceed against Kulaśekhara, dislodge him and confer the kingdom on the representatives of his rival. Thus the *Cūlavaṁsa* continues: [4]

' King Kulaśekhara had (in the meantime) slain the Paṇḍu King with his wife and children and captured the town Madhurā by name. Laṅkāpura received from the Great King who had heard of these events, anew the order to conquer the kingdom and make it over to a scion of the house of Parākkama. He set forth for the port Taladilla [5] by name on the opposite coast. He embarked his great army on many hundreds of ships, started off and sailed a day and a night on the back of the ocean. When he caught sight of the coast, since a hostile army was standing there, he made all his troops put on their armour on board. As the ships had to lie in deep water and because with a landing just at this spot, the armour of the whole army would have been wet through, he made the troops get into hundreds of boats of small size. Then when the rain of arrows from the Damiḷas standing on the coast, came flying, he had shields fashioned of leather set up in front of the people (as protection) against the arrows and so landed in the Paṇḍu Kingdom at the port called Taladilla. After putting to flight the Damiḷas at the port and capturing the harbour, he took up a position there and fought with vast forces four battles.

Five Tamil officers[6] were defeated, many Tamil soldiers slain and their horses captured, before Rāmissara (Rāmeśvara island)

4. *Ibid.*, 86—93.

5. Many of the names of villages on the continent as given in this account are unidentified, partly because the names are much distorted. Several are easily recognised, as will be indicated.

6. *Ibid.*, 94 ff. The officers were named: Vadavalattirukka-nadalvara, Kundayamutturayara, Villava-rayara, Ancukotta-nadalvara and Narasihadeva. Many such individual names occur in the later stages of the narrative in the *Culavamsa*, but they need not be reproduced. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that Geiger's n. 3 on p.72 citing Schrader on the meaning of *nadalvara* is not correct; the term *alvara* has nothing to do with the noun *al* (man) or *alu* (*soldier*) but derives from the verb *al* (Tam.), *alu* (Kan.) meaning rule, govern', and the whole word means 'ruler of a *nadu*' (a territorial division). It is correct to say as Geiger has done that each officer took his little from the *nadu* under his rule.

was occupied. Five more battles, mostly perhaps skirmishes, are mentioned next, and these nine (in all) battles were followed by a tenth against six Tamil officers (named), ' as well as the five officers named above. Needless to say, the Sinhalese general was victorious in all of them, killing many Tamils, seizing their horses, and ' penetrating from Rāmissara a distance of four gāvutas to Kundukala which lies between the two seas ' (110.).[7] ' The many Damiḷas who had fled through fear, took refuge in the forest; he captured several of them and had them impaled there. Some of these, at the command of the Ruler of Laṅkā who thought to have all the *Cetiyas* formerly destroyed by the Damiḷas rebuilt by them, he had brought to Lankā and the work of restoration begun on the Ratnavāluka-cetiya (now known as Ruvanväli). The Sovereign of Lankā had the *thūpa* which had been destroyed by the Damiḷas restored, and in order at the close to celebrate the festival of the crowning ornament, he betook himself with his ministers and the court to Anurādhapura and assembled the great bhikku community on the Island of Lankā ' (102—6). There follows the detailed description (107—20) of the great festival of the consecration of the thūpa on the full-moon day after which the Monarch Parakkamabāhu ' betook himself again to Pulatthimagara ' (120).

At Kundukāla, the general Laṅkāpura entrenched himself in a strongly fortified camp with stone walls and three moats filled with the waters of the ocean and called Parākkamapura after the king of Lankā. He subdued some Pāṇḍyan feudatories like Kañcakuḍiyarāja and Colagaṅga, and repulsed the troops sent by Kulaśekhara under the command of Sundarapāṇḍya and a Pāṇḍyarāja, after which he took the village called Carukkaṭṭa. Another victory in the field led to the capture of two more places—Koluvura and Maruthūpa. The Marava soldiers of the districts of Kañcakuḍiya and Koḷūru were subdued, villages and market towns like Kuṇappunallūra in the district of Vīragaṅga plundered; Māḷavarāya and thousands of Damiḷas with him had to recognize the authority of the invader, who, however, we learn, ' returned and betook himself to Parākkamapura to satisfy his troops by the distribution of food and pay ' (133). Geiger rightly points out that this is ' a veiled allusion to certain difficulties with which Laṅkāpura was faced during his advance,'[8] We shall see in fact, that the chronicle is an incredible record of uniform successes for the Sinhalese forces and that we have to read much between the lines and refer to the inscriptions of South India to arrive at a balanced and true account of the events of the war; the *Cūlavaṁsa* in this part is just a paean of praise of Parākkamabāhu not

7. These numbers refer to the verses in the chapters of the CV. (in Geiger's tr.)
8. p. 76 *n.* 3

contaminated by the breath of ill-success or failure. Even on his retreat to his fortified camp Laṅkāpura fought with Āḷavanda at Vaḍali and slew him.

Seeing that his large army and generals could not prevail against Lankāpura, 'the powerful King Kulaśekhara—who possessed the courage of a lion . . . and who well understood the expedients of war' (135), himself set forth to fight in the company of a large number of his lieutenants;[9] he also 'took with him, further the remaining troops in the province of the Paṇḍu king Parakkame, the whole forces of his mother's brothers in the two Koṅgu districts and the whole of his own forces in the Kingdom of Tiriṇaveli' (142—3). It may be noticed incidentally, that the statement of the chronicle that the main army of Kulaśekhara came from the Kingdom of Tiriṇaveli (Tiruṇelveli) supports the inference suggested by the provenance of Tamil inscriptions that Kulaśekhara and his father ruled from the southern capital, leaving Madura in the charge of Parākrama Pāṇḍya until the war broke out. With all his vast array of forces Kulaśekhara marched near to Parakkamapura, the fortified camp of Laṅkāpura, saying: 'Only when I shall have cut off the heads of the Sinhalas shall this time my sacrifice to the Gods in holy Rāmissara take place!' (148). The Pāṇḍyan camp was fixed 'at the village of Erukāṭṭa and Iḍagalissara' (149). Kulaśekhara attacked the camp of Lankāpura both from land and sea; 'but when King Kulaśekhara saw disaster in every combat, he himself set forth' (155) and Laṅkāpura also came forth (156). Once more victory favoured the Ceylon general who 'pressed forward in pursuit as far as Kurumbāṇḍanakali' (157). Kulaśekhara regrouped his forces and another great battle followed at the last named place; Villava-rāyara, Coḷakonāra, Yādhava-rāyara and other Pāṇḍyan officers fell; Kulaśekhara's horse was wounded, and he himself turned to flee leaving 'his throne, his umbrella, his ornaments and all else,' (168). Laṅkāpura now reached Erukkāvūra fort and burnt down the Pāṇḍyan camp, before 'erecting a new stronghold' (168). Then he captured successively Vaḍali, Deviyāpattana (still known under that name), Siriyavala where he vanquished 'in bitter combat the well-armed Khuddakañcakuṇḍā-rāyara commanding the stronghold named

9. The following are named: Malava-Cakkavatti Malava-raya, Parittikkundiyara, Tondamanaraya, Tuvaradhipativelara, Virapperaya-rayara-Nigaladha-rayara, Karumalatta-rayara, Nakula-rayara, Punkondanadalvara (mentioned often later), Karamba-rayara, Kundiyuru and Athalayuru-Nadalvara, Kangayasa, the two Viragangas, Muva-rayara, Alatturu-nadalvara, the three Mannaya-rayaras, Kalavandiya-nadalvara and Keralsiha—Muttara (137—41). Also Niccavinodavana-varayara, Patti-rayara, Tankuttara-rayara, Tompiya-rayara, Alavandapperumala, Colakonara, Tangipperumala, Alakhiya-rayara, Manabharana-maharaja, Avandiya-rayara, Munayadha-rayara and the Damila Vittara (144—46).

Koḷuvakoṭṭa' and put other dignitaries of Kulaśekhara to flight (170—71) and burnt several villages in the district of Dantika. Other fights with different Pāṇḍyan commanders are related, all ending in victory for the Ceylonese, it is difficult to say if these were separate engagements or only details of the names of the officers involved in battles already described. Interesting, however, is the particular mention of officers in a village of the 'brāhmaṇas' by which may be meant just an *agrahāra* village dominated by its brahmin population if not monopolised by them, or was it some special centre of resistance organised by brahmins against the foreign invader as happened in the Punjab and Sindh during the invasion of Alexander? After his victories Laṅkāpura took up his position at Kuṇḍayamkoṭṭa and won over to his side some of the remaining Tamil generals while he offered battle to others at Maruthukoṭṭa before occupying another fortress Kangakoṇḍāna (183). He then occupied Paniva after another great battle and went back to Kaṅgakoṇḍāna—apparently because, as Geiger surmises, 'the attack on Paṇiva had not the wished for success.'[10] After another fight, he took Vālakkoṭṭa and Neṭṭūru[11]; while at Neṭṭūru he bought over to his side many prominent Tamil generals like Kuttāṇḍāra, Viragaṅga, Taṅgipperumāḷa, Ilaṅkiya and Añcukoṭṭa rāyara with their dependent soldiers by giving them presents—'ear-rings and other ornaments. But on Ilaṅkiya-rāyara he conferred, the well-known and coveted title of Rājavesi-bhujaṅga-Silāmegha' (191—2).

Here also Laṅkāpura got news of Vīrapaṇḍu, a younger son of Parākkama Paṇḍu, who had escaped without falling into the hands of Kulaśekhara like his parents and the other children, and was living in the province of Malaya (hill country between Travancore on the one side and Madura and Tiruṇelveli on the other). He sent a message to the prince saying: 'I have here in war again and again completely vanquished Kulaśekhara together with his dignitaries and am now standing, after capturing a part of the realm, not far from Madhurā at a distance of two or three *gāvutas* (four to six miles). But my master who had in view the protection of thy royal father has since the murder of this ruler by his foes, at the tidings of this, given me the following charge: "he has placed himself under my protection, if now he has been slain by the hostile king, ye shall now slay the latter and make over the realm of the Paṇḍu king Parākkama to a scion of his house, if such there be." Therefore come without fear in haste hither,

10 p. 81. *n* 2.

11. Geiger (*ibid.* n. 4) rightly rejects Wijesimha's hesitant suggestion of 'Nellore' here, and points out that 'the scene of the combats described lay between Ramissaram and Madhura. Netturu is a well-known village in the Ramnad district and figured prominently in the wars of the period.

and take over the dominion in thy father's kingdom,' (196—201). Thereupon the Pāṇḍya prince reached Laṅkāpura's camp in a destitute condition. When Parākramabāhu heard of this, 'he joyfully sent many golden and silver vessels worthy to eat from, as well as many gold and silver lamp-stands and exquisite garments from his own stock, worthy to clothe himself with, ear-rings and chains and bangles set with jewels and the like as a gladdening gift. And the Prince accepted the whole of the heart-ravishing gift reverently making obeisance in the direction in which the King was.' (204—7).

Now Laṅkāpura fought another victorious battle at Muṇḍikkāra leading to the conquest of Kīḷamaṅgala and Melamaṅgala, villages which survive with these very names to this day; these new conquests were handed over to Māḷavarāyara who evidently went over to the invader's side and consented to become his feudatory. Himself tarrying at Anivalakoṭṭa, Laṅkāpura sent Gokaṇṇanāṇḍa, chief of Muṇḍannānaṁkoṭṭa, perhaps another deserter from Kulaśekhara's side, to capture Neṭṭūru, henceforth a main centre for Laṅkāpura's operations' (Geiger).[12] Then came the big battle of Mānavīamadurā (now Mānāmadura) in which several leading generals of Kulaśekhara fell and after which Madhurā came into Laṅkāpura's possession. Another battle, a falling back on Neṭṭūru, and a final trial of strength at Pātapata in which the immediate followers of Kulaśekhara sustained a crushing defeat and Pātapata fortress passed into Lankāpura's hands[13]; the place is still known by that name.

Laṅkāpura then went to Arivalakkikoṭṭa (perhaps the same as Arivalakoṭṭa mentioned above), subdued Mālava-Cakkavattin at Añcukoṭṭa and captured Toṇḍi and Pāsa on the Ramnad sea coast. Thence he advanced to Kurundankuṇḍiya and Tirivekambama 'showing all marks of favour' (239) to those who submitted, which perhaps means that Laṅkāpura won over people as much by diplomacy as by open fight in the field. He sent a friendly message to Pūṅkoṇḍanāḍālvāra who, however, without succumbing to his blandishments, declined to show himself and went off to Śemponmāri in the Pudukoṭṭai region; this was a strong fortress which had once held out successfully against a Chola army even after a four days' fight. This fort was captured with much slaughter by the Sīhalas under Laṅkāpura; but soon they were besieged there by an army of Kallars, Maravars, Goḷihaḷas, Kuntavaras and the troops of Vallakkuttāra, Ucena and Añcukoṭṭa—'exceeding brave, hot-headed forces of the Damiḷas, numbering

12 p. 83, *n.* 6.

13 pp. 216—34.

some fifty to sixty thousand' (248); then a successful sortie was led by the southern gate by Laṅkāpura Deva and Laṅkāgiri Sora followed by general Gokaṇṇa and Kesadhātu Loka; at the same time another sortie from the North gate was led by Kesadhātu Kitti and Jagadvijaya; many Damilas lost their lives, others fled, and many steeds were captured by the Sīhalas. The Kuntavars, Kallars, Goḷihaḷas, and Maravars submitted along with the shattered following of Vallakuttāra, Ucena, Athalayūru-nāḍāḷvāra and Kaṅgayarāya, and also the people of Tāḷayūrunāḍu, the army in Kalahayināḍu and the dwellers of Athalayūriṅāḍu and those of Kākkanāḍu: 'all these Damila forces all that lay (in a line) from the village of Cellāru up to the frontier of the Cola region Laṅkāpura brought into his power and bestowed on them favours as before.' (259—63). Māḷava-Cakkavattin was received into favour and Semponmāri restored to him. After this Laṅkāpura returned to Tirivekambama and Kurundaṅkuṇḍi. Māḷava-rāyara got back Muṇḍikkāra which had been wrested from him by force by Kalavaṇḍi-nāḍāḷvāra; Māḷavarāyara was also reconciled to Pūṅkoṇḍa-nāḍāḷvāra who had taken from him Jayaṅkoṇḍāna and other places (267—85) and Laṅkāpura then went back to Neṭṭūru.

Kulaśekhara, however, renews the conflict and puts a fresh army in the field. The Tinnevelly area and the maternal uncles of Koṅgu enable him to continue the war, and 'by distribution of honours and the like he made deserters of many Damiḷas who had already been subdued (by Laṅkāpura) and began now, equipped with forces, to march forth to battle' (288—90). Laṅkāpura at this point is said 'to have destroyed the traitorous Damiḷas root and branch, true to the command of his lord whose task it was to subdue miscreants' (291)—a vague statement whose value lies mainly in its admission of the increasing difficulties of Laṅkāpura in spite of his many victories narrated before. This is confirmed by what follows immediately in the narrative regarding the arrival of Jagadvijaya with reinforcements from Ceylon to join Laṅkāpura at Anivalakki 'after crossing the ocean,' Laṇkāpura himself marching to that place from Neṭṭūru for that purpose (292—5).

In fact, we seem here to have reached a definite stage in the war in which after the initial shocks both parties found out their respective limitations and set about reorganising their armies and reinforcing them before trying final conclusions. We get a remarkable confirmation of one important detail preserved in the narrative of the *Cūlavaṁsa*, *viz.*, that Kulaśekhara was actively aided by his maternal uncles who were rulers of the two Koṅgus. There is an inscription from the Koṅgu country,[14] dated in the

14. 336 of 1928 of the Madras Epigr. collection.

eighteenth year of the Koṅgu Chola ruler Kulottuṅga (not to be confused with the homonymous kings of the imperial Chola line of Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram) which records an invasion of the Madura kingdom by that ruler in order to capture Madura city on behalf of his *marumaganār* (nephew) . . . Karadeva. The exact date of the record cannot be ascertained in the present state of Koṅgu-Chola chronology, and the reference may be either to the first occasion when Kulaśekhara captured Madura at the beginning of the war, or to the aid he obtained after his initial defeats at the hands of Laṅkāpura. The *Cūlavaṃsa* is clear that he got substantial aid from Koṅgu on both occasions.

Some attempt may now be made to determine the chronology of the war before proceeding further. The *Cūlavaṃsa* gives little aid in fixing the absolute chronology of the war; it does not even record the regnal years of Parākramabāhu in which the campaigns of Laṅkāpura in South India were undertaken. [15] And, the Chola inscriptions are not more decisive. The earliest account in these occurs in the Ārppākkam inscription[16] which is dated in the fifth year of Rājādhirāja II. But the date of Rājādhirāja's accession is not easily settled. Kielhorn fixed it in March, 1163, but other records point to a date in 1166. [17] So the fifth year of Rājādhirāja must have begun in 1167, March, or some time in 1170, and by that time the army of Parākramabāhu had got to the mainland and won its initial successes and also met with strong resistance which hindered its achieving the object of its mission without further reinforcements from the island. We shall see that the war continued for many years and even into the reign of Kulottunga III who succeeded Rājādhirāja in 1178. The story of the war may now be resumed; but the *Cūlavaṁsa* ceases to be our main authority very soon as it suppresses much of the later phases of the war and we have to depend on the inscriptions of the Tamil country which are, however, unusually detailed in their narrative.

After meeting Jagadvijaya, Laṅkāpura returned to Neṭṭūru and then took up his position at a place called Mundrannaddhāna.

---

15. Once I thought that the war must have begun after the 16th year of Parakramabahu *i.e.*, after 1169 A.D., because that year is mentioned earlier in ch. 76 v. 7 before the account of the war begins in v. 76 (PK. p. 128). But this is not a tenable view. For the war, against Ramanna which took place in the 12th year of the King's reign (Geiger *n.* 3 p. 69) is narrated after the mention of the 16th year and before the Pandyan war. One thing is certain: the war was not short, but was a long-drawn affair of varying fortunes for both sides. The Chola inscriptions to be referred to presently, and the transparent gaps and glosses in the *Culavamsa* account make this absolutely clear.

16. 20 of 1899.

17. *Colas* ii pp. 87 and 93—4.

There followed two battles at Kīḷakoṭṭa and Maṅgalama, both victories for the Sinhalese general. Another victory at Orittiyūru-tombama was gained against Pūṅkoṇḍa-nāḍāḷvāra, Sīlāmeghara and Añcukotta-nāḍāḷvāra. After this Laṅkāpura went to Siriyavala where he burnt down 'the two-storeyed, palace of Pūnkoṇḍa-nāḍālavāra who had not submitted to him' (302) and marched to Tirikkānappera (now Kāḷaiyār Kovil). Meanwhile, Jagadvijaya moved out from Anivalakki via Neṭṭūru and 'shattered the fortresses called Madhurammāṇvīra Pattanallūru and Soraṇḍakkoṭṭa (304). Then he went back to Neṭṭūru where the two Aḷattūru-Nāḍāḷvāras and Cullakañcakuṇḍa-rāyara offered him their submission. From Pāttanallūru he sent a message to Laṅkāpura asking him to come 'with greatest haste' to the Vayiga river for an urgent report (307); on his way to the river Laṅkāpura had to fight a hostile army at Tirippaḷūru, while Jagadvijaya himself captured Paṇṇaṭṭānkoṭṭa after dispersing another Tamil army. We hear nothing more of the meeting of the two generals or of the urgent report of Jagadvijaya to his colleague.

Kulaśekhara 'in his exceeding fury' betook himself to Rājinā with many able soldiers and there prepared for battle. But once more the concerted action of Laṅkāpura and Jagadvijaya brought about the fall of the strong fortress, and Kulaśekhara fled, his heart overwhelmed with fear' (329), and Rājinā was occupied by the Ceylon generals.

The *Cūlavaṁsa* begins a fresh chapter (No. 77) with the mention of Kulaśekhara's flight to the mountain fortress of Toṇḍamāna, one of his feudatories. Laṅkāpura learnt of this from other Pāṇḍyan troops and leaders who offered their submission to him voluntarily and persuaded the invaders to proceed to Madhurā and hand it over to Vīrapaṇḍu. Other nobles were summoned to Madhurā honoured by the present of 'ornaments and the like, (77—8) and even restored to their old official positions as local rulers. One of them, however, Kaḷavaṇḍiya nāḍāḷvāra, changed his mind and Laṅkāpura had to march against him, defeat him in battle and capture Alavānagari perhaps the same as modern Āḷvārtirunagari; he submitted soon after and regained his area of rule. Likewise Kurumbarāyara, Kaṅgayara of Niyamam, and Nigaḷadha-Rāyara of Tiripputtūru were also compelled to accept the new order by a show of force (15—16).

But the reconciliation was by no means hearty and Nigaḷadharāya made common cause with some other commanders and with 'Cola officers' and 'began a combat hard to withstand' (19)—a fugitive admission by the chronicle that the later stages of the war were more difficult for the invader than it had been so far. We shall see this more distinctly from the Chola inscriptions to be

discussed presently. The chronicle, however, records the boast: 'But the army of the Sīhalas transformed the hostile host together with steeds and infantry—stretching three gāvutas (six miles) wide from Tiripputtūru to Ponnamarāvati, along the highway between the two places—into a single mass of flesh' (20—1). After this battle, the Ceylon army came to Ponnamarāvati, a place still known under that name in Pudukottai territory, where it burnt down a three-storeyed palace before issuing a proclamation taking the whole district under its protection. Thereupon Laṅkāpura returned to Madhurā (24).

'The festival of the coronation for Prince Vīrapaṇḍu' celebrated in accordance with Parākramabāhu's command is then described at some length and we hear that the Lambakaṇṇas by name Māḷava-Cakkavattin, Māḷava-rāyara and Athalayūru-Nāḍāḷvāra took an important part in the ceremony (25—31).

Meanwhile Kulaśekhara who secured the aid not only of Toṇḍamāna but of Anujīvisamiddha, 'a man of terrible courage,' issued from his mountain fastness and reached Maṅgalama to give battle to Maṇṇaya-rāyara and Seṅkuṇḍiya-rāyara who had made peace with the Sīhalas. Laṅkāpura retaliated by issuing from Madhurā, defeating Kulaśekhara in another battle and capturing Sīvaliputtūru (still known under that name). Nothing daunted, Kulaśekhara once again gets troops from Tiruṇaveli and from his two maternal uncles of Koṅgu ruling in Tenkoṅgu and Vaḍakoṅgu (the southern and northern Koṅgu respectively) and took up a position at Sāntaneri. He also flooded the country by breaking a tank bund to hinder the movements of the Ceylon forces, but Laṅkāpura had the breach repaired quickly. He also took Sāntaneri after another victory, marched into Toṇḍamāna's territory, burnt down the village of Tirimalakke where 'the Paṇḍu King Parākkama had been murdered' (52) and then halted for some time at Coḷakulāntaka village.

It is very difficult to decide whether in this part of its narrative the *Cūlavaṁsa* records new facts with discreet omissions or only more or less repeats itself *pro forma* to complete the narration some how. The account given in the Tamil inscriptions of South India seem to bear little relation to the narration in ch. 77 of the *Cūlavaṁsa*, and we can only follow up this narrative to its end before we proceed to consider the more tangible evidence of the inscriptions. Kulaśekhara once more gathered a new army from Koṅgu, though now more importance is given to the Cola officers like Akalaṅka-nāḍāḷvāra and Pallava-rāyara (a name to be noted as it recurs predominantly in the Chola inscriptions), Malayappa-rāyara, Kaṇḍamba-rāyara and Kiccārattarayara; there were also Kaḷavaṇḍiya-nāḍāḷvāra and Pūṅkoṇḍa-nāḍāḷvāra. With all of

them and their forces Kulaśekhara went to Palaṇkoṭṭa (near Tiruneḷveli) and thence ordered his great army to Paṇḍunāḍukoṭṭāna and Uriyeri, 'this time firmly determined on the vanquishing of the foe' (59). Though the Ceylon generals Laṅkāpura and Jagadvijaya marched to the precincts of these two fortresses, no battle ensued, and Kulaśekhara's forces withdrew and rejoined him at Palaṅkoṭṭa; they were pursued by the Ceylon army and the battle of Palaṅkotta was another victory for Laṅkāpura ending in the fall of that fortresses in his hands. He then visited the domain of Tuvarādhipativeḷāra and received the horses and elephants supplied by him. Hearing that Kulaśekhara had reached Madhurā,[18] and desirous of driving him from there, Laṅkāpura marched to Adharaṭṭeri and made Nigaya-rāya his vassal and 'showed him many marks of favour' (69). When the Ceylon generals again set forth from this place, they heard that Kulaśekhara 'smitten with fear, betook himself to the Cōla country' (70). Now leaving Jagadvijaya in charge of Pāttanallūra, Laṅkāpura went to Tirikkānappera. Kulaśekhara who had won the Chola king's support now returned with an army in which the cavalry under Pallava-rāyara was predominant, and there were also the generals Inandapada, Toṇḍamāna, and many others.[19] The new army was sent to Toṇḍi and Pāśa (82), and when Laṅkāpura got the news, he ordered Jagadvijaya to proceed to Madhurā, and himself set forth from Tirikkānappera and marched to Kilenilaya situated on the borders of Madhurā' (83) *i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya Kingdom.[20] This time the fight was primarily between the Chola army and the Ceylon troops. The chronicle, boastful as ever, attributes great achievements to Laṅkāpura, and says: 'For a distance of four *gāvutas* (8 miles) he filled the road with corpses, he also slew many soldiers who had flung themselves into the sea and dyed the water of the ocean ruddy with the blood of the foe. He took (as booty) many horses and captured many Damiḷas alive—Rajindabrahmamahārāja and Nandipadmara, Narasiṁhapadmara and Coḷakonāra—and again with great forces, burnt to the ground Vaḍamaṇamekkuṇḍi, Maṇamekkuṇḍi and Mañcakkuṇḍi.[21] Then having laid waste by fire a strip of the Cola country seven *gāvutas* (14 miles)

18. The fact that Kulasekhara can dare to attack Madhura which was formerly (p. 38) in Lankapura's hands, shows that so far he had suffered no overwhelming defeat. He even succeeds in enlisting the Colas in his cause'—Geiger, p. 97, *n.* 2.

19. The names of 21 others are given (74—81).

20. Madhura in v. 83 must be taken to refer not to the city but the kingdom; failure to grasp this has led Geiger into some difficulty in understanding the sense of the verses describing the following battle, which becomes quite clear if we realise that Lankapura was far from the city of Madhura and on the Pandya-Cola border, *Contra.* Geiger p. 28, *n.* 3 to v. 85.

21. The two villages last named still bear the same names and are found in Pattukkottai taluk of the Tanjore District—ARE. 1899 para. 32.

in extent and thus quelled the Colas, he returned thence ' (84—88), and when he reached the village Velaṅkuṇḍi, Nigaladha-rāya in whose territory it lay did not submit, but joined his King Kulaśekhara and several other generals[22] for another and a decisive battle against the invader at Ponnamarāvati, the Pāṇḍyan forces ' advancing from five sides ' (94). Once more Laṅkāpura won and Kulaśekhara fled, with the result that Nigaladha-rāyara submitted to Laṅkāpura who restored him to favour and ' gave him abundant money with which to rebuild his palace which had been burnt down.' (100). Then Laṅkāpura went to Niyama, settled the country by introducing the Ceylon currency (Kahāpaṇas stamped with the name of the ruler Parākkama), made over the government to Vīrapaṇḍu, ' and sent with speed to Sīhala the many horses, men and elephants captured from the Cola country and from the Paṇḍu land.' (102—3). And in memory of the conquest of the Paṇḍu country Parākramabāhu founded ' the splendid village Paṇḍu-vijaya by name, which prospered through all time ' (104—5).

At this point Geiger makes the following just observations: ' The narrative ends abruptly. One is faced by a series of questions which remain unanswered. What becomes of Kulaśekhara? What of the great coalition of South Indian princes, Colas and Paṇḍus, of whom at the most only a few individuals were conquered? Does Vīrapaṇḍu succeed in maintaining his power? Since Kulaśekhara did not fall in battle he will scarcely have left his rival in peace. What is Laṇkāpura's after fate? It is curious that his return to Ceylon is never mentioned and that there is no word of the distinctions bestowed on him by Parākkamabāhu. It is pretty clear that *the chronicler has concealed the failure which overtook the expedition after its initial success.* The ideal figure of Parākkama which he has in mind, must not be dimmed by association with any misfortune.'[23]

To get the answers to the questions raised by Geiger in the note just cited and to complete the story of the war we must turn to the evidence of inscriptions. The Ārpākkam inscription of the fifth year of Rājādhirāja II (A.D. 1168 or 1171) starts with the admission that the Ceylon army captured the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and drove out Rājā Kulaśekhara from Madura; the army then proceeded against the *sāmantas* (feudatories) of Rājādhirāja, and made war in the region of Toṇḍi and Pāśi, winning victories which struck terror into the hearts of the people in the Śolamaṇḍalam and elsewhere. Then, Ediriliśola Sāṁbuvarāya, who heard of all these happenings

22. *Viz.* Silameghara, Akalanka-nadalvara, Kandamba-rayara, Malayappa-rayara, Visalamutta-rayara, Kalavandi-nadalvara, and Punkonda-nadalvara, besides the troops of Tirinaveli—(91).

23. p. 100 *n.*1.

and whose son Pallavarāya had gone to the front in command of Chola forces, became greatly concerned and sought divine intercession through Svāmidevar, also called Umāpatideva and Jñānaśivadeva—an immigrant from Bengal, and requested him to ward off by prayer, sacrifice and worship the invasion of the Chola country by the wicked Ceylonese troops and the resulting harm to its temples and brahmins. Svāmidevar replied that he knew that the Ceylon army had stopped the worship in the temple of Rāmeśvaram and plundered its treasury; they had become Śivadrohis (offenders against Śiva) and he would try by occult means to bring down disaster on their enterprises. When, accordingly he had performed *pūjā* for full twenty-eight days, news reached Śāṁbuvarāya from his son that the *pradhānis* (chiefs) of Ceylon including Jayadratha and Laṅkāpuri and *Daṇḍanāyakas* and the entire Ceylon Army had sustained defeat.

We may not believe that Svāmidevar's occult powers procured the defeat of the Ceylon army, though they appear to have secured for him many sumptuous rewards in the form of a fertile village on this occasion besides other emoluments earlier, but for the rest of it the inscription seems to give a thoroughly dependable account. It gives a vivid account of the great successes of the invading army, and even rouses a suspicion that it exaggerates them with a view to furnishing a suitable background to the occult intercession of a holy man; but in view of the *Cūlavaṃsa* account we must accept the narration as substantially true. Only we get no decisive clue to the exact stage of the war to which this account relates. It will be remembered that the Ceylon chronicle mentions the capture of Toṇḍi and Pāśa by Laṅkāpura fairly early in the war.[24] This makes it probable that from the beginning Kulaśekhara commanded Chola support, which may indeed have been the reason for his opponent Parākrama Pāṇḍya turning to Ceylon for help and getting it.

The next inscription[25] mentioning the war is dated three years later and this gives a report of some further stage in the war. It begins by stating that Kulaśekhara was ousted from Madura by the Ceylon army, that he then entered the Chola country and appealed to its monarch for help to reinstate himself on the Paṇḍyan throne. The Chola ruler then ordered that Kulaśekhara was to be restored to his throne and that Laṅkāpura-daṇḍanāyaka and others were to be killed and their heads nailed to the gates of Madura. Pallavarāyar, also called Tuinccirrambalam-uḍaiyan Peruṁā-naṁbi, the same as the Pallavarāyar of the previous inscription, who was entrusted with these tasks, entertained Kulaśekhara

24. —76. 236.
25. —433 of 1924.

suitably during his stay in the Chola country, and having with his army resources and zeal, brought about the reconquest of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, he carried out his master's orders to the letter by nailing the heads of Laṅkāpuri daṇḍanāyaka and others to the gates of Madura. Kulaśekhara thereupon re-entered Madura, and thus was averted the conversion of the Pāṇḍya country into a province of Ceylon (*Pāṇḍi-naḍu Iḷanāḍāgādapaḍi parigarittu.*)

This record must be taken to refer particularly to the period during which Laṅkāpura was on the whole victorious and succeeded in seating Vīra Pāṇḍya on the throne of Madura for a time and sent Kulaśekhara into exile in the Chola country. There is an inscription of Vira Pāṇḍya at Suchīndram in South Travancore[26] which begins *Pū maḍandaiyum jayamaḍandaiyum* issued soon after his coronation; this may perhaps be assigned to the king enthroned by Laṅkāpura at Madura. If this view is correct, the exile of Kulaśekhara in the Chola country must have lasted for a period long enough to enable Vīra Pāṇḍya to enjoy the sweets of power and cause inscriptions engraved in his name in due form with a *praśasti* composed in his honour.[26a] This may well have been so. If we may trust the order of events as set down in the *Cūlavaṃsa*, king Kulaśekhara went to the Chola country some time after his attempted second attack on Madura which he made some time after the fall of Rājinā and the coronation of Vīra Pāṇḍya—events which mark the apogee of Laṅkāpura's success. On this assumption, Geiger's surmise that 'the chronicle has concealed the failure which overtook Laṅkāpura's expedition after its initial success' turns out to be perfectly true. Even in the initial stages, reading between his lines, we can see that Laṅkāpura's task was by no means easy; apparently Kulaśekhara's was the more popular cause in the Tamil country and even after many reverses, he finds it possible to put fresh armies in the field; at last he flees to the Chola country seeking more active assistance from its monarch; and the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription of the eight year (1171 or 1174 A.D.) of Rājādhirāja roundly asserts that the campaign went in the end definitely against the Ceylonese generals who suffered decapitation in the field, their heads being nailed to the city gates of the Pāṇḍya capital after Kulaśekhara was reinstated there. We may note in passing that this Chola inscription was recorded after the death of Pallavarāyar—the chief actor in the early stages of the war.

But this again was by no means the end of the war or of Parākramabāhu's political interest in South India. But of this

26. JAS. ii. pp. 18 ff.

26*a* But the inscription may have also been issued after the later restoration under Kulottunga.

later phase we have only the evidence of one Tamil inscription (in duplicate) of the twelfth year of Rājādhirāja, *i. e.*, dated four years after the last record we have so far noticed, which carries the story of the war one stage further and gives some very interesting details; both being gifts of land to two eminent soldiers who distinguished themselves on the Chola side, one from North Arcot and the other from Tanjore district. The record is very damaged and even its two copies read together leave some baffling gaps. The general from North Arcot was also a Pallavarāyar distinguished by the prefix Aṇṇan (elder brother) and bearing the alternative name Palaiyanūr-uḍaiyan Vedavanam-uḍaiyān Ammaiyappan. In recounting his services to the state, the inscription gives a brief account of the war up to the restoration of Kulaśekhara stressing the part of Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan in the campaigns of this phase, and then proceeds to narrate his special contribution to the later stages in the struggle. He heard, it is said, that the Sinhalese king Parākramabāhu, loath to accept failure, had set about preparing for another attack on the Chola king and his *protege* Kulaśekhara, and concentrating his forces and building ships in Uratturai (Kayts), Pulaicceri, Mātoṭṭam (Mantota), Vallikāmam, and Maṭṭivāḷ (Mattuvil?). To counteract this, Annan Pallavarāyan, acting for the Chola monarch, got into touch with Srī Vallabha, the nephew (*marumaganār*) of the king of Ceylon. That prince had been a rival claimant to the Ceylonese throne, suffered a crushing defeat in a war of succession that had preceded Parākramabāhu's accession, and been forced to march in front or his triumphal procession. He had fled to the mainland to make common cause with the enemies of Parākramabāhu, and now became a convenient tool in the hands of Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan. The Chola general sent an expedition against Ceylon with Srī Vallabha at its head; several places in Ceylon including Pulaiccesi and Mātoṭṭam were captured and many elephants seized. An area extending over twenty kādams from east to west and seventy kādams from north to south[27] was devasted by fire and the local chieftains killed and many inhabitants taken captive. The booty taken was then duly presented to the Chola king by Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan who had thus successfully counteracted the designs of Parākramabāhu. We do not know the exact details of how the expedition ended; but our inscription makes it clear that Parākramabāhu now gave up the military road to the achievement of his objects and resorted to diplomacy instead. He recognised that his attempt to support Parākrama Pāṇḍya's line and keep Kulaśekhara out of the Pāṇḍya throne had not only failed in itself, but was threatening to undermine his own position in Ceylon by reviving the civil strife that had prevailed before he unified Ceylon. He appears to have made up his mind

27. If *kadam* is the same as *gavuta*, the area involved would be roughly 40 miles by 140.

to recognize Kulaśekhara as the rightful Pāṇḍyan king and enter into a close alliance with him which would at once wean him from his attachment to the Chola and revive the time-honoured alignment of political power by which Ceylon, and Pāṇḍya (and Kerala) would be ranged together against the Chola. Our inscription roundly affirms that Kulaśekhara lost all consideration for the good done to him before by the Chola king and resolved to enter into an alliance with the king of Ceylon and to co-operate with him in hostilities *against the Chola kingdom—Pāṇḍiyanār Kulaśekharar tamakku munbu śeyda nanmaigaḷum pārāde Īḷattānuḍane sambandam paṇṇavam ivanun ivaruṅgūḍa ninru śola-rajyattukku virodamāyiruppana seyyavungaḍavadāga niccayittu.* In accordance with this plan, he drove to the north bank of the Veḷḷaru (*i.e.*, into the Chola kingdom, as that river was the boundary between the two countries) the people of Eḷagam (a village near Madura which furnished recruits to the army) and the Marava *Samantas* who were loyal to the Chola monarch and engaged in his service such as Rājarājak-Karkuḍiya rāya and Rājagaṁbhīra-Ancukoṭṭainādḷāvān, and also removed from the gates of Madura the heads of Ilaṅkāpuri daṇḍanāyakka and Jagatraya-daṇḍanāyakka and others pinned to those gates (by the elder Pallavarāyar who had reinstated Kulaśekhara, in Madura) and entered on a generally hostile course of action against the Chola. Meanwhile some letters and presents from Parākramabāhu meant for the partisans and generals of Kulaśekhara were intercepted and the treachery of the Pāṇḍya ruler stood revealed in all its starkness. Now Chola policy underwent a change corresponding to that of Parākramabāhu. Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan was ordered to expel Kulaśekhara who was hostile to the Chola interests, and seek out and instal in Madura Vira Pāṇḍya, the son of Parakrama Pāṇḍya who had ruled there some years before. This assignment was quickly (Śurukkina nāḷaikkuḷḷē *i.e.*, in a few days) fulfilled by Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan who was duly rewarded by his king with a gift of land. An inscription [28] of the sixth year of Kulottuṅga III (1184), the immediate successor of Rājādhirāja II appears to mention an otherwise unknown incident in this war in its last phase; it says the images of the temple of Tiruccembon paḷḷi-uḍaiyar in Śambanārkōvil (Vulgo for Śembonār-Kōvil) had to be removed elsewhere for safe custody during the troubled time (durita-kālamāy) in the eleventh year of Rājādhirāja II. This makes it probable that at some stage Kulaśekhara and Parākramabāhu led an expedition into the heart of the Chola country. But the Chola success was definite and Rājādhiraja now assumed the title of 'Captor of Madurai and Ilam.' [29]

28. 171 of 1925.
29. 36 of 1906.

Of these later phases of the war we do not hear at all in the *Cūlavaṃsa*. Even the Chola inscriptions, we have just seen, do not gve the full details and evidently suppress the failures and defeats that may have befallen the Chola armies. But even the installation of Vira Pāṇḍya by the Chola was not the end of the story. We have inscriptions of Kulottuṅga III which show that the war and Ceylonese interest in it continued far into his reign. And beyond doubt the events of the first years of Kulottuṅga's reign (1178—86) occurred in the last years of Parākramabāhu. The detailed account of these occurrences is first found in an inscription of the ninth year of Kulottuṅga III (which began in June, 1176); so it is doubtful if Parākramabāhu actually lived to hear of the further defeat suffered by a Ceylon army recorded in the inscription; but there is no doubt that he did not drop the thread of his policy in South India when Vira Pāṇḍya was put back on the throne of Madura by the Cholas. Once more he found it easy to win over Vira Pāṇḍya to his side with the result that Kulottuṅga made up his mind to support a certain Vikrama Pāṇḍya who appealed to him for aid and a new war again with Vira Pāṇḍya began, an army from Ceylon again fighting on the side of Vira Pāṇḍya. But the story need not be pursued here beyond the reign of Parākramabāhu.

Thus we see that in South India Parākramabāhu pursued the steady policy of supporting the Pāṇḍya against the Chola which was more or less the settled policy of Ceylon in this period of Chola ascendancy. He did it amidst great difficulties as his allies on the mainland were time-servers who changed sides according to their estimates of their own immediate interests; and at one stage the Chola commanders caught hold of his nephew Srī Vallabha and nearly succeeded in throwing Ceylon once more into the turmoil of a civil war such as Parākramabāhu had to wage with his brother Mānābharaṇa (father of Srī Vallabha) before his definitive accession to the throne followed by the unification of Ceylon under his sway. Parākramabāhu though he attained no shining or stable success in his Pāṇḍyan policy, was well able to keep within strict limits the repercussions of that policy on the internal economy of Ceylon; and this clear knowledge of limits and his capacity to keep within them without straining his resources unduly is not the least of his claims to be counted among the great rulers of the Island of Lankā.

THE IRRIGATION WORKS OF KING PARĀKKAMABĀHU I

By

Mr. C. W. NICHOLAS

Head of the Department of Wild Life, Ceylon. Has published considerable research on epigraphical records in Ceylon.

The following abbreviations are used:—

Cul	:	*Cūlavaṃsa*
M	:	*Mahāvaṃsa*
Puj	:	*Pujāvaliya*
E.Z.	:	*Epigraphia Zeylanica*
E.H.B.	:	*Early History of Buddhism*
J.R.A.S. (C.B.)	:	*Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
A.S.C.A.R.	:	*Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report*
A.R.D.I.	:	*Administrative Report of the Director of Irrigation*
C.J.S. (G)	:	*Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G*

PART I

THE planning and execution of the many and varied works of restoration, improvement and new construction initiated by Parākkamabāhu I occupied two separate but consecutive periods, (i) the earlier, described in Chapter 68 of the *Cūlavaṁsa* under the heading, " The improvement of his own Kingdom," when he was Prince of Dakkhiṇadesa, and (ii) the later, during his reign as King over the whole Island. He succeeded to the rulership of the Principality of Dakkhiṇadesa on the death of his uncle, Kittisirimegha: and his seat was at Saṅkhanāyakatthalī, or Saṅkhanāthatthalī or Saṅkhatthalī.[1] At this time Dakkhiṇadesa was an area whose approximate boundaries were:—on the North, the Kalā Oya; on the East, the Eastern half of Mātalē District through Uḍa Dumbara to Adam's Peak; and on the South, the Bentoṭa River.

1. *Cul.* (*Culavamsa*) 63.43; 64.22; 66.9; 67.78—95. The Sinhalese equivalent would be Hakgoda or Sakgoda, but the name has not survived. It was 5 gavutas (10 to 12 miles) Westward of modern Batalagoda. Codrington suggests the neighbourhood of Kurunagala or the old gabadagam of Havuluva or Visinavaya. (*J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*) XXIX.74).

The Chronicle makes it clear that from early manhood Parākkamabāhu cherished the ambition of becoming supreme overlord of Lankā. All his activities thereafter, in the economic, political and propaganda spheres, were directed towards that end. Upon succeeding to the rulership of Dakkhiṇadesa he devoted his energies towards making his Principality self-sufficient in food and resources for the military campaign which would become necessary before he could annex the other two Principalities of Rājaraṭṭha and Rohaṇa. His first act was to establish military posts all along his frontiers: then he proceeded to the construction of irrigation works. It was at this incipient stage of the development of his Principality that he is said to have given utterance to the injunction, " not even a little water that comes from the rain must flow into the ocean without being made useful to man."[2] In Dakkhiṇadesa the area under cultivation by irrigation from artificial channels or large, storage reservoirs was very small: the water-supply for the great majority of the fields was rain water collected in small village tanks. Considerable tracts of land were swamps, thick forest and mountainous regions, particularly in the Wet Zone.[3] Parākkamabāhu's first big undertaking was to harness the waters of a large river and for this purpose he chose the Jajjarānadī (Däduru Oya).

Across this river he built at different points three dams which were the headworks of three river-diversion irrigation schemes. The first and lowest dam was known as the Koṭṭhabaddha dam[4]: it was an old work in ruin and its maintenance had created difficulties for former kings. Parākkamabāhu's engineers explained the impracticability of securing its permanence after its restoration, but the Prince was optimistic and encouraged the prosecution of the work. First, a canal, broad, deep and secure, was constructed from the dam site to the Rattakara district[5]: then the dam was built very carefully and solidly, " a dam in which the joints of the stones were scarcely to be seen, very firm, massive, like to a solid rock, and provided with a complete coating of stucco."[6] The water diverted by the dam was discharged through the canal to the sea. On both sides of the canal, vast extents of land were cleared and brought under irrigated cultivation and this entire area was named Koṭṭhabaddha after the dam. Its identification will be discussed later.

---

2. *Cul.* 68.11.
3. *Cul.* 68.6—15.
4. *Cul.* 68.16—31. The Sinhalese equivalent would be Kotubada.
5. *Cul.* 68.23. Codrington suggests Ratkarauva, about 5 miles N.W. of Kurunagala, but it is impossible to convey water from the Daduru Oya to that locality. (*J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*) XXIX.70).
6. *Cul.* 68.26—27, 30-31.

The second irrigation scheme on the river was the construction of a dam at Sūkaranijjhara at the confluence of the two tributaries Sankhavaḍḍhamānaka (Hakvaṭuna Oya) and Kumbhīlavāna (Kimbulvāna Oya).[7] From the dam, a canal conducted the water to Mahāgallaka tank (present Māgallavāva at Nikavaraṭiya) which had been built some 850 years earlier by King Mahāsena.[8] The bund of Mahāgallaka tank was strengthened and a larger weir was constructed to enable it to contain and discharge the additional water brought down by the new, feeder canal.[9]

The third irrigation scheme[10] on the Däduru Oya was the construction of a dam at the place called Dorādattika together with a canal issuing there-from which irrigated the area as far as Sūkaranijjhara (the site of the second dam). This third scheme, therefore, was higher up the river than the second. The restoration of Tilagullaka tank (identified by Codrington as the breached and abandoned Talagallavāva, about 4 miles North-East of the Däduru Oya causeway on the Pādeṇiya-Anurādhapura road) was a necessary complement to the third scheme and its restoration is also recorded in the Chronicle.[11]

No difficulty arises in identifying the second and third of these works with the visible remains of them on the ground. Parker[12] made a full report on the Däduru Oya basin in 1889, and Brohier[13] has brought together the earlier and subsequent histories of the projects which Parker investigated. There was an ancient dam just below Dēmōdera, the place of junction of the Hakvaṭuna and Kimbulvāna Oyas, which the Chronicle calls Sūkaranijjhara. Parker describes its condition in 1889 as follows:— "this is a substantial stone dam having a discharging length of 280 feet, a height of 15 feet in the deeper part and a breadth varying from 33 to 57 feet. The work in the Southern part of the dam, against which a bend in the river deflected the current, consists of 5 courses of wedged, oblong stones, under which are rough stones in irregular courses. In the Northern part of the dam, with the exception of the course of rough flat slabs on the crest, all the masonry consists of large, rough boulders packed with smaller ones. The weight of some of the larger stones is about 10½ tons. No mortar is visible in any part of the work. A channel was cut from the North

7. *Cul.* 68,32—36.
8. *M* 37.48; *Puj.* 24.
9. *Cul.* 68. 34—35 and 43.
10. *Cul.* 68. 37—38.
11. *Cul.* 68.44.
12. "Report on the proposed Deduru Oya project," by H. Parker, *S.P.* 111 of 1889.
13. Brohier (*Ancient Irrigation Works in Ceylon*, by R. L. Brohier), Part 3.

side of the river starting at a short distance above the dam. Its destination is not known with certainty but it is believed—and the belief is supported by tradition—that its object was to divert water to a large tank called Talagalawewa, on the right bank of the Deduru Oya, and also to irrigate land lying between the channel and that river."

The waters impounded by the dam at Dēmōdera were conducted along a channel to Talagallaväva, and the excess passed over the spillway of that tank and down the stream known as the Talagalla Äḷa to rejoin the Däduru Oya at Ebavalapiṭiya (about one mile West of the Däduru Oya causeway on the Pādeniya—Anurādhapura road) where the Talagalla Äḷa enters the Däduru Oya: but here (Ebavalapiṭiya) they were trapped again by a second and larger dam and diverted along the long canal now called Ridībändi Äla to Māgallaväva. Parker's description of the ruined dam at Ebavalapiṭiya is as follows:— " the existing remains show clearly that it was one of the finest of the ancient anicuts of Ceylon. Its object was to turn water into Magallawewa and the Channel (Ridibendi Ela) was, I believe, 8½ miles long. The anicut is 360 feet long and 40 feet wide: 135 feet at the middle of the river have been altogether washed away. The surface and face stones are carefully and well cut and are laid in lime mortar. The joints are rarely more than ¼ inch wide and the stones in the down-stream face are fitted together most carefully and ingeniously. The inner work consists of common, undressed rubble laid in lime concrete of excellent quality, a fact which appears to prove that the work is of much later date than the tank to which it was constructed to lead water."

The only channel which enters Māgallaväva is the Ridībändi Äḷa from the Ebavalapiṭiya dam: this, therefore, is undoubtedly Parākkamabāhu's second scheme on the Däduru Oya. But the Chronicle, while treating the second scheme (Sūkaranijjhara dam—canal—Mahāgalla tank=Ebavalapiṭiya dam—Ridībändi Äla—Māgallaväva) and the third scheme (Dorādattika dam—canal—Sūkaranijjhara=Dēmōdera dam — äla — Talagallaväva — Ebavalapiṭiya) as separate schemes, confuses their respective headworks by locating the dam for the second scheme at the confluence of the Hakvaṭuna and Kimbulvāna Oyas. The Ridībändi Äḷa was recently restored on the directions of the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake when he was Minister of Agriculture and Lands, but in the modern restoration the ancient dam at Ebavalapiṭiya was not included and a new dam was built about 2½ miles upstream. The bund of Māgallaväva is now a little over a mile in length, and the capacity of the tank is 6,205 acre feet: the irrigable area under it is 5,000 acres. [14]

14. A.R.D.I. (*Administration Report of the Director of Irrigation*) 1952.

The location of Parākkamabāhu's first scheme (Koṭṭhabaddha-Rattakara) on the Däduru Oya remains to be considered. The Chronicle states that a dam of exceptional strength and solidity was required and that the canal to which it gave rise bore the water to the sea: these two facts point to a situation in the lower course of the river in the vicinity of the boundary between the Kurunägala and Puttalam Districts. Brohier states that the tanks round Battulu Oya (10 miles North of Chilaw) " were kept full by the Kalagamu Oya, the Rattambala Oya, and by that connection with the Deduru Oya which we call the Sengal Oya," and that " there was another canal from the Deduru Oya to Munnesswaram tank which brought down water sufficient for the irrigation of all the lands between Chilaw and the river." [15] No ruins survive of the great Koṭṭhabaddha dam: it needed repairs during Parākkamabāhu's reign,[16] and the forebodings of his engineers as to its impermanence apparently came true within a few years. The Sengal Oya, in all probability, represents the canal which once bore the waters which it held back. If this identification is correct, the area between the Rattambala Oya and the Däduru Oya was the Koṭṭhabaddha District of Parākkamabāhu's time.

Having completed his projects on the Däduru Oya, Parākkamabāhu turned his attention to his new seat of government, Parakkamapura, (present Paṇḍuvas-nuvara ruins, near Heṭṭipola) where he had built a palace. Here, there was an ancient tank named Paṇḍavāpi or Pāṇḍaväva which had been restored by Vijayabāhu I. [17] This tank was greatly enlarged by Parākkamabāhu by extending its bund across the Koḷamuna Oya to a length of nearly 1½ miles and a height of 24 feet, so that it submerged 1,000 to 1,200 acres. On an island in the tank he built a royal pleasure house of 3 storeys and a cetiya on the summit of a rock. [18] (In 1805 the bund was breached by a flood and has remained breached ever since). [19] To this new work at his new capital, Parākkamabāhu gave the name Parakkamasamudda [20] or " Sea of Parakkama." This was the first Parakkamasamudda, also known as Bāṇa Samudra or Bāṇa[21]: the second and much larger Parakkamasamudda was constructed at Polonnaruva after he became King.

The Prince also gave his attention to the larger, existing tanks in Dakkhiṇadesa which needed repairs or were capable of

15. Brohier, Part 3, 6, 9.
16. *Cul.* 79. 66—67.
17. *Cul.* 60. 48.
18. *Cul.* 68. 41—42.
19. Brohier, Part 1, 4.
20. *Cul.* 68. 39—42; *C.J.S.* (*G*) I, 159—160.
21. *Puj.* 34; E.Z. II. 116. This identification was first made by Paranavitana.

improvement. The *Cūlavaṃsa* states that he restored or improved 53 of them and gives the names of 37.[22] Those named, in addition to Mahāgallaka and Tilagullaka tanks, which have already been mentioned, are:—

(1) Seṭṭhivāpi, present Heṭṭipola in Girātalāna Kōralē.

(2) Chattunnatavāpi, not identified.

(3) Tabbāvāpi, identified by Codrington as Tabbovaväva in Rājavanni Pattuva. This is a major work:—length of bund 1 1/8 miles, capacity 7,900 acre feet, irrigable area 1,057 acres.[23]

(4) Ambavāsāvāpi, identified by Codrington as Vāsiyāva near Nikavaraṭiya.

(5) Giribāvāpi, identified by Codrington as Giribāva, about 5 miles West of the Kalā Oya causeway on the Pādeniya-Anurādhapura road.

(6) Pāṭalavāpi, (Sinh., Palolväva), not identified.

(7) Maṇḍikavāpi, identified by Codrington as Mäḍiyāva, 3 miles North of Māhō. A major work:— length of bund 3/4 mile; capacity 2,475 acre feet, irrigable area 958 acres.[24]

(8) Moravāpi, probably the large, breached tank South of the Kalā Oya in the North-West corner of Nāgampaha Kōralē, N.C.P. This tank gave its name to the Moravāpi or Moriya District.[25]

(9) Sādiyaggāmavāpi, present Hātigamuva Mahaväva, close to and North of the 20th mile on the Māhō-Nikaväva road.

(10) Mālavaliivāpi, also called Mālavalliya,[26] probably Malayavelliya, near Chilaw.

(11) Kālivāpi, identified by Codrington as Kaliyavadana, a large irrigation work in Piṭigal Kōralē North. Vasabha (127—171) built Kālivāpi, also known as Keḷivāsa, Kāḷivasā and Keḷavasā.[27]

(12) Kittakaṇḍakavāpi, not identified.

---

22. *Cul.* 68. 43—50.
23. *A.R.D.I.*, 1952.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *University of Ceylon Review*, IX, 34.
26. *Cul.* 70. 67.
27. *M* 35.95; *M.T.* 653; *Puj.* 21, 27.

(13) Kaṇṇikāragallakavāpi, present Velangolla, a breached tank about 4 miles West of the 13th mile on the Ibbāgamuva-Polpitigama road.

(14) Buddhagāmakanijjhara, identified by Storey as Mānikdeṇa, about 2 miles West of the 38th mile on the Mātalē-Dambulla road: the restoration here was of an anicut.

(15) Sūkaraggāmavāpi, identified by Codrington as Ūrapotta in Kiniyama Kōralē, on the left bank of the Däduru Oya.

(16) Mahākirāḷavāpi, identified by Codrington as Mahagirilla, about 5 miles North of Nikavaraṭiya.

(17) Giriyāvāpi, identified by Codrington as Galgiriyāva, East-ward of the 8th mile on the Galgamuva-Nikaväva road.

(18) Rakkhamānavāpi, present Rakvāna, near Moragollāgama in Nikavagampahē Kōralē.

(19) Ambālavāpi, identified by Codrington as Ambālē, near the 31st mile on the Kurunägala-Puttalam road.

(20) Kaṭunnaruvāpi, which had earlier been restored by Vijayabāhu I, [28] probably Katnōruva, about 4 miles North of the 7th mile on the Galgamuva-Nikaväva road.

(21) Jallibāvavāpi, not identified.

(22) Uttarālavāpi, not identified.

(23) Tintiṇigāmavāpi, identified by Codrington as Siyambalagamuva, a large, breached tank about 1 mile East of the 44th mile on the Pādeniya-Anurādhapura road.

(24) Dhavalaviṭṭhikagāmavāpi, (Sinh., Davalaviṭiya), not identified.

(25) Kirāvāpi, identified by Codrington as Kirāväva, about 10 miles East of Chilaw.

(26) Naḷannaruvāpi, not identified.

(27) Karaviṭṭhavilattavāpi, identified by Codrington as Karaviṭa and Vilattāva tanks near Bingiriya. Later, Parākkamabāhu restored the anicut at Vilattākhaṇḍa. [29]

(28) Udumbaragāmavāpi. There are several Divulvävas.

(29) Munaruvāpi, identical with Muhunnaru, [30] present Malaganē, 2 miles S.E. of Heṭṭipola.

28. *Cul.* 60.49.

29. *Cul.* 79. 28—37.

30. *Cul.* 58. 42—44; E.Z. IV. 185.

(30) Kasāllavāpi, present Kahālla, 1 mile West of the 18th mile on the Kalāväva-Galēvela road.

(31) Kalalahallikavāpi, restored earlier by Vijayabāhu, I,[31] probably present Maḍahāpola, about 5 miles North of the 16th mile on the Kurunägala-Dambulla road.

(32) Mūlavārikavāpi, not identified.

(33) Girisigāmukavāpi, present Galgamuva tank. Length of bund, nearly 1/4 mile; capacity, 6,450 acre feet; irrigable area, 403 acres.[32]

(34) Polonnarutalavāpi, probably Polontalāva, 15 miles South-West of Nikavaraṭiya.

(35) Visirātthalavāpi, not identified.

Finally, Parākkamabāhu drained into the rivers the great marshes and swamps in Pañcayojana District (Pasdun Kōralēs) which made that District nearly an uninhabited wilderness, and thereby rendered large extents of new land cultivable.[33] Having, by these numerous works of improvement and development, ensured an adequate food supply for all needs in his Principality of Dakkhiṇadesa and augmented his revenues from the taxes on largely increased production, the Prince completed his preparations for the armed struggle ahead.

PART II

Parākkamabāhu I reigned from 1153 to 1186 and the physical efforts of the people during those 33 years were prodigious. The reign opened with a great uprising in Rohaṇa which was suppressed after a long and bitter struggle. A few years later a second rebellion broke out in Rohaṇa, to be followed by a third which originated in the Mannār District. Military efforts of a much bigger nature than the suppression of internal insurrection had also to be undertaken: expeditionary forces were despatched to carry out invasions overseas, one to Burma and the other to South India. The building activities were stupendous. The City of Polonnaruva, such as we know it from its ruins today, was built in the main during Parākkamabāhu's reign. Anurādhapura, which was in ruin, was restored: its numerous ruined and damaged structures and buildings, including the colossal thūpas, were rebuilt. All over the kingdom old temples were repaired and new

31. *Cul.* 60. 49; 70. 73.
32. *A.R.D.I.* 1952.
33. *Cul.* 68. 51—53.

ones constructed. The figures given in the Chronicle for the irrigation works carried out are astonishing[34]:—

Anicuts constructed or restored	165
Canals constructed or restored	3,910
Major tanks constructed or restored ...	163
Minor tanks constructed or restored ...	2,376
Stone sluices constructed or restored ...	341
Breaches repaired	1,753

The second, and much larger, Parakkamasamudda, "that King of reservoirs," is given pride of place in the Chronicle in the list of irrigation works of the reign. It was formed "by damming the Kāra Gaṅgā by a great dam between the hills and bringing its mighty flood of water hither by means of a vast canal called the Ākāsagaṅgā."[35] The identity of the ancient Parakkamasamudda with the present, restored reservoir at Polonnaruva to which the same name has now been given, admits of no doubt. King Nissanka Malla, as he was wont to do, renamed it Nissanka Samudra,[36] but neither this name nor the name which Parakkamabāhu gave it endured, except in literature. Before the modern restoration commenced, there were two separate tanks, Tōpāväva at Polonnaruva and Dumbutuluväva further south, but the ancient bund, though breached and eroded in places, was continuous. It is clear from the Chronicle, too, in which four channels which issued from the great tank are stated to have passed close to specified sites outside the walled City, that Parakkamasamudda was at Polonnaruva.[37] The remains of the headworks and of the feeder canal therefrom (also now restored) proved that the dam at Aṅgamädilla on the Amban Gaṅga and the Aṅgamädilla channel which conducted the water diverted by the dam, were the main source by which Parakkamasamudda was formerly filled. As Codrington and Hocart concluded,[38] the Kāra Gaṅgā is the Amban Gaṅga and the Ākāsagaṅgā the Aṅgamädilla channel. The *Pūjavaliya* states that King Mahāsena "dammed the Kara Gaṅga to supply water to Minihiriväva" (Minnēriya)[39]: the reference here is to the dam on the Amban Gaṅga at Älahära. The Amban Gaṅga was, therefore, known as the Kara Gaṅga in ancient and medieval times.

34. *Cul.* 79. 23—84.
35. *Cul.* 79. 24—26.
36. *A.S.C.A.R.* 1911—12, 100.
37. *Cul.* 79. 40—45 and 48.
38. *Short History of Ceylon* by H. W. Codrington, 64,74; and A. M. Hocart in *C.J.S.* (*G*) I. 161.
39. *Puj.* 24.

Some 10 miles further up the river the districts through which it flowed were called Ambavana and Sūra-ambavana in the 12th century, and even today a part of this region is known as Ambana[40]: the older name, Kara Gaṅga, appears to have been replaced by Amban Gaṅga in comparatively recent times. Its main tributary is now known as the Kalu Gaṅga which is an equivalent for Kara Gaṅga. The Kalu Gaṅga was dammed at Hattoṭa (near Pallēgama) at an elevation of 500 feet and the water was conveyed Northward along a canal, now ruined, which appears to come to an abrupt termination after about 16 miles. The local tradition is that this canal formerly continued a further 12 miles and entered the Amban Gaṅga just above the Āḷahära anicut, but only one short length of the old bund is now recognisable on the ground in this section. Brohier[41] conjectures that over this section which is "particularly rugged and broken up by parcels of precipitous country—the water was carried over these rocky ledges in a series of aqueducts" of which all traces have vanished. If the tradition is true, then the Hattoṭa Amuṇa, some 30 miles above Äḷahära, was the source of the Miṇṇēriya-Giritalē-Kantalai irrigation system, and, as will be shown later, a subsidiary source for the Parakkama-samudda system.

The Chronicle gives the names of 7 sluices on the Parakkama-samudda and of 11 channels which led water away from it: these bear the names of ancient and sacred places in India and appear to be honorific.[42] It is also stated that two canals issued from the tank Toyavāpi.[43] Toyavāpi (Tōpāväva) is also called Thusavāpi, and, according to the Sinhalese Chronicles, was built by a 4th century King[44]: when Parakkamasamudda was completed Tōpāväva would have been absorbed by it, but the old name was apparently retained for the uppermost portion of the new reservoir.

Parakkamasamudda had a subsidiary source of water supply from the North-West by channel from Giritaḷākavāpi (Giritaḷaväva) through two intervening tanks named Kaddūravaḍḍhamānaka or Kaduruvaḍunnā (probably present, breached Dambalaväva) and Arimaddavijayaggāma (probably present, also breached, Divulāna-kaḍavalaväva).[45] This link connected and united two gigantic irrigation systems, both originating in the Amban Gaṅga, the older system with headworks at Äḷahära (or Hattoṭa?) and including

40. *Cul.* 48.25; 66.85; 69.9; 70.87, 191,311; 72.178; and Codrington in *J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*) XXIX, 67.
41. R. L. Brohier in *J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*) XXXIV, 79—80.
42. *Cul.* 79. 40—48.
43. *Cul.* 79. 46.
44. *Cul.* 37.124; 50.73; *Puj.* 26; *Raj.* 54.
45. *Cul.* 79. 55—56; *Puj.* 34.

Miṇṇēriya, Giritaḷē, Kavuḍulla (now breached) and Kantalai tanks, and the later system with headworks at Aṅgamädilla and including Parakkamasamudda and the network of channels and smaller tanks under it. The mingling of the waters of different rivers, flowing in different directions, by artificial connections, is one of the most impressive features of the ancient Sinhalese irrigation system.

At intervals along the bund of Parakkamasamudda there were erected inscribed stone pillars, and several of these have been recovered. [46] On two sides are verses in Sanskrit and Sinhalese respectively that the bund was the work of Parākkamabāhu I: the third side bears a variable text in Sinhalese that the distance between specified pillars was so many cubits (*riyan*) equal to the length of the bund of some well-known tank. For example:—

2nd to 3rd pillar, 1,135 cubits, Gäṭupväva. [47]

3rd to 4th pillar, 4,300 cubits, Gaṅgatalāväva (Kantalay).

4th to 5th pillar, 3,200 cubits, Padīväva (Padaviya).

5th to 6th pillar, 1,700 cubits, Kalāväva.

6th to 7th pillar, 1,600 cubits, Kaṇādiyadaraväva (Kaṇadarāva.)

The object evidently was to demonstrate ocularly that the length of the bund of Parakkamasamudda was greater than the aggregate lengths of the bunds of a number of well-known, major tanks, and that therefore it was, as the Chronicle calls it, " the King of reservoirs."

The Aṅgamädilla dam was built at the spot where the Amban Gaṅga flows through a narrow gap in the Sudukanda range of hills. Large blocks of hewn stone were used to construct the dam over the rocky bed of the river. The broad canal (Aṅgamädilla Äḷa) which took off from here divided, some miles from its source, into two branches, one entering Parakkamasamudda and the other winding along far to the North and terminating, probably, in the Miṇṇēri Oya.

Brohier's description of it is as follows[48] :— " the channel from Angamedilla anicut has been traced for a distance of 24 miles. When the large tank functioned, such a length of

46. *C.J.S.* (*G*) I. 168, 173; *A.S.C.A.R.* 1937, 10.

47. The *Pujavaliya* (24) ascribes to Mahasena the construction of Gatupvava. Mahinda III built the Gettumba canal and donated its revenues to Abhayagiri Vihara (Cul. 49.41).

48. " The Inter-relation of Groups of Ancient Reservoirs and Channels in Ceylon," by R. L. Brohier, *J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*), XXXIV, 85.

channel was of course, unnecessary. Two reasons might be urged to explain why this 24-mile length of channel came into being. It is possible that the channel served a chain of small tanks before the larger project was taken up. Or it may be, that when the larger schemes fell into disrepair and ruin as a result of the recurring strife which wasted the organisations and interfered with the system for obtaining the combined labour of the whole local community, this channel was extended from time to time for direct channel irrigation, or as a feeder to smaller tanks and Topawewa." This channel was probably the Godāvarī canal to be referred to later.

As now restored, the bund of Parakkamasamudda is nearly 8½ miles long and its average height is about 40 feet above normal ground level. The area of the tank is 5,350 acres and its capacity is 80,000 acre feet: the irrigable area under it is 18,200 acres. (For comparison, the areas of other large tanks and of the new Gal Oya reservoir are here given:—

Iranamaḍu, 6,400 acres;
Kalāväva, 6,380 acres;
Miṇṇēriya, 4,670 acres;
Giant's Tank, 4,547 acres;
Nāccaduva, 4,408 acres; *and*
Gal Oya, 19,200 acres).[49]

There were two other large tanks which, like Parakkamasamudda, bore the King's name. One was Parakkamatāḷaka, which had a stone built sluice of 100 cubits (150 feet). [50] The scanty information available about it does not admit of its identification. The other was Parakkamasāgara, called Matisāgara in the *Pūjavaliya*, which, in Geiger's translation of the *Culavaṃsa*, is described as " having its flood-escape walled up ": this, of course, could not have been the case because the floods would then have over-topped and breached the bund. Parakkamasāgara, like Parakkamasamudda, was filled by the waters of the Kāra Gaṅgā (Amban Gaṅga) by means of a canal named Godāvarī.[51] The canal which issued from the Aṅgamädilla dam on the Amban Gaṅga and filled Parakkamasamudda was the Ākāsagaṅgā: from it a branch flowed, as has already been described, far to the North-ward. This was, in all probability, the Godāvarī canal which filled Parakkamasāgara (or Matisāgara): Brohier's conjecture as to its purpose has been quoted earlier. Parakkamasāgara appears, therefore,

49. *Administration Report of the Director of Irrigation* for 1952.
50. *Cul.* 79. 27.
51. *Cul.* 79. 28, 57; *Puj.* 34.

to have been a reservoir situated to the North of Polonnaruva, between Parakkamasamudda and the Miṇṇēri Oya. *Samudda* and *sāgara* both mean an ocean or sea, but the latter term was used, in naming this reservoir, in a diminutive sense because Parakkamasamudda was undoubtedly the bigger work.

Of the 29 canals mentioned in the *Culavaṃsa* as having been constructed by Parākkamabāhu I, the Sinhalese Chronicle, *Pūjavaliya*, mentions only one, Aciravatī.[52] This canal took off from the Mahaväli Gaṅga West-ward, and it had 4 branches which flowed. East-ward (towards the river): from the point at which the Aciravatī canal originated, another canal, named Gomatī, flowed East-ward, to east of the river, and it had a branch which flowed North-ward. The only spot on the Mahaväli Gaṅga with remains of an ancient dam and canals taking off to right and left is about ½ a mile upstream of the large island in the river, now known as Kalinganuvara, due South of Polonnaruva. Over the rocky bed of the river at this spot a great, stone dam of massive hewn blocks was formerly built. (The name, Kalinganuvara, for the Island and the ruins on it, is a modern misnomer. The ruins are not those of a *nuvara* or town but of a monastery. This was the spot at Sahassatittha (Dāstoṭa) where the ceremony of the ordination of monks used to be held in medieval times)[53]. The left bank channel, Aciravatī (marked on modern maps as "Kalinga Yodi Ela") has been surveyed for many miles to North of the Amban Gaṅga and beyond the Miṇṇēri Oya, 8 miles North-ward of Polonnaruva, and in Brohier's opinion, "the size of the earth-work and the width of the bed afford definite evidence that it was meant to carry a much greater volume of water than irrigation confined to the small area South of the Amban Ganga: it is almost a certainty, therefore, that this channel was carried across the Amban Ganga by using some temporary structure—namely, an earth-bank, or a stick-dam." Brohier is also of the opinion that when the Parakkamasamudda system was in operation "the Kalinga Ela (Aciravatī) which lies between it and the Mahaveli Ganga could have served little purpose. Did these parallel schemes function at one and the same time?"[54] The Gomatī canal which flowed to the East on the right bank of the river has been surveyed for a distance of 21 miles to a point North of Dimbulāgala (Gunner's Quoin): for the greater part of its length the water was conveyed between two bunds about 70 feet apart and rarely exceeding 8 feet in height.[55] Probably it emptied into the Māduru Oya. Its branch which flowed North-ward wound its way through Ēgoḍa Pattuva and, if local tradition is trustworthy,

52. *Cul.* 79. 40—57; *Puj.* 34.
53. *Cul.* 89. 47—65; *A.S.C.A.R.* 1897, 8.
54. Brohier, I, 12, and in *J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*), XXXIV 78,85.
55. *Ibid.*

terminated at the Verugal Āru. Eight centuries before Parākkamabāhu I, Mahāsena built the great canal named Pabbatanta on the Mahaväli Gaṅga,[56] and it may be conjectured that this was either the Gomatī canal or the Aciravatī canal, restored and re-named by Parākkamabāhu I. Still earlier, in the 1st century, as the unpublished inscriptions on a rock in the swamp called Mīnvila attest, a channel was taken off the Mahaväli Ganga to irrigate a tract of fields on its left bank.

Parākkamabāhu I also restored the famous canal, Jayagaṅgā, which had been constructed about the year 470 by King Dhātusena. [57] This canal, now known as Yōda Äḷa, conveyed water a distance of 55 miles from Kalāväva to Tissaväva at Anurādhapura and irrigated the vast intervening area.

In addition to the three tanks which bore his name, Parākkamabāhu I is credited with the construction of the tanks named Mahindataḷāka and Ekāhavāpi. [58] The former is very probably Māmaḍuva tank, near Vavuniya, which is called Mahidaväva in a 9th century inscription in situ[59]: its bund is a little over 1¼ miles long, its capacity is 3,030 acre feet and it irrigates 745 acres. Ekāhavāpi is not mentioned elsewhere in the Chronicles and is not identifiable.

Of the major tanks which Parākkamabāhu restored during his reign, the names of the following are given[60] :—

(1) Maṇihīravāpi, present Miṇṇēriya, built by Mahāsena late in the 3rd century.[61]

(2) Mahādāragallakavāpi, built by Mahāsena and restored earlier by Vijayabāhu I.[62]

(3) Suvaṇṇatissavāpi, also called Tissavaḍḍhamānaka and Rantisā: it is the present, breached Kavuḍulla tank and was built by Mahāsena.[63]

(4) Dūratissavāpi, a tank built by Saddhā Tissa in the 1st century B.C., and situated in the Dambulla-Sīgiriya area, probably present Kandalama.[64]

---

56. *M* 37.50.
57. *Cul.* 79. 32, 59.
58. *Cul.* 79. 28.
59. *C.J.S.* (*G*). II, 111. If the identification is correct, this was a work of restoration.
60. *Cul.* 79. 31—37, 82.
61. *M* 37. 40, 47; *Puj.* 24.
62. *M* 37. 49; *Cul.* 60.50.
63. *M* 37.48; *Puj.* 24; *E.Z.* II. 32.
64. *M* 33.9; 37. 17-19; *Cul.* 41. 99, 49. 5—9.

(5) Kālavāpi, present Kalāväva, built by Dhātusena in the 5th century.[65]

(6) Brāhmaṇaggāmavāpi, also called Bamuṇugamuvaväva, and ascribed to Jeṭṭhatissa I in the 3rd century.[66]

(7) Nālikeramahāthambavāpi, also known as Nālisobbha, Nālikeravatthu, Neraḷu and Polvatta, built by Aggabodhi II early in the 7th century: it is the present, breached Polvattaväva on the right bank of the Mahaväli Gaṅga about 12 miles South of Polonnaruva.[67]

(8) Raheravāpi, close to and North of Anurādhapura: there were a canal and a hill of the same name.[68]

(9) Giritaḷākavāpi, present Giritaḷaväva, built by Aggabodhi II.[69]

(10) Kumbhīlasobbhavāpi, previously restored by Vijayabāhu I, and probably the present, breached tank known as Nīrāmullaväva on the Kimbulvāna Oya, North of the 16th mile on the Kurunägala-Dambulla road: it may be identical with Kumbālakavāpi or Kimbulväva built by Mahāsena.[70]

(11) Kāṇavāpi, the large, breached reservoir near Mihintalē called Mahakaṇadarāva, built by Mahāsena, and called Kaṇādiyadora and Kaṇāväva in inscriptions.[71]

(12) Padīvāpi, the enormous, breached tank in the North-East corner of the N.C.P. now known as Padaviya. Its construction is ascribed to Saddhā Tissa.[72]

(13) Kaṭivāpi, or Kaṭiyāgāmavāpi, identified by Codrington with present Kaṭṭiyāva, 3 miles S.S.W. of Eppāvala.[73]

(14) Pattapāsāṇavāpi, constructed by Moggallana II in the 6th century by damming the Kadambanadī (Malvatta Oya) near its source. Vijayabāhu I restored it. It was in the Southern part of Māṭombuva Kōralē.[74]

(15) Mahaṇṇavāpi.

---

65. *Cul.* 38. 42—46; *Puj.* 27.
66. *Puj.* 24.
67. *M* 25. 7—20; *E.M.* 25. 26; *N.S.* 26; *Puj.* 28; *Cul* .72. 70.
68. *M* 21.5; *Cul.* 41.31, 33—46; 44. 3—14.
69. *Cul.* 42. 67; *Puj.* 28.
70. *M* 37. 45; *Puj.* 24; *Cul.* 60. 60.
71. *M* 37.47; *Puj.* 24; *Cul.* 50. 72; 60.50; *C.J.S.* (*G*) II. 115; *E.Z.* I. 112.
72. *Puj.* 19.
73. *Cul.* 70. 67.
74. *Cul.* 41. 61; 46.28; 60.50.

(16) Mahānāmamatthakavāpi, also known as Mānāmatta or Mānāmatu. Dhātusena is said to have built it. It is probably present Giant's Tank.[75]

(17) Vaḍḍhanavāpi.

(18) Mahādattavāpi, built by Dhātusena, also called Mādä tavāva and ascribed to Aggabodhi II. Vijayabāhu I restored it. Present Mādatugama, between Dambulla and Käkirāva.[76]

(19) Kāṇagāmavāpi, situated North-West of Kalāväva, near Kāṇamūla.[77]

(20) Vīravāpi, probably present Vīravila, near Tissamahārāma.

(21) Valāhassavāpi, or Valāskäṭiyavāva, ascribed to Aggabodhi II. Vijayabāhu I restored it.[78]

(22) Suramānavāpi.

(23) Pāsāṇagāmavāpi, also called Pāṇagama and Pahaṇgama and ascribed to Dhātusena. Present Pāṇankāmam, in Māntai Division, Mannār District.[79]

(24) Kālavallivāpi, in the vicinity of Buttala.[80]

(25) Kāhallivāpi.

(26) Aṅgagāmavāpi, also called Aṅgamu, identified by Codrington as the large, breached tank known as Aṅgamuvavāva, 3 miles South of the 28 th mile on the Western Minor road, N.C.P.[81]

(27) Hillapattakakhaṇḍavāpi, close to the Mahaväli Gaṅga.[82]

(28) Madaguvāpi.

(29) Uruvelāvāpi in Rohaṇa, also called Etumaḷa, and identified by Codrington as the present, breached Etimōlēväva, 8 miles South-East of Monerāgala.[83]

(30) Paṇḍukolombavāpi in Rohaṇa, also called Pāṇḍikkulama, a large, breached reservoir North of Ridiyagama tank.[84]

---

75. *Puj.* 27, 42; N.S. 23; *Cul.* 83.16.
76. *Cul.* 38. 47; 60.48; *Puj.* 28.
77. *Cul.* 72. 176—204.
78. *Cul.* 42.67; 60.50; *Puj.* 28.
79. *Puj.* 27; *E.Z.* I. 39.
80. *E.H.B.* 69, 120; *Cul.* 61.16.
81. *Cul.* 70. 123—130.
82. *Cul.* 72. 80.
83. *Cul.* 74. 88, 125; *Puj.* 34.
84. *Puj.* 29.

The Mahāgallaka and Tālaggallaka (identical with Tilagullaka) tanks, Vilattākhaṇḍa dam, the great Koṭṭhabadda dam, and the Rājinī and Telapakka dams in Dakkhiṇadesa which Parākkamabāhu had built or restored when he was ruler of that Principality, needed repairs during his reign.[85]

It is not to be supposed that all these major and minor systems of inter-related dams, channels and tanks functioned all the time. Every decade or two an abnormal flood would have come down and caused abnormal damage necessitating heavy repairs and the putting out of action of various links in the systems till the repairs were completed. The neglect of maintenance and repair, occasioned first by civil war and soon afterwards by invasion and conquest, began within 10 years of the death of Parākkamabāhu I: and then followed, from time to time, the bursting of dams and bunds and the choking-up of channels, until ruin and desolation had spread over the greater part of the Dry Zone by the end of the 13th century.

85. *Cul.* 79. 66—67.

THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE POLONNARUVA PERIOD*

By

DR. S. PARANAVITANA, C.B.E., PH.D., D. LITT.

Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon. Editor of the Epigraphia Zeylanica, and author of The Stupa in Ceylon, Shrine of Upulvan at Devundara and other works. He is Ceylon's best known scholar, with an international reputation based on numerous contributions to history, epigraphy and archaeology.

THE architecture of the Anurādhapura period preserved, in its essentials, the forms which the Sinhalese brought with them when they originally settled in this Island, or were introduced with Buddhism as a result of the missionary activities of Asoka. There was natural development in certain of its aspects and refinement of certain features, but no extraneous influences profoundly modified the inherited forms in such manner as to obscure their origins. The circular shrine enclosing a *stūpa*, with a domical roof of wooden construction, shrines with curvilineal wooden roofs supported on stone pillars rising from a moulded stylobate faced with brick or stone, or on walls of brick or clay rising from a similarly treated stereobate, were the main features of this architecture. The structural principle was a development of the primitive wattle and daub, stone pillars embedded in brick or clay often taking the place of wooden posts. Aesthetically, in addition to the mouldings, in which there was a marked preference for the torus and the cyma, the architects depended for effect on the ornamental flight of steps, flanked with *makara* balustrades, ending at Nāga *dvāra-pālas* between which was a semi-circular slab of stone often profusely decorated. Architecture in stone had been attempted only in a few examples of porches of very simple character, and a single shrine at the extreme south of the Island. The keynote of this architecture was its simplicity, its harmonious proportions and its dependence on form rather than on ornaments to create an effect. Elaborate ornamentation was not unknown, for example at the flights of steps and the frontispieces of *stūpas;* but such ornamentation was concentrated at one point against a plain background. A few examples of brick structures with vaulted roofs are also known. As for the *stūpa*, which developed into colossal proportions by the fourth century, the primitive form held its own, but for the development of the *chattrāvalī* into a spire.

**This article is reprinted by courtesy of the Arts Council of Ceylon, in whose monograph on the "Art and Architecture of Ceylon" this paper first appeared. —Ed.*

Thus, when we come to the middle of the Anurādhapura period, Sinhalese architecture, mainly due to the conservative traits of the people, had acquired a distinctive individuality of its own. In India itself, the architecture that was in vogue in the period during which the Aryan culture and the Buddhist religion were introduced to Ceylon had, by the middle of the Anurādhapura period, been submerged by extraneous influences and developments from within. Styles of stone and brick architecture had developed in different regions, particularly in the Deccan, and the primitive forms of the early Buddhist period were no longer recognisable. Elaboration of detail, at the expense of form, was the rule in mediaeval India, both among the Brahmanical sects as well as the Buddhists. The contrast between India and Ceylon with regard to the development of architecture is paralleled by that of doctrine. The Sinhalese preferred the ethical simplicity and the monastic puritanism of the Theravāda, which had ceased to be of any influence in India by about the 5th century, to the mythological exuberance and the metaphysical subtleties of Mahāyāna Buddhism and later Brahmanism.

In contrast to architecture, the development of sculpture during the Anurādhapura period appears to have closely followed that on the Indian continent. Styles corresponding to the archaic Central Indian, the Amarāvatī, the Pallava, the Gupta and the Pāla schools are noticeable one after the other. With regard to painting, the paucity of documents makes comparison difficult, but the paintings of Sīgiri, when compared with contemporary work at Ajanṭā, exhibit a less sophisticated and refined but a more vigorous style. The study of the minor arts like pottery, jewellery, etc., has not made sufficient progress to undertake a comparison with any profit.

Ceylon was conquered by the Cholas at the beginning of the eleventh century, and the greater part of the island remained under their rule for more than five decades, Anurādhapura ceased to be of political significance under the Cholas who made Polonnaruva the centre of their administration. The palaces and shrines of Anurādhapura were destroyed and pillaged by the conquerors; those which escaped actual destruction suffered from neglect. No monuments in the Sinhalese style of architecture were raised in Ceylon under the regime of the Cholas. Sinhalese sculptors and painters had no opportunity to practise their arts, for their patrons,—royalty, nobility and the Buddhist church,—had ceased to exist under the Chola rule. The invaders built shrines for their faith at Polonnaruva. These are in the style of architecture that was in vogue in South India at the time—a style which had developed from the earlier Buddhist architecture of India and therefore exhibits certain features in common with

that distinctive of the Sinhalese. The Śaiva shrines of Polonnaruva possessed bronze images, among which were master-pieces of sculpture, as is evidenced by a superb specimen of Naṭarāja and other bronzes representing Śaiva saints, Śiva and Pārvatī, discovered in Polonnaruva, and now preserved in the Colombo Museum. These bronzes, no doubt, were made in South India.

Vijayabāhu I (1056—1111), who restored Sinhalese sovereignty, continued the policy of the Cholas in fixing Polonnaruva as the centre of his administration, though he was crowned at the ancient capital of Anurādhapura. One of Vijayabāhu's chief concerns was to restore Buddhism to the pre-eminent position which it occupied before the Chola conquest. For this purpose, he had to invite ordained monks from Burma; it is, therefore, unlikely that the architectural and artistic tradition associated with that religion was preserved unimpaired during the period of Chola rule. But it was Vijayabāhu's aim to give new life, not only to the religion of the Sinhalese, but also to their literature and arts. For this purpose, he must have made use of such of the descendents of the old craftsmen as were available to him. Apart from the restoration of ancient edifices, the most noteworthy of the shrines founded during his reign was the Temple of the Tooth Relic, now represented by the ruin called the Aṭadāgē, as we learn from the inscription set up by a regiment of foreign soldiers, called Veḷaikkāras, under whose protection the fane was placed after the death of that monarch.[1]

Vijayabāhu's long reign of peace and prosperity was followed by four decades of internecine strife among his heirs. The princes who held power at Polonnaruva during this time cared neither for Buddhism nor for Sinhalese institutions and traditions; their edicts were more often than not issued in Tamil, which no doubt was considered at that time to be the hall-mark of progress. Vijayabāhu's attempt to revive Sinhalese art and culture thus received a rude setback for nearly half a century.

Better times, however, dawned with the accession of Parākramabāhu I (1153—1186), who not only succeeded in making himself the master of the whole island, but also made use of the resources of his kingdom in such a manner that he felt himeslf powerful enough to intervene in the affairs of the neighbouring continent. His ambition was to outshine the former kings of the island in the magnificence of his architectural achievements, as well as by his military exploits. The *Mahāvaṁsa* devotes two chapters to a a recital of his building activities, and many of the monuments of Polonnaruva which arrest the attention of the visitors today

1. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 242 *et seq.*

are due to his energy and liberal patronage of the arts. The lofty Laṅkātilaka, the Tivaṅka image-house with its walls adorned with paintings, the impressive rock-cut images at the Gal-Vihāra, that poetry in stone, the Lotus Bath, the less romantic Silāpokkharaṇī (modern Kumāra Pokuṇa) and the Audience Hall within his palace attest to this monarch's grand conceptions and good taste in architecture and art.

Niśśaṅka Malla (1187—1196), who succeeded Parākramabāhu, endeavoured to outshine his great predecessor; his achievements, indeed, do him great credit, though the very magnitude and the number of his architectural undertakings during his brief reign of nine years did not give his craftsmen any opportunity of exhibiting refinement and finish in the works that they had to carry out at great speed. Niśśaṅka was also a monarch who loved *tours de force* in architecture, as evidenced by the Niśśaṅka-latā Maṇḍapaya, Gal-pota (Stone-Book) and certain other remains in the precinct of the old Daḷadā Maluva, now referred to as the Quadrangle. The Häṭadāgē was certainly begun and completed during his reign. The beautiful Vaṭadāgē has his name associated with it, but it is doubtful whether Niśśaṅka Malla was responsible for anything more than its outer porch. The stupendous Rankot Vehera or, to give it its ancient name, the Ruvanväli, with the frontispieces and chapels at its base, was the work of Niśśaṅka Malla.

The death of Niśśaṅka Malla was followed by decades of internecine warfare and foreign invasion, during which the resources of the kingdom were frittered away by the military leaders who, one after the other, wielded actual power, so that the Kāliṅga invader Māgha in 1213 found Ceylon an easy prey. Māgha and his myrmidons were to Ceylon what Attila and his Huns were to the Roman Empire, and Polonnaruva, as indeed the entire Rajaraṭa which witnessed the flowering of Sinhalese culture, never recovered from the devastation which was spread in the quarter of a century of his rule. An attempt was made towards the close of the thirteenth century to revive the glories of Polonnaruva, but with no lasting results, and for six centuries the desolation of the jungle reigned over the palaces which witnessed the pomp of Parākramabāhu and Niśśaṅka Malla, and the shrines on which was lavished the wealth of the Island during a century of outstanding achievements. The recovery of the ruined monuments from the jungle began in the first decade of the present century; this work has not yet come to a close.

There was, during the Polonnaruva period, a definite aim of centralising the administration and the autonomous principality of Rohana, which existed during the whole of the Anurādhapura

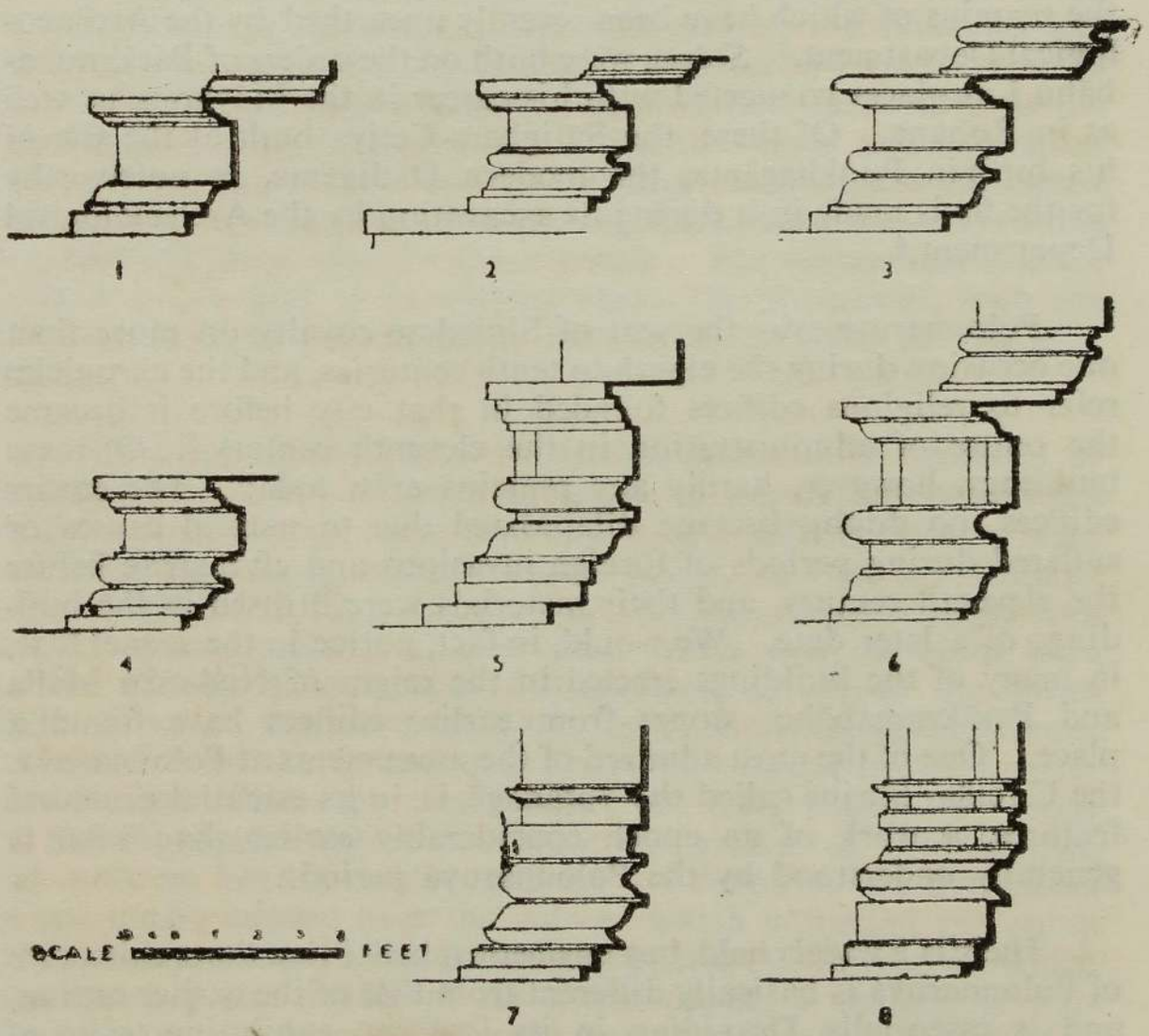
period, ceased to be of any importance during the reign of Parākramabāhu I. Corresponding to this state of affairs in the administration is the paucity of architectural undertakings outside the capital. Such monuments of this period as we have in places other than Polonnaruva are due to the reason that these places were selected as their seats by princes who did not acknowledge the authority of the ruler at Polonnaruva in the period between the death of Vijayabāhu and the accession of Parākramabāhu. The latter prince, while he was still the ruler of the Māyāraṭa, built a fortified palace at what is now known as Paṇḍuvas-Nuvara, most probably the place referred to as Parākramapura in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*.[2] Some attempts were made to restore the historical monuments at Anurādhapura by Vijayabāhu I, Parākramabāhu I and Niśśaṅka Malla; but the only monument of note at the earlier capital dating from this epoch was the palace of Vijayabāhu I, the remains of which have been recently unearthed by the Archaeological Department.[3] *Stūpas* were built on the orders of Parākramabāhu I at places connected with his career in the Māyāraṭa as well as in Rohaṇa. Of these, the Sūtighara-Cetiya built at the site of his birth in Puṅkhagāma, the modern Dädigama, is noteworthy for the finds made in it during its excavation by the Archaeological Department.[4]

Polonnaruva was the seat of Sinhalese royalty on more than one occasion during the eighth to tenth centuries, and the chronicles refer to religious edifices founded in that city before it became the centre of administration in the eleventh century[5]. Of these buildings, however, hardly any remains exist today. The earlier edifices, no doubt, became dilapidated due to natural causes or suffered during periods of foreign invasions and civil strife before the eleventh century, and their materials were utilised in the buildings of a later date. We would, in fact, notice in the sequel that, in many of the buildings erected in the reigns of Niśśaṅka Malla and Parākramabāhu, stones from earlier edifices have found a place. One of the most admired of the monuments at Polonnaruva, the Circular Shrine called the Vaṭadāgē, is, in its essential structural features, a work of an epoch considerably earlier than what is generally understood by the Polonnaruva period.

There is a widely held, but erroneous, belief that the architecture of Polonnaruva is basically different from that of the earlier capital, and is essentially Dravidian in its features, exhibiting traits of Cambodian, Burmese and other extraneous influences.[6] The Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava shrines built during periods of Tamil rule

2. *A.S.C., A.R.*, for 1947, pp. 10—13.
3. *A.S.C., A.R.*, for 1950, p. 12.
4. *A.S.C., A.R.*, for 1950, pp. 33—34.
5. *C.J.Sc., G.*, Vol. II, pp. 141—147.
6. *A.S.C., A.R.*, for 1903, p. 7.

are, of course, in the Dravidian style pure and simple. But, if we analyse the characteristics of those edifices built at Polonnaruva by Sinhalese rulers, it becomes obvious that their architectural style is a natural development from, if not a continuation of, that of the Anurādhapura period. Compare, for example, the details of the base mouldings of the Thūpārāma, Laṁkātilaka and the Tivaṁka-ghara with similar details from the Śaiva shrines. The architects who designed these Buddhist shrines at the behest of Sinhalese rulers have not gone to the creations of the Chola invaders for aesthetic inspiration. On the other hand, they have continued the forms which are found in many an edifice at the earlier capital. The same conclusion must by arrived at by a comparison of the pilasters of the Sinhalese and Dravidian buildings.



SINHALESE AND DRAVIDIAN MOULDINGS

Figures 1—3 *are mouldings of Anuradhapura buildings;* 4, *of the Buddhasima-Pasada;* 5, *of the Thuparama;* 6, *of the Tivamka shrine;* 7 *and* 8, *of Saiva temples at Polonnaruva.*

Vaulted brick buildings of the type of Laṁkātilaka and Thūpārāma do not have prototypes among Dravidian buildings in South India. That they are not innovations of the architects of the Polonnaruva period is proved by the brick structure called the Geḍige, enough of which is still preserved to show us its affinity with the shrines of the later capital,[7] and the ruins of a *piḷimage* to the west of the Jetavana Dāgäba at Anurādhapura. It is also not valid to argue the elaboration of ornamentation in the brick shrines of Polonnaruva is Dravidian in spirit, though these edifices themselves may not show the same details of mouldings and pilasters as the Dravidian buildings, for we cannot be certain that the ruined brick shrines of Anurādhapura did not exhibit similar features. Elaboration of ornament in examples of later date, belonging to the same style, is due to natural development rather than to outside influences. These vaulted brick edifices of Polonnaruva, like their Anurādhapura prototypes, go back to the type of building referred to as *giñjakāvasatha* in Pali,[8] — a type which probably included the brick-built *Cetiya-gharas* of ancient India, like the example at Tēr, now adopted for Hindu worship.[9] Similarities in ground plan and details of ornamentation that one may notice between these shrines and certain edifices in India, or lands influenced by Indian culture, are due to a common origin, not direct borrowing.

There is even less reason for the supposed affinity between the architecture of Polonnaruva and that of Cambodia or of Burma than there is for Dravidian parallels. There has been no intimate political or religious intercourse between Ceylon of the twelfth century and the contemporary Khmer kindom of Cambodia. The Buddhism that was prevalent in Cambodia at that time was of the Mahāyāna school, and the conceptions, political as well as religious, which found expression in the great Khmer monuments of the twelfth century do not underlie the creations of the architects of Parākramabāhu or Niśśaṁka Malla. In point of architectural design and embellishment, the edifices at Polonnaruva have hardly any features which remind one of Cambodian monuments, apart from a detail or two which can be due to the common origin of the two cultures. The Satmahal-prāsāda at Polonnaruva has its counterpart in a *stūpa* at Lamphun in northern Siam, but *stūpas* of this type were not unknown in Anurādhapura; the Siamese as well as the Sinhalese monuments of this class are derived from prototypes which existed in India in ancient times.[10]

---

7. See Vol. III of the A.S.C. Memoirs, Paranavitana, *Excavations in the Citadel of Anuradhapura*, A.S.C. Memoirs, Vol. III.
8. *J.R.A.S.*, C.B., Vol. XXXVI, p. 126.
9. Ferguson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 126.
10. Paranavitana, *Stupa in Ceylon*, A.S.C. Memoirs, Vol. V. p. 97.

There was considerable religious intercourse between Ceylon and Burma during the Polonnaruva period, both countries professing the Theravāda form of Buddhism. In the religious sphere, it was Burma that looked upon Ceylon as a model to follow. A sect called the Sīhala-saṅgha was established in Burma by monks who received their ordination in Ceylon in the reign of Parākramabāhu I[11] and a *stūpa* of Sinhalese type has been built at Pagan.[12] But the architecture of Burma, which appears to have drawn its inspiration from north-eastern India, was not permanently influenced by this intercourse. The architecture of Polonnaruva has not been affected, in the least, by Burmese influences. The Circular Pagoda at Mengan, in which Bell saw a parallel to the Vaṭadāgē at Polonnaruva, is several centuries later in date than Polonnaruva, and there is no resemblance between these two in structural methods or architectural design.[13]

With regard to structural methods, the principles that were in vogue in the Anurādhapura period still held the field, but the greater use of lime mortar as binding material enabled the architects to undertake brick bulidings (apart from *stūpas*), of dimensions surpassing anything attempted earlier.

The core of thick walls consisted of a type of concrete made of brickbats, pebbles and lime mortar; the facing was of entire bricks neatly laid with very fine joints. In the construction of vaults, too, the architects depended on the strength of this concrete. The principles of the true arch appears to have been known, but the preference was for the horizontal arch. The span covered by these vaults, supported by thick walls, was not large. That few of these faults have been preserved today is due more to the destructive effects of tropical vegetation rather than to defective methods of construction. Stucco was used in abundance for architectural embellishments. With the exception of the few edifices which had vaulted roofs, the great majority of the buildings must have had roofs of wooden construction, curvilinear in form, as we can infer from the miniature models in relief represented on the walls of the large shrines. These as well as the pillars and capitals of wood must have been profusely carved. The splendour of the palaces and monastic residences must have, in great measure, depended on this wood-work, of which we have nothing left but the decayed remnants of a few beams at the Laṁkātilaka.

In the architecture of the *stūpa*, the Polonnaruva period revived the type which attained its highest development in the

11. Mabel Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 19.
12. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 170.
13. *The Stupa in Ceylon, op. cit.*, p. 81f.

fourth century, but with the brick spire which had been evolved from the stone *chattrāvalī* by about the seventh century. The type of *stūpa* of small dimensions with a series of mouldings at the base and an elongated dome, in vogue in the period between the seventh and tenth centuries, has been adhered to in the shrines of this class built at Paṇḍuvasnuvara. But the Kiri Vehera,probably the Rūpavatī Caitya built by Parākramabāhu, followed the model of the colossal *stūpas* of the early Anurādhapura period, in having a bubble-shaped dome rising from three super-imposed basal terraces. The Rankot Vehara—to give its original name, the Ruvanväli—not only borrowed its name form the most venerated of the ancient *stūpas* at Anurādhapura, but also closely followed it in its architectural design, as it had been modified in the tenth century. These two *stūpas* of Polonnaruva also conformed to the early type in having the frontispieces at the four cardinal points—features which have not been noticed in any *stūpa* dating from a period between the fourth and the twelfth centuries. But the frontispieces of the Kiri Vehera and the Rankot Dāgäba differ from their earlier prototypes in many respects. They are constructed entirely of brick masonry, the limestone facing of the early examples being absent. In ornamentation, too, the Polonnaruva *vāhalkaḍas* have lost many of the characteristic features of the Anurādhapura examples. The *makara* brackets, the friezes of *haṁsas* and animals in relief, the dormer windows, and most notable of all, the flanking stelae surmounted with figures of animals are not found at Polonnaruva. The bases of these late *vāhalkaḍas* contain, between mouldings, friezes of *gaṇas*, projecting elephant heads and lotuses. Instead of the superimposed string courses of the earlier examples, these *vāhalkaḍas* of the twelfth century show pilasters rising from the moulded bases and supporting a cornice.[14] The vertical aspect, which was not considered important in the earlier *vāhalkaḍas* has been given more emphasis in the Polonnaruva examples by means of these pilasters. Another important development in these *stūpas* are the chapels with vaulted brick roofs between the *vāhalkaḍas*.

The largest *stūpa* at Polonnaruva, the Damiḷa-thūpa built by Parākramabāhu I, gives the impression of not having been completed. The base of this colossal *dāgäba* must have had a circumference exceeding that of any other monument of its class in the Island. But it does not attain to a commensurate height. The dome, having risen from the moulded basal terraces, is truncated, forming a plateau in the centre of which is a small *stūpa* which is noteworthy for the spiral steps round its dome. It is possible that the *stūpa* could not be built to the height which its builders originally intended; and, to give it a semblance of completeness,

14. For *vahalkadas* at early *stupas*, see *Stupa in Ceylon*, pp. 47—60.

the small *stūpa* was built when it was realised that the original scheme could not be carried out. Precisely the same is the condition of the Sūtīghara Cetiya, built to mark the birth-place of Parākrama bāhu. As it is rather strange to have two *stūpas*, left unfinished precisely in the same stage of incompletion and with the same device of imparting a semblance of having been completed, it is probable that the Damiḷa-thūpa and the Sūtighara Cetiya exemplify a type of *stūpa* of a peculiar design.

Of the three brick-built *piḷimages* at Polonnaruva, the Laṁkātilaka is the largest, though it has suffered even more than the other two from the ravages of time. The edifice[15], from front to back, had a full length of 124 ft. with the greatest breadth of 66 ft. at the square shaped shrine. The north wall still stands to a height of 55 ft. and the building, when it was entire, must have measured nearly 100 ft. from the base to the top of the crowning finial. On ground plan, the shrine consists internally of a *garbha*, an entresol formed by the opening through the thick wall, a vestibule and the entresol facing the front stairs. This shrine, like the others of its type, was not meant for large congregations to assemble inside, and the interior space, due to the thickness of the walls, is not proportionate to the exterior dimensions of the building. An arched passage between the screen wall, against which the image in the main shrine is built, and the outer wall at the back is a feature of the Laṁkātilaka as it is also of the Tivaṁkaghara. At the Laṁkātilaka there had been an upper storey, in the form of timbered galleries supported on stone pillars in the inner shrine, which permitted a full view of the image, 40 ft. in height, from the entrace.

It is the exterior aspect of these shrines which merits consideration on aesthetic grounds, for the form of the shrine, when seen by the approaching pilgrim, must be capable of heightening his religious feeling. Mahānāma, the author of the poetical chronicle of ancient Ceylon tells us at the end of each chapter of his work that the purpose of his literary effort was to create the effects of serenity or pleasure and excitement or agitation in the minds of his readers. These two, *prasāda* and *saṁvega*, the ends of poetry according to Wordsworth,[16] are indeed the ends which all art must strive for, and architecture is no exception. The architects of India and Ceylon achieved these aims, with no small measure of success, by an interplay between the mobile and the static. Taking the Laṁkātilaka, for example, the two polygonal shafts flanking

15. For a detailed architectural description of the Lamkatilaka, see *A.S.C.*, *A.R.*, for 1910—11, pp. 30—38.

16. "The end of poetry is to produce excitement in co-existence with an overbalance of pleasure." Preface to Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads*.

the main entrance with their soaring height, are calculated to direct the minds of the pilgrims upwards and create in them a state of *saṁvega* while the horizontal lines emphasised on the sides create the impression of stability and security (*parasāda*). But the pilasters between two courses of mouldings on the side elevation, and the moulded courses at regular intervals which break the continuity of the vertical lines of the polygonal shafts, blending with their opposites, express that *prasāda* or *saṁvega*, though it may be dominant, has always a tinge of its opposite. The architect has thus endeavoured to create a fusion (*sāhitya*) between *prasāda* and *saṁvega*, or in Western terminology, the mobile and the static, just as the poet does the same with regard to *śabda* and *artha* (sound and sense).

The architects of old have given as much consideration to the aesthetic effects created by a whole ensemble of related buildings as they have to the design of an individual edifice. The skill with which the architects employed by Parākramabāhu have tackled the problems of site planning can best be studied in that extensive complex of monastic buildings, known as the Āḷāhana Pariveṇa,[17] of which Laṁkātilaka was the centre. A slight elevation of the ground had been made use of in order to locate on it the principal edifices intended for religious worship or for ecclesiastical purposes—the image-house, the *stūpa* and the chapter-house. The sloping ground on all sides of this central eminence has been made into terraces, and on them were located the *stūpas* of lesser importance, the residential quarters for the monks, their refectories, libraries and other adjuncts necessary for the life of a highly organised religious fraternity. The pilgrim entering the sacred precincts from the main gateway on the east had in full view the imposing pile of the Laṁkātilaka which dominated the whole group, but his sense of veneration and humility was preserved by the location of the flights of steps which did not allow him to directly face his goal as he approached it along the avenue, gaining access from one terrace to the other. Ponds and sheets of water reflected the forms of the main buildings, and the flowering trees which were planted at intervals must have contributed to the serenity of the scene. Natural boulders were made to harmonise with the scheme of building and the various edifices no doubt sat easily in their surroundings.

The Vaṭadāgē which is, next to the brick-built shrines, the most remarkable architectural monument to be seen at Polonnaruva, is of the same type as the circular shrines enclosing *stūpas* at the Thūpārāma and Laṁkārāma at Anurādhapura. As we have

17. *A.S.C., A.R.*, for 1940—45, p. 29.

pointed out elsewhere,[18] this architectural type is a development of the circular *cetiya-ghara* of India which, as we can infer from the bas-reliefs at Bharhut, was common in the motherland of Buddhism in the earliest period for which we have monumental evidence. The Vaṭadāgē at Polonnaruva is the most developed example of this type. The shrines of this class at the earlier capital being altered beyond recognition by later restorations, this is also the most representative, next to the Vaṭadāgē at Mädirigiri, the noble simplicity of which contrasts strongly with the florid decorations of the Polonnaruva shrine.

The Hāṭadāge, the shrine built by Niśśaṁka Malla for the Tooth Relic, is noteworthy as the only Buddhist shrine at Polonnaruva of which the walls are built of stone to the height of the upper storey. Of this shrine, Benjamin Rowland says: "The effect produced by these large areas of wall surface, relieved only by the most delicate surface ornament, is not unlike that produced by the similar contrast of plain ashlar surface and sharply shadowed frieze in the Ionic Treasury of the Syphnians."[19]

Of secular buildings, Polonnaruva has remains of quite a number. The ruins of the palace of Parākramabāhu the Great[20], which, according to the chronicler, contained a thousand chambers and was seven storeys in height, are impressive enough, but do not convey much of an idea of its architectural design or embellishment. In ground plan, the palace of Parākramabāhu at Polonnaruva followed the lines of that which he had erected at Paṇḍuvas-Nuvara (Parākramapura) before he became the master of the whole Island, and the royal residence erected at Anurādhapura by Vijayabāhu I. This plan consisted of a storeyed central edifice with a spacious hall, in a courtyard surrounded by galleries on all the four sides. While the central edifice of the palace at Paṇḍuvas-Nuvara was light in construction and was well ventilated, that at Polonnaruva was massive, suggesting a greater number of upper storeys. Whether this ground plan followed that of palaces of the early Anurādhapura period, we cannot say. But the plan of the royal palace which Kassapa erected on the summit of Sīgiri rock was on different lines. We cannot, however, be definite whether the palace at Sīgiri was built according to a plan which was common at that time.

An interesting edifice in the royal precincts at Polonnaruva is the *maṇḍapa* (pavilion) to the east of the main building. This

18. *Stupa in Ceylon*, p. 75.
19. *The Art and Architecture of India*. p. 218.
20. For a description of what remains of this palace, see *A.S.C.*, *A.R.*, for 1911—12, pp. 50—56.

has a high base in three tiers, moulded and ornamented with friezes of elephants, lions and *gaṇas;* the roof was supported on four rows of slender and graceful stone pillars decorated with floral designs of exquisite charm. A pavilion of the same type, but not so elegant in its architectural details, was erected by Niśśaṁka Malla on the embankment of the artificial lake where he erected his own palace. Niśśaṁka Malla's *maṇḍapa* is interesting, not so much for its artistic character, but for the information given by the inscriptions carved on a number of pillars, indicating the titles of the high dignitaries who had seats in the council while the king was seated on the Lion throne. The massive stone lion which supported the Royal throne is now in the Colombo Museum.[21]

In the area of Niśśaṁka Malla's palace to the south of the Council chamber is a square tower, called the mausoleum, the precise purpose of which has not yet been ascertained. It is not impossible that it is a representation of the Cosmic Mountain.

Just outside the wall of the palace in the Citadel of Polonnaruva is to be seen the Royal Bath, now called Kumārapokuṇa, but referred to in the chronicle as Silāpokkhraṇī.[22] The simple mouldings in the three tiers of the stone facing of this bath create a very pleasing effect, and are architecturally more rational than the *tour de force* of the Lotus Bath in the area of the Jetavana Monastery[23] which, as its name implies, is in the form of a lotus of eight petals. Compared with either of these, the bath of Niśśaṁka Malla near the present Rest House is a crude work. It is also a circumstance worth noting that the architects of Polonnaruva fell far short of those of the earlier capital in the number, magnitude and the aesthetic quality of the baths with which they adorned their palaces and monasteries.

Śiva Devale No. 2 is the only monument at Polonnaruva constructed entirely of stone[24], and is in a satisfactory state of preservation. It is also the earliest in date of the monuments now preserved at Polonnaruva. As indicated by the Tamil inscriptions engraved on its walls, and an examination of its architectural style, it dates from the Chola period, and is a representative example of Dravidian architecture at its best. Later in date is the more ornate Śiva Dēvāle No. 1, of which the *śikhara* was of brick construction and has crumbled down. This shrine, which for long was mistaken to be the Temple of the Tooth, is in the

21. For accounts of these two pavilions, see *A.S.C.*, *A.R.* for 1905, pp. 3—5 and for 1900, pp. 8—9.
22. *A.S.C.*, *A.R.*, for 1911—12, p. 56.
23. *A.S.C.*, *A.R.*, for 1909, p. 16.
24. *A.S.C.*, *A.R.*, for 1906, pp. 17—22.

Pāṇḍyan style of the 12th to 13th centuries, and is noteworthy for the precision with which its stones have been cut. The stone itself appears to be of a variety not found in the region of Polonnaruva.[25]

With regard to the details of the architecture of Sinhalese edifices at Polonnaruva, mouldings and pilasters have already been noticed. Pillars with square shafts and capitals of the type familiar at Anurādhapura are found in the Laṁkātilakā. These undoubtedly are from buildings of an earlier date, but the pillars in the rock-cut chamber at the Gal Vihāra are of the same style. The pillars of the Vaṭadāgē were octagonal, with capitals of the type found at the Thūpārāma in Anurādhapura. These also belong to a period anterior to the Chola conquest. The pillars in the pavilion in front of the Laṁkātilaka are partly octagonal, and like those in the *maṇḍapa* within the Royal precincts, are decorated with chaste designs. These pillars are of a type not found at Anurādhapura; but it would not be safe to conclude that they are an innovation of the Polonnaruva period. Still more elaborate is the treatment of the pillars in the Aṭadāgē. The motive of a creeper with undulating stem and curved tendrils growing into or supporting single figures of men and women or pairs of lovers, the whole springing from a vase, decorating the pillars of the Aṭadāgē are reminiscent of the designs of the *vāhalkaḍas* of ancient *stūpas* at Anurādhapura and Mihintalē. The designs on these pillars show similarity to Gupta work, and their sinuous lines and curves, covering almost the entire face of the pillar, are expressive of a lively and exuberant phantasy. No examples of decorative art surpassing these have been noticed anywhere else in Ceylon, and they stand comparison with the best of such work elsewhere. The pillars in the Niśśaṁka Latā-Maṇḍapa and one of the buildings near the Satmahalprāsāda are among the most elaborate in Sinhalese architecture. The shaft and the capital together represent a stylised lotus with its stalk. Bell describes these pillars as follows[26]: "Starting from a square base, the shaft is continued upward for 7 ft. conventionally as a semi-rounded lotus stalk of three curvatures, relieved at intervals by shallow leafy ornament ending in high relief crockets. Each column terminated in a detached head, octagonal in shape, beautifully carved as an opening lotus suggestive of the companiform Egyptian captial." With these pillars may be compared the lotus-shaped flower altar from the Ruvänvalisāya at Anurādhapura,[27] and a similar feature at the recently excavated Vaṭadāgē at Tiriyāy. The blending of naturalism with architectonic stylisation exhibited

25. For a detailed description, see *A.S.C.*, *A.R.* for 1907, pp. 17—24.
26. *A.S.C.*, *A.R.*, for 1903, p. 19.
27. *Stupa in Ceylon*, Plate XII (a).

in these pillars is quite pleasing and stands in striking contrast to the simple form of the railing which encloses them.

At the entrances to a number of edifices at Polonnaruva we find, as at Anurādhapura shrines, *makara* balustrades flanking the steps, semi-circular sculptured slabs of stone referred to as Moon-stones and Nāga kings in anthropomorphic form doing duty as *dvārapālas*. Much of the efforts of ancient Sinhalese sculptors was spent in decorating these various members of the flights of steps. It is, however, difficult to say that any of the numerous *makara* balustrades seen at the buildings of Polonnaruva are the works of artists of the period during which this city was the cultural and political centre of the Island. The balustrades flanking the broad steps at the entrance to the Lamkātilaka, for instance, were not originally meant for that particular building. These are fashioned to fit into a flight with five steps, whereas there are only three steps at the entrance to this shrine. The sculptures which adorn these balustrades cannot, therefore, be taken as of the Polonnaruva period. When we speak of "the art of Polonnaruva," we have thus to understand the expression in a geographical, as well as in a chronological, sense. The graceful figures of Nāgas on the inner face of the left balustrade at the Laṁkātilaka and the majestic figure with a noble looking countenance and very artistic treatment of the drapery, holding a flute in the hands, adorning the exterior face, must be ascribed, therefore, to a period anterior to the eleventh century. Similar is the case with the figure on the outer face of the right hand balustrade at the entrance to the Pavilion in the Royal Palace. The artistic qualities of this figure contrast strongly with the lifeless Moonstone at the foot of the same flight of steps.

None of the moonstones seen at Polonnaruva approaches, in aesthetic appeal, any one of the three masterpieces of this class of sculpture still preserved at Anurādhapura. The best moonstones at Polonnaruva are those at the entrances to the Vaṭadāgē. Technically, these may be pronounced as faultless, but there is a certain rigidity about them; they can at best be called academic. The vision which enabled the sculptors of the Anurādhapura period to create a work of rare beauty in the moonstone of the shrine near the Thūpārāma or that in the so-called Mahāsena's Pavilion at Anurādhapura, no longer guided the chisel of the craftsmen who turned out the moonstones of the Vaṭadāgē. Their work has thus resulted in form without content, and lacks the movement and rhythm which distinguish the creations of the Anurādhapura masters. But these moonstones at the Vaṭadāgē may be works of the later Anurādhapura period. The moonstones at the Hāṭadāgē and the Pavilion in the Royal Palace are definitely known to be works of the twelfth century by the letters inscribed

on them. In these we notice a further falling off in artistic standards, and, with their crowded details and lifeless forms of animal and vegetable motifs, they fail to convey any meaning to the spectator.

Of guard-stones in Polonnaruva, the pair flanking the steps at the eastern entrance of the Vaṭadāgē surpass all the others in artistic merit. The technique followed by the sculptor in fashioning these figures would indicate a date in the later Anurādhapura period for them. In the easy and graceful pose of the Nāga king, in the composition of the main figure in relation to the attendants, in the delicate modelling of the body, in the rhythmic treatment of the drapery, in the meticulous care given to the details of the jewellery with which the figure is loaded and in the benign expression on the face of the Nāga king, this sculpture shows a close kinship with the guard-stone at the Ratanapāsāda in Anurādhapura. Compared with these two guard-stones, those at the other entrances of the Vaṭadāgē appear to be the work of second-rate artists. It is not impossibie that the latter have been made by the sculptors of the Polonnaruva period attempting to copy the works of earlier date at the eastern entrace. If so, they may be said to have acquitted themselves creditably. That the sculptors of Polonnaruva were capable of considerable achievement in work of this type becomes clear when one examines the fan-bearers on either side of the Buddha in the rock-cut shrine at Gal Vihāra. There is no uncertainty with regard to the date of these figures, for the Gal Vihāra was a work of Parākramabāhu the Great. It is, therefore, clear that the artistic traditions of the masters who created the figures on the best guard-stones of Anurādhapura were still alive in the twelfth century, in spite of the fact that much inferior work, too, was produced by the craftsmen of the day, mainly as a result of the anxiety of the rulers to achieve quick results in order to impress their subjects.

Effective decorative work is shown on the screen wall of the Vaṭadāgē which is ornamented with shallow carvings of four-petalled flowers, in naturalistic style, arranged in diaper design, with smaller flowers in the interstices, all set within a beaded framing. It is interesting to compare the decoration of this screen wall with that of the pillars in the Aṭadāgē. In the one, there is harmony and calm given by motives set in front of a detached background; in the other there is vibration and movement given by motives piled one on another and interwined.

Of the sculptures with architectural embellishment as their purpose to be seen at Polonnaruva, none is more arresting than the frieze of elephants, in low relief, running round the lowermost tier of the base of the pavilion to the east of the Royal Palace. The attitude of no two of these elephants is the same, and the artists,

in depicting them in various moods and movements, have shown a thorough understanding of these majestic beasts.

A good deal of plastic art was produced during this period in the medium of stucco. The best examples of this type are the figures inside miniature shrines in relief decorating the walls of the Laṁkātilaka and the Tivaṁka. They represent gods and Brahmas who have come in their *vimānas* to pay homage to the Buddha. Many of these stucco figures show great skill in modelling the human body in various attitudes and postures, and are eminently suited to the purpose which they were meant to subserve. The friezes of dwarfs which are found at the base and the cornices of these shrines, upholding the edifice in the manner of Atlantes, characteristically show forth the nature of these beings as presiding over laughter. In depicting the grimaces on their faces and their playful attitudes, the artists have given free rein to their fancy to the utmost.

Of sculptures which are not meant to subserve architectural purposes, but intended to be works of art in their own right, Polonnaruva has two outstanding examples. One is the colossal rock-cut statue traditionally believed to be a representation of Parākramabāhu the Great and which, in fact, appears to be that of a king.[28] In its majesty and dignity, its embodiment of power and self-reliance and in the economy with which these characteristic have been expressed, it proclaims itself to be the work of a master. It is obviously not a type, as are most works of Indian art, for there is a definite striving after the representation of individual characteristics in the physiognomy. Unique in Indian art is the object held in the hands and the manner of its holding, and I have elsewhere[28] pointed out that the statue represents a king as the bearer of the yoke of sovereignty, that is to say the responsibility of maintaining even justice and effective administration. There is reason to assume that stylistically it is a work of the twelfth century, though we have no certain evidence for ascribing it to a particular reign.

The most impressive sculptures at Polonnaruva are the colossal Buddha images carved on the face of a granite boulder at the site now called Gal Vihāra, of which the ancient name was Uttarārāma. Of the four images, the recumbent Buddha measures 46 ft. from head to foot and the standing figure (erroneously believed by some to be a representation of Ānanda) is 23 ft. in height. There are two seated Buddhas, the smaller within a shrine excavated into the rock. The larger seated Buddha is shown against the background of a shrine with a *toraṇa* in front of it, important

28. See *Artibus Asiae,* Vol. XV, pp. 209—217.

for a study of the architecture of the period. These images were originally inside shrines and were painted or gilt. The impression that they convey today to the visitor is, therefore, not quite the same as they did to worshippers in ancient days. The supra-mudane calm achieved by the conquest of the senses, the power which this gives rise to and the compassion embracing all beings, which is a consequence of the eradication of self, are suggested by the artist in a very effective manner, and these Buddhas have to be reckoned among the greatest works achieved by the sculptors of old Ceylon, though they may fall short, in their spiritual evocations, of that masterpiece on the Outer Circular Road at Anurādhapura.

The folds of the drapery of the Gal Vihāra images are shown by parallel grooves. If this be taken as a criterion indicating date (the Potgul Vihāra statue, too, has this peculiar treatment of drapery), there are not many stone images of the Buddha at Polonnaruva dating from the twelfth century. A few rock-cut images in a cave in the Āḷāhana-pariveṇa area are in the same style as the seated Buddha in the rock-cut shrine at Gal Vihāra. The Buddha in the Aṭadāgē and the images now preserved inside the Thūpārāma, which are of limestone, depict the folds of the robe as linear ridges. They may belong to a consideraly earlier date. The image in the Aṭadāgē is referred to in the Tamil inscription set up some time after the death of Vijayabāhu, but we cannot be certain that it was fashioned at the time when this shrine was built. It is reasonable to believe that images from ruined shrines of earlier date were enshrined in edifices built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Bodhisattva figures, either entire or fragmentary, found at Polonnaruva, also give the impression of work belonging to periods earlier than the eleventh century.

The four seated Buddhas inside the Vaṭadāgē are noteworthy for the manner in which the head is treated. Unlike the generality of the Buddha images in which the hair is shown in ringlets, in these the head is smoothly shaven, or appears as wearing a skull cap. In India, we have parrallels for the early period in the art of Mathurā and, for the mediaeval, in the Buddha discovered at a place called Mankua in North India.[29] The robe clings to the body without folds.

The art of painting appears to have been in a flourishing state during the Polonnaruva period. The walls of palaces and shrines were decorated with paintings. In its account of the palace of Parākramabāhu I, the *Mahāvaṁsa* refers to a theatre and a number of other pavilions which were embellished with paintings including

29. Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 173.

scenes illustrative of events in the king's career.[30] Of these secular paintings, nothing has escaped the ravages of Time. The paintings in religious edifices have fared better, though here also what is now preserved is a very small fraction of the work executed by the artists of those days. Apart from the wall paintings, there were also painted cloths and illustrations of *ola* manuscripts, of which there is nothing from the Polonnaruva period preserved up to our day.

The Laṁkātilaka bears traces of wall paintings on the exterior as well as interior. There is a fragment of a floral design and a head on the soffit of the arch at the side entrance. Remains of paintings of a more substantial nature are found in the excavated cave shrine at the Gal Vihāra. A figure of a bearded old man, with a sage-looking countenance and holding a flower, probably represents a denizen of the Brahma world. There is reason to conclude that the entire wall surface inside this cave was covered with figures of gods and men as attendants of the Buddha seated on the *vajrāsana*, carved out of the rock, which must also have been painted originally.

It is, however, the shrine now erroneously known as the Demala-mahāsāya, *i.e.*, the Tivaṁka-paṭimāghara of old, that contains the largest number of paintings now preserved at Polonnaruva, or indeed at any other site in Ceylon. There were many more of these paintings to be seen here at the beginning of the century, when this shrine was cleared of the jungle and the debris in which its base and floor were buried. The exposure to sun and rain and neglect during the First World War and after, have made many to disappear since then. The walls of the porch and the vestibule are covered with scenes illustrating the Jātakas, *i.e.*, stories of the previous existences of the Buddha. The entresol between the shrine and the vestibule contains paintings depicting the Bodhi-sattva in Tusita heaven attended by a large host of *devas* who are entreating him to be born in the world of men for the good of all beings. On the walls of the inner shrine are scenes from the life of the Buddha. One of the most arresting is the scene of the Saṅkissa ladder, along which the Buddha descended from Tusita heaven, attended by Śakra and Brahma, after having delivered the discourse on Abhidhamma to the *devas*, including Māyādevī the Buddha's mother, reborn as a male god. The pilgrim, there-fore, in his progress from the outer entrance to the inner shrine, had a visual demonstration of the perfection of the various virtues of the Bodhisattva which ultimately led to the Great Awakening.

At Dimbulāgala, about 12 miles to the east of Polonnaruva across the Mahaväli Gañga, are remains of paintings of about

30. See Chapter 73, vv. 55.

the same period. The faint traces of paintings in the Māravīdiya caves[31] have been destroyed by a fanatic, but the better preserved fragment at Pulligoḍa Galgē, depicting five haloed figures, obviously meant to represent *devas*, is still extant. These have been ascribed to a period earlier than the twelfth century, but the likelihood is that they also are contemporary with the paintings at Polonnaruva.

An important addition to the relics of the pictorial art of mediaeval Ceylon has recently been made by the discovery of the paintings in a relic chamber of the Mahiyaṅgaṇa Dāgäba. The plaster on which these paintings were executed had peeled down, but the fragments have been carefully picked up, treated and pieced together, so that we have a number of complete figures, and fragments of several others. The latest datable object found in this relic-chamber is a Chola coin of the eleventh century. The paintings may, therefore, belong to the reign of Vijayabāhu I, a century or so earlier than the paintings in the Tivaṁka shrine. On stylistic grounds, however, an earlier date has been suggested for the Mahiyaṅgaṇa paintings.[32]

The date of the paintings in the Tivaṁka shrine also cannot be ascertained without a possibility of doubt. This shrine was built in the reign of Parākramabāhu I, but there is evidence to show that the building has undergone alterations at a date subsequent to its original foundation. The thickness of the walls has been added to and, in some places, there are two layers of paintings. It is, therefore, not unlikely that certain of the paintings now to be seen in this shrine date, not from the twelfth century, but from the next, when in the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1236—1271), an attempt was made to revive the glories of Polonnaruva.

The colours employed in these paintings are limited to red, yellow and green, but striking effects have been achieved with this limited pallette. The figures were first drawn in outline in red, and the pigments applied afterwards. There is a certain amount of modelling, sometimes by means of fine lines, but plasticity is imparted to the figures by the lines themselves. The method of painting was tempera, the pigments being applied on the dry plaster surface of the wall.

These paintings are the work of artists who had centuries of tradition behind them, and who belonged to a school which, in the days of its vigour, had ramifications all through the sub-continent

---

31. See for Maravidiya paintings, *C. J. Sci.* Vol. II, pp. 157—160. For the Pulligoda Galge painting, see Vincent Smith. *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon.*

32. *A.R.* for 1951, pp. 16—18.

of India and beyond, and the maturity of which is represented by the famous painting in the Caves of Ajanṭā and Bāgh. By the twelfth century, the light of the tradition was flickering, if it had not been altogether extinguished, in India itself, but the paintings that we have here afford proof to the fact that the traditions of the school were preserved in this Island long after they had ceased to be creative in the land of their origin. The painters of Polonnaruva were capable, though it may not be to the same degree as those of Ajanṭā, of balanced composition; their work possessed beauty of line and created forms of majestic grace. They could delineate the natural attitudes and features of men and women, with realism subordinated to ideals of abstract beauty. Their line is subtle, contrasting with the strongly and swiftly drawn lines of the Sīgiri paintings which were not meant to be seen at close range. In short, this art can stand comparison with the best pictorial work of that age which we have anywhere in the world.

"The true beauties of art are eternal—all generations will accept them; but they wear the habit of their century." Keeping this profound observation of Delacroix in our minds, let us take a look at the habit worn by these paintings of the Polonnaruva epoch. For this purpose we are fortunate in having an incidental reference in a literary work which gives us a clue to what the painters of this period, and the critics who judged their work, considered to be the quality which imparted beauty to a work of art. The *Butsaraṇa*[33], a Sinhalese prose work by an author who probably was a contemporary of the artists who painted the pictures on the walls of the Tivaṁka shrine, has the following simile: "Just like a form in a painting which becomes beautiful by means of the *rasa* which exists in the mind of the painter." In the view of the Sinhalese men of taste of the twelfth century, therefore, the aesthetic quality of a painting depended on the state of *rasa* in the mind of the painter, and not on his ability to faithfully imitate forms in Nature. Now this *rasa* is the central concept in Indian aesthetics, having application not only to painting, but also to other arts such as poetry, drama and music. To be brief, *rasa* is a feeling, sentiment or state of mind (*bhāva*) which stays (*sthāyī*) due to the reason that the image which created the feeling in the chain of consciousness by the force of its impact is capable of making itself manifold, *i.e.*, by repeatedly appearing in successive moments of consciousness[34]. The artist, therefore, depicts, not the world as he sees it, but as it exists in his mind. Certain aspects of composition and perspective in these paintings will explain themselves

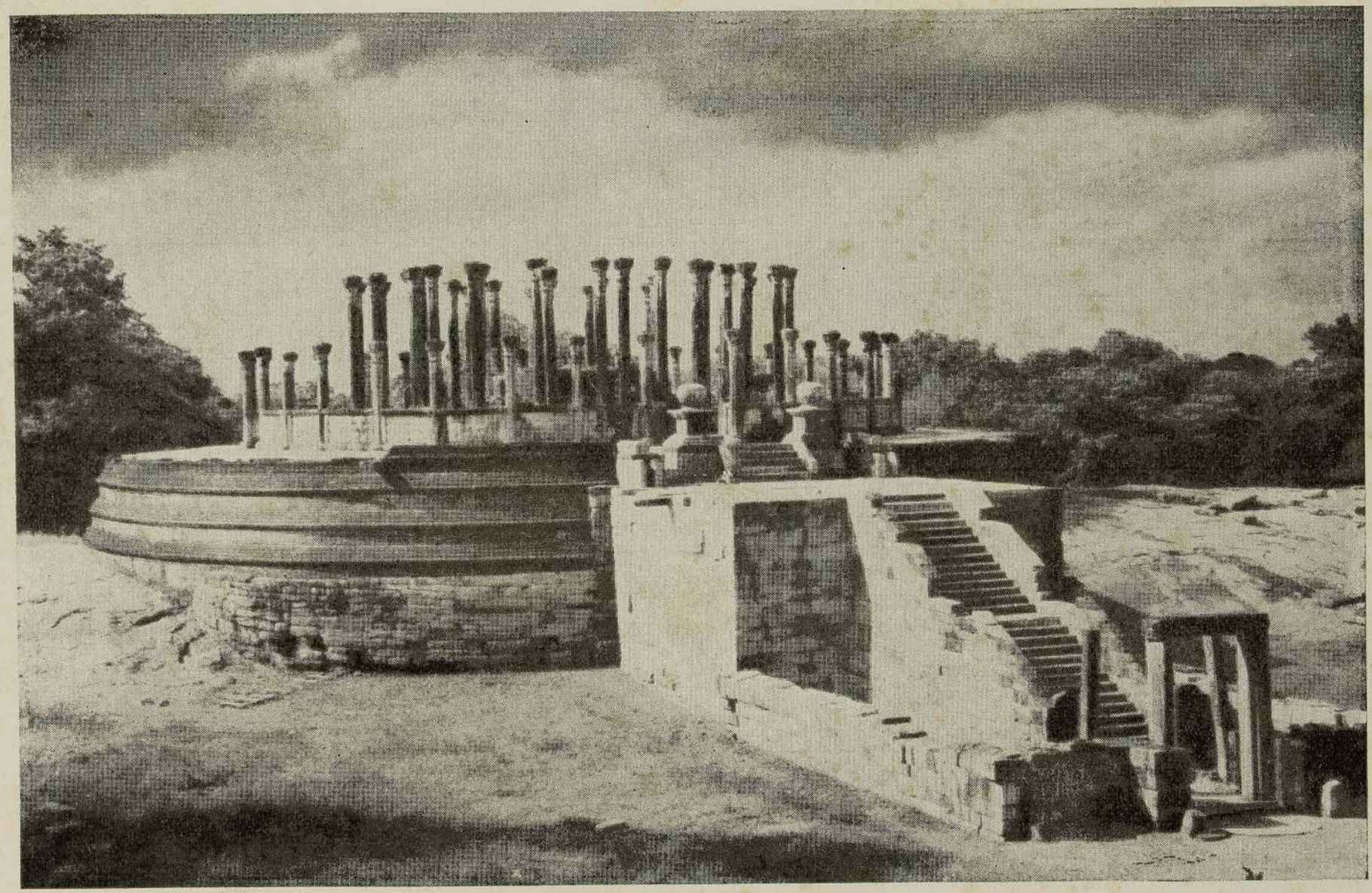
33. Bhadanta Sorata's edition, Colombo, 1953, p. 246. *Sittarahu sita sasayen manahara vana sittam rewak se.*

34. For this interpretation of the *rasa* doctrine, which differs somewhat from that given elsewhere, see my *Sigiri Graffiti* (now in the press) Introduction, pp. cxciv-cxcvii.

when this fact is borne in mind. In this connection the following words of Mons. Auboyer referring to the Ajanṭā paintings, will equally apply to those of Ceylon during the Polonnaruva period. "The function of the painter is exactly similar to that of the actor. Like him, he proceeds from an object 'known' and not from an object 'seen' and he seeks, not a servile imitation of nature, but a transcription of the reality. For this purpose he employs a relatively restricted vocabulary, that is understood by all, and which consists in a series of aspects possessing a conventional acceptation, and elaborated in his mind from certain characteristic prototypes. Similarly, the aim of the painter, like that of the actor, is to produce in the spectator a psychic state called sentiment (*rasa*) or more properly savour. This is the science of the hidden significance of external appearances, of the formation of a traditional mental image to be projected to the sensibility of the spectator, arousing in him a subjective sentiment. Again, the painter like the actor, determines the form and produces artificially in the spectator certain sentiments equally artificial but also beneficial in kind. Everything, therefore, in painting, as in the drama, must be manipulated to stimulate the correct *rasa*".[35]

The paintings that we have considered being intended to be religious in purpose, the sentiment they should engender is what is called *śānta*, tranquillity. The spectator of these paintings, instead of having his senses overcome by the objects in the external world, should have created in him a feeling of detachment, taking his mind from the vortex of phenomenal existence to spiritual calm, through contemplation of the great qualities of the Buddha. It is by the extent to which this feeling is created in the mind of the spectator that the artists' efforts can be called successful. And in order to communicate this feeling to the spectator, the artist himself must have experienced it in his own mind.

35. 2 *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. XXII, p. 27.

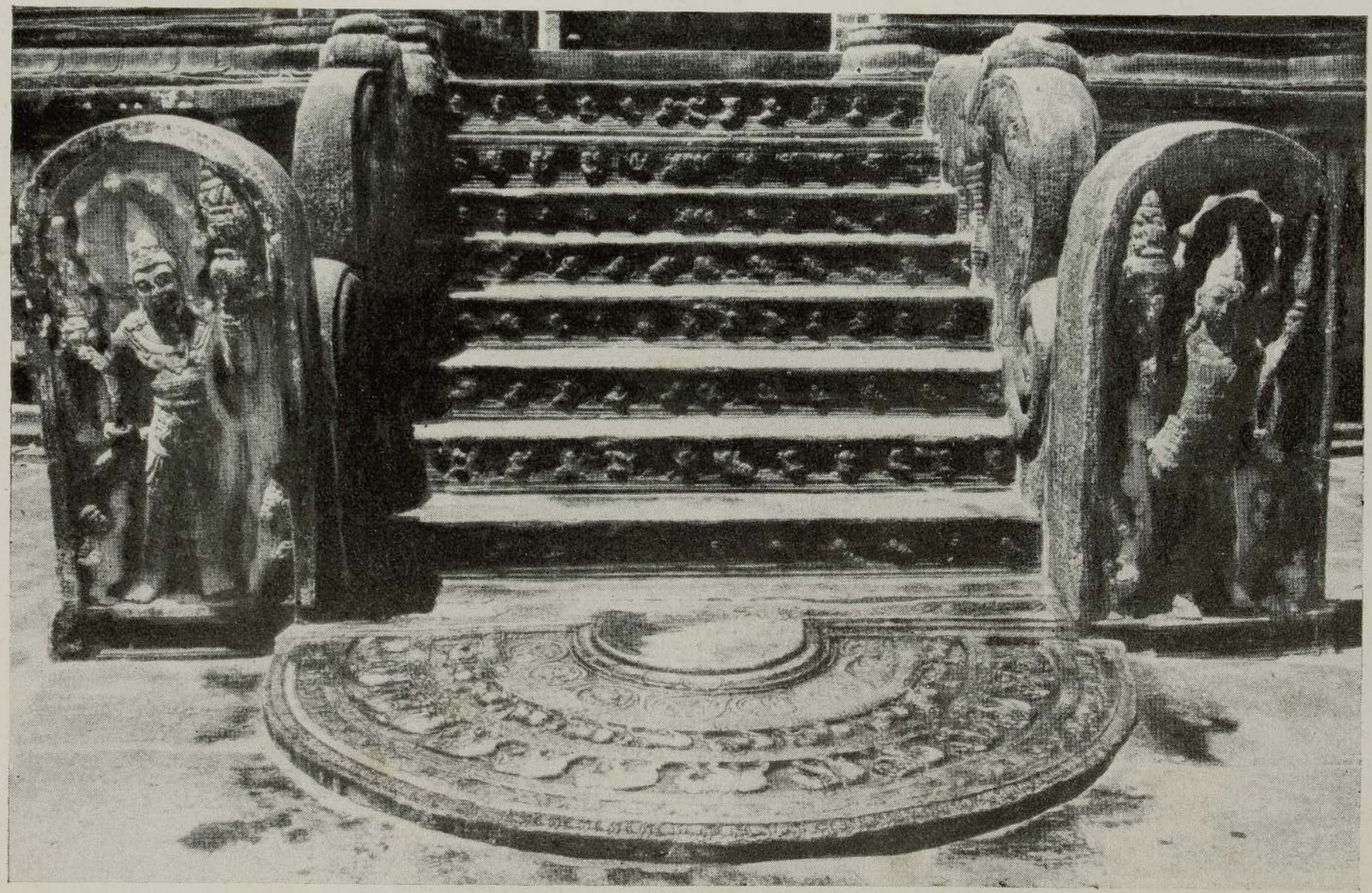


VATADAGE AT MADIRIGIRIYA

A circular building enclosing a *stupa*, a type of edifice which, in essential features, was considerably earlier than the Polonnaruva period. It was one of the main features of Ceylon architecture, having evolved from the *cetiyaghara* and preserving the earliest forms brought by the Sinhalese from India. A domical roof of wooden construction sheltered the whole.

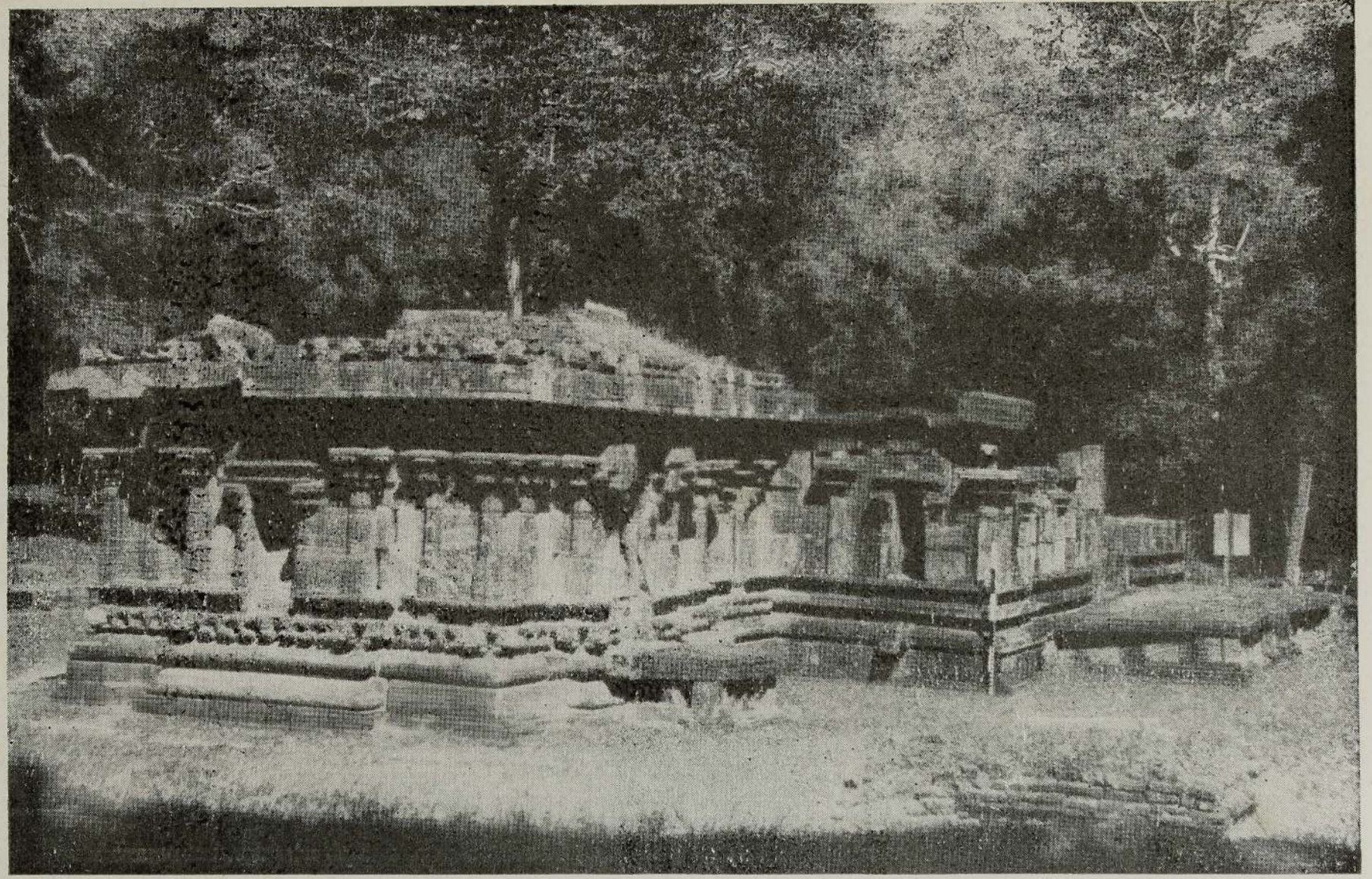
MAKARA BALUSTRADE

The outer face of the left balustrade at the Lankatilaka. A scroll issues from the mouth of the mythical composite beast and, below, are two exquisite reliefs separated by a pilaster. The work is probably of the late Anuradhapura period.



ORNAMENTAL ENTRANCE

At the Vatadage, Polonnaruva. For effect the architects depended on such a decorative flight. Flanked by *Makara* balustrades, it ended at *dvara-palas* between which was often a profusely carved semi-circular Moonstone slab.



SIVA DEVALE No. 1

This ornate Hindu *Kovil* of the 13th century Pandyan style is noteworthy for the precision with which the stones have been cut. The stone seems to be not of a variety found in or near Polonnaruva. The *sikhara* had been of brick so that this temple was not entirely of stone as No. 2 was. The Saiva shrines, too, developed from Buddhist architecture and bear similarities to later Buddhist shrines of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruva.

SIVA DEVALE No. 2

is Polonnaruva's only monument entirely of stone. Standing whole, this is the earliest datable monument of the City and represents Chola architecture at its best. It is of the 11th century.

SIVA AND PARVATI
also from Siva Devale No. 1.

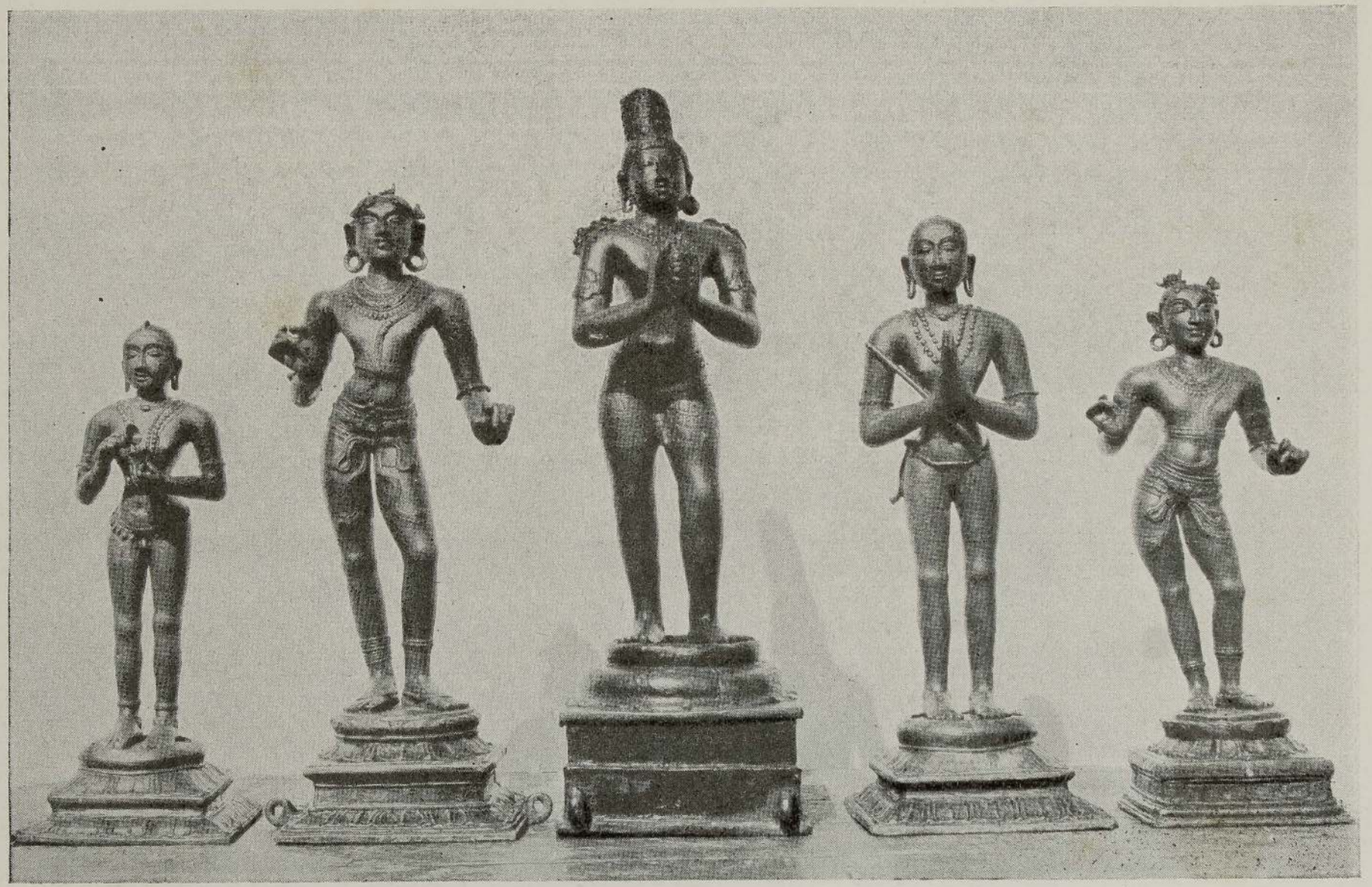
PARVATI
from Polonnaruva.

NATARAJA

The god Siva in the Cosmic Dance, one of the fine bronzes from Siva Devale No. 1.

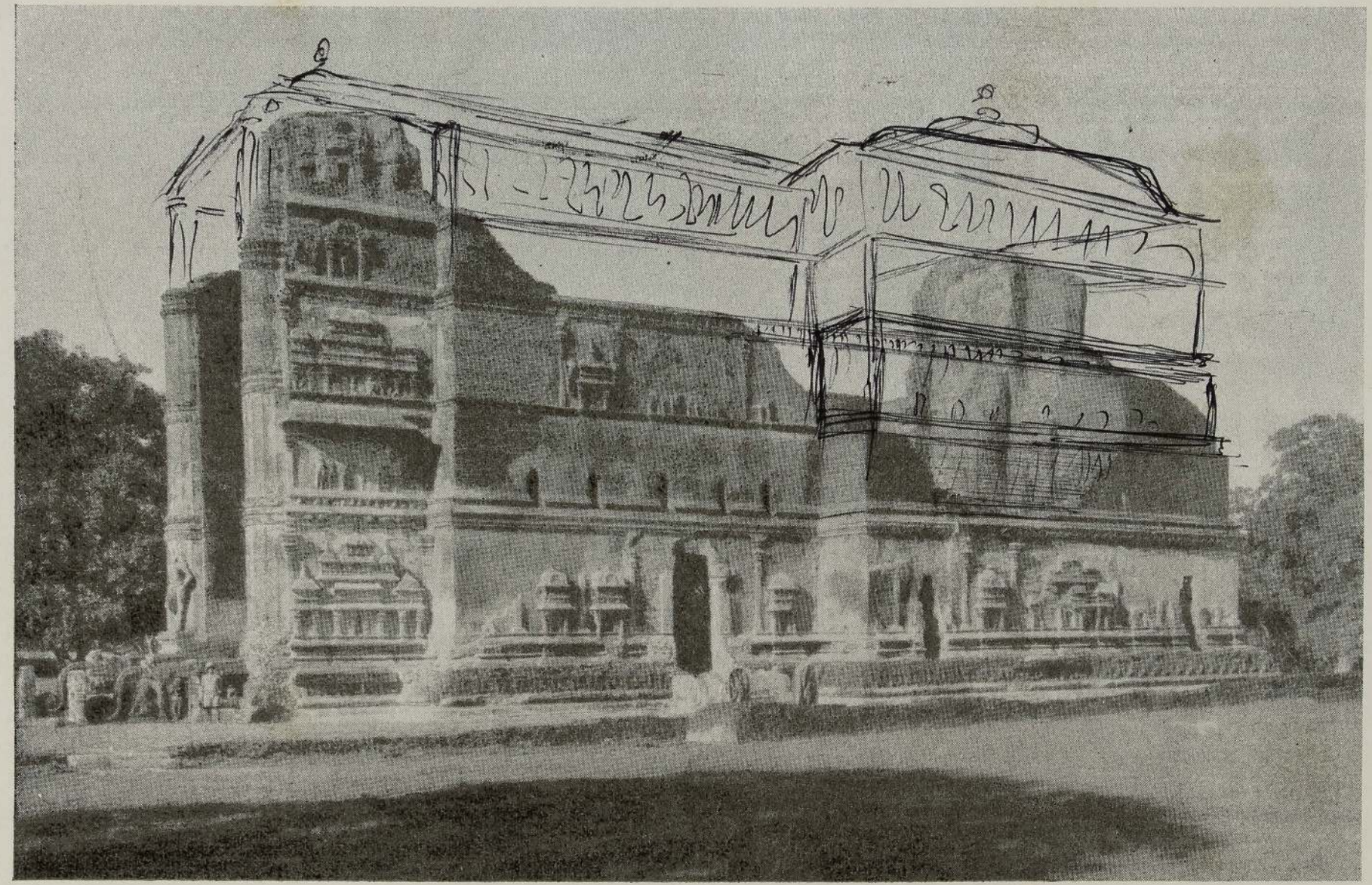
PARVATI AND SIVA

from Siva Devale No. 5



SAIVA BRONZES

found in the Hindu temples of Polonnaruva (period 11th—13th century) these examples of Indian art are of a higher order than the Nataraja illustrated. Among the Saints depicted are Tirujnana Sambandha, Sundara Murti and probably Appar Svami.



LAMKATILAKA

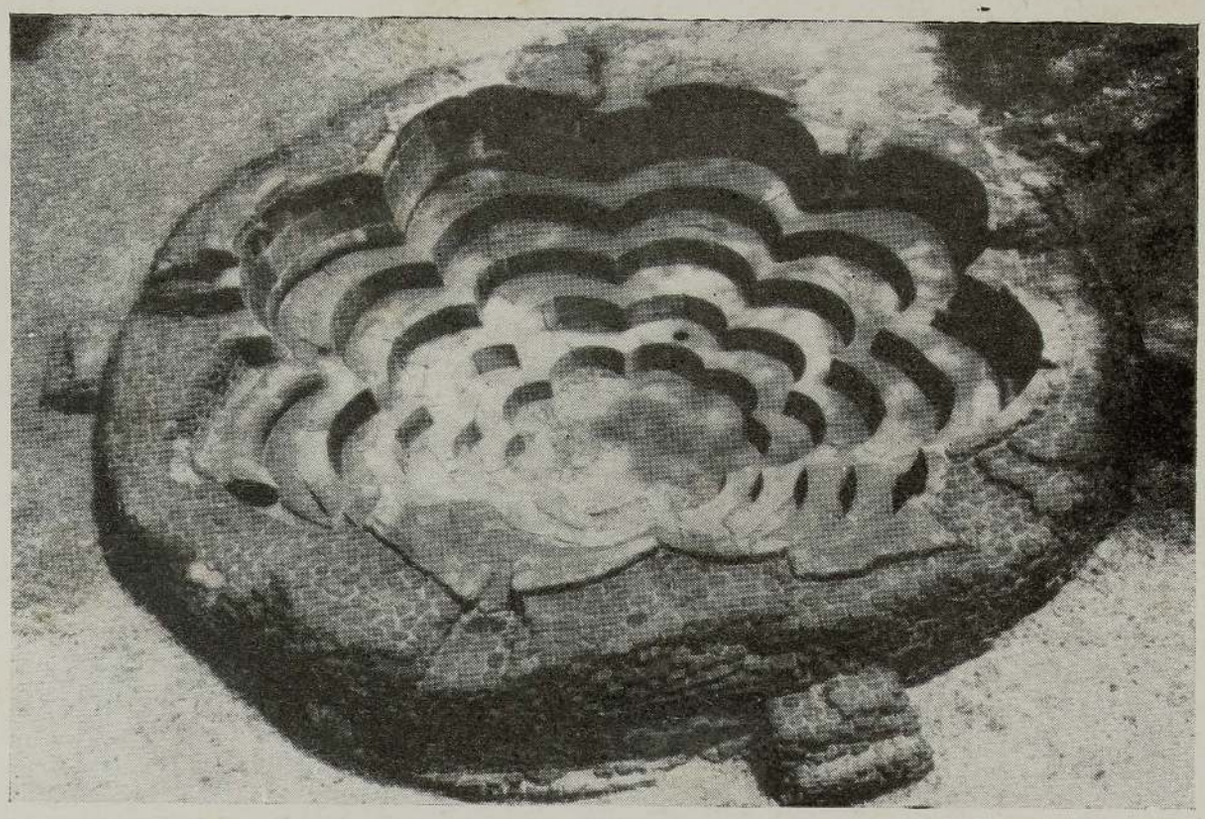
its north wall stands 55 ft. high in the ruined state. The full length of the building was 124 ft. and at the square shaped inmost shrine the greatest breadth was 66 ft. The horizontal lines combined with the entrance pylons to heighten religious ecstasy. The ornamentation of the exterior of the walls is not to be attributed to copying from the Dravidian.

TIVAMKA IMAGE HOUSE

another of the great brick edifices of the City. It is noted for a representation of the Buddha which is uncommon, namely, in three bodily flexions. It contains the best preserved murals of the 12th century.

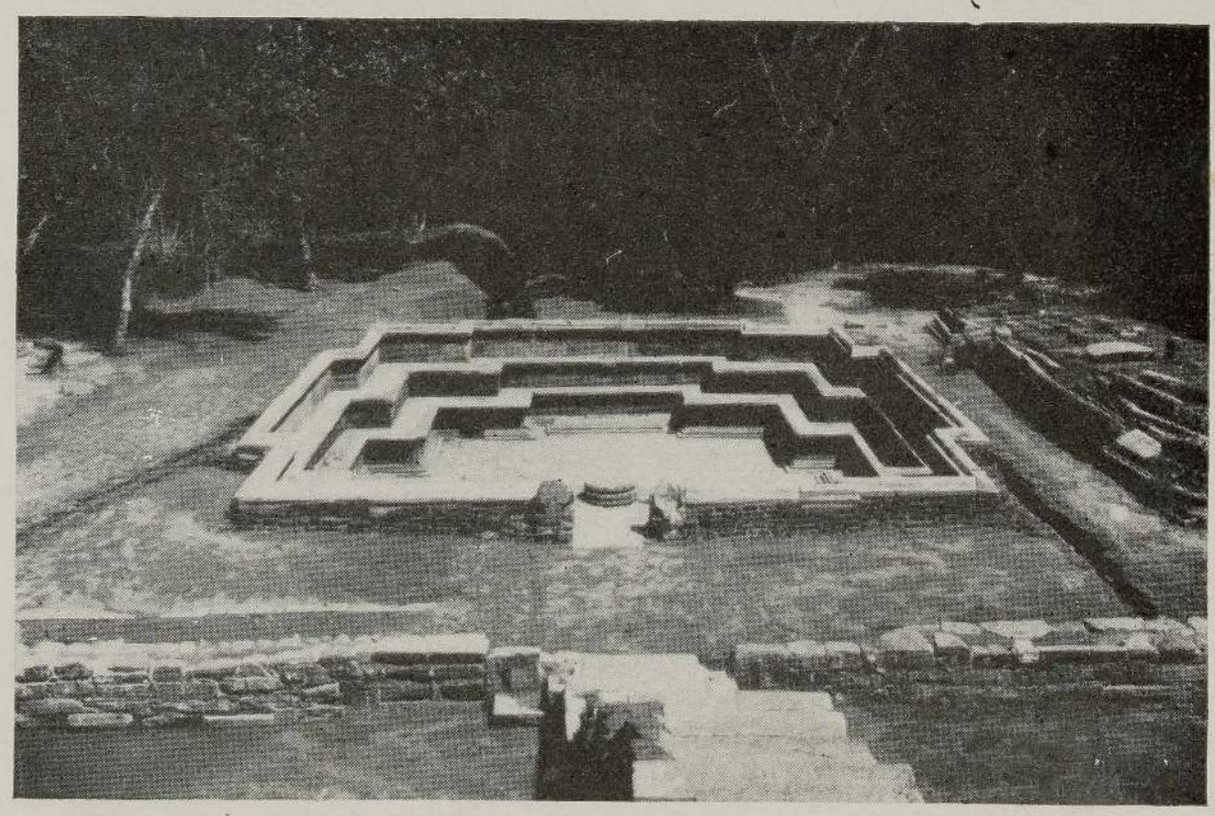
MINIATURE SHRINE

on facade of Tivamka Image House.



THE LOTUS BATH

a poem in stone, pond in the form of a full blown lotus of eight petals, found in the Jetavana area.

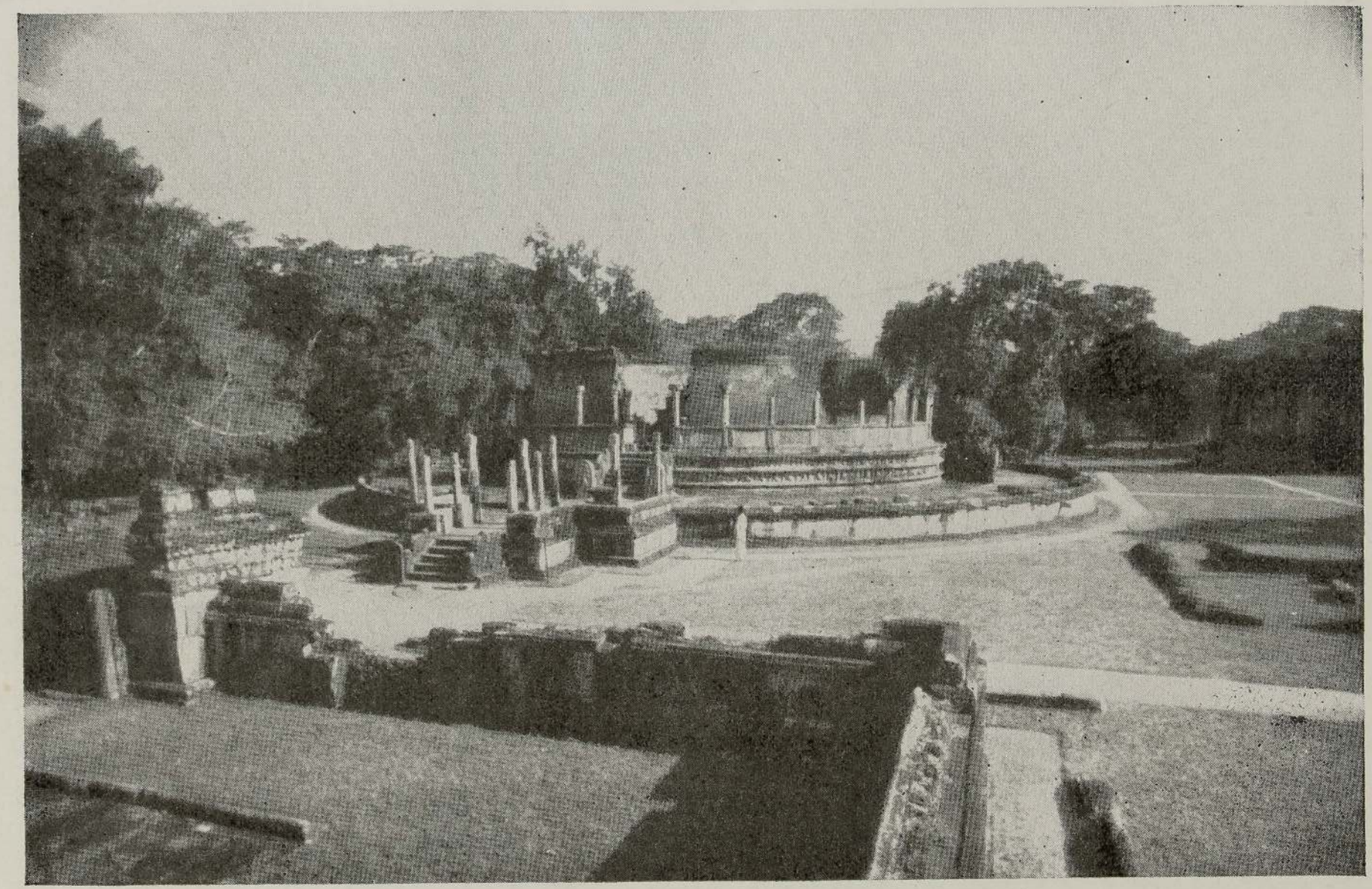


SILA POKKHARANI (Kumara Pokuna)

the pond in the Palace garden of Parakramabahu I which "continually captivated the King." The plain mouldings in the three tiers of the stone facing of this bath create a very pleasing effect and are architecturally more rational than the *tour de force* of the Lotus Bath.

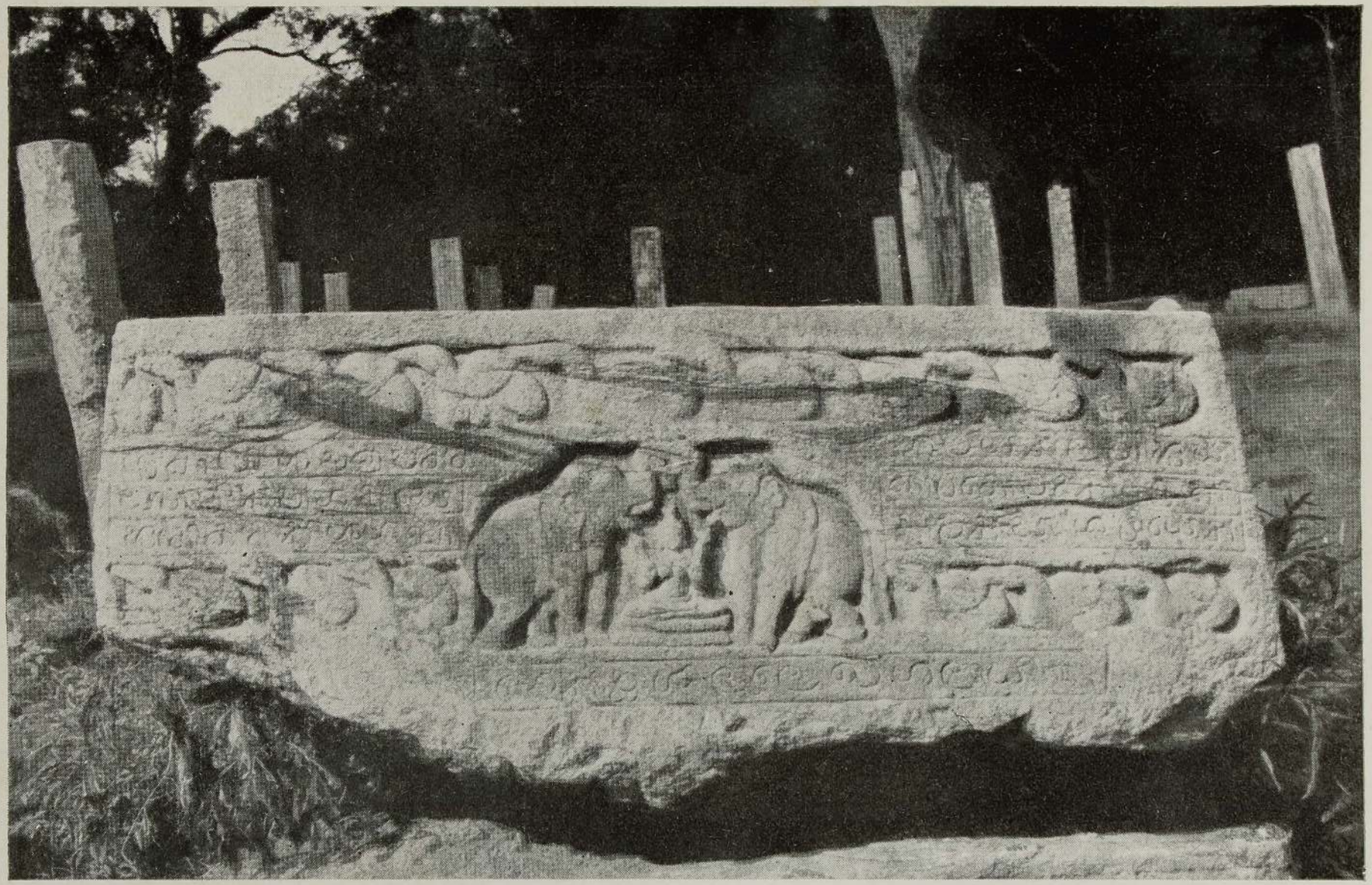
NISSANKA LATA MANDAPA

The blending of naturalism with architectonic stylisation in this Creeper Pavilion at Polonnaruva contrasts strikingly with the simple railing and plain doorway.



VATADAGE

This is the most admired shrine at Polonnaruva. In it the *cetiya-ghara* saw its highest development. The various members of this remarkable monument display lavish sculptural ornamentation hardly excelled elsewhere in the Island.



GAL POTA

sculptured south end of the Stone Book of Nissamka Malla shows a centrally placed Gaja Laksmi, friezes of *hamsas* and short descriptive epigraphs.

RANKOT VEHERA

the stupendous Ruvanvali Stupa of Nissamka Malla which also closely followed its colossal namesake in Anuradhapura in architectural design as modified in the 10th century.

DRUMMER

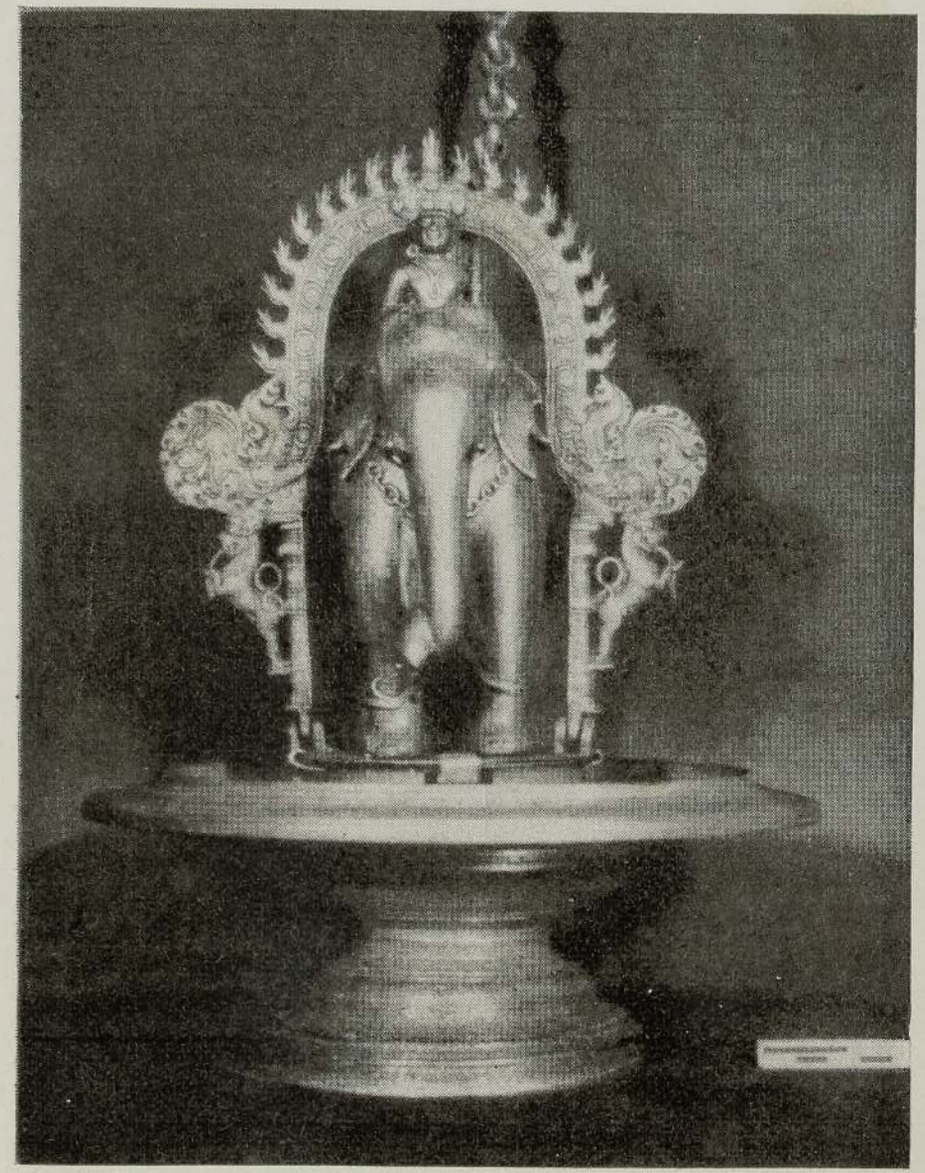
forming a decorative feature of the chain of a votive lamp from Sutighara Cetiya.

DANSEUSE

decorating the chain of a votive lamp from Sutighara Cetiya.

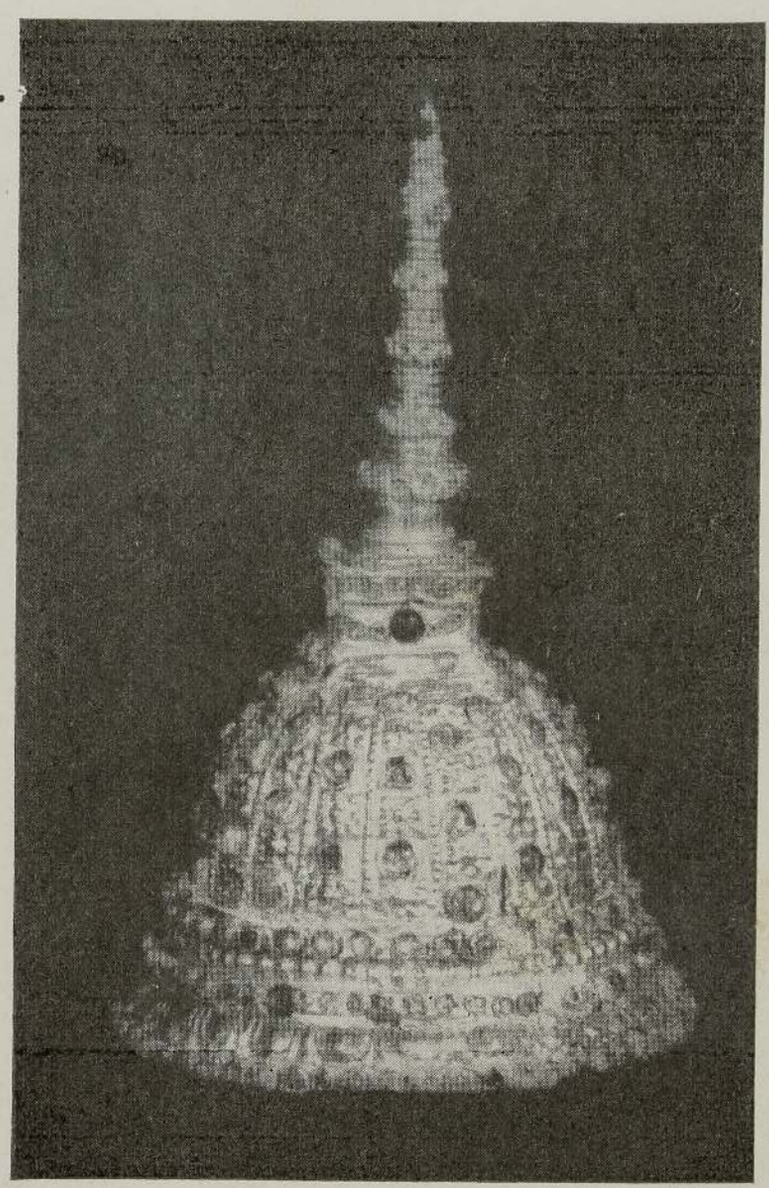
DANCER

a figure in the chain of a votive lamp from Sutighara Cetiya.



BRONZE VOTIVE LAMP

from Sutighara Cetiya erected at Punkhagama (Dedigama) where Parakramabahu I was born. This remarkable hanging lamp with its artistically embellished members had been deposited with three others in the first relic-chamber 13 ft. from the top.



STUPA RELIQUARY

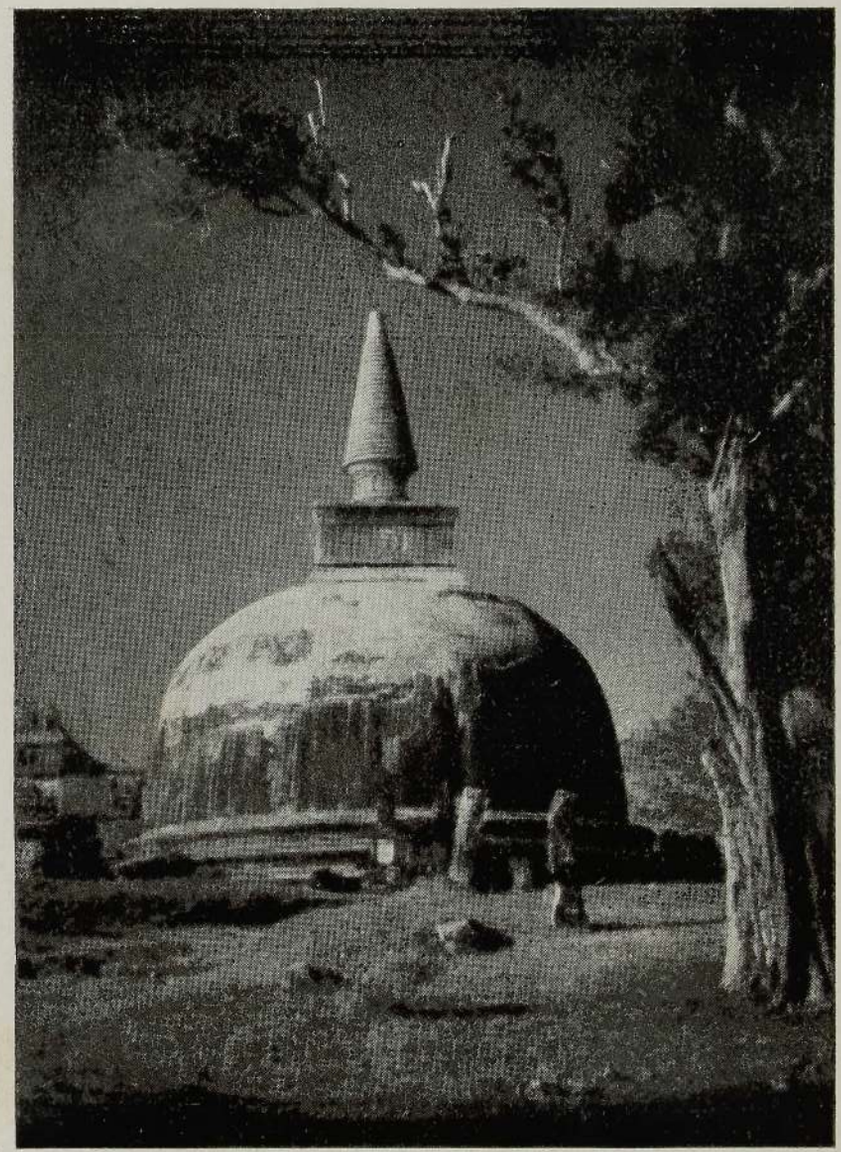
this ornate gem-studded votive *stupa* of gold foil was found in the upper relic-chamber of Sutighara Cetiya.

THUPARAMA IMAGE HOUSE

like the Lamkatilaka a vaulted brick building which naturally evolved from the Anuradhapura prototype. The original type is known in Pali as *ginjakavasatha*. The Ceylon examples have not been borrowed from the Dravidian.

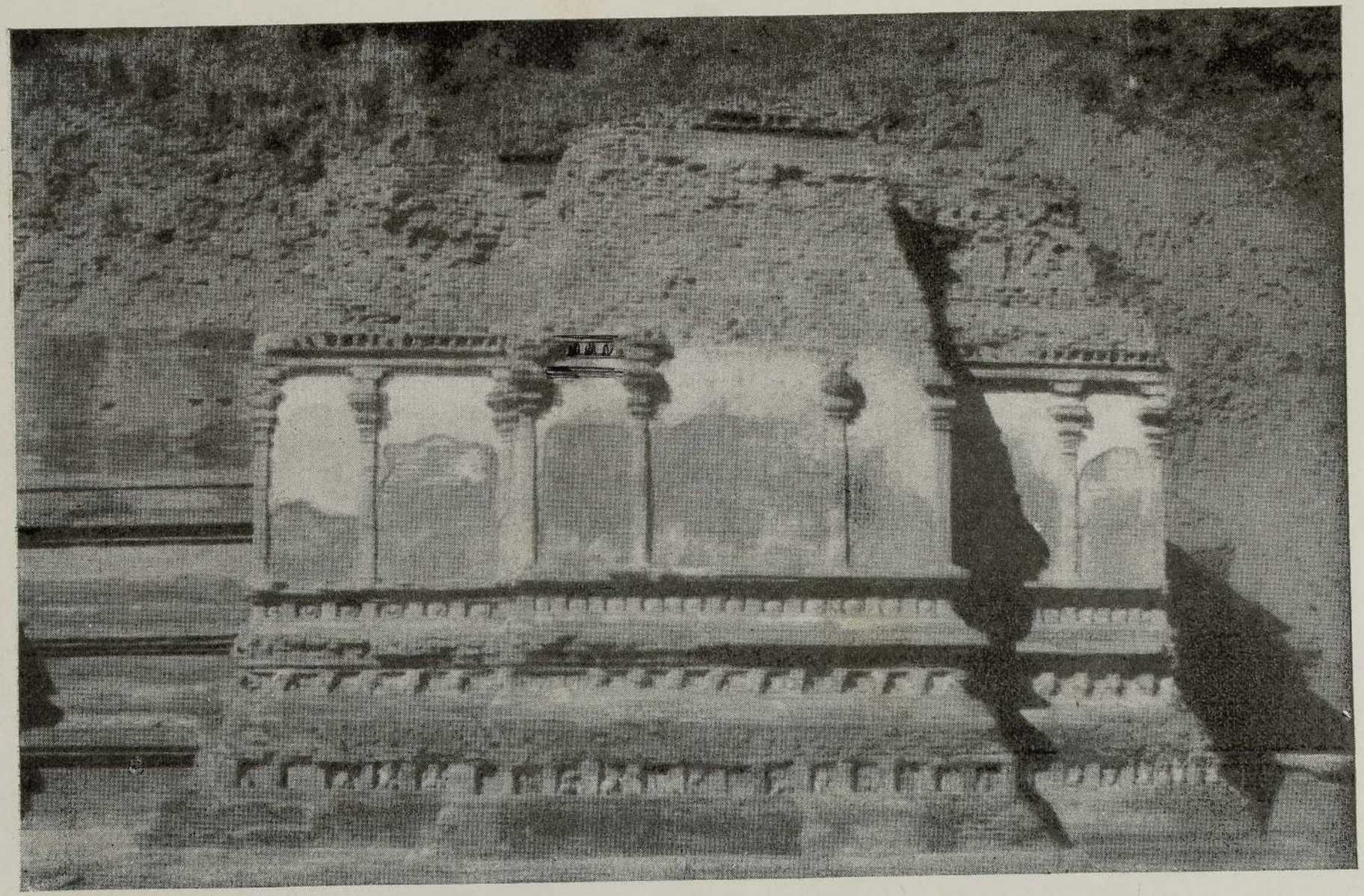
SAT MAHAL PASADA

along with its northern Siam counterpart at Lamphun is derived from an ancient Indian prototype.



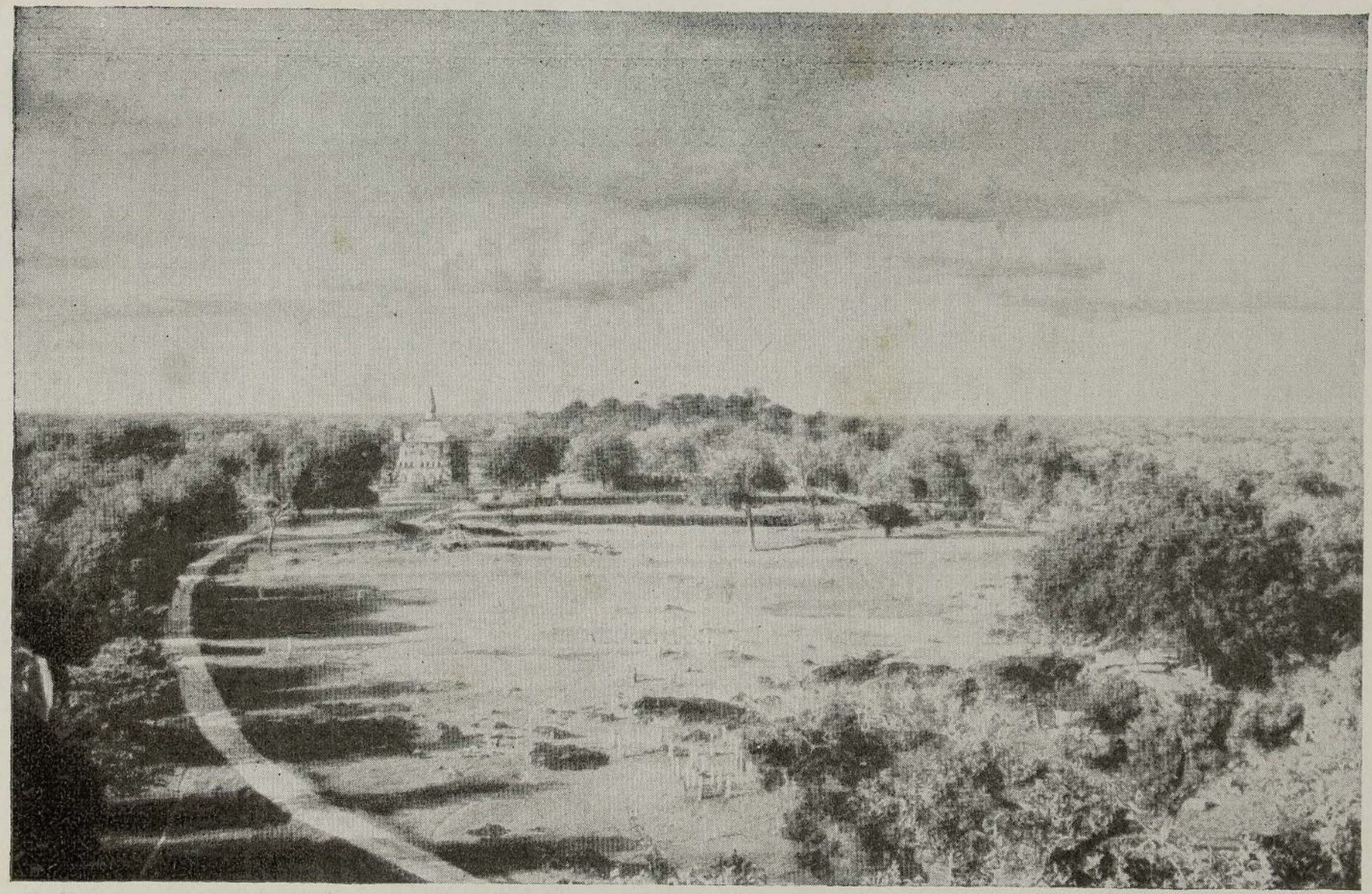
KIRI VEHERA

probably the Rupavati Cetiya of Parakramabahu I followed the model of the earlier colossal *stupas* in having a bubble shaped dome rising from three super-imposed basal terraces.



VAHALKADA AT RANKOT VEHERA

constructed entirely of brick masonry, these frontispieces from Polonnaruva differ in many other details too from their earlier types at Anuradhapura. The device of pilasters here emphasizes the vertical aspect. The differences in ornamentation also merit attention.



ALAHANA PARIVENA GROUP

of monastic buildings reveals the skill of twelfth century architectural planning. The principal buildings were sited on slightly rising ground and the surrounding slope was made into terraces for locating adjuncts in an *ensemble* to pleasing effect.

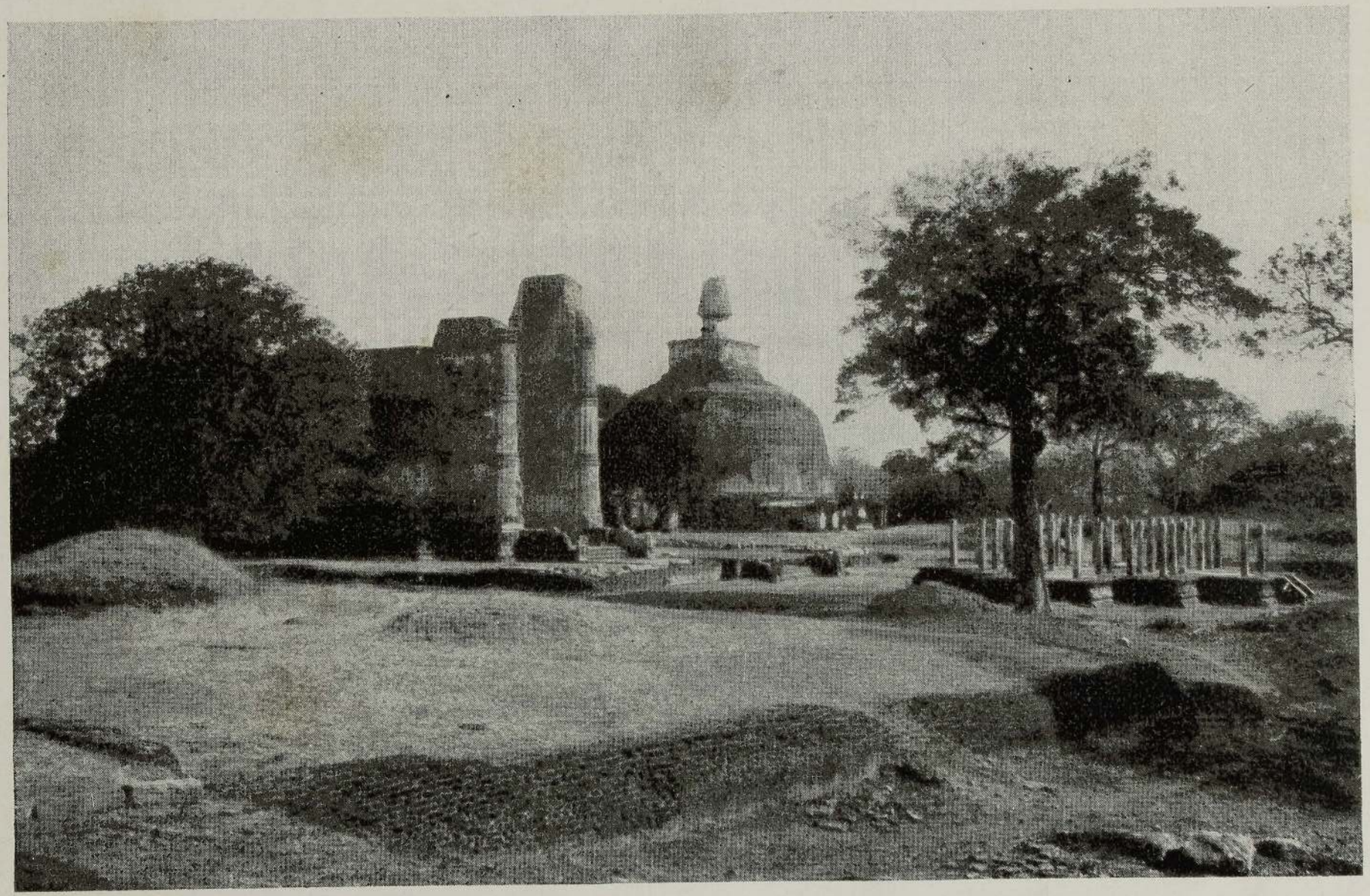
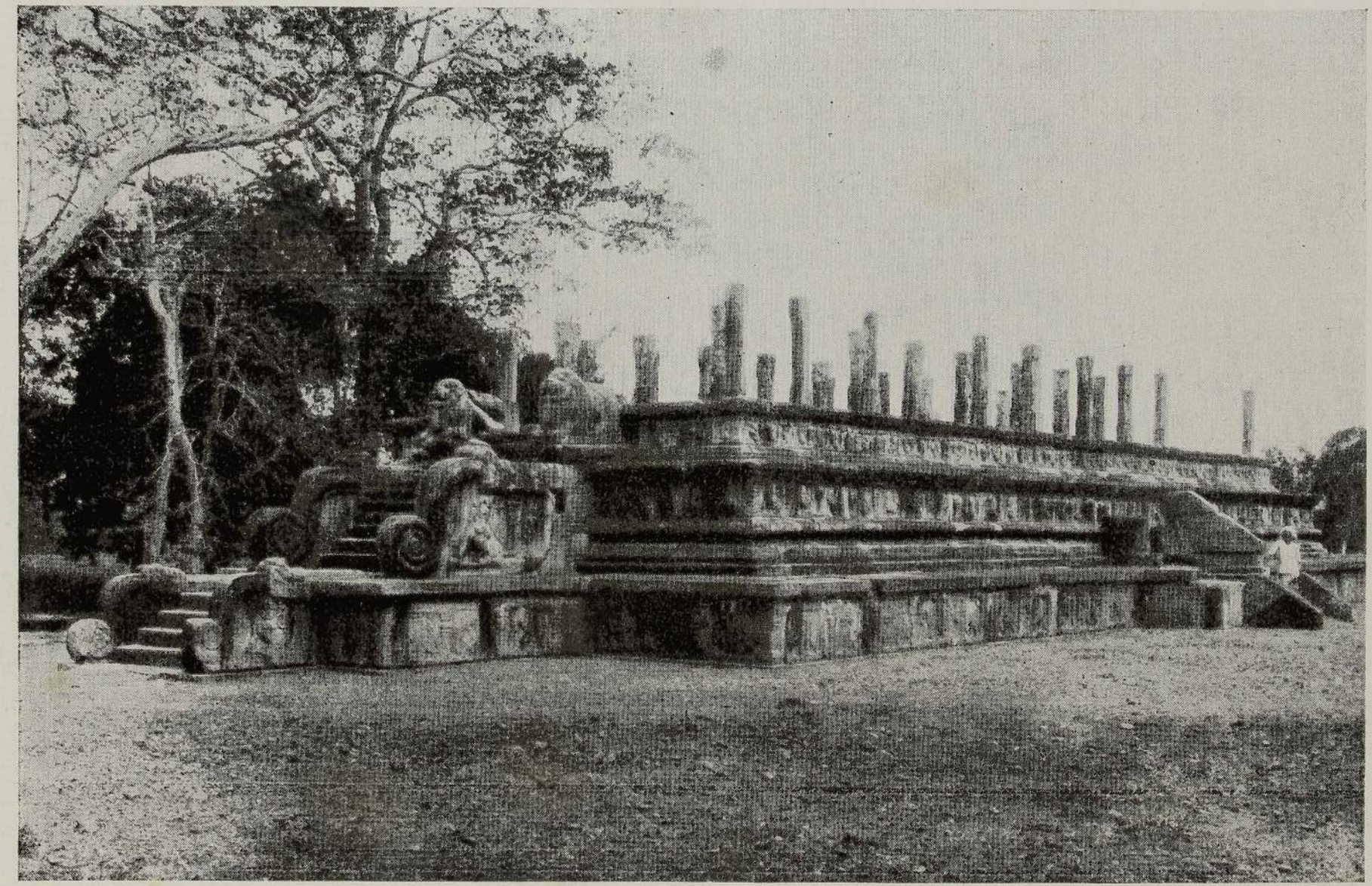


IMAGE HOUSE AND STUPA

of the Alahana Parivena complex of monastic buildings founded by Parakramabahu I.



THE ROYAL PAVILION

of Parakramabahu I was built on a high moulded three tiered base ornamented with friezes.

ELEPHANT FRIEZE

one relief at the base of the Royal Pavilion of Parakramabahu I. No two of these animals have been shown in the same attitude. The frieze running round shows an amazing liveliness to reflect the various moods of the mighty beast.

LION RELIEF

in a frieze in the Royal Pavilion of Parakramabahu I, depicts the traditional form of the Royal Maned Lion (*kesara sinha*).

FRIEZE OF GANAS

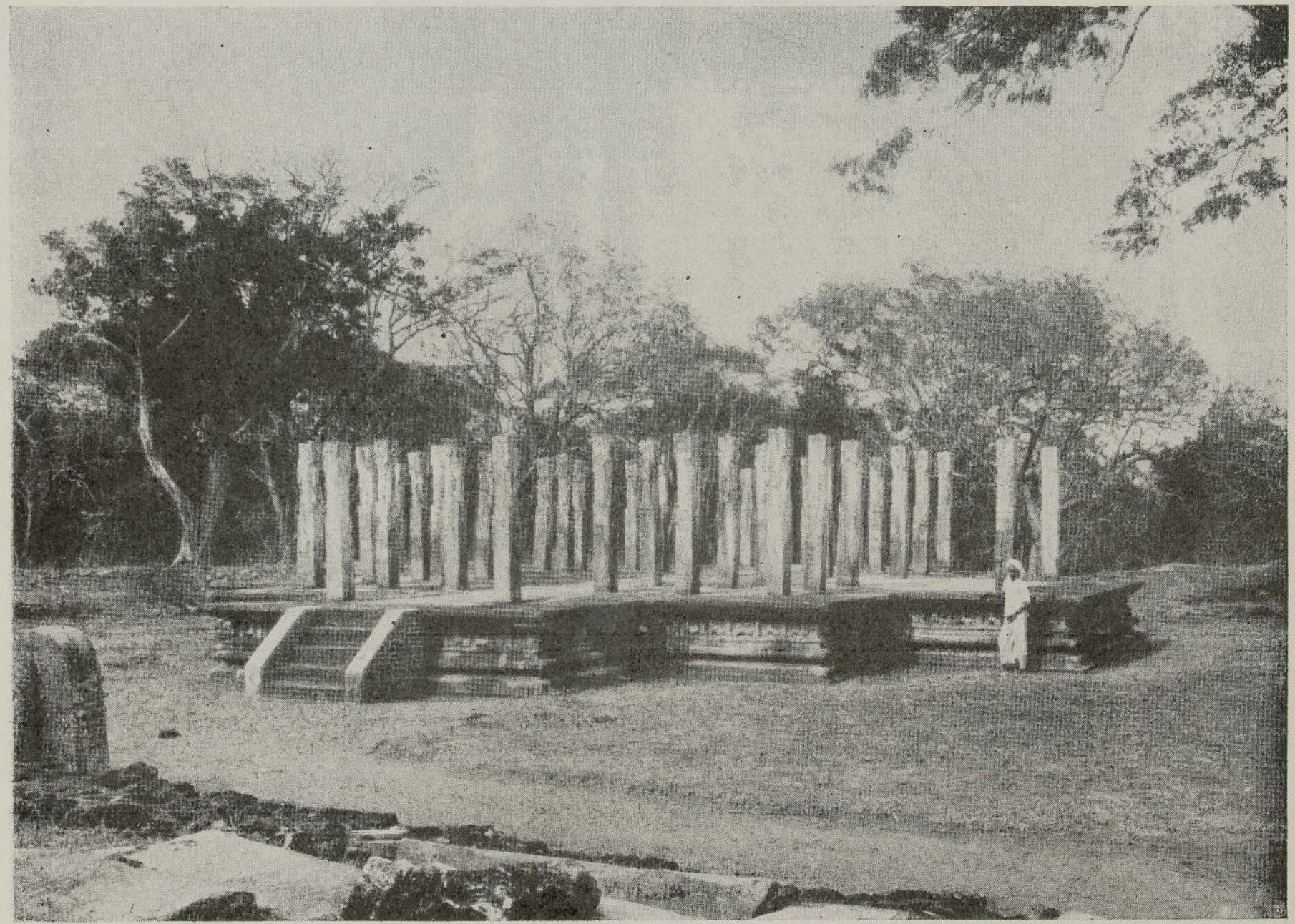
the playful attitudes and grimaces of these *ganas* in the Royal Pavilion of Parakramabahu I characterize them as essentially beings of laughter, even though, sculptured at the base and cornice of buildings, they have, as it were, to bear the burden of the entire structure upon their hands.

STONE PILLARS

these slender and graceful examples from the Royal Pavilion of Parakramabahu I are decorated with floral designs of exquisite charm. Four rows supported the roof.

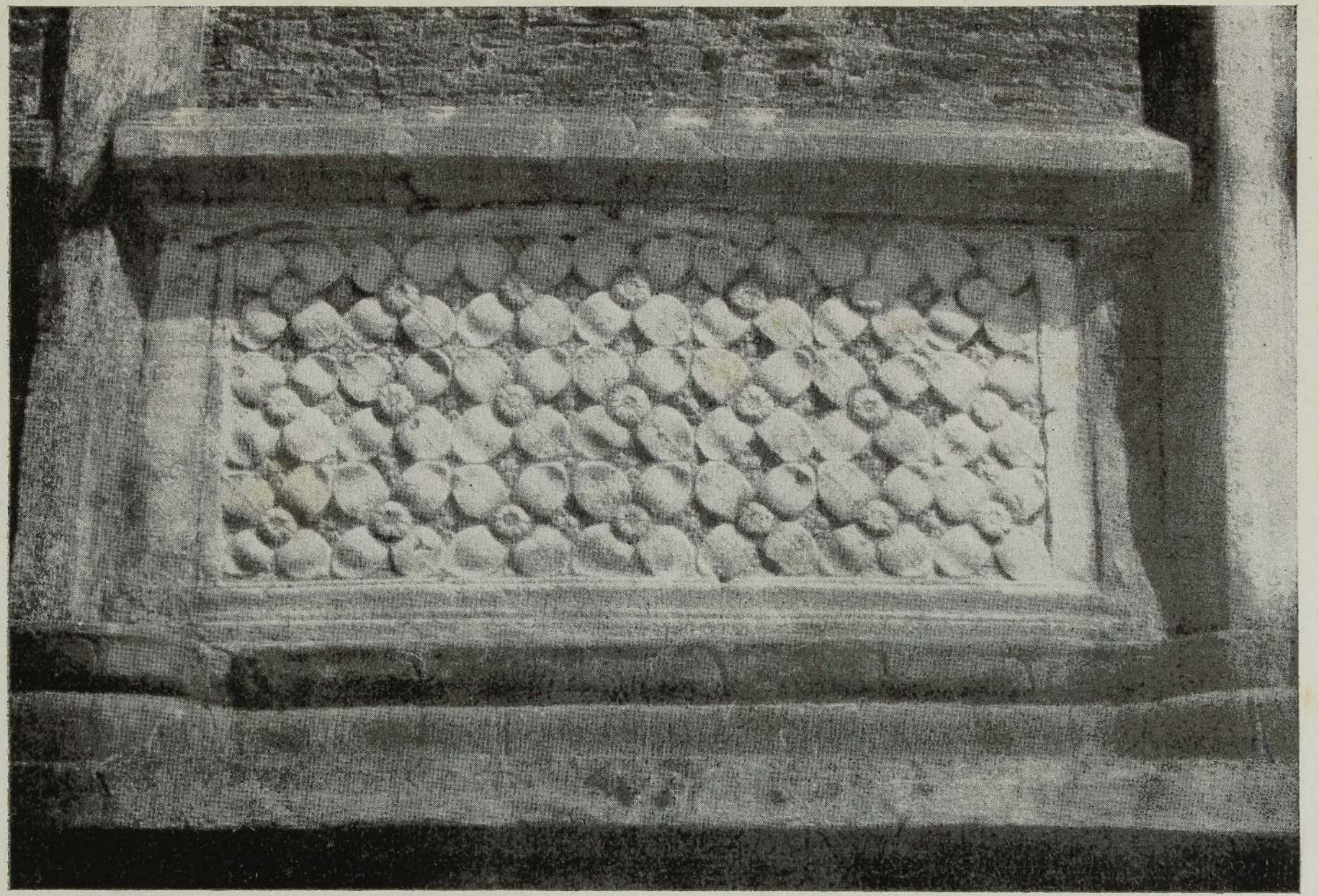
MASSIVE STONE LION

which had supported the Throne of Nissamka Malla was found in the Council Hall in which are short lithic records indicating the titles and the location of seats of the dignitaries. (The Lion is now in the Colombo Museum.)



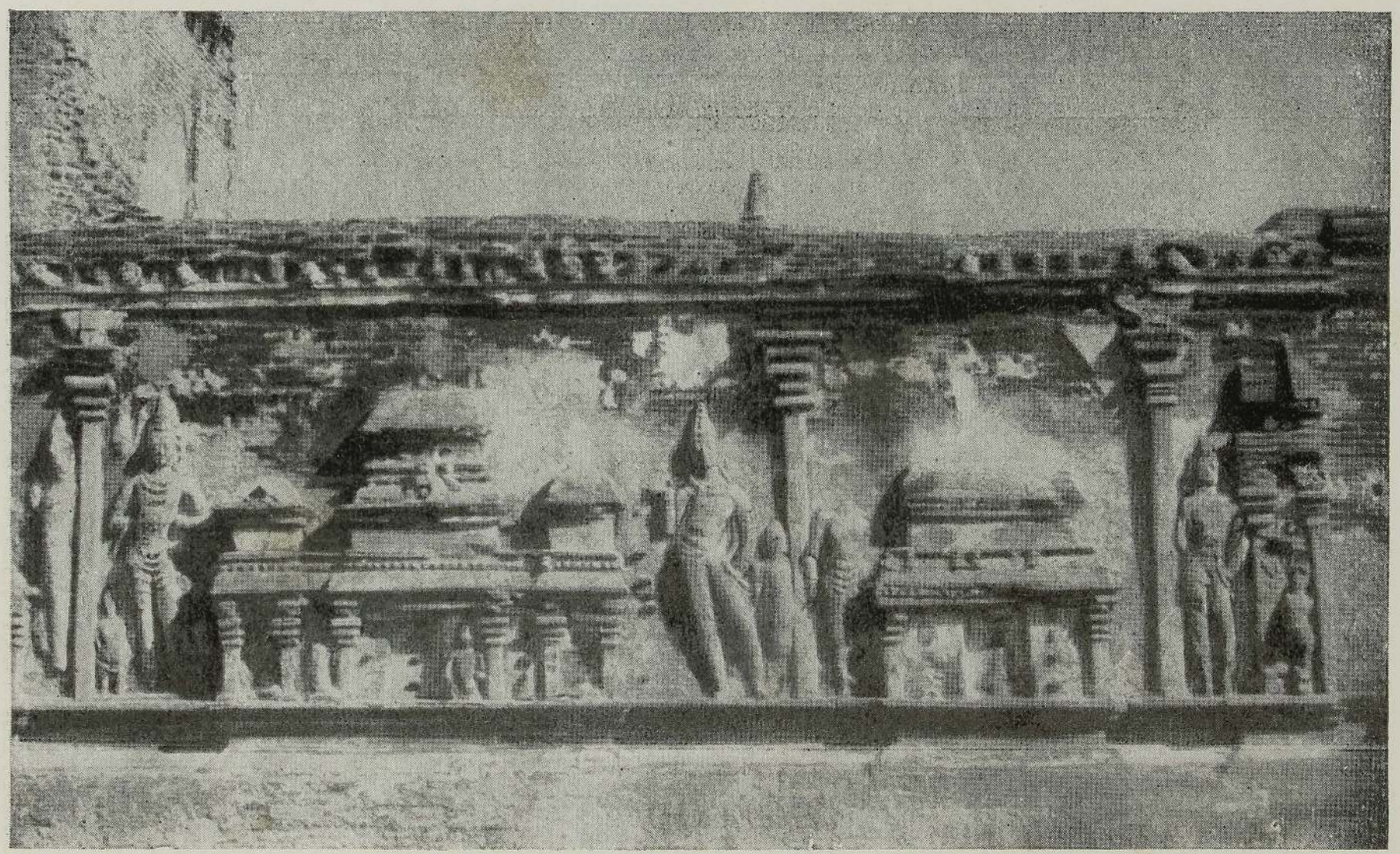
ENTRANCE PAVILION

the stone pillars of this building in front of the Lankatilaka are partly octagonal and like those in the Pavilion of Parakramabahu I, bear chaste decorative designs. The type differs from Anuradhapura.



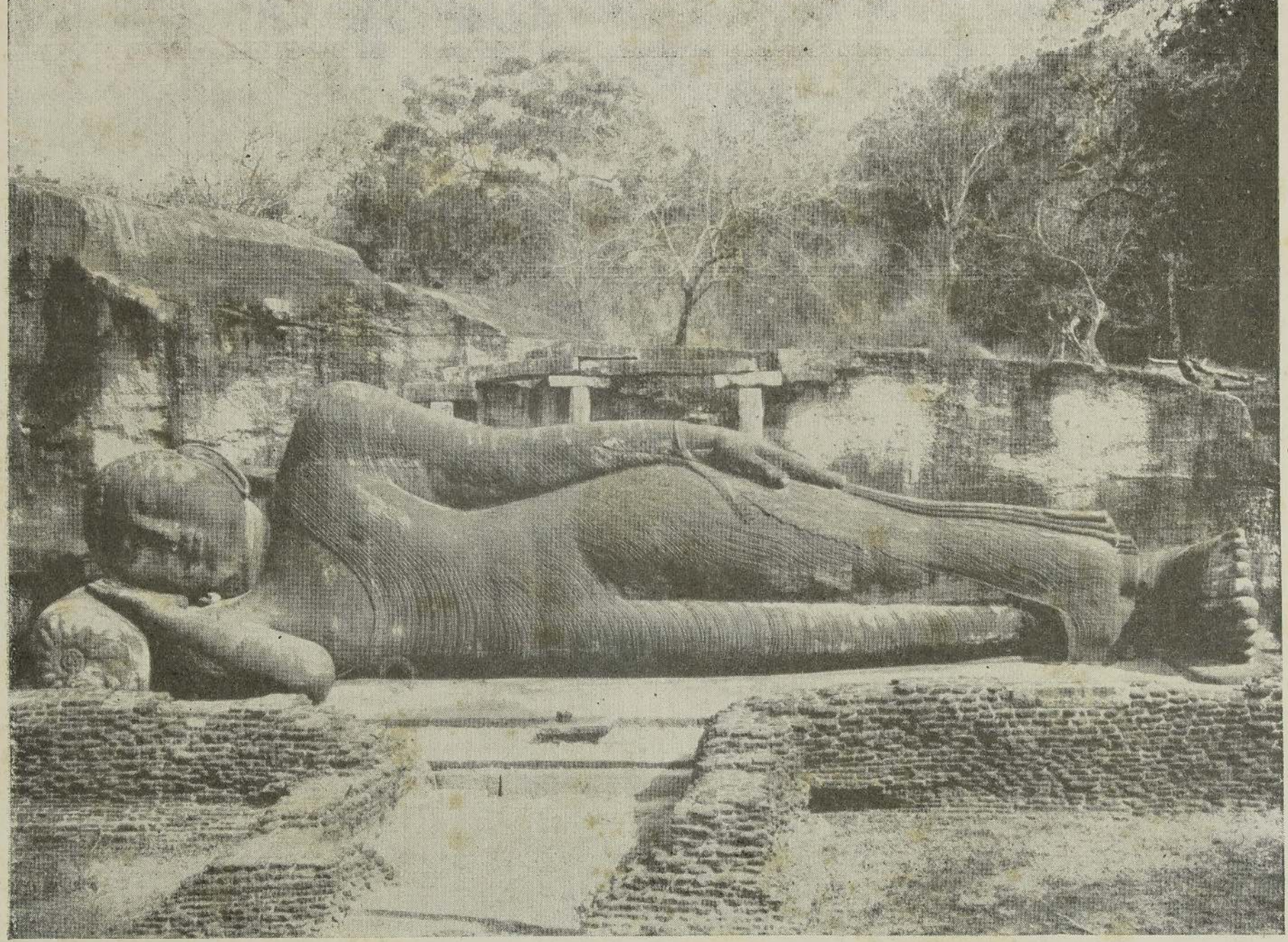
STONE SCREEN

This panel from the screen wall of the Vatadage is effectively ornamented with shallow carvings of four-petalled flowers in naturalistic style. They are arranged in diaper design with smaller flowers in between. The motives set in a detached background give calm and harmony in contrast to the vibrancy of those in the pillars of the Atadage.



STUCCO GROUP

from Lamkatilaka exterior wall generally representing divine beings who have come in their celestial abodes to adore the Buddha. The figures exhibit skill in modelling and depicting the human body in various attitudes and postures.



RECUMBENT BUDDHA—This 46 ft. colossus of the Gal Vihara is the largest of the group of four which rank amongst the best works of ancient Ceylon. Originally each was separately enshrined and had been painted and gilt.

PALI AND SANSKRIT IN THE POLONNARUVA PERIOD

By

PROFESSOR O. H. De A. WIJESEKERA, M.A., Ph. D.

Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Ceylon.

ALTHOUGH strictly the Polonnaruva Period may be considered as beginning in 1017 A. D., with the shifting of the capital to that city consequent upon the Cola conquest, yet till the accession of Kitti to the throne of Lankā as Vijayabāhu I in 1065 A. D., there was hardly any peace in the land for the liberal arts to flourish in any marked degree. Even the reign of this monarch was not altogether peaceful and the real literary efflorescence characteristic of the so-called Polonnaruva Period must be considered to have started with the reign of Niśśaṇka Malla which began in 1187 A. D. This does not mean that the preceding decades were completely devoid of any form of literary activity. For instance, the compilation of the famous philosophical work, the *Abhidhammatthasangaha* by Anuruddha, most probably falls within that period even before the accession of Parākramabāhu I in 1153. But the large majority of Pali and Sanskrit works of the Polonnaruva Period appeared in the latter half of this era and, therefore, with regard to the 'Polonnaruva Period' in literary history it is mainly the half-century after 1187 that merits closer attention.

The great revival of Buddhism under Parākramabāhu the Great ushered in a period of intensive literary activity in Pali, particularly in the field of Buddhist philosophical analysis. It is characteristic of the thought of this period that critical analysis was more prominent than creative literary effort. The marked progress made in irrigational engineering and architecture reflects the kind of intellectual environment of the age. The construction of the 'Sea of Parākrama', a stupendous feat of engineering in the ancient world, shows to what extent a 'scientific' spirit could have pervaded the life of the people. Moreover, the immense prosperity that attended the era of peace brought about by that great ruler's valour and wisdom naturally resulted in perfect internal tranquillity undisturbed by oppression, and, thus, there arose in that atmosphere of serene peacefulness an illustrious band of scholars who made this epoch the *Augustan Age* of Ceylon literature.

The most senior among them was perhaps the famous President of the Udumbaragiri monastery, Mahā Kassapa Thera, whom the king honoured by inviting him to preside over the Council of Elders summoned by the ruler for the purpose of reforming and reviving the religion. He was an acknowledged master of all the three languages, Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhalese. He is reputed as the author of a 'porānā ṭīkā' on the *Abhidhammatthasangaha*. It has been disputed whether he is the same as the Elder Kassapa mentioned in the *Sāsanavaṁsadīpa* as a poet of the Cola country, but regarded in Burma as a native of Ceylon and author of several treatises in Pali such as the *Mohavicchedanī* and the *Vimativinodanī*, the former a treatise on the Abhidhamma and the latter a commentary on the Vinaya. He is also believed to have composed the *Buddhavaṁsa* and the *Anāgatavaṁsa*.

Another illustrious scholar who lived probably about the same time was the Elder Moggallāna, the well-known author of the *Moggallāna-Vyākarana*. Whether he was also the author of the Pali lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā* or not, the fact remains that his greatness as a master of Pali language was undisputed. The popularity of his grammar was so great that it almost superseded the older work of Kaccāyana, which had been held in high esteem by the Pali scholars of Ceylon from about the seventh century. The inspiration to undertake such a task of recodifying Pali grammatical science came to Moggallāna undoubtedly from his intimate acquaintance with Sanskrit grammatical authorities. For, there is evidence that at this time all the learned monks of Ceylon paid great attention to Sanskrit and consequently the Pali language itself was becoming largely Sanskritized. He was a pupil of Mahā Kassapa and the colophon of his grammar clearly states that Moggallāna composed it in the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great. He is therefore probably identical with the Moggallāna Thera mentioned in the Tamil inscription of Vijayabāhu. In his *Vinayārthasamuccaya* the Elder Medhankara of the Udumbaragiri Vihāra, a contemporary of Moggallāna, speaks very highly of the latter's achievements as monk and scholar. Moggallāna's work started a new school of Pali grammatical studies in Ceylon, supplanting both the Avanti school as represented by the work ascribed to Kaccāyana and the Burmese grammatical tradition as made popular in Ceylon by Aggavaṁsa's *Saddanīti*.

It is difficult to decide with any degree of certainty at present whether Moggallāna the author of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, also a work of the reign of the great monarch Parākramabāhu I, was the same as our grammarian. It may be inferred that this work belongs to the latter part of Parākrama's reign as the author says that the sovereign "had *long* extended his protection to the united Sangha of the Three Sects." It is well-known that this work closely

follows the style and method of the famous Sanskrit lexicon of Amarasinha, the *Nāmalingānusāsanā*, usually called the *Amarakośa*, whose author was himself certainly a Buddhist as admitted by Keith who places the work at the head of all Sanskrit lexicons, dating it before the eighth century A.D. It is not without significance that lexicography and grammatical science both in India and Ceylon developed under the powerful influence of the analytical tendency of Buddhist thought.

Another brilliant scholiast of the Polonnaruva Period was Sāriputta, celebrated for his rare gifts as scholar of both Pali and Sanskrit. Of his Pali works perhaps the most notable is the *Vinayasangaha*, a summary of the Vinaya Piṭaka, also known as *Mahāvinayasangahapakarana* or *Palimuttakavinayavinicchaya*, among other titles. His most comprehensive work, however, is the *Sāratthadīpanī*, a masterly sub-commentary on Buddhaghosa's *Samantapāsādikā*. These treatises indicate the great exegetical abilities of the author. He is also regarded with less plausibility as the writer of two *Tikās*, namely, the *Sāratthamanjūsā* on *Manorathapūranī*, Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya, and the *Līnatthappakāsinī* on *Papancasūdanī* or the Majjhima Commentary. Dhammakitti, a disciple of Sāriputta and author of the *Dāṭhāvaṁsa*, however, mentions that his teacher wrote the *Samantapāsādikā Tikā* and the *Anguttara-Tikā*.

Literary activity during the Polonnaruva Period was not restricted to indigenous scholars only. About the beginning of Parākrama's reign, there arrived in Ceylon a Burmese Elder named Uttarajīva, with a novice called Chapaṭa, bringing with him a copy of the great Pali grammar, the *Saddanīti* of the Burmese author Aggavamsa, that we have already noticed above. Chapaṭa, later famous among the Ceylon Buddhist Order as Saddhammajotipāla, resided at the Mahā Vihāra for several years during his visits to this land. His major work, the *Sankhepavannanā*, a commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasangaha*, was definitely written in Ceylon.

Of the later generation of scholars whose lives at least partly fall within the Polonnaruva Period mention must be made of the illustrious disciples of Sāriputta who became famous as *Sāgaramati* or 'Ocean of Wisdom' by virtue of his great academic achievements. The works of at least six of these have come down to us. Sangharakkhita's *Vuttodaya* is a popular work on prosody, based on the principles laid down by the great Indian authorities for Sanskrit kāvya. In the colophon to his *Sambandhacintā*, he tells us that, apart from the *Vuttodaya*, he also wrote *Susaddasiddhi*, *Yogavinicchaya*, *Subodhālankāra* and a *Khuddasikkhā-Ṭīkā*. A contemporary of his was Sumangala, another pupil of Sāriputta, who wrote Tikās on several Abhidhamma works

such as the *Abhidhammatthavikāsini* and the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī*. To this group also belongs the Elder Buddhanāga who wrote the *Vinayatthamanjūsā*, and who, as we shall see below, was also a distinguished Sanskritist. To the senior Vācissara, another of Sāriputta's pupils, have been attributed the *Khemappakarana-Ṭīkā*, *Uttaravinicchaya-Ṭīkā*, an original work on the Abhidhamma called *Rūpārūpavibhāga* and the *Sīmālankāra*. Probably contemporary with him was Vimalabuddhi, author of the oldest Ṭikā on the Compendium. To Sāriputta's period also belongs Piyadassi, pupil of the grammarian Moggallāna, who wrote the *Padasādhana*, an abridgement of his teachers work. Lastly as living within this period we may perhaps also mention Mahābodhi Thera, author of a Ṭikā called the *Mukhamattaka* on Anuruddha's *Paramatthavinicchaya*. Whether the ascription of the Ṭikās on the *Khemappakarana* and the *Saccasankhepa* to him is justifiable cannot be ascertained at present, but this period must be regarded as productive of a large number of Ṭikās and other sub-commentaries too numerous to be dealt with in detail.

During the reign of Vijayabāhu II who succeeded Parākramabāhu the Great in 1186 A.D., was composed the popular Pali poem *Dāṭhāvaṁsa*. The author was another disciple of Sāriputta, namely, Dhammakitti who informs us in his work that he wrote it at the request of a minister called Parākrama, basing it on an earlier eḷu work named *Daladāvaṁsa*. It is an elaborate composition very much influenced by Sanskrit both in style and phraseology and can be regarded as one of the best extant Pali poems. To the same author is also attributed the first part of the *Cūlavaṁsa*, which is a continuation of the epic chronicle, the *Mahāvaṁsa*. Here too the influence of the Sanskrit *alamkāra* technique is clearly visible. It is thus interesting to observe that Pali scholarship during the Polonnaruva Period was not wholly confined to the production of analytical works, mainly of a philosophical and grammatical nature, but that there was also at the same time an interest in poetical and creative literary activity.

Reference has frequently been made in the preceding paragraphs to the importance of Sanskrit during the Polonnaruva Period, both as an independent classical study and as a powerful influence on the development of Pali language and literary style. It may be of significance to observe that already in the *Telakaṭāhagāthā*, a Pali religious poem written probably about the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh, the influence of Sanskrit language is unmistakable, although in it the Pali is not overladen with Sanskriticisms as it became after the twelfth century. That frequent contacts with South India must have encouraged the cultivation of Sanskrit learning at this time must be admitted. Yet the influence of Sanskrit on the life and language of the Sinhalese was

there from the earliest times long before the advent of these invaders. For, the *Mahāvaṁsa* contains unmistakable evidence of the presence of Brāhmanism in Ceylon from the most ancient period of our history. The heyday of Sanskrit learning in Ceylon, however, must be considered to fall within the Polonnaruva era, particularly the period between 1058 and 1220 A.D. In fact, considering the extent to which Sanskrit was used as a literary medium at this period and the quality of the works produced in it, one may reasonably infer that Sanskrit scholarship in Ceylon had had a long tradition dating back many centuries before that.

The influence of Sanskrit on the life of the people, particularly in the political and social spheres, may be judged from the statement in the *Mahāvaṁsa* that Parākramabāhu the Great was well versed in the Indian works on polity such as that of Kauṭalya. The same authority states that Parākramabāhu II was trained in the ordinances of Manu. It is also mentioned that king Vijayabāhu I encouraged learned men from the continent to come and settle down in Ceylon and these scholars were, undoubtedly, great Sanskritists. The epigraphical use of Sanskrit in Ceylon can be attested from about the seventh century, and, with the Tamil conquests this practice must have become more established. The slab-inscription of the Velaikkāras, probably to be dated between 1137 and 1153 A.D., shows how Tamil and Sanskrit were both used in the same inscription which in content is of a political character. The Galpāta Vihāra Rock Inscription opens with a Sanskrit *śloka* and probably belongs to the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great. A slab-inscription set up by king Niśśaṅka Malla (1187—1196 A.D.) ends with a beautiful Sanskrit stanza in the *sragdharā* metre. The Hāṭadāge Portico Slab Inscription and the Kalākrīḍāvinoda-Gal Āsana Inscription also set up by the same monarch, begin with Sanskrit stanzas. The slab-inscription found at the north gate of the citadel at Polonnaruva, belonging to the same reign, contains two Sanskrit verses reflecting many a fine characteristic of the Sanskrit *kāvya* style. His Prītidānaka Maṇḍapa Rock-Inscription begins with an exquisite verse in the *sragdharā* metre. A slab-inscription erected during the reign of Sāhassa Malla (1200—1202) has two Sanskrit verses celebrating the king's accession to the throne. Thus we see that the use of Sanskrit in the inscriptions reflects the importance attached to that language at this period.

There is reason to surmise that many of the Sanskrit compositions of Sinhalese authors have been lost during the centuries of neglect that followed the heyday of such learning in Ceylon. Most of the Buddhist Elders of the Polonnaruva Period mentioned above as Pali authors also tried their hand at original Sanskrit compositions. The doyen of classical scholars during this period, Mahā Kassapa of Udumbaragiri Vihāra, was an expert in Sanskrit

grammar and wrote a treatise called the *Bālavabodhana* on the lines of the *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa*. His learned and famous pupil Sāriputta, according to the colophon of the *Abhidharmārtha Sangraha-Sannaya*, wrote a Ṭikā on the *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa* entitled the *Pancikālankāra* but this work is probably lost for ever. The *Bālāvabodhana*, intended as an introduction to the Cāndra system, functions to this day as a useful hand-book. There is also a still unpublished exegetical work of the Cāndra school composed in Ceylon, namely, the *Līnārthadīpa* or *Pātrīkaraṇa-Ṭikā* of the Elder Buddhanāga whom we have referred to above. In the second stanza of this work the author states that he undertook it as a commentary on a treatise called the *Pātrikaraṇa* written by one Guṇākara. It is unfortunate that we have no mention elsewhere of this author Guṇākara. He was certainly a Buddhist with Mahāyānist tendencies, for, according to the extant Ṭikā of Buddhanāga, the opening words of the original contained a salutation to Avalokita and other Bodhisattvas. Thus Guṇākara may well have been an alumnus of the Māhāyāna school in Ceylon, for, if he were an Indian, it is difficult to believe that a grammatical treatise of such importance could have gone into oblivion in that home of Sanskrit learning. Buddhanāga, as we have mentioned above, belonged to the illustrious group of Sāriputta's disciples and is the author of the Pali *Vinayatthamanjūsā*.

The Sanskrit works of this period, however, do not deal only with grammatical and exegetical matters. Available data would confirm the view that the poetical activities of Sanskrit writers on the mainland of India had their repercussions on the Sanskrit authors in Ceylon. Considering the fact that in India the *Śataka* poems had come into vogue about the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era, with the appearance of the works of Mayūra, Amaru and Bhartrhari, it is easy to understand how the Sanskrit writers of Ceylon were inspired, three or four centuries later, to compose poems *a la mode* these Indian models. The first and foremost among the Ceylon 'Centuries' is undoubtedly the *Anuruddha-Śataka*, an eulogy of the Buddha, which as its name implies, was the work of the Elder Anuruddha. He is probably correctly identified with the famous scholar of that name who, as we saw above, wrote the philosophical compendium, the *Abhidhammatthasangaha*, at the beginning of the twelfth century. The poem compares favourably with the Śatakas of Indian origin. It is characterized by lucidity of expression, evenness of sound, and beauty of sense, showing that the author was consciously attempting a work in the Vaidarbha style of Indian masters of the kāvya.

Another poem of this type, probably composed in the Polonnaruva Period, is the popular *Nāmāṣṭa-Śataka*, stanzas in praise of the 108 epithets of the Master. Its authorship is unknown.

The work is inferior to the *Anuruddha-Śataka* in poetical merit, and smaller in volume. In the temple monasteries even to this day it is read as a beginner for Sanskrit students. Finally, it remains to mention a Sanskrit poem of a somewhat different nature, the *Buddhagadya*, again by an unknown author who too most probably belonged to the Polonnaruva Period. The work is simpler in character and the versification shows some slight resemblance to the celebrated *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva by virtue of the consecutive use of the vocative case in each succeeding stanza. Although the actual dates of composition of these two works cannot be established with any certainty their great similarity to the *Anuruddha-Śataka* in contents, as well as the considerable resemblance in language and form, justifies the belief popular in Ceylon that they were also works of the Polonnaruva Period. Even if the Sanskrit works of this era by Ceylon authors are numerically not on a par with the corresponding Pali compositions, the literary excellence of the few that have come down to us is sufficient to warrant the assumption that Sanskrit scholarship of the Polonnaruva Period must have been as great as the one in Pali. It was altogether the most remarkable period in the development of classical studies in Ceylon.

THE SINHALESE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE OF THE POLONNARUWA PERIOD

By

MISS SUMANA SAPARAMADU, B.A.

Assistant Lecturer in Sociology, University of Ceylon.

IF the history of the Sinhalese language and literature were to be divided into phases labelled according to the dominant influence, then the Polonnaruwa period could be labelled as the Sanskrit phase of Sinhalese; for never before and never after was the influence of Sanskrit on the Sinhalese language and literature so marked as in this period. This is not surprising for the Polonnaruwa Period marked the heyday of Sanskrit learning in Ceylon.[1] It was not the result of a sudden wave of foreign influence but the culmination of a process that began some centuries earlier.

There is reason to believe that Sanskrit was known and studied in Ceylon from the time of the first Aryan colonizers; the presence of Brahmins in ancient Ceylon and the fact that they were the tutors of the time are in themselves proof of this. However, with the introduction of Buddhism, Pali, as the vehicle of the new religion began to be studied at the expense of Sanskrit. Buddhaghosa's work, the translation of the commentries into Pali, was a blow not only to the study of Sanskrit but to that of Sinhalese as well. He dismisses the two great Sanskrit epics,—Ramāyana and Mahābharata, which must have been known to the people at the time, as frivolous talk—Sampapphalāpa.[2]

Another impediment to the study of Sanskrit was the opposition of the Mahāvihāra monks to the new doctrine, the *Vaitulya Vāda*[3], which they as the custodian of the Theravāda doctrine, tried hard to suppress, but which rose phoenix-like again and again. While the Theravāda doctrine was in Pali, the Vaitulya-Vāda was expounded in Sanskrit, and the aversion of orthodox monks to the study of the Sanskrit language is therefore understandable. Though these impediments did exist, not all the power

1. The state of the classical languages in the Polonnaruwa Period has been discussed elsewhere in this journal.
2. *Papancasudani* I. p. 201 (P.T.S. ed.)
3. Vaitulya-Vada was the name by which Mahayana was known in Ceylon. cf. Paranavitane S., Mahayanism in Ceylon. *Ceylon Journal of Science, Sec. G.* Vol. II.

and opposition of monks and the kings who were influenced by them, could stop the spread of Sanskrit in Ceylon. They could not hinder the course of events in India, and developments there had their repercussions in Ceylon.

Mahāyāna—or Vaitulya-Vāda as it was known in Ceylon, developed from the first century A.D., and every development in India was followed by a parallel in Ceylon.[4] Although the Mahavihara monks dreaded and opposed this new doctrine, and refrained from studying its texts and destroyed them, the Abhayagiri monks studied the doctrines of the different Sects. Hiuen Tsang who visited the island in the 7th century A.D., says that the Abhayagiri monks studied the Great Vehicle as well as the Theravāda school of Buddhism. Many Buddhist Sanskrit works of a Mahayānist or Tantric nature were known in Ceylon.

Besides the spread of Mahāyāna, another factor of even greater importance was responsible for the spread of Sanskrit learning. Ceylon like many of the Asian countries came under the influence of the Gupta Empire and the great cultural renaissance which began in the reign of Samudragupta had its effect—though not immediately and directly, on Ceylon. Under the Guptas there was a revival both of Hinduism and of Sanskrit learning. The spread of Hinduism in Ceylon as a result of Pallava and Cola influence, was also an impetus to Sanskrit studies. Just as Pali was the language of Buddhism so Sanskrit was the language of Hinduism. Besides being the language of a particular religion, it was up to Muhammadan times, "essentially the language of culture," and it is impossible that even the most orthodox monks and laymen could have refrained from learning it, and being influenced by the thoughts expressed in it.

Sanskrit was studied and mastered and the great literary works were known in Ceylon at least by some. This is proved by the works composed in Sanskrit by Sinhalese writers such as the medical work *Sārartha Sangraha* of King Buddhadas (about the 4th or early 5th century A.D.) and the *Jānakiharana* by one Kumaradāsa of the 7th century, a poem very much influenced by Kalidasa's works.[5] Unless there was an interest in the theory of poetics, and even a desire on the part of Sinhalese writers to write in the manner of Sanskrit Kāvyas, King Silāmeghavanna would not have rendered Daṅdin's *Kavyādarśa* into Sinhalese.[6] An inscription of the first half of the ninth century containing

4. Paranavitane S. Ibid.
5. Cf. Pannasara, Pundit Dehigaspe. *Sanskrit Literature Extant among the Sinhalese.* Unpublished Thesis. University of Ceylon.
6. *Siyabaslakara* by Silameghavanna of the 9th century is almost a direct Sinhalese rendering of the Sanskrit *Kavyadarsa.*

"regulations for the guidance of monks and laymen living within the precincts of the viharas or on lands belonging to them," is composed entirely in Sanskrit.[7] From this we cannot infer that Sanskrit was known to the majority of people at the time. It is more a proof of its prestige since it was the language of learning and culture. We have a parallel in our own times. Until recently many official documents were written in English because it was the language of the rulers and the men of learning and had a prestige value, though it was unintelligible to the majority.

By the Polonnaruwa period Sanskrit had come to be regarded as one of the chief subjects of study and it had acquired so much prestige that even the orthodox monks of the Māhavihāra were proud to acclaim their knowledge of Sanskrit.[8]

The Language

The spread of Sanskrit learning and the prestige and importance it had acquired were to have their inevitable influence on the Sinhalese language and on literary styles and forms.

So great was the effect on the vocabulary that it almost transformed the character of the language. Hence the Sinhalese of this period is known as "mixed Sinhalese" or *Miśra Sinhala* in contrast to the true Sinhalese or Elu. Mixed Sinhalese is Sinhalese "containing a large proportion of Sanskrit words in their raw state or just going through the initial stage of assimilation."[9] So great was the fondness for Sanskrit words, that many compositions of this period look more like extracts from Sanskrit works than Sinhalese prose. Dr. Guruge points out[10] that in the first sixty-nine words of the Katikāvata or Ordinance for the Sangha, issued by Parakrama Bahu I,[11] only twenty-one are Sinhalese words; the other forty-eight words are Sanskrit words in their raw state. The number of Sanskrit words in this inscription as a whole, is small in comparison to later inscriptions of the same period, such as those of Niśśanka Malla which are bristling with Sanskrit *tatsamas* or loan words.

Sir D. B. Jayatilaka is one among those who hold the view that mixed Sinhalese originated in the Polonnaruwa period[12];

7. Jetavanarama Slab Inscription. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. I. No. I.
8. The Colophons to a number of texts attest this.
9. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* IV. p. 254.
10. Guruge, Ananda W. P. සිංහලයා හා සංස්කෘතය. (1954) p. 19
11. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. II. No. 41—Gal-Vihara Rock Inscription.
12. cf. Introduction to දහම් පියා අටුවා කැටපදය ed, Jayatilaka, D. B.

but as Paññāsāra points out[13] we see the first signs of this already in the ninth century in the *Dahampiyā Aṭuvā Gaṭapadaya* of King Kassapa V. The first page itself, of the printed edition[14] shows that the practice of using Sanskrit words in learned writings had already begun; I say learned writings, where clarity and precision are important, because the contemporary inscriptions are still free of Sanskrit loan words. Paññāsāra notes that in the Anuradhapura Slab Inscription of this same king only one word *abiyukta*, is a full-loan Sanskrit word.[15] The tendency to use Sanskrit words increases till in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it becomes almost impossible to write Sinhalese without using raw Sanskrit words.

This trend was not to be reversed. Mixed Sinhalese had come to stay. Realising the value of Sanskrit words writers continued to use them down to the present day, though the degree of Sanskritisation of the language has differed from period to period and from author to author, while the aim of the writing has also had an influence on the use of Sanskrit words. Today in our writing as well as in our conversation we use Sanskrit words so often in their raw form, that we have no idea of their true origin and regard them as good and true Sinhalese words.

The study of Sanskrit was not merely a study of another language; it was the door to a whole new world of thought. Therefore it was inevitable that Sanskrit words should be borrowed to express these new concepts. Further, certain words had by constant use reached a low level of meaning or acquired special connotations. So the Sanskrit forms of these naturalized words, were borrowed for the sake of their precision or because they expressed other shades of meaning. It was natural that Sanskrit scholars writing in Sinhalese, (that all Sinhalese writers of this period were well versed in Sanskrit is attested by their works), should make use of Sanskrit words in the absence of an equivalent in their native Sinhalese, or for the sake of clarity and explicitness.

Mixed Sinhalese was a finer and more vigorous medium of expression than elu. It was better suited to expository writing where explicitness was important and subtle nuances had to be conveyed. Perhaps this was why Gurulugomi used mixed Sinhalese in his *Dharmapradīpika* where he discussed the doctrinal points, and chose elu for narrative in the *Amāvatura*. In the *Dharmapradīpika* itself we see how he uses the two styles for different

13. *Sanskrit Literature Extant Among the Sinhalese.*
14. දහම්පියා අටුවා ගැටපදය ed. Jayatilaka, D. B.
15. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. I. No. 4.

purposes. Besides the story of Sulu Kaliñgu[16], many descriptive passages[17] are in the soft mellifluous elu which is in keeping with the ideas and sentiments expressed. This brings us to another advantage of mixed Sinhalese. The introduction of Sanskrit words with their aspirates, extra sibilants and conjunct consonants, increased the range of sounds possible within the language. In mixed Sinhalese, it was possible to enhance the meaning by choosing a word or syllable whose sound fitted the sentiment or conveyed it better. Although Gurulugomi chose elu to narrate the story of Sulu Kaliñgu, he uses a few Sanskrit words here and there with great effect—*e.g.*, වසත් තල පහස් ලද තහඹ ගඳ ගජක්හු සේ
හර්ෂයෙන් උත්කර්ෂවූ.
පුතු නිසා උපන් අභිමානයෙන් ගර්විතවූ.

Here the Sanskrit words heighten the effect by their very sound; they suggest the sentiment which the author wishes to convey.

However all writers, including Gurulugomi himself, were not always judicious in their use of Sanskrit *tatsamas*. So great was their admiration for the works they had studied, and so great was their desire to show off their learning in that language, that they sometimes use more borrowed words than Sinhalese words. Hence it is not surprising that their compositions—the prose compositions, look more like extracts from Sanskrit works. They also seem to have had a feeling that the elu word was incorrect and inelegant, and therefore in their passion for correctness, used the exotic in preference to the homely word.

Although the borrowing of Sanskrit words enriched the language, the pedantry and passion for correctness in writers, arrested the natural development of the language through the naturalization of borrowed words, that is by making them conform to the rules of Sinhalese pronunciation and accent.[18] The preference for the foreign word was also connected with the passion for greater sound-effect, and this was in keeping with the literary styles that were in vogue at the time.

An ornate style with metaphor within metaphor in unceasing succession, sentences of inordinate length with long compounds intermingled with relative clauses, alliterations, puns, forcible and resonant sounds—all these are characteristics of the writing

---

16. See section 146 in *Dharmapradipika* ed. Dhammarama.
17. Sections 51—54, 57, 64, 85
18. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* IV p. 219. In spite of these impeding factors we see in inscriptions "interesting adaptations of Sanskrit words to suit the genius of the language." *e.g.*, සුවමින් for සවාමින්, රාජප්පුසාද for රාජප්‍රසාද. රතනාත්‍රයෙහි for රත්නත්‍රයෙහි and සදා for ශ්‍රද්ධා.

of this period. And these are the distinguishing features of the Gauḍa style[19], which the Post-Kalidasan writers of *Kāvyas* and prose romances adopted. The ornate style which appears in Sinhalese writing from about the tenth century shows the unmistakable influence of Post-Kalidasan Sanskrit literature and of Sanskrit poetics. We see the same influences at work in the Pali writings of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries.[20]

The following passages—the first from Vidyācakravarti's description of the city of Jayaturā, and the second from Gurulugomi's account of the Buddha-rays, illustrate the flowery language, and the lengthy sentences and involved syntax which marked the prose of the Polonnaruwa period, as well as the influence of Indian poetics on Sinhalese writing.

කරුණා මුහුදු ඔද වැඩී දුවන රළ පෙළ සේ එපුරා වේහි දිවන අස් පතරින් හා පළිතොපමවූ හසත්‍යාලඞ්කාරයෙන් සැදුනු ඇත් කැළයෙන් හා රන් රිදීමයවූ පස්වණක් පැහැයෙන් දිලියෙන ධවජ පතාකයෙන් විසිතුරුවූ ඇතුන් අදනා අසුන් එළුවන් ගොනුන් අදනා මනහර රථ පෙළින් හා සත්රුවන්මය පිල් කබ පෙළින් හා ධවජපතාක හා රන් රිදී කැටපත් පෙළින් හා සත්රුවන් කලස පෙළින් හා නුවර බලනුවන්ට අමෘතාඤජනයක් වැ වනැසි සිතම්.[21]

(බදුරස්හු) නික්මෙන්නාහු ආවර්ජනාදීන් විනා මැ සුනිල් සින්දු කෙස්ධයින් ඉදු නිල් මිණි රසදහරා සෙයින් සකල ශරීර යෙන් රන් රසදහරා සෙයින්, පාදපානි තලයෙන් . . . . පබළු රස දහරා සෙයින්, උණු ලොම්ධයින් හා දසන් පෙළ නිය පෙළින් රිදී රසදහරා සෙයින් තල් කඳ සා, රථසක් සා කුළාරගේ සා රස්කළඹහු නික්ම දෙව්දුනු දහස් හිරු දහස් නැගි කල්හි සෙයින් දසනුදස දලවමින් . . . . .[22]

The sentences are so long that the ideas expressed at the beginning are forgotten by the time the end is reached, while the piling up of adjectives and images takes away, instead of heightening the effect.

The Gauḍa style began to influence Sinhalese writing long before the vocabulary became Sanskritized. The Ambagamuwa Inscription of Vijayabahu I[23] and the Devanagala Inscription Parakrama Bahu I[24] are written in a language still comparatively free from *tatsama* words, but showing the influence of Sanskrit

19. Keith, A Berriedale, *Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 78
20. Malalasekera, G. P. *Pali Literature of Ceylon.* p. 159.
21. *Butsarana* ed. Sorata (1929) p. 294.
22. *Dharmapradipikava.* (1938 ed.) p. 23.
23. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. II
24. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. III.

poetics for the similes and metaphors are the stock comparisons in the Kāvya. This influence manifests itself even earlier. We see it in the tenth century Inscription of Kassapa V[25]. This is not surprising for the *Siyabaslakara* which was written at a date very close to the reign of Kassapa, proves beyond doubt that the theory of Sanskrit poetics was known and followed by Sinhalese writers.

Gradually a bombastic element came into the ornate prose. Quite a contrast to the panegyric in the Devanagala inscription, is the phraseology of the Katikāvata referred to earlier.

මහා සම්මතාදි පරම්පරායාත සූයස්වංශොද්භූත රාජාධිරාජ තෙකදිගනිව්‍යාප්ත යශොමරීචින් විරාජමාන ශ්‍රී සඞ්ඝබොධි පරාක්‍රම බාහු මහරජාණන්.

(The great King Sri Sanghabodhi Parakramabahu, a descendant of the Mahāsammata dynasty of the Solar race, shining in radiance of fame spread in all directions, was ceremonially consecrated as the sole sovereign of Lanka.)

Not merely is the King's great ancestry stated but it is described in high-sounding words, perhaps to impress on the public the greatness of the King.[25a] It seems clear that whenever a writer wanted to impress his public, he not merely resorted to a fanfare of epithets and images but employed high-sounding Sanskrit words as well. This is attested by the inscriptions as well as the literary works.

The Literature

The Polonnaruwa period was an age of great literary activity, but the Sinhalese works composed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are out-numbered by the Pali compositions. A number of treatises on the Vinaya and Abhidhamma and several *ṭika* or sub-commentaries were written in Pali in this period. Under Parakrama Bahu I there was a revival of Buddhism. A special synod of the leading monks was convened by him to rehearse the Vinaya texts, and introduce reforms in the Sangha. The interest in the Vinaya was the natural outcome of these reform movements. Since Buddhist learning had reached a low level in the dark years of internal strife and foreign invasions of the tenth and eleventh centuries, it became necessary to write new works expounding the doctrine, and explaining the commentaries written in earlier times. But why were these works written in

25. id. Vol. I No. 4.

25a. Note that the latter part of the Inscription dealing with the rules, is in much simpler Sinhalese than the earlier part describing the king's greatness, and the events leading up to the issuing of the ordinance.

Pali? The opening passage in the *Sārartha Dīpani*, the sub-commentary on the Vinaya by Sariputta Mahā Thera, reveals the reason for this great output of Pali exegetical and analytical literature.

porānehi Katam yantu līnatthassa pakāsanam
na tam sabbattha bhikkhūnam attham sādheti sabbaso.
duviññeyya sabhāvāya sīhalāya niruttitya
gaṇṭhipadesu nekesu likhitam kiñci katthaci.

Many exegetical works written by scholars in early times could not be understood by the bhikkhus everywhere since they were in Sinhalese, so he will discard the other languages in which the explanations have so far been given and extracting the best in them give his explanations clearly.

bāsantaram tato hitvā sāramādāya sabbaso
anākulam karissāmi paripunnam vinicchayam.

The monks of this period were writing for a public wider than the educated Sinhalese. Ceylon had become a centre of Buddhist activity and Buddhist learning. Monks from other countries came to Ceylon to study Buddhism. The Kalyani Inscription[25b] states that Burmese monks came to Ceylon to learn the doctrine and on their return established the Sihala Sangha in Burma. It was necessary to write in a language that was known internationally. Hence, when scholars wrote expositions on, or summaries of canonical works, or wrote *ṭikā* explaining or supplementing the commentaries, it was in Pali.

Important as it was to explain and interpret the Vinaya and Abidhamma to the Buddhist world in general, scholars did not overlook the needs of the country. Not all were proficient in Pali; the canon as well as the commentaries and sub-commentaries had to be explained to the non-Pali-educated section too. Therefore, of the Sinhalese literary works of this period many are of an exegetical nature. The following *exegetical works* were written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries:

Mahabodhivaṁsa Granthapada Vivaranaya or *Bodhi Vaṁsa Gāṭapada.*

Jātaka Aṭuva Gāṭapada.

Vesaturu Da Sanna.

Aṭa Dā Sanna.

Abhidarmartha Sangraha Sanna.

Dharmapradipikā or Bodhi Vaṁsa Parikathā.

25b. Taw Sein Ko, "The Kalyani Inscriptions of Dhammaceti" *Indian Antiquary*. Vol. XXII.

A *gāṭapada* is a glossary explaining difficult terms in a text. Commenting on the word, Professor Hettiaratchi says "although 'ganṭhipada' originally meant only those expressions or portions of a text, the meanings of which were obscure, in course of time, these explanatory works which dealt with such difficult extracts, or collections of them, were themselves known in Pali as Ganṭhipada, and in Sinhalese as Gāṭapada."[26] A *Sanna* is a verbal paraphrase of a text or a work that explains a text word by word, while a *parikathā* is a sort of annotation to a text: in a parikathā, words, phrases or expressions which need amplification, or which if annotated would help in the understanding of the text, are explained in detail.

Mahābodhivaṁsa Granthapada Vivarana is a glossary to the Pali *Mahābodhivaṁsa* of the tenth century, and is written in the mixed Sinhalese style of the period. Vilgammula Thera, the author of the *Sinhala Bodhi Vamsaya* of the fourteenth century is greatly indebted to this work.

Jātaka Aṭuva Gāṭapadaya is one of the many exegetical works on the Pali Jataka collection. Its author or date of composition is unknown, but Professor Hettiaratchi judging the book by its language which is "a form of mixed Sinhalese with an abundance of Sanskrit loan-words" assigns it to the latter half of the Polonnaruwa period.[27] That the author was a good Sanskrit scholar and had strong leanings that way is clear from the definitions and grammatical explanations given. A number of words—even a word like Bodhi—are defined in Sanskrit, while in others the roots are given according to Sanskrit grammarians. The work is meant to be an aid to the study of the Pali *Jatakaṭṭhakathā*, one of the simplest Pali texts, but the public for whom he was writing must have had a good knowledge of Sanskrit, or he would not give explanations and definitions in that language. Beside this mixed Sinhalese style, this book also contains a very old strata of language similar to that of the *Dahampiya Aṭuva Gāṭapadaya* of the tenth century. The Cola conquest of Ceylon and the presence of so many Tamils in the capital even after the country was freed from foreign rule, brought in another element into the language—the Dravidian element. Many Tamil words, which must have been in common parlance at the time, have been used by our author. *e.g.*, කූඩය (basket) පොදි (bundle) විලක්කු (torch) පන්දුව (ball) පෙට්ටිගම (chest) කැති (knife).

The work ends with the Vidhura Jataka, leaving out the last two—Ummagga and Vessantara. Perhaps the existence of separate

---

26. *Vessaturu Da Sanna*. ed. Hettiaratchi, Introduction p. 75.
27. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, Vol. XXXVI. No. 97.

glossaries made further comments superfluous. That separate glossaries and paraphrases to popular Jātakas were written, is proved by the many reference in Sri Rahula's *Pancikā Pradipaya.* Sri Rahula quotes from an *Uman Dā Gāṭapadaya;* this may have existed when the *Jātaka Aṭuva Gāṭapadaya* was written, and our author would have felt that another glossary was not needed. It is quite possible that there was also a *Vessaturu Dā Gāṭapadaya* which is now lost. However, we have a *Vessaturu Da Sanna*—a verbal paraphrase in Sinhalese of the verses in the Pali Vessantara Jataka. Words and expressions from the Pali prose commentary are also occasionally explained. The language is free from Sanskrit influence; therefore it may have been written early in the twelfth century. *Aṭa Dā Sanna,* a verbal paraphrase of eight Jātakas—Tēmiya, Mahājana, Sāma, Nimi, Nārada Kassapa, Vidhuru, Khandahāla, and Bhūridatta—resembles the *Jātaka Aṭuva Gāṭapadaya* in style, and may have been written about the same time,

Abhidharmartha Sangraha Sanna is another important work of the period. Unlike these works just mentioned, we know its author is Sangharaja Sariputta, a pupil of the great elder Mahā Kassapa, the president of the council that rehearsed the Vinaya texts. Sariputta wrote this verbal paraphrase in Sinhalese to facilitate the study of Anuruddha's philosophical work—*Abhidhammattha Sangraha.* Its language is a perfect model of the Sanskritized Sinhalese of the period. Another exegetical work of the period, Maha Kassapa's sanna to the *Samantapāsadikā* is no longer extant.

Dharmapradīpikāva is the earlier of Gurulugōmi's two works. At the outset itself he makes it clear that his work is a parikatha. තුන් මහා බෝධීන්ගේ වංශයෙහි සහසු රහමීන් විභක්ත පදයන් අතුරෙහි පරිකථානුකූල පද ගෙනැ වණීනා කරනු ලැබේ. "Such words in the History of the Three Bodhi as need annotation, will be taken and commented upon." A parikatha, unlike a glossary gives ample scope for narrative, description and discussion and the *Dharmapradīpikāva* is therefore more than an exegetical work, and an aid to the understanding of the Pali text. It is a literary work of great merit, as well as a treasure-house of information on Buddhist lore. By studying the *Dharmapradīpika* one can get a thorough knowledge of the Buddha and his life, of Buddhist cosmography, cosmology, Buddhist ethics, and Buddhist philosophy, of the heretical doctrines such as Sāsvatavada, the origin of the Sinhala language and nation, the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon and the bringing of the relics and the Bodhi to Ceylon. It is like a Buddhist Encyclopaedia. The annotations are not confined to these subjects. Grammatical comments and explanations with quotations from recognized grammarians, are found here and there in the text.

His explanations leave no room for doubts or queries; they are extensive and complete. Because of his thoroughness, his comments grew to an inordinate length, one explanation leading to another until the subject he started with is nearly forgotten. For instance in the section dealing with the sentence පපෙළාං සබඤ්ඤුතං සපළං[28] we learn all about the physical appearance of Buddha (රූප විලාසය) with his 32 great marks and 80 lesser marks, his speech (වචන විලාසය), his mental abilities (ඥාන විලාසය) his various epithets, his special powers, *viz.*, (දසබල) and the time-table of his daily activities. So the annotation to this one sentence takes up 49 pages of the printed text.

The book is full of quotations[29] from all five Nikayas and the Vinaya texts and their commentaries, from the later Pali works like *Telakaṭhāhagātha* and the *Jinālankara* and its commentary the *Jinālankara Varnana*, and from Sanskrit works like Śurapada's *Jātakamālā* and Santideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. He even quotes from Harsa's drama *Ratnāvali*.

The *Dharmapradīpikāva* has no unity of style. The ornate style of the period, with its abundance of Sanskrit *tatsamas* predominates; but we also have the ornate poetic elu similar to the poetic language of the Ambagamuva Inscription of Vijaya Bahu I[30] and the Jetavanarama Slab Inscriptions of Mahinda IV,[31] showing the influence of Indian poetics, and of the Sanskrit Kāvya and prose romances.

Passages such as the following, with its short terse sentences, absence of Sanskrit loan-words, and lack of ornamentation, approach the style of *Amavatura* and shows the influence of the Pali commentaries: සෙත්නාව ඇතැම් දත් උස්වෙසි. ඇතැම් දත් මිටි වෙසි. දත්තයෝ විෂමවෙසි. බුදුනව වූ කල යපතින් සිදුනා ලද සක්පතක් සෙයින් සමවෙති. මෙසෙයින් සමවූ දත්ත ඇතිවන බැවින් සම දත්ත නම් වෙත්. Then, there are passages so full of Sanskrit words and constructions that they cannot be understood by anyone not familiar with Sanskrit.[32]

Many explanations have been given for Gurulugomi's fondness for Sanskrit words and expressions. Some argue that since the *Dharmapradīpikāva* is his first work, he shows his immaturity by

28. Section 3.
29. Quotations from the canonical texts are introduced with the phrase එසින් වදළහ, and other quotations with එසින් කීහ. Very seldom is the author or work quoted from mentioned.
30. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. II.
31. id. Vol. I
32. cf. Sec. 182 on වාක්‍යපිද්‍යපි.

overdoing the fashion of his time; so much did he admire the ornate style with its forcible and resonant sounds that he went to the very extreme, by giving a Sanskrit form even to common Pali words *e.g.*, කොණ්ඩඤ්ඤ is written as කෞණ්ඩිණ්‍ය, සම්මුති දේශනා as සංවෘති දේශනා, and පුරිසදම්ම සාරථී as පුරුෂදම්‍ය සාරථී.

The style in the *Dharmapradīpikāva*, these critics say, is a sign both of his pedantry and of his immaturity. However, we have noticed a variety of styles, and it is important to remember that the highly Sanskritized style is used especially in discussing Buddhist doctrinal or general philosophical subjects. It is very probable that Gurulugōmi first got his knowledge of Buddhism through Sanskrit texts.[33] The *Dharmapradīpikāva* shows his familiarity with Mahayana ideas, and Mahayana doctrines were expounded in Sanskrit. If then, he studied Buddhism in Sanskrit, it is quite likely that when he discussed doctrinal or philosophical subjects he thought in Sanskrit; and so when he wrote on these subjects the Sanskrit terms and even the Sanskrit style of writing came naturally to him. Expressions like සෞත්‍රාන්තික පර්‍යායෙන් for සුත්තන්තික and ප්‍රතිසංවිත් මාර්ගපර්‍යායෙන් for පටිසම්භිදාමග්ග shows that he knew the Buddhist texts by their Sanskrit terms.

Prose-compositions in Praise of Buddha

The *Amāvatura* by Gurulugōmi and Vidyācakravarti's *Butsarana* belong to the latter part of this period. Both works are written with more or less the same aim—to praise Buddha, and they narrate the same incidents; but the presentation is entirely different and reflects the difference in the attitudes and the feelings of the two writers to their subject. In the *Amāvatura*, Gurulugōmi tries to show the ordinary uneducated person (නොවියත් හුදී ජනයා) how and why Buddha deserved the title පුරිස දම්ම සාරථී, while Vidyācakravarti's aim is to show that Buddha was worthy of honour and therefore one should take refuge in him—බුදුන් සරණ යා යුතු. Gurulugōmi chooses incidents in Buddha's life to illustrate that he deserved that epithet. He narrates how Buddha overpowered kings like Ajātasattha, householders like Upali, yakkhas like Ālavaka, elephants like Nālāgiri, robbers like Angulimala, and ascetics, and brahamins, devas and asuras, nagas and brahmas, and thereby showed himself worthy of the title පුරිස දම්ම සාරථී.

Some of these same incidents are described by Vidyācakravarti, but he is not the calm, objective story-teller that Gurulugōmi is.

33. This view has been put forward by M. Sri Rammandala in *A Critical Study of the Dharmapradipika* (Unpublished Thesis). He thinks that it is possible that Gurulugomi was not a Sinhalese but a Kalinga who studied Mahayanism in India, and coming to Ceylon in the time of Nissanka Malla, learned Sihnalese here.

His own feelings—his faith in and admiration of the Buddha, creeps into the narrative, colours it, and sometimes halts the action.[34] Beside these incidents, some Jatakas, are also narrated to impress on the listeners the greatness of the Buddha and inspire faith in their minds; in this lies the difference of the two works. Gurulugōmi is narrating a story to illustrate a point, Vidyācakravarti is carried away by his own faith and admiration and uses the stories to inspire the same faith in his public. Sometimes he tries to do this by listing His qualities or epithets as in සම්බුදුයහ, සුගතයය, බුද්ධයහ, ධර්මරාජයහ, තථාගතය. . . . . දශ බලය, මුනීන්ද්‍රයහ, ලෝකෙශ්වර යහ . . . . . ප්‍රඥාසාගරය, මෙරුසාරයහ, යනාදීන් වර්ණනා කරන්නා නිමවන්නාවූ ගුණ ඇති බුදුන් සරණයෙමි, බුත් සරණ යා යුතු. *or in* මිහරට මිහරවූ, සිහිලසට සිහල්වූ, වියතුන්ට වියත්වූ . . . . . or he enumerates his good deeds in past lives. It is these lists and strings of epithets and adjectives that bore the intelligent reader to-day, but as Wickramasingha points out, the sound of the words and the rhythm of the phrases would have had the desired effect on the listeners, who were not concentrating on the content so much.

The *Butsarana* with its ornate rambling style is the very opposite of the *Amāvatura*, which stands apart from all Sinhalese works because of its terse and swift narrative prose. Some would class *Amāvatura* as the greatest prose work in Sinhalese, while others would say that it is equalled only by the *Saddharmaratnāvaliya*. The qualities for which the *Amāvatura* is admired are the qualities of Pali prose, the prose of the Suttas and the commentaries. The author was following the Pali sources so closely that these traits came in naturally, almost without his knowledge.

The robber Angulimala, tired and worn out after chasing Buddha is described thus in the *Amāvatura:*

සොර කලානනවිය. මියෙනී කෙළ සිදී ගියේ. ශරීරයෙන් සෙවද බස්සී. එකල අඟුල්මල් සොර විසම්භවැ "මම් පූර්වයෙහි දිවෙන ඇතුන් ලුහුබැඳ ගණිම්මයැ, අසුන් ලුහුබැඳ ගණිම්මයැ, රථ ලුහුබැඳ ගණිම්මයැ, දිවන මුවන් ලුහුබැඳ ගණිම්මයැ එතෙකුදු හොත් මම් මේ මහණහු පියවි ගමනින් යන්නහු බල පමණින් දිවෙනුයෙමි සඟා නොගතහෙමි සි සිටැ බුදුනට, "සිව, සිට මහණ" සි කීහ.

Compare this passage with the following Pali extracts, the first from the *Papancasūdani* and the second from the *Majjhima Nikāya.*

Coro kilami, mukhe khelo sussi, gattehi sedā muñcimsu. (*Papañcasūdani* III. p. 332)

34. cf. Wickramasingha, Martin—සිංහල සාහිත්‍යයේ නැඟීම.

Atha kho añgulimālassa etadahosi: acchariyam vata bho, abbhūtam vata bho, aham pubbe hatthimpi dhāvantam anu pativā ganhāmi, assampi.....ganhāmi, athaca pana imam samanam pakatiya gacchantā sabbatthāmena gacchantā na sakkomi sampāpunitum ti, thito bhavantam etadavoca. (*Majjhima nikaya*, culla vagga paññāsaka).

The Sinhalese passage is not an example of Gurulugōmi's skill as a creative artist;[35] he is an excellent translator. The *Amāvatura* is more a translation than an original work. The *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* is also a translation, but Dharmasena has enriched the original stories with his humour and his imagery.

Poems in the manner of the Kavyas

The *Cūlavaṃsa* says that Vijayabahu I, the first King of Polonnaruwa, was himself a poet, and that he encouraged the poets by giving them handsome remunerations.[36] We know nothing of these poets or of their works, but we have two kāvyas belonging to this period—the *Muvadev Dā Vata* and *Sasa Dā Vata*. We do not know the authors of either poems, but we are told in the latter poem that it was written at the request of Kitti the Minister of Queen Lilāvati (1197—1200). The *Muvadev Dā Vata* may be a little earlier or later than the *Sasa Dā Vata*.

Both poems follow the canons of a Mahākāvya as laid down in works on Indian poetics, but since they are not divided into cantos—a must in a *Mahākāvya*, they fall into the category of *Khaṇḍakāvya*.

No Jātaka could have been more inappropriate for a Kavya than these two. The Sasa Dā is the story of the hare that jumped into the fire so that the hungry beggar may have a meal and later had its image painted on the moon, and the Muvadev Dā describes how King Makhādeva on seeing the first grey-hair renounced the worldly life and retired to the Himalayan forest. The characters may be of the exalted type that a Kavya requires as its hero, but the plots give no scope for the descriptions of sports and bacchanalian revelry, of cities and parks, of the seasons and night and morning and evening, which are also considered essential in a Kavya. Whenever a Sinhalese poet decided to write a Kavya he choose a Jataka because he knew no hero more exalted than the Bodhisatva.[37] The author of the *Kavsilumina* says: "Poesy is

35. *Dharmapradipikava* contains passages and stories *viz.*, Story of Sulu Kalingu Kumaru, which reveal his abilities as a creative artist.
36. *Culavamsa* Ch. 60, 75—79.
37. This is another indication of the importance attached to the Bodhisatva ideal.

the flowering of the tree of poetry. The fruit is the description of the excellent life of a Bodhisatva....."[38] But why these little tales were chosen when there were so many to choose from is difficult to explain. They may have had a special appeal to the people, for we find that the Makhādeva Jataka was one of the Jatakas paraphrased in the *Aṭa Dā Sanna.*

The poets were bound by the canons of poetics, and so we have in each work a number of descriptions strung together on the very thin thread of a plot. The descriptions have no relevance to the story, nor do they have any merit in themselves. For the most part they are translations of, or imitations of verses in the Sanskrit Kāvyas of Kalidasa, Kumāradāsa, Māgha, Bhāravi, etc.

Both Kāvyas are in elu *gī* or unrhymed verses. Though they are the earliest poems extant now, they,—and the Kavsilumina, mark the end of a long tradition of *gī* poetry. When nearly one and a half centuries later, poets began writing in verse again, they used not *gī* but the rhymed four-line verse.

Although the Sinhalese literary works of the Polonnaruwa period, are few in comparison with the Pali works of the same period or the Sinhalese works of later periods, the exegetical works are of great value to the linguist while the prose works—*Dharmapradīpikāva*, *Amāvatura*, and *Butsarana*, are among the best in the whole Sinhalese literature.

---

38. කිවි බැව් කිවිදුණේ—කුසුම් සැපැත් එකි විපුල්
පෙළෙ බෝසත් සර වැනුම්—වියත් මුව පත්වෙවා. *Kavsilumina Verse* 4.
also cf. Hettiaratchi—*Vessaturuda Sanna.* p. 99.

BUDDHISM DURING THE POLONNARUVA PERIOD

By

MR. VINCENT PANDITHA, B.A., C.C.S.

Of the Ceylon Civil Service, and formerly Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Pali and Buddhist Civilization, University of Ceylon.

THOUGH scholars tend to divide Ceylon history into specific periods according to the destinies of royalty, yet it is difficult to trace the history of the Buddhist Order within such a limited scope. If we do attempt to make such a historical survey of the Buddhist religion and the Order in Lanka, it is the fact that its destinies were bound up with those of royalty that warrants us in such an investigation. As is customarily accepted, the Polonnaruva period starts with the Cholian conquest of Ceylon in 1017 A. D. when the Chola Emperor Rajaraja I (985—1012 A. D.) conquered the country and took Mahinda V captive. Thence Ceylon became a province of the Chola Empire and Polonnaruva was renamed *Jananāthapura*. Though the country was used to foreign rule earlier too, when from the time of Sena and Guttika (237 B. C.) down to this period, Cholians and Pāndyans invaded Ceylon, the Ceylonese did not in most cases abhor the rule of the foreigners since they hardly made any serious changes in the administration of the country. Starting in 1017 A. D. the Polonnaruva period continues till another similar conquest in 1235 A. D. by Magha of Kalinga. Within these two centuries we find two important Sinhalese kings who tried to save the country from the ravages of the foreigners, in Vijayabāhu I (1056—1111 A.D.) and Parākramabāhu I (1153—1186 A. D.). In attempting to give an account of the condition of Buddhism during the Polonnaruva period, we shall therefore have to treat it in at least three different sections, namely,

I. The Period just preceding the Polonnaruva era which is almost synchroneous with the last phases of Anuradhapura.
II. The period of Vijayabāhu I
III. The period of Parākramabāhu I

I. The Pre-Polonnaruva period

As was mentioned earlier, the destinies of the Buddhist Order were for the most part dependent on the peace and harmony in the country and the fortunes of the kings, whose patronage to the Buddhist Order was invaluable. Apart from the history of the

Buddhist community itself, the political integrity of the country during this period was on the weaker side. Political intrigues and premeditated military operations always weakened internal strength. Not going too far into the history of Anurādhapura, when we come to the period of Sena I who came to the throne in 819 A. D., the Pāndyans invaded Ceylon in force, whereupon the Tamils resident in the country joined them and thereby Anurādhapura itself was sacked. As referred to by Codrington [1], the later chronicles state that the Tooth and Bowl relics were carried off by them, though the historicity of this fact is not yet established. However, the large Pāndyan army plundered the country and the monasteries, and carried away much of the cherished possessions including golden images, "as if the splendid town had been plundered by yakkhas.[2] " However Sena II took revenge and restored peace in the country. Subsequent to this invasion and previous to Vijayabāhu's reign, Sena V (991—1001 A. D.) gave over his kingdom to the Tamils in despair. According to the Chronicle, "the Damilas now plundered the whole country like devils and pillaging, seized the property of its inhabitants. In their distress the people betook themselves to Rohana, to the king, and told him of the matter."[3] Now in his despair the king took to drink and hence he was called the "mad tiger" (Matvala Sen). After Matvala Sen there came Mahinda V (1001—1017 A.D.) who was unable to muster sufficient strength to unite the country. The weakness of his administration was made use of by the Tamils to extend their domination here once again. A horse dealer who was in Ceylon at the time, sent a message to the Chola king about the riches of the land and the general insecurity of the country at the moment.[4] Thereupon, the Chola troops that were sent by Rājarāja I in answer to this request conquered the country, seized all the jewels, all the kings ornaments and the Queen. Mahinda V himself, who fled, was taken captive and deported to the Chola country. "In the three fraternities and in all Lanka, breaking open the relic chambers, (they carried away) many costly images of gold, and while they violently destroyed here and there all the monasteries like blood sucking yakkhas, they took all the treasures of Lanka for themselves."[5] Thus came to an end the glory of Anurādhapura which for the previous twelve centuries had been the centre of all religious activity in the Island. Thus during this period which just precedes Vijayabāhu's reign and the Polonnaruva era, the country was politically divided and its integral security was at a very low ebb. The people were in fear and want

1. H. W. Codrington, *Short History of Ceylon*, p. 37.
2. Ed. Wilhelm Geiger, *Culavamsa*, ch. 50 v. 36.
3. *Ibid.* ch. 54 v. 66.
4. *Ibid.* ch. 55 v. 13.
5. *Ibid.* ch. 55 v. 20.

and the fortunes of the Buddhist Order could therefore not have been in any way very satisfying. Thus, as observed by Dr. Malalasekara "during the troublous times that intervened between Dhatusena and Vijayabāhu, the study of the Dhamma as well as of the secular branches of learning.....had perforce to be abandoned owing to the alien occupation. But during these four-hundred years of bitter gloom and despondency, it was their common religion that held the people together and sustained them in their adversity."[6] Thus it is clear how far the fortunes of the Buddhist Order also sank along with the fall of the Sinhalese monarchy.

The general condition of the Order in the country is further revealed by a glance into the various divisions within the Buddhist Order itself. Schools and sects grew due to minor differences. With the spread of unorthodox doctrines in India, their influences were clearly felt in Ceylon too. Hindu influences contributed further to this state of affairs, and made harder the task of reformation that was left to future monarchs. The unorthodox Mahāyānic doctrines came into prominence in India about the beginning of the Christian era. The influence of these doctrines were soon felt in Ceylon too. In the reign of Vohāraka Tissa (263—285 A.D.), a heretical sect called the Vaitulyakas first made their appearance in Ceylon. This sect continued to disturb the orthodox faction time and again, as for instance during the reigns of Goṭhābaya (254 A.D.), Silakāla (574 A.D.) and Aggabodhi (564 A.D.) and in the reign of Sena I (846 A.D.), when the Vajrayāna doctrines were introduced to Ceylon. According to Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Kathāvatthu the Vaitulyakas upheld the views that:— (a) Sākyamuni was not really born in the world of men, but that he remained in the Tusita heaven and sent a phantom here and (b) that the Buddha did not preach the law, but that Ānanda did so.

About this time there came in another heretical sect called the Nilapaṭadhara or the Nilapaṭadarśana. They seem to have worn blue robes by way of following their teacher who was of the Sammitiya sect. According to the *Nikāya Sangrahaya*, during the reign of Sri Harsha of Madhura, an elder of the Sammitiya sect went in an unidentifiable blue robe to a courtezan, and when he returned at daybreak, his pupils inquired as to whether that was a better dress. He perforce as it were, spoke of its virtues and hence the Nilapaṭadarśana.[7] This sect seems to have practised extreme forms of Tantrism. Three viharas which were the centres of three nikayas are next often referred to in the chronicle.[8] King Mahānāga (556—568 A.D.) is supposed to have repaired the three

6. G. P. Malalasekera, *Pali literature of Ceylon* p. 151.
7. Ed. W. F. Gunawardana, *Nikaya Sangrahawa*.
8. *Culavamsa*, ch. 41. v. 97 ff.

great cetiyas and made gifts of cloth to the three nikayas. The great cetiyas referred to are invariably the Ruvanveli, the Jetavana and the Abhayagiri. Each nikāya was perhaps known by the name of a great vihara. Apart from these sects, there were two others, the Dhammarucis and the Sāgaliyas who were included in the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana sects respectively. The earliest inscription connected with Mahāyānism in Ceylon according to Dr. Paranavitana "is a long but very fragmentary record engraved on a rock near the Sela cetiya at Ambasthala. It consists of a Sanskrit hymn in praise of the Buddha in the Sragdhara metre. In it is a reference to the Nirmānakāya of the Buddha which is a clear Mahayana concept:—"Naikākārapravrttam tribhavabhaya-haram visvarupairupetam, vande nirmānakāyam."[9]

The presence of all these unorthodox sects and their doctrines contributed towards the disturbance of the orthodox faction of the Buddhist Order in Ceylon. Attempts on the part of the heterodoxy to gain supremacy, and on the part of the Mahāvihāra to retaliate against such a move, must have been quite common incidents. As is well-known from history, a few unorthodox centres of the Order like the Abhayagiri, benefited at times by royal favours as during the reign of Goṭhābhaya and Mahāsena. However, at times these factions earned the wrath of the king as well. For instance, when Silāmeghavarna (614—623)[10] requested the two communities, Abhayagiri and Mahāvihāra, to observe the Uposatha ceremony together, they refused, thus enraging the king. Due to this type of disturbance, at least three earlier kings seem to have held Dhammasangitis or conferences in order to purify the Sāsana. During Kumāra Dhātusena's reign (513—522 A. D.), he is supposed to have held a Dhammasangiti or a rehearsal of the doctrine and purified the Sāsana.[11] The nature of this Sangiti is however not known. The next attempt to purify the Sāsana of its miscreants and to prevent moral worthlessness among the Sangha, was made by Dala Mugalan (608—614) who proclaimed a Dhammakamma.[12] According to Dr. Malalasekara the expression "Dhammakamma often occurs in the *Mahāvaṃsa* to denote the manner in which the earlier kings interfered to carry out reforms in the Buddhist Church. It means literally a *legal act*. The act seems to have consisted in the promulgation by the king of a decree, enforcing the observance of discipline among the priesthood."[13] The third attempt was made by Salamevan (614 A.D.), to unite

9. S. Paranavitana, " Mahayanism in Ceylon." *Ceylon Journal of Science* (*G*) Vol. II.
10. *Culavamsa*, ch. 44 v. 80 ff.
11. *Culavamsa*, ch. 41 v. 2.
12. *Culavamsa*, ch. 44 v. 47.
13. *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 153 f.n.

the two viharas of Abhayagiri and Mahāvihāra, but this was a complete failure.[14] These attempts, which are the only ones recorded —there may have been many more of which we have no evidence— indicate that the Buddhist Order was now divided into various camps. Further, to add to their disunity, the moral life of the monks was at a low ebb. This fact is made quite clear from the statements of the *Polonnaru-Katikāvata* in the Galvihāra rock Inscription.[15] The Jetavanārāma Sanskrit Inscription[16] and the Mihintale tablets[17] of Mahinda IV (975—991 A.D.) which again just precede the Polonnaruva period, show the spiritual standard of the monks in the 9th century A.D. According to these inscriptions, there were some monks who had agricultural and commercial interests, and lands and property. Dissensions and quarrels in monasteries seem to have been common. The *Kaludiyapokuna* cave inscription of the 9th century, while making some grants says, if there be any dissension in the monastery, the food should be thrown to crows and dogs.[18] The vihāras in Anurādhapura which were destroyed by the Tamils; namely, the Ratnavāluka, Jetavana, Mirisaveṭi and Abhayagiri stupas "were all overgrown with great trees; bears and panthers dwelt there and the ground of the jungle scarce offered a foothold by reason of the heaps of bricks and earth."[19]

To add to all this, the Hindu practices that were being introduced to Ceylon, were gradually converting the Sinhalese kings, while the Buddhist practices themselves were beginning to show closer affinities to those of the Hindus. The Indian kings who ruled the country were invariably introducing Hindu cults and practices to Ceylon. This, of course, would have been nothing but natural. Though the culmination of these Hindu influences on Buddhist practices is seen at the conclusion of the Polonnaruva period, the beginnings of these influences too, go back to an earlier date. For instance, Mahinda II (772—792) is reported to have "restored many dilapidated temples of gods (*devakula*) here and there and had costly images of the gods made, and also he gave the brahmanas delicious food."[20] During the reign of Sena II (866), he had "a thousand jars of gold filled with pearls and on top of each he placed a jewel, and presented them to a thousand brahmanas."[21]

From all this it is quite clear that the period immediately preceding the Polonnaruva era was not one of peace and harmony,

14. *Culavamsa*, ch. 44 v. 76.
15. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II. No. 41.
16. *Ibid.* Vol. I. No. 1.
17. *Ibid.* Vol. I. No. 7.
18. *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 258.
19. *Culavamsa*, ch. 78, v. 100 ff.
20. *Ibid.* ch. 48 v. 143 ff.
21. *Ibid.* ch. 51 v. 65 ff.

even within the pale of the Buddhist Order. Royalty were at variance with one another, and the crown was being shifted from one head to another rapidly; the Buddhist Order was disturbed due to Mahayānic influences and dissentient elements and the moral life of the elders was of a low order. Along with the Hindu influences, the future of the Buddhist Order seemed to be drifting in an ominous direction. Anurādhapura had now completely lost its position and the viharas were almost deserted. The Lohapāsada now had only thirty-two monks, even after it had been repaired. Such were the conditions before the accession of Vijayabāhu I. Vijayabāhu succeeded to a kingdom torn by war and completely overrun by foreign enemies, while the Buddhist Order which had through history been a solace to kings in times of strife, hadn't the strength now to play that part. Thus the task of reforming the religion that faced Vijayabāhu I and Parākramabāhu I, the two chief Polonnaruva kings, was by no means an easy one.

II. The Period of Vijayabāhu I (1056—IIII A.D.)

As is clear from history, till Vijayabāhu became king of Lanka in 1056 A.D., there was no peace in the island. It is with the accession of this heroic monarch that peace and prosperity was again restored in the country. Once Polonnaruva was regained from Cholian rule, its title was changed to Vijayarājapura. When Vijayabāhu had driven out the enemy who had been responsible for the fall of the country's prosperity, he immediately directed his attention towards repairing the damage caused by the rapacious conduct of the foreigners. The welfare of the Buddhist Order took an important place in these activities. One of his greatest ambitions was to revive the Buddhist religion and to establish it firmly. He was quite conscious that the previous destruction of the great religious edifices, the viharas, parivenas and monasteries had resulted in the dissolution of the great monastic centres and the consequent decay of those institutions, and of the learning of which they had been the faithful custodians. The Polonnaruva slab inscription of the Velaikkaras mentions in its introduction, that Vijayabāhu put on the crown at the request of the Buddhist clergy in order to protect the Buddhist Order.[22] This statement amply testifies to Vijayabāhu's contribution towards the cause of the religion, though the statement itself is not to be taken literally.

One of the greatest contributions of Vijayabāhu I towards the Buddhist religion was the revival of the ordination in Ceylon, with the help of King Anuruddha of Burma. Vijayabāhu found that no ordination of bhikkhus had been held for decades, because the whole island could not in its sad plight, muster five perfectly

22. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. II. 40.

ordained elders. Therefore Vijayabāhu made a request to king Anuruddha of Ramañña soliciting his help to restore the Sāsana in Ceylon. He received timely help from Ramañña, and thus ordination was once again restored in Lanka. A number of eminent theras came over from Pegu and not only did they revive the ordination and thereby re-establish the line of Ācariyas, but they resuscitated learning by various forms of scriptural instruction. After this incident which brought Ceylon's relations with Burma very much closer, the two monarchs co-operated in arranging a common authoritative canon for both countries. As observed by Miss Mabel Bode, "King Anoratha of Burma, fresh from vigorous measures against heresy in his own country agreed with Vijaya bāhu, king of Ceylon, on the Pali texts which were to be accepted as representing the true teachings of the Buddha."[23] Thus, though Burma had with them at the moment, some sacred texts brought from Thaton, the king not content with them sent to Ceylon for more copies of the Tripitaka, which were examined by the Talaing monk Arahanta and compared with the Thaton collection. Thus there resulted in Lanka a great religious revival along with similar activity in Burma. The divisions that existed between the three fraternities of Lanka, often referred to, were now obscured. There resulted a great intellectual awakening, and learning and scholarship were promoted to a considerable degree. According to the Chronicle, Vijayabāhu had the Tripitaka copied out and presented to the Buddhist elders.[24] By way of learning, the study of Buddhist Philosophy seems to have taken pride of place. Thus, it has been a characteristic of this period that critical analysis has been more prominent than creative literary effort. The king is himself supposed to have been a scholar who produced a Sinhalese translation of the *Dhammasangani*. The religious edifices that the king is supposed to have put up are many. According to the Polonnaruva Inscription of the Velaikkaras[25], the Tooth Relic Temple at Polonnaruva was built under his orders, as a permanent respository for the Tooth and Bowl Relics of the Buddha, which were originally at Uttaramula. The king is again supposed to have instituted a permanent festival for the Tooth Relic, restored the relic shrines of the three fraternities at Māgama, and repaired many viharas such as the Maṇḍalagiri, Mahiyangana, Girikanda, etc., and the temple of the Bodhi tree. The king is supposed to have constructed resting places for pilgrims on the roads to Adam's Peak, and granted the village of Gilimale in the Ratnapura district for the purposes of supplying food to them. We have not dealt at length here on the literary and the architectural activities of the period, as they are ably discussed elsewhere in this volume.

23. Mabel Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma* p. 11.
24. *Culavamsa*, ch. 60 v. 22.
25. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. Vol. II. 40.

Vijayabāhu, by his ability and work raised the condition of the country to a state of prosperity. His role as the saviour of the dying Buddhist Order of Ceylon cannot be overrated. If not for the re-establishment of the ordination and the revival of literary activity, solely due to his efforts, the destinies of the Buddhist Order would have been quite otherwise. But with Vijayabāhu's death in 1111 A.D., internal discord reappeared, almost breaking up the unity that he had established in the kingdom.

The transition from Vijayabāhu's period to that of Parākramabāhu

The country was now divided into four parts. The Rajarata was held by Vikramabāhu I (1111—1132 A.D.); the southern country by Mānābharana, and Ruhuna was divided between Sri Vallabha and Kirti Sri Megha. Vikramabāhu is reported to have harassed the Buddhist Order and oppressed the priests. During the wars between Vikramabāhu and the sons of Mittā, the Buddhist viharas were robbed of their images and wealth. The country being divided in this manner under ambitious rivals, the destinies of the Buddhist Order were again on the wane. Though Vijayabāhu had made a strong willed attempt, the disruptive forces that had taken root in the Order during the preceding periods were not destroyed in their entirety. In spite of his efforts to purge the Buddhist Order of undesirables, yet they continued to exist, fattening on the endowments to monasteries. According to the chronicle, "in the villages that were given to the Order, purity of conduct among monks consisted only in that they supported their wives and children. Verily of purity there was none other than this. Neither was there any unity in the performance of the office of the Church; and those monks that walked the blameless life cared not even to see each other."[26] This statement should not however be taken as an under-estimation of the work of Vijayabāhu, but it well shows the corruption that had crept in to the Order in the years of internecine warfare that followed his death. Many of the viharas were abandoned for reasons of personal safety, and were mostly inhabited by wild animals. The wars and intrigues between the four rulers also weakened the internal security of the country in this transitional period, causing ill-effects on the Sasana. Thus for instance Manābharaṇa on his death-bed says, " rich treasures that were sacrificed to the Venerable Tooth Relic and to the Sacred Alms Bowl by believing sons of good family, and besides these, divers villages belonging to the bhikkhu Order have I seized and destroyed.[27]" Thus an attempt to unite the fraternities and revive the Sāsana was once again a great enterprise.

---

26. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 78 v. 3 ff.

27. *Ibid.* ch. 72 v. 304.

III. The period of Parākramabāhu I. (1153—1186)

Once Parākramabāhu established himself securely on the throne, he devoted his energies towards the improvement of the country. Though a few revolts broke out after his accession, such as the rebellion of Sugalā, it would be true to say that the reign was one of extended peace. His power was not limited to the shores of Ceylon, but extended, if we are to believe the chronicle, over Pāndya and Chola, and even to such distant lands as Cambodia and Pegu.

As was usual with the Buddhist monarchs of Lanka, Parākramabāhu too directed his attention to helping and improving the Sāsana. He realized that there was no unity in the Sangha and that the monks were living a life of laxity. The statement of the chronicle about the ideas of the king, though it does not command much historical authenticity, gives us an insight into the task that was lying ahead of him and the ineffectiveness of the attempts of the previous monarchs. "From the days of king Vaṭṭagāmini Abhaya, the three fraternities had lost their unity, despite the vast efforts made in every way by former kings, down to the present day. But the all wise ruler achieved its union whereby he had to endure double as much toil as in his efforts for the royal dignity. And he made the Order as uniform as milk and water so that it could last in purity for five-thousand years."[28] The last statement however, does not deserve much credence, for a few years after the attempts of Parākramabāhu to uniform the Order "as milk and water," Niśśaṅka Malla (1186—1197 A.D.) is again reported to have effected another purification of the Sangha. According to the Niśśaṅka Malla Inscription the king "perceiving that both those who led impure lives and those who are disappointed do not leave the Buddhist Church through their greed for gain and through fears of having duties to perform to the government as laymen, he graciously proclaimed that those who disrobed themselves without defiling the Church would not only have no such duties to perform, but they would receive gold, cloth, etc."[29] Thus even the attempts of Parākramabāhu do not seem to have had the desired results in a lasting way.

However, his services to the Order are of great importance. Once the king decided to put an end to the disharmonies within the Buddhist Order, he held a council of elders of the fraternities. The reason for this move was the realisation that the Vaitulyavāda was still trying to assert the position of the true doctrine. He

28. *Ibid.* ch. 73 v. 18.

29. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. II. 41.

chose the elder Mahākassapa of Udumbaragiri-Vihara, a scholar of no mean repute and a man distinguished for his piety, to preside over the assembly. Once, he requested the dissentient schools and the Mahvihāravāsins to be reconciled; but the latter were unwilling. "Many began departing to foreign lands, some left the Order"[30], not prepared even to sit in the same judgement hall. Thereupon the king realised that his task was not as easy as the military adventures of his triumphant past. He assembled all the members of the Dhammaruci, Sāgaliya and Vaitulya sects in the *Latāmaṇḍapa*, he read the tripiṭaka the whole night and expelled the miscreants from the Order.[31] Thus he is supposed to have united the three colleges. The Potgul-Vihara Inscription[32] has a reference to this synod. It seems to have been followed by the enactment of the Polonnaru-Katikāvata, which is the content of the Galvihara Rock Inscription.[33] At the Council assembly presided over by Udumbaragiri Mahākassapa, as was mentioned earlier, the debatable points of discipline were discussed. According to the chronicle, some of those present at the recital were Ñāṇapāla Thera with his disciples from Anuradhapura, some theras from Sabaragamuwa, Moggallana Thera as well as elders representative of the three nikayas from Rohana led by Nanda Thera of the Selantarāyatana Vihara. The date of the synod is tentatively fixed at 1165 A.D. Though the Jetavanārāma Sanskrit Inscription,[34] the Anuradhapura slab Inscription[35] of Kassapa V and the Mihintale tablets[36] of Mahinda IV afford us glimpses of the strict rules the monks had to observe under pain of expulsion, there does not seem to have been a complete copy of a Katikāvata, found anterior to the Galvihara Rock Inscription containing the Polonnaru-Katikāvata.

The contents of the Katikāvata which enjoins that certain practices should be strictly followed, seem to deal with three problems. Namely, (a) scriptural study, (b) the places and times within which monks were permitted to go out and (c) the necessary care when admitting a disciple into the Order. Thus it is implicit that the elders were neglecting the study of the scriptures even below the bare minimum, that they were used to getting about at unseemly hours and without a valid purpose, and that undesirables were being admitted into the Order. The Katikāvata states precisely that the *Acariyas* and *Upajjhāyas* should not allow the co-residents

30. *Culavamsa*, ch. 78 v. 13.
31. *Ibid.* ch. 78.
32. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II. No. 39.
33. *Ibid.* Vol. II. 41.
34. *Ibid.* Vol. I. No. 1.
35. *Ibid.* Vol. I. No. 4.
36. *Ibid.* Vol. I. No. 7.

to neglect the learning "at least of the *Kudusikha* and the *Pāmok* from the Vinaya and the three *Dasadhamma suttas* and the *Anumāna sutta* from the Suttanta." Those who are unable to master a great portion of the prescribed course of study "should at least be made to learn by heart the *Mulasikkhā* and the *Sekhiya*, and to rehearse the *Sikhavalanda Vinisa*." Coming on to the next topic, the Katikāvata states that "no permission to enter the village at wrong times shall be given to any of these monks save on account of begging food, in order to succour their unsupported parents, on account of a journey to recite a paritta at an appointed place." The fact that the quarrels of the elders were usually known to the laity is alluded to by the statement that "the disputes which are being settled in the monastery.....should not be made known outside."[37]

This unification of the various sects was succeeded by the erection of numerous buildings for the benefits of the votaries. Parākramabāhu built the Jetavana Vihara, identified by Geiger as the group of buildings within the city, to the north of the citadel. Next he built eight costly pāsādas of three storeys each, the Tivanka Pilimage, a beautiful round temple wholly of stone for the Tooth Relic, the Ālāhana Parivena, the Lankātilaka, Uttarārāma, etc. The *Cūlavaṁsa* author revels in giving a list of all the lofty religious edifices he put up. A bare enumeration of these works alone conveys an idea of the prosperity of the country, which must have made their erection possible. Parākramabāhu spent his energies not only in putting up religions edifices but also in the field of literature. A detailed study of it is given elsewhere in this volume and hence we shall not have to deal with it here. However, the complacent attitude of the time is conveyed in the statement that, "with this perfect internal tranquillity, undisturbed by oppression, encouraged in their activities by the great and devout interest taken by the head of the state himself, and working amidst congenial and beautiful surroundings, there arose during this period a band of scholars who made this epoch the Augustan Age of Ceylon literature."[38]

Though Parākramabāhu is believed to have surpassed the attempts of all other previous monarchs in unifying the Sāsana, even his reforms do not seem to have had any lasting effect, since as referred to earlier, king Nissanka Malla too had to purge the Sāsana of unworthy elements, a short time after Parākramabāhu's death. Thus, the political disturbances in the country together with the difficulties created by the unorthodox schools of the Buddhist Order,kept the destinies of the Sāsana in Ceylon in a

37. *Ibid.* Vol. II. No. 41.

38. Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 178.

constant state of flux; sometimes for the better and sometimes for worse. Though nearly five synods were held by succeeding kings, no lasting remedy was effected.

Taking a broad view of the whole problem it appears as if this period has seen a few innovations in the field of Buddhist religious practices. Buddhism which started as an ethical system, tended to transform itself to a much more *popular type* of religion. On the side of noticeable losses to the Order, one aspect is quite marked. The *Bhikkhuni Sāsana* which had flourished under royal patronage, unaffected by persecutions consequent on schisms, disappeared during this period. The chronicle has constant references to the Bhikkhuni Sāsana during the pre-Polonnaruva periods, and has references to heretical bhikkhuni schools as well. For instance, Moggallāna (496—513) having built the viharas *Dalha* and *Dāṭhākondañña* for the Dhammaruci and Sāgaliya schools, "built a shelter for Bhikkhunis called Rājini" and "made it over to the bhikkhunis of the Sāgalika school."[39] Bhikkhunis were however never persecuted. Whatever it be, the sudden disappearance of the Bhikkhuni Sāsana during this period is very striking, and the reason for it is not quite clear.

Pirit chanting became a very popular practice during this time. Perhaps the earliest reference to the chanting of *Paritta* as a ceremony is found during the reign of Aggabodhi IV.[40] However, when we come to the Polonnaruva period, chanting pirit seems to have gained much popularity, and hence when the future birth of the Prince Parākrama was made known, the king his father had the paritta recited over and over again by the community of Bhikkhus.[41] Further evidence towards this fact is found in the Polonnaru Katikāvata, where an elder is allowed to go at any time to any place for the recitation of the paritta. Though Sri Pāda (Adam's Peak) was a place of worship from very early times, it was during this time that it became a centre of constant pilgrimage. Vijayabāhu I provided resting places for the pilgrims to Sri Pada, and set apart the revenue of the village Gilimale for the supply of food to pilgrims. This practice was thenceforth followed and we find kings themselves making trips to the shrine.

Further, it was during this time that the possession of the Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha which was brought to Ceylon from Kalinga during the reign of Kirti Sri Meghavanna, (560 A.D.), was definitely considered necessary for a king. Thus princes always fought against each other to capture the Tooth Relic, for

39. *Culavamsa*, ch. 39 v. 43.
40. *Ibid.* ch. 46 v. 5.
41. *Ibid.* ch. 62 v. 31.

the popular concept was that he who possesses the Tooth Relic shall possess the crown too. Thus when Parākramabāhu defeats Sugalā after her revolt, she takes the Sacred Tooth and Bowl relic of the Buddha, and flies to Uruvela near Moneragala. Thereupon Parākramabāhu sends word to his dignitaries in the south, saying "they have seized the splendid sacred relics of the Alms Bowl and the Tooth, and are fain through fear to cross the sea..... If this is so, then the island of Lanka will be desolate." Thus through fear of losing the kingdom, he wanted the relics recovered and brought back immediately. The Tooth Relic seems to have been mostly in the custody of the Abhayagiri Vihāra, and therefore the festivities connected with the Tooth Relic were necessarily connected with this Vihāra. One of the chief religious buildings of Vijayabāhu was the Tooth Relic Temple, which was built by Nagaragiri Deva Senāpati, on the king's orders.[42] Parākramabāhu and Niśśaṅka Malla too built temples for the Daladā. The Velaikkāra Inscription records that due to the disturbed state of the country during the early days of Vijayabāhu, Moggallāna Mahāthera, in association with certain ministers of state, entrusted the Velaikkara community with the entire custody of the Tooth Relic temple. On undertaking the shrine they called it the "great temple of the Tooth Relic belonging to the illustrious Velaikkara army of the three divisions."[43] Before its custody was transferred, it was at the Uttaramula Vihara at Abhayagiri.

With the increasing instances of Indian rule over Ceylon, Hinduism too began to influence Buddhist practices. Sinhalese kings like Mahinda II (787—807 A. D.) and Sena II (866—901 A. D.) put up temples for Hindu gods. During the Polonnaruva period influences of Saivism and Vaishnavism were felt strongly. Saiva and Vaishnava shrines were erected at Polonnaruva, and they possessed bronze images of Saivite and Vaishnavite gods. The Siva devalas Nos. I and II are the best instances of these influences. Further, the influence of the Brahmin community over the Buddhist devotees is recognizable. Among the many buildings of Parākramabāhu, he built "for the carrying out of the ceremonies of expiation by the Brahmanas, the Hemamandira and for the recitation of magic incantations, the charming Dhāranighara."[44] The recitation of magic incantations of this nature was clearly a Hindu practice. In a comparative study of the moonstones of the Anurādhapura and the Polonnaruva periods, one sees a marked difference in design guided by Hindu ideals. In the moonstone which stands in *situ* at the so-called Queen's Pavilion of Anuradhapura, which is the most admired type of the Anuradhapura period, we find the elephant,

42. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II. 40.
43. *Ibid.* Vol. II. No. 40.
44. *Culavamsa*, ch. v.

bullock, lion and the horse, succeeding one another in a row, while the geese have a row all to themselves. But when we come to the Polonnaruva period, in the moonstone to the east entrance to the Hāṭadāge, each animal has its row in the order of geese, lion, elephant and horse. But the bullock is always absent in the moonstones of the Polonnaruva period. The reason, perhaps was that the bull being an animal venerated by the Hindus, its form should not be treaded upon by the laity.[45] Image houses are somewhat rare in the early period, but when we approach the Polonnuruva period, they become more and more popular.

Ceylon's relations with other Buddhist countries also deserve mention here. Till the accession of Parākramabāhu, Ceylon and Burma had very cordial relations. It was the timely help from Burma that helped Ceylon to revive the ordination ceremony in the time of Vijayabahu I. However, Parākramabāhu's invasion of Burma to avenge the insult cast by the Burmese king Alaungsithu, somewhat strained this relationship. Yet, the common religion that closely knit the two countries was strong enough to overcome all such minor differences. Ever since the time of Buddhaghosa, Burmese monks were in the habit of coming over to the Mahāvihara to imbibe the orthodox tradition, and continue it in their own country. The intercourse between the two countries was undoubtedly interrupted during the foreign invasions of Ceylon, but after Vijayabāhu's promotion of cordial relations once again with Burma, it continued without much disturbance. One of Ceylon's services to her Burmese friends, was the help granted by Vijayabāhu to establish a common authoritative Canon for both countries. The influence of Ceylon on Burma has been paramount in questions of discipline, and the code drawn up by the ancient Sinhalese theras has been carefully preserved by the Burmese fraternity in both letter and spirit, ever since its arrival in Burma in the eleventh century. The important works of Ceylonese authors on this subject formed the basis of Burmese studies on Buddhist Vinaya, while on the other hand whenever orthodoxy was on the wane in Ceylon in later times, it was often reinforced with help from Burma.

Next is the interesting episode of the establishing of the *Sihala Sangha* in Burma. In the reign of Parākramabāhu I, the Elder Uttarajiva from Pagan visited the Mahāvihara, bringing with him one of his pupils, the novice Chapaṭa. The Elder Uttarajiva also brought with him the first return gift of Burma to Ceylon, a copy of Aggavansa's *Saddaniti*, a thesis on Pali grammar. Chapaṭa received ordination from the Sinhalese Sangha in Ceylon, and lived in their midst for several years ardently studying the doctrine

45. *Ceylon Journal of Science* (G) Vol. I. p. 97. See also plates 52 and 53.

at the Mahāvihāra. He next returned to Pagan taking with him four Sinhalese monks as a mission of orthodoxy. Deeply convinced of the fact that the Mahavihara alone had kept the unbroken and legitimate line of descent, and that the valid ordination could only be received in Ceylon, he sought to form a nucleus of the orthodox tradition in Burma by establishing the Sihala-Sangha. "It was well that the Sihala-Sangha gained a foothold in Burma and rose into eminence there, for in later years, when the *upasampada* was again lost in Ceylon, during a period of great adversity, it was the Burmese Sangha who helped in large measure to make good the loss, and re-establish the ordination."[46] The elder Sariputta, who is the first literary personage of Ramañña, was a pupil of the thera Ananda, who was in turn one of the four Sinhalese monks who accompanied Chapaṭa from Ceylon. Sariputta, who was afterwards sent to his native country to purify the religion there, virtually became the representative of the Sihala-Sangha in the South. The establishment of the Sihala-Sangha in Talaing is said to date from this time. Thus, these events drew Burma and Ceylon closer together, even more intimately than before, and it had far reaching consequences on the history of the Buddhist Order in both countries.

Ceylon's relations with Cambodia seem to be implicit in a few references in the chronicles and inscriptions, but whether they were of any religious character, it is difficult to determine. The Niśśaṅka Malla inscription has an allusion to a class of fowlers called *Cambodi*.[47] Niśśanka Malla gave them all the wealth they wanted, and requested them to give up their sinful vocation. H. C. P. Bell identifies them with the Kambojian mercenaries who were employed by the Sinhalese kings. According to D. M. de Z. Wickramasingha, the Kambojians of Polonnaruva, whether they were monks, ambassadors, architects or even mercenaries, must have been devout Buddhists, and he quotes the naming of one of the gates of Polonnaruva as *Kāmbojavāsala*. Further he states that there was no allusion in the literature or in the inscriptions pointing to the immigration of non-Buddhist classes from Cambodia. Yet, he continues to observe that these fowlers were "of course, not Buddhist." From references in the chronicles, it is implicit that Ceylon had relations with Cambodia. The chronicle referring to the causes that led to the estrangement of Ceylon-Burmese relationships, states: "When he (the king of Ramañña) caught sight of a letter written on gold, addressed to himself, he under the pretext that they were envoys sent to Kāmboja..... had the envoys of Lanka thrown into a fortress in the Malaya country." There was however a definite difference in the religious

46. *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 197.
47. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II. 13.

spirit of Cambodia and Ceylon. The Buddhism of Cambodia at that time was that of the Mahāyāna school. Yet the fact remains that the Satmahal-Prāsāda at Polonnaruva has its prototype in Lumphun in Northern Siam. These stray references indicate that Ceylon had relations with Cambodia, but whether they were of a religious nature, it is difficult to determine.

In assessing the position of Buddhism during this period, what is clear is that due to foreign invasions and internal strife the Order had to undergo a great deal of discomfort, and the religion was losing ground among the people, except for a pious few. Parākramabāhu's contribution towards the revival of Buddhism in Ceylon during this period seems to be over emphasised. His intrigues in attempting to destroy his uncles and cousins, in order to capture the throne was almost disastrous in its results. While Vijayabāhu I was interested in promoting the good relationship-between the different members of royalty, Parākramabāhu was more intent on seeing the end of his cousins, who would have had a right to the throne. The disastrous result was clearly seen when Magha of Kalinga swooped down upon Ceylon with a large army of Keralas and annexed Ceylon for himself. On the accession of Parākramabāhu, the condition of the religion was no doubt at a low ebb, with the monks interested in commercial pursuits and maintaining unholy alliances with the laity. The influences of Hinduism were stealing a march over Buddhist practices. Thus the time was ripe for a revival in the Buddhist Order. For the disturbances that were created within the Order in Lanka, the unorthodox schools were mostly responsible. Of internal dissension within the Mahāvihāra, little is heard. The schismatic schools such as the Vaitulyavādins and Sāgaliyas were in most instances backed by the Mahāyāna forces that were working in India. Thus, the periods in which these unorthodox schools were strong in Ceylon synchronise with the dates assigned to some of the noteworthy developments in Mahāyānism in India. The period of the inception of such doctrines in Ceylon was when Nāgarjuna was dominating the field of religious philosophy in India. Sanghamitta came over to Ceylon during the period of Asangha and Vasubandhu. The disturbance of the Vaitulyavādins in the 6th century A.D., was an after effect of the energies active in India at the time, heralded by Dignāga and Dharmakirti. The last mention of the heterodoxy in the 9th century was again the period of *Vajrayāna* or *Mantrayāna* in India. Thus without some kind of strengthening influence from India, the unorthodox schools failed to give much trouble in Ceylon, and when we come to the period of Parākramabāhu, the Mahāyāna elements have almost subsided in India though they were active elsewhere. In its wake the differences between the Ceylon schools too were also now taking the shape of a spent force. Though the chronicler likens

Parākramabāhu's attempt at this juncture to an attempt to lift Mt. Meru, perhaps to make the achievement of Parākramābahu all the more glorious, it appears as if the differences between the various sects were gradually disappearing and the Order in Lanka was heading towards a unity. The Aṭamula (the eight centres of literary activity) such as the Uttaramula which belonged to the Abhayagiri, the Vilgammula, the Selantarāyatana, Mahānettip-pasāda-mula, etc., were gradually losing their spirit of rivalry. As a result some of these institutions, subsequently fell into oblivion, and thenceforth we come to hear more of the *Grāmavāsi* and the *Vanavāsi* traditions rather than of the Aṭamula. Thus there wasn't perhaps an irreconcileable gulf of difference between the sects during the period of Parākramabāhu I, as the chronicle tries to make out. Everything seemed to be ready for a revival and time therefore decided the major issue. However, we need not under-estimate the contribution of Parākramabāhu, who did everything within his reach to make the revival a success. His was an attempt made at the proper time.

Whatever may have been the glories of the religion during the Polonnaruva period, what was to follow seemed ominous for the country. Buddhism in Ceylon was once more destined for a fall, and a fall that was to cause serious damage. As the chronicle would put it, "since in consequence of the enormously accumulated, various evil deeds of the dwellers of Lanka, the devatas who were everywhere entrusted with the protection of Lanka, failed to carry out this protection, there landed a man who held to a false creed....."[48] This was Magha of Kalinga. The panic he created is described best in the words of Dr. Malalasekara who states that "his merciless brigands swept through the country, plundering, ravishing, mutilating and slaughtering. Not even the modest looking yellow robe would afford any protection from the cruelties of the Malabar mercenaries. The holiest shrines were violated and overthrown. The *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Rajaratnākara* describe with painful elaboration the gradual extinction of Buddhism, the plundering of temples, the expulsion of the monks and the desecration of all that was holy.....All books and literary records such as fell into their hands were piled up and burnt, and the whole island resembled a dwelling in flames or a house darkened by funeral rites."[49]

48. *Culavamsa*, ch. 80 v. 55.
49. *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 206.

NOTES ON CEYLON TOPOGRAPHY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY* [1]

By

THE LATE MR. H. W. CODRINGTON, C. C. S.

Did considerable pioneer work on the history of Ceylon. Author of Ceylon Coins and Currency, Short History of Ceylon and numerous other papers on epigraphy and archaeology.

PART I

(*From J. R. A. S. (C.B.) Vol. XXIX No.* 75)

Bishop R. S. Copleston's "Epic of Parākrama" dealing with the campaigns of Parākrama Bāhu I., which culminated in his accession to the Sinhalese throne, was published in this Journal, [2] (Vol. XIII., No. 44 of 1893). According to the author Ceylon was divided into four parts, the northern kingdom of which Polonnaruwa was the capital, and the three principalities of Mānābharana and his two brothers, all situate in the triangle between Passara, Balangoda and Hambantota.

The object of the present paper is to revise in part this view, which is now generally received. Many identifications, of course, are only tentative, but it may be laid down as a safe guide in locating mediaeval place names that armies marched then as now on roads and that consequently due regard must be paid to the Sinhalese *māvatas*, many of which are probably centuries old; and further that many old royal seats are now represented by *gabaḍāgam*, of which fact Kurunegala, Gampola and Badulla are examples. In the *Mahāvaṁsa* the Sinhalese place names are either translated into Pali or remain quite or almost unchanged. Thus in chapter C. we find:—v. 43. Rajakatthala=Radāgoḍa, and v. 232, Singatthala=Angoda, while Kuṭṭāpiṭiya in v. 228 is the Sinhalese name of the village. The translations of place names in the Sinhalese *Mahāvaṁsa* are not to be relied on implicitly, the equation *thala, thali=goḍa* having escaped the translators.

In the fourteenth century the Island was divided into three main divisions, Pihiti, Māyā, and Ruhuna. The boundaries between the second and third divisions were in theory the Kaluganga and the Mahaveliganga: Ruhuna therefore included all to the east

**Reprinted from the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIX. No.* 75 *and Vol. XXX No.* 78. *This article is presented by courtesy of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ceylon.—Ed.*

1. This paper was written before Mr. H. Storey's paper on "Parakrama Bahu the Great" published in the *Ceylon Antiquary* Vol. VII., Part 1, p. 17.

2. Reference is to the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

of the last named river, but the Kaḍaimpota shows that Pasyodun, Navayodun, Aṭakalan, and Kalugalboḍa belonged to Māyā Raṭa. The boundary between Māyā and Pihiṭi is said to have been the Deduru Oya; east of the present North-Western Province boundary in Matale District, Udugoḍa, Asgiri, Elahera, and Melandura, a name which appears in the Kapuru Vedu Oya inscription of Gaja Bāhu II published in this Journal, (Vol. XXVI., No. 71, Part 1), and which is still used locally for the Vilgomuwa Wasama of Laggala Pallesiya Pattu, were in Pihiṭi as well as Mediwaka in Uda Dumbara (Kewulgama inscription).

In *Mahāvaṁsa* (Ch. LXI.) we read that Mānābharana or Vīra Bāhu and his brothers after reducing the "Southern District" (dakkhinan passan) and the Ruhuna divided these two countries between them, Kitti Sirimegha obtaining Dvādasa-sahassakan raṭṭhan or Dolosdās with its capital Mahānāgasula, Siri Vallabha the country of Aṭṭhasahassa with Uddhanadvāra as its chief city, while Mānābharana ruled Dakkhina passakan from Punkhagāma. A year later the three brothers prepared for war against Vikrama Bāhu of Polonnaruwa but were defeated at Bodhisenapabbata, "which is in the Southern Country," and fled into Pañcayojana, while Vikrama Bāhu advanced to Kalyāni or Kelaniya. From this it would appear that the "Southern Country" was somewhere between Polonnaruwa and Pasdun Korale, which as we have seen was not in Ruhuna.

Its position has been obscured by mistranslations on the part of Mudaliyar L. C. Wijesinha. Thus in chapter LVIII., 38 ff., Vijaya Bāhu I at Mahānāgahula according to Wijesinha sent two officers "southward" and two others "along the highway by the sea to destroy the pride of the Cholians" then in occupation of Polonnaruwa. The two latter must have advanced along the east coast as they took Chagāma, presumably Sakamam in the Batticaloa District. The two sent "southward" took Mahunnaruggāma, Badalatthala, Vāpinagara, Buddhagāma, Tilagulla, Mahāgalla, Anuradhapura and Mahātittha (Mantota). Now we know from Chapter LXVIII., 43 ff., that Tilagulla and Mahāgalla were in Parākrama Bāhu's principality, while Badalatthala and Buddhagāma play an important part in his campaign against Gaja Bāhu. Further it is impossible either to advance any distance southward from Dolosdās without reaching the sea or to take Anuradhapura by such a movement. When we find that the Pali text has "dakkhinan passan" instead of " southward" the position is clear: the two officers in reality went northward from Dolosdās, captured Mahunnāruggāma, which I tentatively identify with Masnoruwa near Giriulla,[3] and after operations in the present Seven Korales and

3. An inscription at Malagane in Giratalan Korale gives the name of that village as Muhunnaru; this, however, seems to be too far north. Vapinagara may be Venaru, surviving in the name of a tank, Venaruvewa, in Kurunegala town.

Matale finally reached Anuradhapura. A similar mistranslation occurs in Chapter LIX., 18,19, where instead of "the Rohaṇa, and the Malaya country, even the whole of the southern part of the island" we should read: "the Rohaṇa, the Malaya country, and the whole of the Southern district" (Te sabbe Rohanan tathā Malayamaṇḍalan sabban dakkhina-passañ ca sahasā parivattayun.) That the Southern Country was not Rohaṇa is clear from Chapter LXXVIII., 9, 10, where the priests "who dwelt in the country of the sub-king," which as will be seen was the first named division, are distinct from "those of the three Fraternities who dwelt in the Rohaṇa."

The general position of the Southern Country is fixed by Chapter XLIV., 86, 87. Acording to this Jeṭṭhatissa went from the Malaya or hill country to Ariṭṭhagiri (Ritigala) and establishing his authority over the Southern and Eastern countries advanced on Anuradhapura. It is therefore clear that the Southern Country was so called not from its position in the Island but from its situation as regards the capital. The matter is clinched by the Bilibewa inscription, in which that village, situate some 15 miles south-west of Anuradhapura, is said to be in "dakun pase." Further a Tamil inscription at Budumuttawa in Vanni Hatpattu, dated in the eighth year of Srī Apaiya Salamekac-Cakravarttikal Jaya Bāhu Tevar, mentions Srī Vīra Bāhu Devar, whom I take to be Mānābharana.

It now remains to ascertain the boundaries of the Southern Country in the time of Parākrama Bāhu and Gaja Bāhu. In *Mahāvaṁsa*, (Chapter LXVIII., 6), we find that the southern boundary ran from Samantakuṭa (Adam's Peak) to the sea and included Pañcayojana, The northern and north-eastern frontiers are given in Chapter LXIX., 8 ff., as (1) Tabbā-raṭṭha, (2) Giribāraṭṭha, (3) Moravāpi, (4) Mahīpāla-raṭṭha, (5) Pilaviṭṭhika-raṭṭha, (6) Buddhagāmaka-raṭṭha, (7) Ambavana, (8) Bodhigāmavare-raṭṭha, wrongly given as Bodhigāma by Wijesinha, and (9) Kaṇṭakapetaka-raṭṭha.

Giribā-raṭṭha according to Chapter LXX., 125, was near the Kālavāpi river or Kala Oya, on the opposite side of which was Angamu. There can be no doubt that Giribā-raṭṭha was the country round Giribawa in the Mi-Oyen Egoda Korale of Vanni Hatpattu and that Angamu is Angomuwa in Eppawala Korale. The frontier here clearly was the Kala Oya. Tabbā-raṭṭha presumably was on the same line and further to the west, probably the country round Tabbowa, which commanded the *māvata* from Anuradhapura to Puttalam. Moravāpi also must have been on or near the Kala Oya as it lay between Anuradhapura and the Southern Country (*Mahāvaṁsa* LXXII., 210); Nagaragiri after fighting in the neighbourhood of the old capital is found quartered

here (*ib.* LXXII., 200). I am unable to identify it, but it is probably to be located not far from the present main road from Kurunegala to Anuradhapura, as it was not far from Kaṭiyāgāma (*ib.* LXX., 67), the modern Kaṭiyāwa in Eppawala Korale on the north side of the river.

For the sake of convenience the identity of Buddhagāma may be considered here. Chapter LXVI., 19, 20, shows that it was situated "near unto the rock Siridevi": on the route from Badalatthali, identified correctly in my opinion by Parker with Batalagoda [4], it was beyond Siriyālagāma, doubtless the village from which the later Hiriyala Korale derived its name, and it was within a reasonable distance of Kalavewa judging from the story of the flight of Gokanna Nagaragiri described in Chapter LXVI., 35 ff. Mr. H. Storey had proposed the identification of Buddhagāma with Menikdena Nuwara in the Wagapanaha Udasiya Pattu of Matale North on the ground of the presence there of a tenth century inscription mentioning "Budgam Vehera" (*Arch. Survey*, 1908, pp. 14, 15); the fighting at Bubbula, the modern Bibile, at some distance south from Menikdena Nuwara (*Mahāvaṁsa* LXX., 99), made me disposed to disagree with him, but the matter is settled in his favour by the following quotation from *Forbes' Journal* published in the *Ceylon Almanac* of 1834, pp. 206, 207: "The great mountain of Nikwoola near which these ruins are situated, was formerly called Heereedewatai Kande," obviously the Siridevi of the *Mahāvaṁsa*. Having located Buddhagāma we can now deal with Mahīpāala and Pilaviṭṭhi, which must lie between it and Moravāpi. The former I would place provisionally in the neighbourhood of Madawachchiya or Kallanchiya on the old "Eppawala *māvata*": the first named place commands not only the Kahalla road but one towards Kalavewa. Pilaviṭṭhi, next to Mahīpāla, we know from *Mahāvaṁsa* (LXXII., 196,) to have been not far from Kalavewa, and I would place it provisionally and roughly in the neighbourhood of Galewela, commanding the roads from Dambulla to Seven Korales and from the south to Kalavewa.

The next point on the frontier after Buddhagāma was Ambavana, the modern Ambana, from which the Ambanganga takes its name. Then comes Bodhigāmavara or Bogambara in the Matale Pallesiya Pattu; it was from this place that Parākrama's army attacked Lankāgiri or Laggala. Last of all is Kaṇṭakapetaka, representing some such name as Kaṭupota, which I am unable to identify.

One objection remains to the extension of Parākrama Bāhu's father's principality so as to include the western half of the present

4. In the longer version of the last chapter of the *Pujavaliya* the name of this place is given as Badalagoda.

Matale District: it is the statement in *Mahāvaṁsa* (LXIV., 8, 9,) that at Badalatthali the general Sangha " had been set to guard the boundary of the king's dominions." The Pali reads: "sa raṭṭha sīmārakkhāya," which might mean "to guard the boundary of his own country"; but " sa" may be rendered by " he" and has been so taken by the Sinhalese translators. Sangha therefore was set to guard the boundary of the *raṭa* of Badalatthali.

As we have seen Mānābharana, the eldest of the three brothers, ruled at Punkhagāma in the Southern Country and it was here that Parākrama Bāhu was born. On the death of his father the young prince went with his mother Ratanāvali to Ruhuna, while his uncle Kitti Sirimegha took possession of his late brother's principality and gave the Dolosdās and Aṭadās to Siri Vallabha. Parākrama's first act when grown up was to leave Ruhuna for the land of his birth "which should be the heritage of the sub-king" (*Mahāvaṁsa* LXIII., 42): he went therefore to Sirimegha's capital Sankhanāyakatthali, Sankhanāthatthali or Sankhatthali, where he was kindly received by his uncle. The prince now determined to ascertain "the real state of the upper provinces" as translated by Wijesinha (*Manāvaṁsa* LXIV., 52). Why the word "para-maṇḍala" was so rendered is difficult to understand; it simply means "other country" and is sufficiently explained in the following verses as "the enemy's country," in other words the dominions of Gaja Bāhu. With this object Parākrama set out from Sankhatthali by night, and travelling a distance of five *gāvutas* arrived at Pilinvatthu, "which was not far from the village Badalatthali" or Batalagoḍa (LXV., 1—5). After killing the general Sangha he passed through Siriyālagāma and finally reached Buddhagāma, which as we have seen was on Gaja Bāhu's frontier; here he intrigued with that king's general Gokanna Nagaragiri of Kalavewa. Parākrama's uncle, fearful of being embroiled with Gaja Bāhu, now sent troops to capture his nephew, but the prince hearing that they had reached Sirīyālagāma and had there divided themselves into ten companies, retired to Saraggāma in the district of Mahātila, namely, Selagama in Matale [5], where he succeeded in ambushing the army. "And the victorious prince departed from that place, and that he might calm the anxiety of his father (uncle), returned to the village Bodhigāma" (*Mahāvaṁsa* LXVI.,78). In this sentence we have two mistranslations: Parākrama "went," he did not "return," and his objective was Bodhigāmavara or Bogambara. His intention doubtless was to allay his uncle's suspicions by going to a place at a distance from Polonnaruwa.

5. I am obliged to Mr. H. Storey for this identification. The place is not the same as the Saragama or Sarogama of *Mahavamsa* LXXI., 18, LXXII., 34, 63, which is Vilgomuwa on the Mahaveliganga.

Parākrama having routed the troops sent after him crossed the frontier and went to Ranambura in the country of Lankapabbata, that is Ranamure in Laggala Pallesiya Pattu. Thence he made a detour to the country of Ambavana or Ambana, fought at Khīravāpa, and was all but captured at Nāvāgiri. He then determined to cross into "paramaṇḍala," "entered a place called Janapada in the kingdom of Gaja Bāhu" (LXVI., 110), and so came to Polonnaruwa. The title of Chapter LXVI. "The spying out the condition of the Paramaṇḍala" really applies to his intrigues at Gaja Bāhu's capital.

When the prince determined to leave Polonnaruwa he "sent beforehand a great number of his followers to a place called Janapada" (LXVII., 22). He then left the city at night, passed the Khajjūrakavaḍḍhamāna tank and Kānapaddāuda, crossed Silakhaṇḍa and arrived at Demeliyanaga in the village Opanāmika in the morning. This place therefore may be located some 15 miles—a night's journey—from Polonnaruwa: Sikhaṇḍa or Galkaḍulla—thus may be in the Konduruwakanda range. At the village Mangalaba he met his own soldiers with whom he went to Janapada. Here he was met by a deputation from Kitti Sirimegha and being anxious to see his uncle proceeded to Saraggāma, whence he was conducted to Badalatthali and so to Sankhatthali (*ib.* 32—82). The identity of the sites between Polonnaruwa and Selagama is doubtful. There are two *māvatas*, the one the old Trincomalee road branching off at Bibile from the old track to Anuradhapura, the other running along the north bank of the Ambanganga. The account of the campaign in Chapter LXX, shows that Janapada was over against Ambavana and presumably north or northeast of Bubbula or Bibile: Mangalaba seems to represent some such name as Magul-ebē; a Makul-ebē is said locally to be between Konduruwawa and Puwakgaha Ulpota in Matale District.

Parākrama now succeeded to the principality of Kitti Sirimegha and set about the improvement of his realm. His first care was the restoration of the "causeway known as Koṭṭhabaddha" across the Deduru Oya, in connection with which he built a channel "up to the country of Rattakaravha," not Ratkerauwa in Atakalan Korale as supposed by Wijesinha, but the Ratkarauwa in the Kuda Galboda Korale of Veudavili Hatpattu, where in Chapter LXIX, was stationed the holder of the title of Malaya Rāja. "Afterwards, at the confluence of the two rivers Sankhavaḍḍhamāna (Hakvaṭunu Oya) and Kumbhīla-vānaka (Kimbulwana Oya) he caused the place Sūkhara-nijjhara to be dammed up," and connected it by a channel with the tank Mahāgallaka already referred to (LXVIII., 32—34).

He also rebuilt Paṇḍavāpi (*ib.* 39—42). Parker states: "As the content shows that it was not in the part of Ceylon over which

his cousin Gaja-Bāhu ruled at that time, it may be the great abandoned tank now called Paṇḍikkulam, in the southern part of the Uva Province, which I have not examined. It is certainly not Paṇḍā-waewa, in the North-Western Province" (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 410). But Uva was not in Parākrama Bāhu's dominions, and the tank in question must be sought somewhere between Pasyodun and the Kala Oya. It may be noted that the Paṇḍāvewa rejected by Parker actually bears an inscription of Niśśaṅka Malla, whose custom it was to appropriate his predecessor's works.

Parākrama now prepared for war and commenced operations by tampering with the loyalty of Gaja Bāhu's general in charge of Yaṭṭhikaṇḍaka and Dumbara "in the great Malaya country," which he reduced. The identifications of Wijesinha seem to be correct. The Malaya Rāyar who was at Vālikākhetta, which I identify with Vellavela in Anaivilundan Pattu near Battulu Oya, captured Mallavālāna, and then went by sea to the pearl banks; for the termination *valana* should be compared the Karambavalāna and Nellivalāna of the Kaḍaimpota, which with Mannar lay along the sea coast. Meanwhile Nīlagalla, "the captain of the borders at Moravāpi," advanced to Kaṭiyāgāma (Kaṭiyāwa). Gokanna Nagaragiri, Gaja Bāhu's general at Kalavewa, now fought at Pilaviṭṭhi, the site of which has been discussed, and among other places at Jambukola and Kalalahallika. The last of these two villages appears in the list of tanks in Chapter LXVIII., 48: from Chapter LXX., 163, it seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Elahera. Jambukola may be Damulla (cf. LXXX., 22), but as this must have been some way from the frontier perhaps represents Dambagolla in Gangala Pallesiya Pattu. Gokanna Nagaragiri subsequently abandoned his activities and shut himself up in the fortress at Kalavewa. Parākrama's general then attacked Janapada from Sura Ambavana of Ambana and also Lankāgiri or Laggala from Bogambara.

The prince now built a fort at Pilavasu, against which Gaja Bāhu directed an army. To relieve the pressure Parākrama sent Rakkha Lankānātha to take the Janapada country. This general proceeded to Ambavana, fought at Bubbula or Bibile in Wagapanaha from which perhaps it may be inferred that Parākrama had lost Buddhagāma, and succeeded in taking Janapada. To oppose him Gaja Bāhu sent other generals who were defeated at Yagālla, and again troops from the Alisāra country or Elahera. Lankānātha, however, advanced and took Talathala or Talagoda on the northern bank of the Ambanganga and the fortress of Āligāma "which is by the side of a river," namely, Elagomuwa on the south bank of the same stream west of Talagoda.

Lankānātha in spite of his successes had suffered loss (LXX., 124) and to make a diversion or, as the *Mahāvaṁsa* has it, to "divide

Gaja Bāhu's great army in twain" Parākrama despatched Deva Senāpati to the Giribā country on the Kala Oya. Arrived there the general built a fort and a bridge, crossed the river and fought at Angamu or Angomuwa in Eppawala Korale and elsewhere in the North-Central Province. Mahinda Nagaragiri was sent to take Anuradhapura, which he did after fighting at Tissavāpi: he was, however, invested in the old capital but was enabled to escape with the help of Deva and Malaya Rāyar. Nagaragiri is found at Moravāpi later on (LXX., 199); so it may be presumed that no permanent conquest was achieved.

We now return to the Elahera country (*ib.* 162 ff). Māyāgeha built forts at Kalalahallika and Nandāmūlaka, and seized Alisāraka (Elahera) and the strongholds of Kaddūra and Kirāṭi. Gaja Bāhu's forces occupied Vilāna, but were drive out by Māyāgeha from this place as well as from Mattikavāpi, Uddhakūra, Adhokūra, and Nāsinna, the whole country of Alisāraka thus being reduced. Meanwhile Parākrama Bāhu built a fort at Nālanda in Wagapanaha Udasiya Pattu. I am unable to identify most of these places, but in view of the confusion between ස and ළ in badly preserved manuscripts, as shown by the variants Mahānāgahula,-sula,-kula, I am inclined to read "Kirāṭi" as "Sirāṭi" and to locate this place on the stream now called Hiraṭi Oya, which flows into the Amban-ganga near Maluweyaya.

Parākrama now decided to take Polonnaruwa (*ib.* 173 ff). Lankādhināṭha accordingly set out for Talakatthali or Talagoda and engaged the enemy successively at Rajakamata-sambādha, at Milānakhetta (possibly the same as Vilāna), at Dara-aga, and at Mangalaba. Parākrama's commanders then assembled at Ambavana and the general advance began. Mahinda occupied Lahulla, and Nagaragiri Hattanna, a place beyond Mangalaba (*ib.* 297), while Māyāgeha reached Khaṇḍigāma, where the enemy were shut in on three sides in the pass and fled into Polonnaruwa, pursued as far as Koṇḍangulikakedāra. At this juncture Mānā-bharana of Ruhuna, who had advanced to the valley of Sobara, arrived at the capital to assist Gaja Bāhu. The king, however, preferred to intrigue with Parākrama Bāhu and abdicated in his favour after the investment and capture of the capital by that prince, while Mānābharana retreated across the Mahaveliganga.

The results we have obtained are that in the twelfth century Ceylon was divided into three main divisions: (i) the King's Country comprising the present Northern and North-Central Provinces as well as parts of Matale North and East, which last we know to have been held by Gaja Bāhu from the Kapuru Vedu Oya inscription, and further the Malaya or hill country on that side; (ii) the Southern Country, the boundaries of which have been given above;

and (iii) Ruhuna, which was subdivided into (*a*) Dolosdās raṭa, roughly the Southern Province, with the capital at Mahānāgakula, which for reasons which cannot be gone into here seems to be the modern Marakaḍa[6] in Tangalla District, and (*b*) Aṭadās raṭa with Uddhanadvāra as its chief city. "Aṭasahasa" occurs in an inscription at Piligama, 3 miles from Telulla (Muller, 77) and the division of this name thus must have corresponded roughly with Uva.

The Southern Country seems to have been originally a subdivision of the King's Country, which once marched with Ruhuna (*Mahāvaṁsa* LXVIII., 132). It was not identical with the later Māyā Raṭa as it comprised the country between the Deduru Oya and Kala Oya, as well as Udugoda and Asgiri Korales of Matale, while it did not include Navadun and Kalugalboḍa (Navayojana and Kālagiri, *Mahāvaṁsa* LXXII., 92—95) or Dumbara and Haris-pattu. The Māyā Raṭa, though doubtless a development of the Southern Country, is first mentioned in *Mahāvaṁsa* (LXXI., 15) under Vijaya Bāhu III. *Mahāvaṁsa* (LXIII., 42) states that the Southern Country should be the heritage of the sub-king. This division was assigned to the yuvarāja or māpā[7] in the reigns of Aggabodhi I, and III., and Dāṭhopatissa II., and seems to have become the regular appanage of this prince from the time of Sena I.

I am unable to identify Sankhatthali the capital of Kitti Sirimegha but as it lay about five *gāvutas* or roughly ten miles from Badalatthali (the local *yojana* according to Rhys Davids' *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*," p. 17, being from seven to eight miles in length) it may have been in the neighbourhood of Kurunegala or possibly in the extensive *gabaḍāgam* of Hawuluwa or Visinawaya. The location of Punkhagāma is also obscure in spite of the large dāgoba built by Parākrama Bāhu on the site of his birth-chamber (*Mahāvaṁsa* LXXIX., 62); it certainly is not Paligammana in Matale East or Alupota in Uva.

---

6. Or perhaps Nakulugamuwa in the same district. In *Mahawamsa* LXXV., I make the following identifications:—V-63, Suvannamalaya=Ranmalakanda between Kandaboda Pattu and West Giruwa Pattu; v. 78, Garul-atthakkalancha =atakalanpanne (Sanskrit *garut*=parna); v. 92, Tambagama=Tambagamuwa in Atakalan Korale; v. 99, Mahabodhikkanda=Butkanda in Kolonna Korale; v. 100, Sukarali-Bheripasana=Beralapanatara; v. 106, Nadibhanda=Obada in West Giruwa Pattu.

7. For the equation yuvaraja—mapa, see the inscriptions on the pillars in the Council Chamber at Polonnaruwa. The nearest to the king on his right side has: *Sinhasanaye vede hun kale yuvaraja-va siti mapananvahanse hindina sthanayayi;* the next has: *Sinhasanaye vede hun kale epavarun hindina sthanayayi.*

PART II

(*From J. R. A. S. (C.B.) Vol. XXX No.* 78)

IN Volume XXIX, No. 75, of this Journal an attempt was made to investigate the topography of Ceylon as revealed by the civil wars leading to the union of the whole country under the sovereignty of Parākrama Bāhu I. In the present paper the same line of enquiry is continued in connection with the great Ruhuna rebellion against the new king's authority, led by Sugalā Dēvi, mother of the late Mānābharana. This prince had inherited the whole of Ruhuna, though the divisions of Dolosdahas and Aṭadahas with their respective capitals Mahānāgakula (Mānāvulu) and Uddhanadvāra (Udundora) still existed.

It is convenient to record the preliminary operations against the rebels before attempting to make any identification of the places named in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. We first of all read (LXXIV, 44) that the Sinhalese and Keralas at Koṭṭhasāraka and other places (Koṭṭhasārādhi vāsino) with the Velakkāra force, on hearing of the rebellion, rose against the king, but were reduced to submission and punished. Thereafter the Commander-in-Chief Rakkha set out from Polonnaruwa and gave battle at Barabbala to the Ruhuna soldiers, who declared "While we live he shall not cross the boundary of our country and come hither." Fighting also took place at Kaṇṭakavana ([8] Kaṭuvana) at Ambala and at the fortress Savan. In front of this last (purato) lay the stronghold Divācandantabāṭava, and beyond this "seven strongholds that no man could reach, the one after the other, in a forest one or two leagues (*gāvuta*) in extent; and both sides of the road that led thereto lay between great rocks, in the middle whereof they cut down great trees.....at certain intervals." The fighting continued here "for many months" (LXXIV, 50—66). Bhūtādhikāri, "who lived in the king's palace,"[9] was now dispatched to assist Rakkha: the seven forts were destroyed and the army fought its way to the village Kinsukavatthu (Kelawatta), Vaṭarakkhathali (*Vaṭarakgoḍa), the village Dāṭhāvaḍḍhana or Dāṭhācavaḍḍhana, and the village Sahodarā. Thence Rakkha sent a division against the enemy force remaining at Lokagalla (Loggala). This force, though reduced to straits, was not conqurered and the king's troops therefore rejoined the main body, and the whole army marched to Majjhimagāmaka (Medagama), and fought near the village Kantaka-dvāra-vātaka with the enemy "who had made a firm resolve with their chief captains and officers at Lokagalla, saying 'the venerable Tooth-relic and the sacred Bowl-relic shall we not allow them to seize.'" The next step was the

8. An asterisk before a Sinhalese name indicates a possible translation of the Pali.

9. For Bhutadhikari, see *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. IX, p. 185.

capture of Sugalā Devi's capital Udundora, whereupon the queen fled with the Relics to Uruvela (LXXIV, 67—88).

The "great tank Uruvela" was one of those "built" by Parākrama Bāhu, I, in Ruhuna (*Mhv.*, LXXIX, 83): the Sinhalese name given in the corresponding passage of the *Pūjāvaliya* is Etumala. It is therefore the great breached tank now called Etumala, some five miles south-east from Monarāgala. We thus have the *terminus ad quem* fixed. The capital Udundora cannot have been at a very great distance from Etimole, and we are helped to its identification by the statement in the *Dalada Pūjāvaliya* in connection with this campaign that the Tooth and Bowl-relics were hidden in the neighbourhood of the mountain or hill Amaragiri of Udundora in Ruhuna.[10] The name Amaragiri has disappeared from common use, but Mr. C. W. Bibile, Ratemahatmaya of Wellassa, informs me that it was the old designation of Monarāgala and supports this by the following verse:—

අමර ගිරි නමින් නිබු අරණෙකි පොර
මයුර ගිරි නමක් උනෙ කොහොමද කල
මයුර සත තෙරිඳු වැඩසිටියෙන් එ තැ
මයුර ගිරි නමක් තැබුවේ ඒ බැවි

"Friend, how was the name Mayuragiri given to the forest in ancient time called Amaragiri? Because the Elder Mayurasata (sic) dwelt in that place, it was called Mayuragiri."

We can now retrace our steps and endeavour to ascertain the route by which Rakkha led his army to Udundora. He must have advanced from Polonnaruwa either directly across country or along the valley of the Mahaweligaṅga. In either case he would have crossed the river at Dāstoṭa, as from general considerations of the history I think that we may take it as a certainty that the rebellion had made little or no impression in that part of Ruhuna immediately subject to the influence of Polonnaruwa. From the Mahaweliganga valley to Monarāgala an army can only advance by two main routes:—(1) up the Badulla valley or that of the Loggal Oya, descending on Monarāgala by the Passara gap, and (2) the Uraniya road through Hepola, once a *kaḍawata*, to Medagama in Wellassa. This last route avoids the difficulties of the two valleys just mentioned and as far as Bibile keeps to the foothills of the main mountain system. It seems very improbable that the royal troops would attempt to force the passage of these mountain valleys, held by the enemy, and we may dismiss this course

10. Variants are:

රුහුනු උඳුඹරගිරි අමරගිරි පර්‍ව්ත සමීපයෙන්
රුහුණු උදුන්දෙර අමරගිරි පුර ශවමීපයෙකි
රුහුනු උදුන්දෙර අමරගිරි නම් ශවමීපයෙකි

Udumbaragiri or Dimbulagala is mentioned in the next section of the *Dalada Pujavaliya*. It is clearly out of place in this campaign.

from our consideration. On the other hand, the Uraniya road would have involved Rakkha in a march across the enemy's front, a difficult military operation. By the rules of warfare he should have reduced the rebels on his right flank first of all or have posted strong bodies of troops at the mouths of the valleys. But from the narrative he apparently did not undertake any operations against the enemy on the hills until he reached Sahodarā, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Bibile, and then without much success. The alternative and direct route from Dāstoṭa to Medagama presents no difficulties on this score, but there would appear to be no situation where the road runs "between great rocks" and where an army could have been held up for many months. Further the army could hardly have remained for so long a time in a country impracticable to large bodies of men owing to its waterless state during a great part of the year. On the whole, I am inclined to the theory that Rakkha advanced along the line of the present Uraniya road, and that the rebels acted much in the same way as the Kandyans in later times, offering little resistance until they had involved the enemy in difficult country. I would locate the seven forts in the neighbourhood of Hepola. But the army clearly was not surrounded, as, had it not been revictualled, it would have been forced to capitulate. Why then was it not attacked in the rear by the rebels from the hills? And again why did it not try another route in the comparatively flat country? To the first question we may reply that in guerilla fighting the rules of regular warfare do not always apply, and further for all we know Rakkha may have guarded the mouths of the valleys; the second may be answered by pointing to the waterless state of the country. One argument in favour of the Uraniya route has to be mentioned; this is that apparently it was a well-known road from Māgama to the King's Country (Appendix I). It must be admitted, however, that the royal army's route is still uncertain until it is found in the neighbourhood of Bibile. The difficulties of a thickly wooded country are illustrated by the statement of *Mahāvaṁsa*, LXXV, 73, as to the Donivagga (Denawaka)—Navayojana road, which does not run through any really difficult terrain otherwise.

One point requires elucidation. In the *Ceylon Antiquary*, (vol. X, p. 95,) I located the country of Koṭṭhasāraka or Koṭusara in this very locality, on the ground that the Koṭusaraṭa of the Kaḍaim-pota lay between Sorabora Pangaragammana and Uva and that Koṭasara Piyangalu Vihārē still exists in the Kehelatta-wela wasama of Wegam Pattu. Parākrama Bāhu had quelled the insurrection of his mercenaries in Koṭṭhasāraka before Rakkha set out, and if this country lay where I had supposed there would have been no difficulty in skirting the mountains. At the time I felt that it was unlikely that a point so far away from the rest

of the fortified posts mentioned in *Mahāvaṁsa*, (LXXXIII, 21) was occupied by Māgha's troops. Since making the above identification, which is, I think, correct for the Ruhuna Koṭusara, I have found a passage in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (LXXI, 6), where it is recorded that the body of Gaja Bāhu, who died at Gangātaṭaka or Kantalai was taken by his ministers to Koṭṭhasāraka. This place, therefore, probably was not far from Kantalai and was in the King's Country.

If the present argument that the route taken by Rakkha was that by Hepola and Medagama of Wellassa is sound, Savan may be Hawana-vewa situated some 5 miles E. N. E. of Pangaragammana, and a little to the north of the existing Uraniya road: I do not, however, press this identification. Lokagalla undoubtedly is the valley of the Loggal Oya with the Madulsima range and it was against the enemy lodged in these hills that the division was dispatched by Rakkha, perhaps from the direction of Bibile. The expedition was a failure and the rebels poured down the Passara gap to attack the royal troops near Kaṇṭaka-dvāra-vātaka. This place I take to be the still existing Kaṭupelella ("thorn screen"—Kaṇṭaka-dvāra, "thorn-gate") just south of Dambagalla. Rakkha thus did not advance directly to the south from Medagama, but turned to the south-east. This, we shall see, was the then existing high road.

While these operations were in progress, the king sent Kitti Adhikāri and Kitti Jīvita-potthaki to reduce the enemy in Dīghavāpi, that is the country round the present Mahakandiya in Batticaloa District. They presumably passed to the north of Gunner's Quoin, they went through Erāhulu, the Erāvulu raṭa of the Kaḍaim-pota, if, as seems probable, this name survives in the modern Erāūr. The places between Erāhulu and Dīghavāpi where actions are recorded are Givulaba village, Uddhagāmaka (*Uḍagama), Hihobu and Kirinda (*Mhv.*, LXXIV, 89—98). There are two mistranslations on the part of Wijesinha in this section: in v. 97 "three leagues" should read "one *gavuta*," and in v. 98 for "returned to the place Dīghavāpi, and encamped there" should be substituted "encamped at Dīghavāpi." The operations in this part of the country were brought to a close by an order of the king that Kitti with his army should join Rakkha in order to seize the Relics, which it was rumoured the rebels intended to remove to India.

The men of Ruhuna, however, took the offensive and blockaded Udundora. But the royal general did not sit still, but fought actions in the neighbourhood at Maharivara, at Voyalagamu, perhaps the same place as Huyalagāma mentioned below, at Sumanagalla, possibly Haminagala south-east of Dambagalla, at Badaguna, and finally at Uruvela-maṇḍala (Etimole), where they succeeded in capturing the Relics (*Mhv.*, *ib.*, 99—126).

About this time one Śukarabhātu-deva, a chief (*śāmanta*) of Mānābharana, escaped from prison and fled to Ruhuna. Mañju Adhikāri was sent after him by the king and fought with the rebels at Sāpatgamu or Hāpatgamuwa[11] in Wiyaluwa, where he stayed. He appears later. The chief, however, evaded capture and with his friends, who naturally objected to the loss of the Relics, raised the country and assembled at Bhattasupa village. The royal generals, however, beat them and proceeded to Demaṭaval, by which name Okkampiṭiya Vihāre is still known. Here they routed "the whole enemy that was at Vāpi" who had hastened to Demaṭaval, and went on to Sappanārukokila village, where the Commander-in-Chief died of dysentery. The rebels naturally took heart at this event, and under the command of Sūkarabhātu-deva assembled in Guttasālaka-maṇḍala, the district around Buttala, but on the royal troops' advance fled to Māhāgāma-maṇḍala or Māgama in Hambantota District (*Mhv.*, *ib.*, 127—158). We may here note that in the fourth and fifth lines of verse 138 the words "seized and" are a gratuitous insertion on the part of Wijesinha.

Parākrama Bāhu disliked the idea of the Relics being carried about the country and gave directions that they should be sent to Polonnaruwa. This order was carried out, but so little was the effect of the recent royal victories that every step for some distance northwards from Hintālavana had to be won by fighting. The Relics on their arrival at Taṇḍulapattha were delivered to Mañju. This officer, as we have seen above, had pursued Sukarabhātu-deva into Wiyaluwa and had since been occupied in reducing Loggala and Dhanu-maṇḍala (*Dunumaḍulla); he now entrusted the Relics of Añjana Kammanātha[12] to be taken to Polonnaruwa (*Mhv.*, *ib.*, 159—170). The country north of Medagama seems to have been tranquil. We may now examine in more detail the passage of the Relics from Hintālavana to Taṇḍulapattha. We last saw the royal troops in the district of Buttala. As will appear in the sequel, Hintālavana (*Kitulkelē) became the temporary headquarters, and, as water is indispensable, we may locate it provisionally on a perennial stream, either the Kumbukkan, the Parapā Oya, or the Kuḍa Oya, and somewhere about the parallel of Buttala; it was 20 *gāvutas* or about 40 miles distant from Dīghavāpimaṇḍala (*Mhv.*, LXXV, 12). The next stage was Khīragāma (*Kirigama). This place appears in the mediaeval itinerary of Duṭugemunu under the name of Kirigama or Girigama, between Buttala and Medagama: it almost certainly was a royal village, and it was here that Parākrama Bāhu's mother was cremated and that her son built the Ratanāvali Cetiya, 120 cubits in height (*Mhv.*, LXXIX, 72). Weragoda or Aṭale would suit. Parana

11. In verse 168 translated by Sakhapatta.

12. This is the "Chief of the works" (Kammanayaka) of *Mhv.*, LXXII, 240.

Alupota, a little to the north, is traditionally connected with Parākrama Bāhu. This, however, is no real difficulty, as the old villages tended to disintegrate and the twelfth century Khīragāma may well have occupied country now divided among other hamlets. The presence of Ettalamulla to the south-east of Aṭāle, showing the site of the old elephant stalls, confirms this view. We may note that a hamlet of the name of Girāgammana lies south-west of Aṭālē, but off the present track. Tanagalūka and Sukhagiri from their position on the route taken may be Yakurāwa on the Kumbukkan and Guruhela respectively: Sirigala is the name of an estate on Monarāgala. Kaṭadorāva I take to be the same as the Kaṇṭaka-dvāra-vātaka of verse 84: for the double form of the name should be compared Sāpatgamu and Sakhāpatta (Hāpatgamuwa) already noted. Dambagallaka of course is Dambagalla, and Taṇḍulapattha (*Hālpota) must lie further to the north. The reason for the diversion from the straight line from Buttala to Medagama may have been due to the position then occupied by Mañju's army, or more probably to the fact that the main road ran direct from Medagama to the capital Udundora.

The war as it was being conducted might have lasted for years, had not Mañju seen the necessity of placing garrisons in the conquered districts, and so of preventing the enemy from reoccupying the country when the royal troops had moved on. With this view in mind, Mañju went to Bokusāla and consulted with the other commanders. The resulting operations, which were intended to reduce Dīghavāpi-maṇḍala, are not clear, as most of the places mentioned have not been identified. But it would appear that there was a sweeping movement through the southern part of Batticaloa District. From the fort Balapāsāna the king's troops took Chaggāma (Sakāmam), lying to the west of Tirukkōvil; later they attacked Mālāvatthukamaṇḍala (Malvattai), situated west of Nindaur and south of Chadaiyantalāvai. A circular movement then seems to have followed, bringing the army back to Hintālavana, which meanwhile had been occupied by the rebels n force. On being driven out they broke backwards in the direction of Dīghavāpi-maṇḍala, but were pursued thither and cut up, the royal troops having marched the distance of 20 *gavutas* in two nights. The victorious generals on their return with Hintālavana as their headquarters attacked the rebels in Buttala district at Adipādaka-punnāga-khaṇḍa and fought battles at Corambagāma, Mūlānagāma and Kuddālamaṇḍala. The first of these three places seems to be Horombāwa near Kawuḍāwa and Būtagolla, immediately south of Monarāgala. Finally, moving camp, they fought their way through Kittirājavāluka-gāma, Uladā village, and Vālukasa, and made their headquarters at Huyalagāma (*Mhv.*, *ib.*, 171—181; LXXV. 1—19).

The approximate position of Adipādaka-punnāgakhanda (*Epā-domba-kaḍa) is indicated also in *Mahāvaṁsa*, (LXI, 12 ff.) in which the battles between Vikrama Bāhu and his cousins are recorded. Vikrama Bāhu, then in charge of Ruhuna, hearing of the death of his father Vijaya Bāhu I., was travelling to Polonnaruwa, when he was met by his cousins' troops on their way to take him prisoner. The first battle was fought at Panasabukka (*Kosbukka) in Guttahālakamaṇḍala (Buttala), the second at Adipādaka-jambu (Epā-damba) obviously the same as *Epā-domba-kaḍa, others at Kaṭagāma, at Kālavāpi, and at Udundora. Huyalagāma probably commanded the great road between Mahānāgakula and Udundora. Here the royal commanders stayed, apparently for some time. The rebels were now confined to the low country south of Buttala, if not to the maritime district and the adjoining parts of Uva. The rest of Uva was garrisoned; the Kataragama country seems to have sufficed to prevent the enemy from breaking back to Dīghavāpi in that direction, and Parākrama Bāhu now began a great movement from the present Ratnapura and Kalutara Districts with the object of crushing them between the two armies.

The generals selected for this operation were Rakkha the "Tamil general" (Damilādhikāri) and Rakkha the Chamberlain (Kañcuki-nāyaka), who were given instructions to take Mahānāgakula, the capital of Dolosdahas. The rebels had intended to form a royal seat (*rājadhāni*), presumably for Sugalā Dēvi, at Gimhatittha (Gintoṭa), which they held in strength. Rakkha the Chamberlain at first dispatched against them the chief Devarāja of Pañcayojana (Pasdun); but on their advancing under one command to the mouth of the Gālu river (Mahamodara), he himself attacked and drove them back onto their main army at Mahāvālukagāma (Weligama). Here they were again defeated, and on terms being offered many of the inhabitants put themselves under Rakkha's protection. The general then attacked with success the rebels at Devanagara (Dondra), at Kammāragāma (Kamburugamuwa), at Mahāpanālagāma, at Mānakapiṭṭhi, at the ford (*tittha*) of the Nilavalā river (Nilwalā Gañga) and at Kadalipatta village (*Kehelpatgama or Dalupatgama). In spite of these victories, "the rebels waxed strong" and determined to prevent the royal troops from crossing the river at Mahākhetta. A battle ensued in the middle of the stream. Going thence Rakkha's men attacked the rebels at Dīghāli and drove them back to Suvannamalaya. This also was cleared of the enemy, and the general departed for Mālāvaratthali (*Malwaragoḍa), leaving instructions to his men to follow him thither (*Mhv.*, LXXV, 20—69)

Suvannamalaya is Ran̆malekanda, situated north-west of Kirama, or the range which includes this hill and divides the West

and hid themselves. The Tamil general, therefore, decided to entice them out into the open country and with this object withdrew to Pugadaṇḍavaṭa, which as we have seen was in Nawadun Korale. The rebels then reappeared and the general, beating them at Bodhiavāṭa village (*Bowala), Beralapanātara and Madutthali fort (Mīgoḍa, a hamlet not far from Urubokka), went into the open country and sending his troops in various directions destroyed great numbers of the enemy. It was at this juncture that he received a message from Mañju and the other chiefs, who had made their headquarters at Huyalagāma in Uva. Accordingly he met them at Kumbugāma *alias* Kubbugāma, possibly a village near Kumbukanda about five miles south of Koslanda, but more probably on the great road between Mahānāgakula and Buttala. The rebels driven out by the Tamil general had found a refuge in strongholds in the country held by the chiefs. Mañju now proposed to make an end of them before they made good their footing, to attack the stronghold of Aṭadahas, and seize Sugalā Devi herself. Rakkha thereupon searched the vicinity of the Walawe Ganga.[16] The rebels were on the Aṭadahas side of the river and, as the general was returning from the conference, his operations must have been in a southerly or south-westerly direction. The enemy, dislodged, made for Malavaratthali, so that they might reach the strongholds in the mountains, that is presumably in Kalugalboḍa, but being pursued "entered into the thick forest that covered the great hills" or possibly "the great hill" (maha pabbata). The Tamil general surrounded "the wood and the mountain" and destroyed the rebels. The description reads as though the enemy had taken refuge on a particular hill and we may have to look for a Mahakanda or Mahagala. Rakkha now secured for the king the possession of Dolosdahas raṭa, reducing it to submission by wholesale executions. The same policy was carried out in the neighbourhood of Mahānāgakula. Sending news to the king, he remained in Dolosdahas. The words "self same village" (v. 169) of Wijesinha do not appear in the Pali. (*Mhv.*, LXXV, 120—169).

Meanwhile Mañju and the other chiefs at Kumbugama, with the object of seizing the person of Sugalā Devi, left Haritakivata (*Araluwawa), garrisoned the towns there, and then went to Kanhavaṭa (*Kaluwala) and so to Vanagāma (*Walgama), where the old queen was captured. The remnant of her beaten forces, however, reassembled at Udundora, but were defeated and fled to Nigrodha-Māragalla, that is Māragala the eastern and highest peak of the Monarāgala range, were they were killed or taken

16. The "stronghold" of Atthasahassaka, not the plural as in Wijesinha. The " Vana-nadi " of the text has been rendered both in the English and Sinhalese translations by " forests and rivers." According to the *sannaya* of the *Manavula Sandesaya* it is the Walahoya or Walawe Ganga. " Of that part of the country " (v. 160) of Wijesinha is not in the Pali.

prisoner. The country was then pacified, hundreds being executed, and was left in charge of Bhūtādhikari, while Sugalā Devi and her officers were sent to the king (*Mhv. ib.*, 170—203). Village tradition is said to locate the capture of the queen at Veherabeñditenna, about 1½ miles south of Old Alupota. A hamlet of the last named village is Aralugasmaḍa, and some four miles north of Old Alupota on the road to Medagama is a ford on the Kumbukkan Oya called Nilwala or Kaluwala. If the tradition be true, Sugalā Devi must have doubled back from the low country. But the relative situation of Veherabeñditenna, Kaluwala, and Aralugasmaḍa is difficult to reconcile with any probable military operation, and it seems more likely that the queen was taken prisoner in the low country lying south of the Uva mountains. On the analogy of Vananadi being equal to Walawe Ganga, Vanagāma possibly might be Uḍa or Palle Walawa.

It only remains to locate Mālāvaratthali, to which the Chamberlain went from Ranmalekanda. Wijesinha identified it with Mārākaḍa, apparently because the two names began with the same syllable. This, of course, is impossible, as Mārākaḍa lay directly on the route taken by the Tamil general from Beralapanātara to Mahānāgakula, and it was only after he had taken the capital that he was joined by the Chamberlain. We are thus left with a location south or north of the Urubokka Ganga. The latter only fits in with the flight of the rebels on their way to the mountains after being driven out of the country on the left bank of the Walawe Ganga. This river can only be crossed at a few places and I would provisionally locate Mālāvaratthali in the neighbourhood of Talāwa in the East Giruwa Pattu, where an army would command the routes from the two fords near Tunkame and at Liyangahatoṭa as well as the road from Mahānāgakula to Beralapanātara. The object of the Chamberlain in going to Mālāvaratthali from Ranmalekanda perhaps was to prevent reinforcement of the Dolosdahas rebels by their friends in Aṭadahas raṭa beyond the Walawe.

P.S.—*Mhv.* LVIII, 43. Manḍagalla=Maha Maḍagalla-vewa on the head waters of the Mī-oya, not far from Polpitigama.

APPENDIX I.

The following is given as the route taken by Dutugemunu on his way from Magama to fight the Tamils in the King's Country.

Mahavamsa	*Thupavamsa*	*Saddharmalankara*
Tissamaharama		Magama
		(The halting places were:—)
		Kaluwala
		Ehala (night)
		Gikitta

Guttahalaka (Buttala)		Gut-hala
	Kirigama	Girigama
		Niyamulla
Malaya		Medagam-Uyantota
		Tungam-Kasatapitiya
		(here the army got ready to fight)
Mahiyangana		Miyuguna (first battle)

Mr. C. W. Bibile, Ratemahatmaya, gives the following information:—

Medagam-Uyantota—At Medagama on the left bank of Medagam Oya there is a place called Maligatenna, where there is a small dagaba around which there are stone pillars. The story connected with the place runs as follows:—King Dutugemunu was proceeding to fight the Tamils and halted at this place for his mid-day meal. While the meal was being prepared he got his followers to put up a small dagaba with the available stone to offer rice before he partook of it. This was put up and the king, after offering rice, ate his meal and proceeded. It is said that later he improved this place with the rock pillars found there now. Opposite to this place on the other bank there is a Vihare said to have been erected by Devenipetissa and subsequently restored by Lajja-tissa, nephew of Devenipetissa. The Vihare is now known as Timbiriya Vihare .....Between the place called Maligatenna and Timbiriya Vihare there is the gansabhawa road passing; thus the place is called a *tota* or a ferry or ford.....

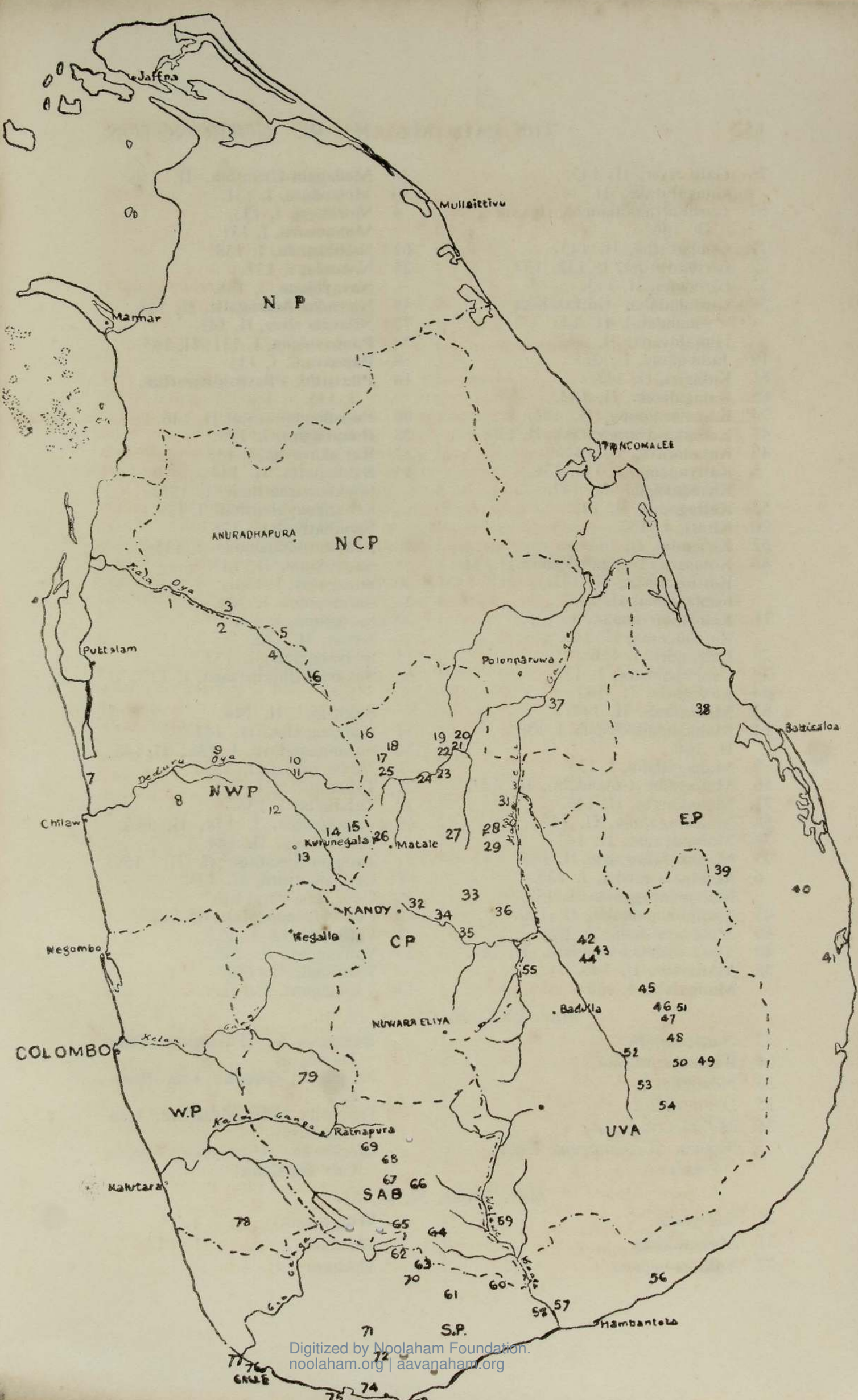
Tungam-Kasatapitiya. In a direct north-westerly direction from Medagama 7 miles off there is a village at Itanawatta called Egoda Itanawatta or Itanawatte Tanayamgama village, in which there is a place called Tungampitiya *alias* Kahatapitiya and then from this there is a gansabhawa road going through Kuruwambe on to Hepola and the present road to Alutnuwara or Mahiyangana

The later tradition seems to make Dutugemunu follow the well-known route through Wellassa, whereas the *Mahavamsa* distinctly says that he went through Malaya, the hill country, the most direct route and the most likely as that country was in his hands.

APPENDIX II.

Places identified in Papers I. and II.
The numbers before the names refer to the map, those after the names to the paper and page.

Adipadaka-jambu, II,145.
Adipadaka-punnagakhanda, II 145.
23 **Aligama**, I, 136.
21 **Alisara**, I, 136.
48 **Amaragiri**, II, 140.
24 **Ambavana**, I, 133.
3 **Angamu**, I, 132, 137.
Aritthagiri, I, 132.
Atadahas rata, I, 138.
64 **Ataranda-Mahabodhikkhanda**, I, 138; II, 146.
Atthasahassaka, I, 131, 138.
14 **Badalatthali**, I, 133.
57 **Bakagalla-Uddhavapi**, II, 147.
27 **Bodhigamavara** I, 133.
17 **Bubbula**, I, 136.
18 **Buddhagama**, I, 133.
41 **Chagama, Chaggama**, I, 131; II, 144.
50 **Corambagama**, II, 144.
46 **Dambagallaka**, II, 144.
54 **Demataval**, II, 143.
73 **Devanagara**, II, 145.
71 **Dighali, Dighalika**, II, 146.
39 **Dighavapi (-mandala)**, II, 142.
42 **Divacandantabatava, seven forts beyond**, II, 139.
Dolosdahas rata, I, 138.
69 **Donivagga**, II, 146.
Dvadasasahassaka, I, 131.
38 **Erahulu, Eravulu**, II, 142.
49 **Etumala**, II, 140.



76 Galu river, II, 145.
Gangatataka, II, 142.
67 Garul-atthakalancha, I, 138; II, 146.
77 Gimhatittha, II, 145.
2 Giriba-rattha, I, 132, 137.
52 Girigama, II, 143.
53 Guttahalaka, Guttasalaka (-mandala), II, 143.
Hintalavana, II, 143.
19 Jambukola, I, 136.
65 Kalagiri, II, 147.
65 Kalugalboda, II, 147.
74 Kammaragama, II, 145.
47 Kantaka-dvara-vataka, II, 139.
47 Katadorava, II, 144.
5 Katiyagama, I, 133, 136.
Khandavagga, II, 147.
52 Khiragama, II, 143.
20 Kirati, I, 137.
52 Kirigama, II, 143.
43 Kotasara Piyangalu Vihare, II, 141.
Kotthasaraka, II, 141.
Kubbugama, II, 148.
11 Kumbhila-vanaka, I, 135.
Kumbugama, II, 148.
29 Lankagiri, I, 136.
29 Lankapabbata, I, 135.
44 Lokagalla, II, 142.
63 Madutthali, II, 148.
64 Mahabodhikkhanda, I, 138; II, 146.
9 Mahagallaka, I, 135.
56 Mahagama (-mandala), II, 143.
71 Mahakhetta, II, 146.
58 Mahanagakula, II, 146.
79 Mahaniyama, II, 147.
75 Mahavalukagama, II, 145.
6 Mahipala-rattha, I, 133.
Mahunnaruggama, I, 131.
45 Majjhimagamaka, II, 139.
60 Malavaratthali, II, 149.
40 Malavatthuka-mandala, II, 144.
58 Manavulu, II, 146.
Mangalaba, I, 135.
45 Medagam-Uyantota, II, 150.
30 Melandura, I, 131.
4 Moravapi, I, 133.
Muhunnaru, I, 131.
61 Nadibhanda, I, 138.
25 Nalanda, I, 137.
Navayojana, I, 138.
48 Nigrodha-Maragalla, II, 148.
72 Nilavala river, II, 145.
78 Pancayojana, I, 131; II, 145.
8 Pandavapi, I, 135.
16 Pilavitthi, Pilavitthikarattha, I, 133.
68 Pugadandakavata, II, 146.
28 Ranambure, I, 135.
12 Rattakaravha, I, 135.
55 Sakhapatta, II, 144.
Sankhanathatthali, I, 138.
Sankhanayakatthali, I, 138.
Sankhatthali, I, 138.
10 Sankhavaddhamana, I, 135.
55 Sapatgamu, II, 143.
30 Saragama, I, 134.
26 Saraggama, I, 134.
30 Sarogama, I, 134.
Savan, II, 142.
15 Siriyalagama, I, 133.
62 Sukarali-Bheripasana, I, 138; II 146.
Sukhagiri, II, 144.
51 Sumanagalla, II, 142.
70 Suvannamalaya, I, 138; II, 145.
1 Tabba-rattha, I, 132.
22 Talakatthali, I, 137.
22 Talathala, I, 136.
66 Tambagama, I, 138; II, 146.
Tanagaluka, II, 144.
Tungam-Kasatapitiya, II, 150.
48 Uddhanadvara, II, 131.
48 Udundora, II, 140.
49 Uruvela(-mandala), II, 140.
7 Valikakhetta, I, 136.
59 Vanagama, II, 149.
Vananadi, II, 146.
13 Vapinagara, I, 131.

Mhv. LXX, 10, 11, 14, 16, 20.

32 Nagapabbata
34 Ramucchuvallika
33 Nilagallaka
35 Dhanuvillika
36 Majjhimavaggaka
Napana (Udagampaha Pata Dumbara)
Rambukwella (Palispattu, Pata Dumbara)
Nilgala (Udispattu, Uda Dumbara)
Dunuwila (Medasiyapattu, Uda Dumbara)
Mediwaka (Gampaha Korale Uda Dumbara)

Mhv. LXXI, 34, 44, 53.

30 Sarogama
31 Maharukkha
37 Yakkha-sukara
Wilgomuwa
Marake
Yakkure

ARMY AND WAR IN MEDIAEVAL CEYLON*

By

PROFESSOR WILHELM GEIGER, PH.D.

One of the greatest Indologists of all time; was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Erlangen. His published works on Iranology and on Sanskrit, Pali and Sinhalese linguistics and culture are too numerous to mention. In Ceylon, he is best known as the Editor and Translator of the Mahavamsa and the Culavamsa.

MERCENARIES and *militia* were the two constituent parts of the Sinhalese army in the mediaeval period (cf. H. W. Codrington, *Short Hist. of Ceylon*, pp. 64—70; G. C. Mendis, *Early Hist. of Ceylon*, pp. 83—85). Terms for, soldier 'are *yodha bhaṭa*, and if their bravery is to be emphasised by the poet: *sūra* hero.' A peculiar term for 'mercenary' is *āyudhïya* (*Mhvs.*, 61. 69) or *āyudha-jïvin* (66. 67), one who is living by bearing arms or by military service.

The *mercenaries* got payment from the king. They were *Sīhalas* or more frequently people who came over to Ceylon from Southern India: *Damiḷas*, *Keraḷas* and *Kaṇṇāṭas* (*deśāntaranivāsino yodhā* soldiers domiciled in a foreign country, 69. 18). In the old *Mahāvaṁsa* neither Keraḷas nor Kaṇṇāṭas are named at all, and the Damiḷas were but the hated enemies of the Sinhalese people. For the first time at the end of the 3rd century A.D., Damiḷas occur as soldiers in the service of a Sinhalese ruler (36. 49). Abhaya-nāga, the younger brother of Vohārikatissa was forced to take flight to main India owing to a crime he had committed at court. He returned afterwards to Ceylon at the head of a Damiḷa army, defeated and killed his brother and ascended the throne.

In the 7th century, king Aggabodhi III was supported in his war with Jeṭṭhatissa by Damiḷa troops he had hired in India, and Jeṭṭhatissa's dignitary Dāṭhāsiva also had Damiḷa soldiers in his service when he himself took the crown from Aggabodhi (44. 105, 125). It seems that at that time the mercenary system was already established or at least not unknown in Ceylon. The kings could not dispense with it though it sometimes caused serious troubles.

We are told in 55. 1 sq. that king Mahinda V, (981—1017,) was unable to satisfy his troops by giving them their pay. Therefore a mutiny broke out, and when the king had taken refuge in

**Reprinted from the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XIV*, 1938, *by kind permission of the Editor.—Ed.*

Rohana in the remaining parts of the country the brutal soldiery of Sīhaḷas, Keraḷas and Kaṇṇāṭas carried on the government as they pleased. On hearing this the Coḷa king sent an army to Ceylon and made it a province of the Coḷa empire (H. W. Codrington, l. l., p. 40; G. C. Mendis, *Early Hist. of Ceylon*, *p.* 55). A public calamity befell the Keraḷa mercenaries during the reign of the usurper Māgha, 1214—35. They oppressed and harassed the people in a terrible manner, plundered their houses and took away their possessions, and Māgha himself, whose power was depending on this soldiery, had delivered up to the Keraḷas whatever else belonged to the Sīhalas (80. 61—77).

Later on the Veḷakkāra mercenaries played an important rôle in the king's army. They were, no doubt, a warlike tribe or clan or a military community of Dravidian origin and may be compared with similar communities within the Coḷa army as the Maravaras (76. 130, 246) or the Kallaras, the Goḷihaḷas and the Kuntavaras (76. 246, 259) who are mentioned in the description of King Parakkamabāhu's campaign against the Coḷa king Kulaśekhara.

We learn from South Indian inscriptions that they for the first time came to Ceylon with king Rājendra I by whom the conquest of Ceylon mentioned above was completed in the first half of the 11th century (Wickremasinghe, *Epigr. Zeyl.*, II. 247). Since that time they had great influence in the Island serving as mercenaries to the king. But they appear to have been a rather tumultuous element within the army. Already about the year 1089 we hear that they rebelled against king Vijayabāhu I. The revolt was put down and the leaders were punished with bloody cruelty (60. 35—44). Half a century later they, suborned by Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha, deserted king Gajabāhu, and, supported by their defection, the two brothers attacked Rājaraṭṭha. But the king defended his dominion successfully. We may assume that in this case also a severe punishment of the mutinous mercenaries took place (63. 24 *sq.*).

Even during the reign of Parakkamabāhu we hear of a Veḷakkāra revolt. When the king began his campaign against Rohaṇa the Veḷakkāras banded themselves together with the Sīhala and Kerala mercenaries and revolted in order to profit by this opportunity and to take possession of Rājaraṭṭha. However the mutiny was suppressed by the king, the leaders were killed and the landed property formerly granted to the mercenaries as payment was withdrawn from them (74. 44 sq.).

• •

There is in Polonnaruva a fine slab erected by the Veḷakkāras with a Tamil inscription which, as I believe, must be dated

immediately before the revolt that took place at the beginning of king Gajabāhu's reign in the year 1137. The Veḷakkāras at that time, as the self-confident and proud tone of the inscription shows, were on the summit of their wealth and power, having regained their former influence after the first rebellion against Vijayabāhu in the year 1089. In the inscription they declare their agreement to protect the temple of the Tooth Relic, though they were themselves adherents of a Saiva sect. But on undertaking the control of that sacred shrine they were so bold as to call it the property of the Veḷakkāras and regarded it as their own charitable institution under their entire support. So they assigned to it lands, guards, etc., for its maintenance. (Wickremasinghe, *Ep. Zeyl.* II, p. 247).

In the later chapters of the *Mahāvaṁsa* we do not hear any more of the Veḷakkāras, but in the 13th century *Āriyas*, *i.e.*, Rājputs were serving as mercenaries of the Sinhalese king side by side with Sīhalas. Their leader bore the interesting name Thakuraka, which corresponds to the modern family name Tagore (Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* s. v. Thakoor). He is said to have killed the usurper Mitta with his own hand, and after this resolute deed the mercenaries banded themselves together and reinstated the legitimate king Bhuvanekabāhu in the royal dignity (90. 12 *sq.*).

The *militia* is called 'the army dwelling in the country' (raṭṭhavāsikā senā, *Mhvs.* 70—89, 75—102) and were agriculturists who were tilling and watering their fields and waiting for the harvest in perpetual fear of demons who might annihitate the whole work; the Sinhalese were never warlike people. The militia was, therefore, of no great military value. Cordiner, in his description of Ceylon, as it was shortly after its occupation by the Englishmen, says: 'An attempt was made some years ago to train a body of them (*i.e.*, of the Sinhalese) as soldiers, but, after great perseverance, it completely failed of success. A life of military discipline proved, in the highest degree, irksome and uncongenial to their habits. They deserted in great numbers, and examples intended to terrify only stimulated those who remained to abandon the service' (*Ceylon*, I pp. 92—3). In mediaeval times the Sinhalese were hardly better soldiers. We often read in the chronicle that the soldiers are running away on all sides as soon as they see themselves exposed to an unexpected danger (*Mhvs.*, 66. 89—90, 104; 67. 48). Such passages are met with chiefly in that part of the chronicle the favourite hero of which is Parakkamabāhu, and it may sometimes have been the unsophisticated chronicler's intention to exalt the king's heroism in comparison with his suite. But we also hear that a general of king Gajabāhu owing to an inauspicious dream fell from his bed and ran away into the forest where he was wandering about during the whole night, until at daybreak he reached

his village. His men too, when they heard of the general's flight left their weapons behind and followed their lord in bewilderment (66. 47 *sq.*) So much seems to be certain that such scenes were by no means strange or unusual, much less contemptible in the chronicler's eyes.

General Gokaṇṇa's army which was made ready by him in all haste for warding off Parakkamabāhu's general Māyāgeha consisted of the troops sent to him by king Gajabāhu, of his own former army and of the army dwelling in the country, that is, of regular troops and militia. Apparently the militia was the last hope. The minor Mānābharaṇa is said to have armed the able-bodied inhabitants of his two provinces, the two portions of Rohaṇa Aṭṭhasahassaka and Dvādasasahassaka (*balaṃ raṭṭha dvayanivāsinaṃ* 70. 187; cf 70. 260) in order to be ready for war, if Parakkamabāhu should succeed in conquering Pulatthinagara and then menace Rohaṇa. In the ensuing war two generals of Parakkamabāhu, Deva and Kitti, who had penetrated too far into the province of Rohaṇa, were encircled by the hostile army together with the militia-men *sakalârativāhinī sa-raṭṭhavāsikā* 72. 127). In the later war when general Rakkha attacked the Rohaṇa troops in the flank near Sīmātālatthali, his unexpected appearance caused surprise and terror among the rebels and they called upon the militia for assistance in this dangerous situation (75—102).

As militia men the *Vyādhas* took a particular position in Parakkamabāhu's army (69. 20; cf. below). The word is here, no doubt, the Pali equivalent of the modern Väddā, the name of the wild tribe of huntsmen who are believed to be the remnant of the aboriginal population of Ceylon. It is obvious that these people who were intimately acquainted with the wilderness, could be of good service to a commander of troops as scouts or guides. In a similar connection the word *Kirāta* occurs in 72. 208. It is said here that the Kirātas were skilled in wandering by night in the wilderness of forest and mountain, and slew many people by night and day. In Sanskrit and Pali *Kirāta* denotes a wild jungle-man of dwarfish stature. Can it be that the *Mhvs.* 72, 208 preserves the memory of a race of pygmies formerly living in some districts of S. E. Ceylon? Traditions concerning such a race are mentioned in *Journal R. A. Soc.* Ceylon Br. XXIII, No. 67, 1914, p. 288 sq.

Even professional *thieves* practised in house-breaking (*saṃdhibhedassa kusalā corā* 70—168) were employed in war by Parakkamabāhu. They were sent by him in the middle of the night to a fortified camp (*dugga*) erected by the enemy to undermine it with sharp antelope horns (*migasiṅgāni*) and so to take it. Antelope horn was perhaps the name of an iron-instrument comparable to

a miner's pick. *Coras* were also engaged in the seige and capture of Pulatthinagara (70. 285).

The traditional name in India for a complete *army* is the four-membered army '(*senā cāturaṅginī* in the ancient *Mahāvaṁsa*, 18. 29 etc., and in its mediaeval portion, 70, 217 etc.), because it is composed of elephants, horses, chariots, and foot soldiers. In the 13th century the four constituent parts of the army of Parakkamabāhu II were the *vīramahāyodhā*, the great warriors, *i.e.*, the foot soldiers, *hatthipakā*, the elephant drivers; *turaṅgasādī*, the horsemen; and *rathino*, the charioteers' (88. 34). This however seems to be but a poetical paraphrase of the traditional name which, in fact, hardly suits the mediaeval Sinhalese army; for I believe that H. W. Codrington (I. I. p. 69) is right, when he says: 'In the twelfth century there is no indication of the existence of organised units of elephants, chariots, or cavalry in Ceylon; indeed the thickly wooded nature of the country, in which the operations took place, renders it very doubtful whether they could have been used to any extent?

It is true that in the earlier centuries of the mediaeval period elephants were used as animals for riding in battle by kings or their substitutes (41. 23, 47 *sq.*; 50. 21 *sq.*). But otherwise elephants are never mentioned in the description of a battle. In 70. 228 *sq.* we hear that king Gajabāhu's generals when preparing the final resistance placed in readiness well-armoured elephants but this is hardly more than a poetical phrase, for in the following chapters we do not learn anything about their employment. Parakkamabāhu is said (69. 22—3) to have brought up many sons of distinguished families in his own palace with the wish that people skilled in the art of riding elephants and horses should increase in number. This notice, however, concerns sport and bodily training in general, not military exercise especially. The Ramañas contrary to the Sinhalese were using elephants in war. When, therefore, Parakkamabāhu prepared the Rāmañña campaign, he provided his soldiers with a peculiar sort of arrows for the defence from those animals (76. 48).

As to horses, in one case only it is related that a royal prince, Kassapa, the younger brother of king Sena I, was on horseback in battle (50. 26—28), but we may infer from the narration itself that this was something extraordinary. In the Coḷa army cavalry was numerous and the report in the *Mahāvaṁsa* on Parakkamabāhu's war with Kulaśekhara clearly shows how much the Sinhalese were impressed by this fact. The capture of many horses in the various battles is repeatedly exalted by the chronicler (76. 100, 298,331).

The bulk of the mediaeval Sinhalese army consisted of foot soldiers with the baggage train (*bala—vāhana*). Even the *officers* (*sāmantā*) were never on horseback. Their conveyance was a palanquin, on the march as well as in battle, as we may infer from 72—100 (*Cūlavaṁsa*, translate I, p. 328, n. 2; H. W. Codrington, I. I., p. 75). We must, therefore, also translate the word *yāna*, generally meaning a vehicle, in this connection with palanquin; not with chariot (70. 85, 122). The badge of the officers was an umbrella probably of different colour (66. 49; 70. 122), as the white umbrella was that of the king.

Trumpets and *drums* are frequently mentioned in the chronicle. It is shown by the word *saṅkha* (85. 113; 89, 46; Sk. *Śaṅkha*) that what we call trumpets were conches. They are often called victorious or auspicious shells (*jayāsaṅkhā* 65. 27; 88. 75; *maṅgalasaṅkhā* 74. 222). From 72—119 *pañca—mahāsadda—saṅkha—nāda* (filled) with the din of the five loud clanging conches we may perhaps infer that so many forms or kinds of conches were in use.

The words for 'drum' are more various. It is a well-known fact that the Sinhalese people are very fond of drumming and beating the drums with admirable rhythmic art. More than sixty sorts of drums exist now in Ceylon, of large or small size, one-headed or double, narrow or wide in the middle, each bearing a peculiar name. It must have also been the same, or nearly the same in the mediaeval period. The most common name for a military drum is *bheri* (Sk. *id.*, Sinh. *beraya*), also *raṇabheri* battle drum or *jaya-bheri* victorious drum (70. 227; 75—104; 76—161 88. 75). Other words are *kāhala* (74. 222; 75. 104; Sk and Sinh. loanword *id.*), *dundubhi* (85. 113; Sk., Sinh. *id.*), *āḷambara* (69.20; Sk. *āḍambara*) and, mentioned in the latest part of the chronicle, *maddala* (96. 15; 99. 46; Sk. *mardala*). We may notice here that in time of peace, drum-beating and blast of trumpets were never lacking on festive occasions (72. 315; 74. 221), and that public proclamations used to be made by beat of drum.

Flags (*dhaja* 85. 114) were also in use in the Sinhalese army. King Gajabāhu boasts that all his enemies were taking to flight because they could not behold his victorious flag (*jayaddhajaṃ* 70. 225; cf 88. 75). According to a later passage (99. 44, 18th cent.) we may assume that the militia contingents of the different districts were distinguished by different flags, probably by flags of different colours.

5. In the *Mahāvaṁsa* five kinds of *weapons* (*pañcâyudha* or °*âv*° 41. 48; *dasaddhâyudha* 70. 229) are distinguished, but they are never enumerated. Clough in his *Sinhalese Dictionary* s. v. says they were sword, spear, bow, battle-axe, and shield. This

is hardly correct, for the shield cannot be called *āyudha* which always denotes an offensive weapon; nor do I know whether the battle-axe was ever in use among the Sinhalese. I think that *pañcâyudha* was simply a traditional name similar to *caturaṅginī Senā;* and used by the chronicler without considering the actualities.

The first and foremost weapons were bow (*cāpa, dhanu*) and arrows (*sara, bāṇa, usu, salla*). The archer is called *dhanuggaha* (70. 116; 72. 244; Sk. *dhanurgraha*), *dhanuddhara* (83, 45; Sk. dhanurdhara) or *issāsa* (72. 245; Sk. *iṣvāsa*), the archery *dhanusippa.*

It is a phrase often met with in the chronicle that the archers rain an uninterrupted shower of arrows on the enemy (*saravassa* 66. 27; 70. 114; 72. 134, 246, 250; *saravuṭṭhi* 74. 96; *bāṇavuṭṭhi* 74. 117). Whether poisoned arrows were ever used by the Sinhalese is extremely doubtful. It is true that poisoned arrows are mentioned in the chronicle but only among the Ramañas and the Jāvakas. Parakkamabāhu had provided his soldiers whom he sent to Rāmaññña, with medicine, preserved in cow horns for the healing of venomous wounds caused by poisoned arrows (*visa-pītasalla-*76—49). And the Jāvakas who had invaded Ceylon in the 13th century are said to have harassed the people with their poisoned arrows (*visa-diddhehi bāṇehi* 83. 38) likened to terrible snakes; they even shot such arrows swiftly one after another from a machine (83. 44). It appears from the tone of these reports that here the chronicler is touching a strange foreign custom which was unknown and unheard of to the Sinhalese people and looked to them like a diabolic practice.

A peculiar kind of arrow is called *gokaṇṇaka,* probably after their form. The word corresponds to Sk. *gokarṇa* which occurs in the *Mahābhārata* in the same meaning. Such sharp-pointed (*tikkhagga*) arrows were used for defence against elephants (76. 48).

Archery was highly developed and esteemed in India as well as in Ceylon. Kitti, afterwards king Vijayabāhu I, is praised for his skill in the use of the bow already in his thirteenth year (57. 43). In the army raised by Parakkamabāhu there was a troop of excellent archers, called, moon-light archers (*candâlokadhanuddharā* 69. 19) because they were versed in night-fighting. In the ancient *Mahāvaṁsa* 23. 86 archers are mentioned who hit their mark guided only by sound (*sadda-vedhino*) and others who were able to hit a hair (*vāla-vedhino*) and others who hit their mark by the light of a lightning (*vijju-vedhino*). The last group is mentioned in the mediaeval period also; *akkhaṇavedhino issāsā* (72. 245), and we shall be allowed to assume that the other groups were not unknown at the same time.

For the sword we come across the names *asi*, *khagga* (Sk. *asi Khaḍga*) and less frequently *tharu* (*Mhvs.*, 69, 22; Sk. *tsaru*), but it does not seem that different forms of the sword are denoted by those words. They are merely synonymous. The sword was used in hand-to-hand fighting, and sparks were flying from the clash of swords in such a combat (72. 84). Training in the manipulation of the sword as well as in that of the bow belonged to the education of princes and sons of noble families (64. 4; 69. 22). The Sīhalas, after having vanquished the Jāvakas, got as booty their elephants and horses, their swords and many other weapons together with their trumpets, drums, and flags (88. 74). The sword was the principal weapon in the hand of the king (66. 24, 31, 108), and two royal swords are distinguished in 72, 102 *sq.*, one being called the Jambudīpa blade and the other the Sīhala blade. The latter appears to have been the more terrible weapon. The *dagger* (*churika* 39. 27; *asiputtaka* 41. 24; *nikkaraṇi* 44. 112) is mentioned as a royal weapon. It was also a weapon of the Keraḷa mercenaries (55. 6) and among the different regiments of Parakkamabāhu's army there was also that of the dagger bearers (*churikaggāhakā* 69. 24).

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

An ancient and primitive weapon was the *club* (*muggara*). It is however remarkable that even Parakkamabāhu enrolled in the army raised by him several thousand soldiers, tall men and strong, who were armed with clubs (*muggarike yodhe* 69. 17). The most ancient weapon was, therefore, not yet out of use in the 12th century.

Among the *defensive arms* (*kavacāni* 69. 7, 38, or *vamma* 76. 47, opposite to *āyudhāni*) the shield (*phalaka*) must be mentioned. It was probably made of wood but it is doubtful whether it was always worn and by all soldiers. When Parakkamabāhu was attacked in the wilderness by a dreadful bear he forced the beast down with the edge of his shield and killed it with his sword (67.42). In 74. 73, it is said that two generals of Parakkamabāhu provided for their troops arrow protectives consisting of buffalo-skin' (*mahisa-cammamaye bāṇavāraṇe*). It seems that leathern doublets are meant by this expression; but their use was apparently an isolated case.

When *war* is imminent it is necessary first of all to provide the food supply for both the army in the field and the population at home. Therefore Parakkamabāhu, ere he began the campaign against *Rājaraṭṭha*, took care in every possible way to enlarge the cultivable area of his province so that he might be able to store a large quantity of grain (*Mhvs.*, 68. 7—53). His financial reform served the same purpose (69. 27 *sq.*). We need not add that also stores of armour and weapons of every kind and many other things formed parts of the war material, (*yuddhôpakaraṇa* 69. 5, 14). For the war in Rāmañña the king had supplied for his army not only the iron arrows against elephants and medicine for the healing of venomous wounds, but also armour and weapons in abundance, and provisions for a whole year such as rice and the like, as well as all kinds of remedies for curing the poison of infected water in the many swampy stretches of the country; also iron pincers for extracting arrow-heads which are difficult to move when they have pierced deeply and the shaft has broken. The army was also accompanied by skilful physicians and serving women (*thiyo paricārikā*) who were to attend sick and wounded soldiers (76. 47 sq.).

The soldiers themselves were trained for the military profession in peace-time by manoeuvres. Parakkamabāhu in order to test the fitness of his men arranged fights on the street, sifted out the most skilled people and dismissed those unfitted for fight. They were to till the fields and perform other works, living at home (69. 37—8). Sham-fights (*yodhakīḷā*) in which the soldiers could show their skill in handling the weapons were also in use (89. 26, 31).

Before the beginning of the war against Rājaraṭṭha, Parakkama-bāhu is said to have worked out with ingenuity in a way suited to the locality and the time, and the plan of campaign. He did so with careful study of literary works valuable for carrying on war, such as the text-book of Koṭalla, *i.e.*, the *Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra*, and the Yudhaṇṇava, propably a part of the *Agnipurāṇa* which bears the separate title *Yuddhajayârṇava*. The plan was written down and handed out to the officers with the strict order not to swerve by a hair's breadth from the king's instruction (70. 56—8).

It is however impossible to carry through a war successfully without an accurate knowledge of the military power of the hostile king and of the political and financial situation of his country. Such a knowledge must be acquired by *espionage*. Prince Parakkamabāhu is said to have done so (66. 126 *sq.*) during his sojourn at king Gajabāhu's court in Pulatthinagara. We must not accept this report as historical in its details, for the chronicler followed here, as I have shown in *Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens* (in honour of H. Jacobi), p. 418 sq., the text of the *Kauṭalīya*. He wished to describe his hero as a ruler who in all his qualities corresponded to the ideal of an Indian king who is versed in the *nīti*.

The prince is said to have sought out clever and astute men and sent them forth in various disguises in order to become acquainted with the people in the outlying districts, whilst he himself confined his observations and inquiries to the town and its inhabitants. In the enumeration of these spies in the *Mahāvaṁsa* the ascetic *tāpasa* 66. 135) corresponds to the *tāpasa* in the *Kauṭalīya*, the poisoner (*rasakriyâbhiññā* 66. 138) to the *rasada*, the sorcerer and fortune-teller (*bhūtavijjāvidū* 66. 138 *sāmuddikâdikânekalakkhaṇaññu* 66. 132) to the *sāmedhika* (cf. *aṅgavidyā*), and the itinerant trader selling glass bangles and similar trifles to the *vaidehaka* (*Kant.*, 1. II and 12). In order also to find out among the kings dignitaries those whom he could win over and to apply the right method for doing so he tried to distinguish between those who were ambitious (*abhimānino*), those who nursed a grudge (*saṃkuddhā*), those who were afraid (*bhītā*) and those who were avaricious (*luddhā* 66. 142). These four-groups exactly correspond, even in wording, to the *mānivarga*, *kuddhavarga*, *bhīṭavarga*, and *lubdhavarga* in the *Kauṭaliya*, I. 14.

There are some more spies of other character mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* as well as in the *Arthaśāstra*. But so much seems to be certain that the *Kauṭalīya* and perhaps also other works of the Indian *nīti* literature were well-known and eagerly studied in mediaeval Ceylon, and what they taught was probably also applied by the kings as far as it was possible or advisable. It is however very improbable that Parakkamabāhu personally practised espionage at Gajabāhu's court, as it is described in the chronicle; for such an activity was too risky and could hardly be kept secret.

As to the *war* itself, 'four means of success' (*Cupāyā*) are mentioned in the chronicle 58. 3. The same distinction occurs in the Indian Śāstras. In the *Kauṭalīya* the four stratagems are enumerated (II. 10; Shamasastry, ed., p. 74; trsl., 84): *bheda* division of the enemy; *daṇḍa* open war, offensive; *sāma* friendly negotiations, *dānāni* gifts or bribes. The character of the war itself

was mainly depending on that of the country. In the mediaeval times Ceylon was, for the greatest part, thickly covered with forest, and frequently the assistance of scouts (*carā* 66. 99; 75. 64) was necessary to show to the soldiers a road leading through the wilderness. They were probably recruited from the local militia, perhaps also from forest tribes (see above in 3). Often the war was hardly more than a guerilla (*corayuddha* 75. 135). In this respect the description of the beginning of the second Rohaṇa campaign is very interesting (75. 1—18).

In the first campaign the sacred relics of the *dāṭhādhātu* and the *pattadhātu* had been captured by Parakkamabāhu's generals (74. 138). That was certainly an important moral success. But in order to achieve the main object of the whole undertaking, the subjection of the province, the king was forced to begin a new campaign. He first intended to invade Rohaṇa from north-east through the districts of Dīghavāpi and Guttasālā, now Buttala. The resistance offered by the Rohaṇa people was apparently weak, but when it seemed to have been suppressed at one place, it at once broke out anew in another. In spite of the victories reported by his generals the king gave up his plan and decided to attack the province from its north-west frontier. After the first defeats in this final phase of the terrible war, the Rohaṇa people themselves proclaimed the guerilla. They said: 'Save the wilderness, there is for us no other protection. In every way our land is furnished with mountain wildernesses and the like. Therefore at all inaccessible places let us throw up many entrenchments, make all the well-known highways impassable, lay down many robbers' paths (*coramagge*), and when our land has been made impassable let us gather ourselves together and open battle' (75. 31—33).

An ambuscade is described in 66. 72 *sq.* Prince Parakkamabāhu on his way to Pulatthinagara was pursued by his uncle's officers and their troops who had been sent forth to bring him back. When he heard at Buddhagāma that they were approaching he left in front space for the advancing army and placed his bravest men in ambush on both sides of the road. Then when the whole of the hostile force had advanced to the centre he suddenly fell upon them and had numbers of soldiers cut down. In a similar manner when Gajabāhu's troops approached the stronghold of Mihiraṇabibbila, the warriors of Parakkamabāhu feigned as if they were giving way, and thus enticed the enemy into an ambush of soldiers who had been hidden in the forest and suddenly made a dash on them (72. 246 *sq.*).

The tactics of outflanking the enemy were also known. We can hardly understand the undertakings of the Damiḷādhikārin

Rakkha against Mahānāgahula in the final stage of the Rohaṇa campaign, if we do not assume such a method of warfare (75. 83 *sq.*). The basis of Rakkha's operation was Doṇivagga, that is the district round Pelmadulla, S. E. of Ratnapura, from here he first tried to advance directly to Mahānāgahula along the road which at present runs through primeval forest from Madampe to Ambalantoṭa. But he realised that a break through along this highway was impossible and we hear in v. 98 that he marched with a strong force to Sūkarālibheripāsāṇa. That is a place near the modern Deniyaya, south of the Rakvana mountain range. Obviously Rakkha had crossed this range on the Bulutoṭa pass and thus made on outflanking manoeuvre. The enemies were surprised and alarmed, for they had not expected an attack from this side because the road leading from Doṇivagga to Navayojana, *i.e.*, the Bulutoṭa pass was very difficult (75. 72) to negotiate and they had not sufficiently secured their left flank. Rakkha won the ensuing battle and was able to advance to the hostile capital.

The descriptions in the chronicle of a battle are of no great interest. They are always made according to a certain poetical model. The simile is generally a thunder-storm. The soldiers are pouring out a rain of arrows, or the arrows are the cloud by which the heavens are darkened. The battle-cry of the warriors is compared to the thunder, the sparks flying from the clash of swords are like the lightnings (72. 84; 75. 63, 110—11, 131—32 etc.). In a very artificial and fictitious passage (76. 160—61) the battle-field is compared to the ocean in a heavy storm. Often a general is said to be a lion that has broken into a herd of elephants or gazelles (72. 2—3, 69).

A peculiar heroic feature in battles of anicent times was the single combat between the leaders of the two armies. That of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Eḷāra near the southern gate of Anuradhapura (25. 67 *sq.*) is a classical example. In the mediaeval period such a combat is mentioned between Dāṭhāpabhuti and his brother Moggallāna, 6th c. (41. 49). In later times we do not hear any more of such heroic deeds. King Vijayabāhu I, 1059—1116, is said, it is time, to have challenged the Coḷa king (60. 30 *sq.*), but this was rather a theatrical pose or a poetical exaggeration. The single combat never took place. In his adventurous youth Prince Parakkamabāhu is sometimes reported to have personally taken part in fighting (66. 103—4; 67. 48), if this is not simply an embellishment of the narration made by the chronicler who wished to exalt the bravery of his favourite hero. After he had become king, Parakkamabāhu in all his wars generally remains behind the army in the headquarters or in the capital sending therefrom his commands to the generals in the field. Once when he was present in the most critical phase of a battle against Mānābharaṇa

he cried for his sword (72. 102). However he made no use of it, but looked significantly at the faces of his generals who had given way, but turned now again towards the enemy and flung themselves into the midst of the hostile army.

The *victory* (*jaya;* opp. *parājaya, parābhava*) was celebrated by a festive entrance into the capital of the victorious army. When the dignitaries of Parakkamabāhu had finished the Rohaṇa campaign and occupied the whole province they marched at the head of their troops to Pulatthinagara. Accompanied by the dwellers of the city who played music, shouted with joy and waving cloths let their cries of victory resound, they drew near the palace and rendered homage to the monarch (75. 200 *sq.*).

After a successful war the heads of the hostile officers who had been killed in battle together with their umbrellas and palanquins, the weapons captured during the campaign, and the captives caught alive were sent to the king (70. 122), and the victorious generals were honoured by titles and ornaments (*ābharaṇāni* 72. 320) corresponding to our medals.

Naval battles are mentioned at the beginning of Parakkamabāhu's war with Gajabāhu and were fought by the king's generals, in the middle of the sea 'near a place called Muttākara.' This name and the fact that pearls were captured as booty seem to prove that the Gulf of Mannar was the seat of this naval power (70. 63 *sq.*, 91 *sq.*). Some of the Sinhalese kings also sent ships across the sea to Southern India to wage war with the Pāṇḍas and Coḷas. Thus did Sena II in the 9th cent., Kassapa V and Udaya IV in the 10th cent., and Parakkamabāhu I in the 12th cent., (51. 22 *sq.*, 52. 70 *sq.*, 53. 46 *sq.*, 76. 86 *sq.*). The latter even is said to have made an enterprise against Rāmañña (76. 44 *sq.*). In none of these cases do we hear that a naval battle was given by the enemies in order to repel the aggressors. When Parakkamabāhu sent many hundred ships, which sailed a day and a night on the back of the ocean, to Southern India the Damiḷas restricted themselves to defend the coast and to prevent the Sinhalese army from landing (76. 89 *sq.*). As the ships had to lie in deep water the Sinhalese Commander made the troops get into hundreds of boats of small size. In order to protect them from the rain of arrows that came flying from the Damiḷas who were standing on the coast, he had shields made of leather set up in front of the soldiers. Thus he landed on the coast and after putting to flight the Damiḷas he took up a firm position near the harbour.

Fortified camps or temporary fortresses (H. W. Codrington, 1. 1. p. 70) played a great part in the wars in mediaeval Ceylon. The same was the case in main India since ancient times. The

first chapter of the tenth book, on war in the *Kauṭalīya* contains the rules concerning the laying out of a fortified camp (*skandhāvāra-niveśa* Shamasastry, ed.[2] p. 363; trsl., p. 437). In the *Mahāvaṁsa* the word for such a fortress is *khandhāvāra* exactly corresponding to the expression used in the *Kauṭalīya*. It is met with already in the oldest part of the chronicle (10. 46; 25. 20; 37. 19), and in the fifth century king Dhātusena waging warfare with the Damiḷas who at that time had ravaged Ceylon, is said to have laid out such camps in the Island, twenty-one in number (*Khandhāvāre nivesetvā* 38. 36). But the expression *khandhāvāra* rather occurs seldom in later chapters (70. 138, 161, 167); it is replaced by *dugga* (cf. 55. 28; 58. 42). This word corresponds to *durga* in the *Kauṭaliya* (*e.g.*, *durga-niveśa* 2. 4. s. f.; ed.[2] p. 57[6]) which however here as well as in the *Mahābhārata* appears to denote a permanent rather than a temporary structure (cf. *kaut.*, 2. 2; ed. p. 114 *durgavidhāna*).

Fortified camps were constructed wherever the army had reached an opportune position in order to serve as entrenchments against sudden attacks and as basis for further operations. In the history of Parakkamabāhu's campaigns against Rājaraṭṭha and Rohaṇa many *duggas* are enumerated, and the names of the places where they were laid out sometimes enables us to state the vicissitudes in war which so often are veiled in the chronicler's report.

As an example I shall excerpt the description of the military operation of Senāpati Deva who commanded the troops in the district Giribā, south of Kalāveva. He first raised an encampment on the bank of the Kālavāpi river. Then he threw a bridge across this river, marched off and built a new encampment near Aṅgama and took up a position there. The leader of the hostile army did the same at a place called Senāgāma. After it had been captured by Deva the enemy built four encampments more, apparently in order to stop the advance of Deva, but they were all successively taken away by Parakkamabāhu's general (70. 123--136). The word for, 'encampment' is always *dugga*; one only which was erected by Gajabāhu's officers near Terigāma is called (V.138) *Khandhāvāra*.

When after the death of Mānābharaṇa the Rohaṇa people wished to save their independence and were expecting the invasion of Parakkamabāhu's army they, built at each difficult spot as far as the frontier of the province many camps, had trenches dug everywhere, placed there barricades and made the roads inaccessible with felled trees. Then they took up their place in one of those camps (74. 31—35). But the general Rakkha having broken through three different fortifications advanced up to a big forest where the Rohaṇa people had laid out one behind the other seven

fortified camps (74. 55—66). Here Rakkha's advance came to a standstill, and the seven strongholds were conquered only when his army had been enforced by the troops of the general Bhūta (74. 75—6). In this passage the term *dugga* is used for all those camps and fortifications.

Such a temporary fortress which was erected by Parakkamabāhu's officers near Mihiraṇabibbila is described (72. 232—53) in detail. They had stakes made like spear-points and driven into the ground. Outside these they had stakes of greater size driven in and had them interwoven with branches. Between the two rows of stakes they had a trench dug with pitfalls, and similar trenches at other places also. Then they had the big forest felled round the camp over a tract two or three bow-shots in extent. The foot path leading through the wilderness was made impracticable by sharp thorns which were covered with sand and withered leaves. In the middle of the fortification (*dugga-majjhamhi*, v. 244) a structure of four storeys was erected, from which when the enemy approached the archers rained a hail of arrows and stones, and burning sharp-pointed bamboo rods were hurled from engines.

Imposing strongholds were built in Ceylon on some of those isolated gneiss rocks which rise abruptly from the lowland and form such a characteristic feature of the landscape. The most famous example is the Sīgiri rock (Sīhagiri) with its stronghold erected already in the 5th century by king Kassapa I (*Mhvs.*, 39. 2—3). A similar stronghold was that on the Vātagiri, now Vākirigala in the Kegalla district (58. 31, 60. 39), built in the 11th century. Others were erected in those times of terrible perturbance when Māgha was reigning in Ceylon 1214—35, by Sinhalese noblemen who wished to maintain their independence, as in Dakkhiṇadesa on the Subha mountain, now Yāpahu (=Yasapabbata), and on the rock of Jambuddaṇi, modern Dambadeniya, and in Rohaṇa on the Govindasela rock which is now called Westminster Abbey (81, 2—6, 15—16).

The big towns, especially the capital cities of Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara, were fortified with wall and moat, with turrets and bastions (cf. below). Defence and siege of strongholds are described often enough in the chronicle but generally in a conventional form. The defence of a fortified camp has been quoted above. In a similar manner the stronghold of Āḷigāma was defended by general Rakkha. When Gajabāhu's troops attacked it, the Sīhala archers standing on the gate-turrets, slew numbers of the foe with various missiles. Other warriors took up their position at the gates which the enemy tried to blow up. The combat ended with a sally of the Sīhalas who suddenly burst forth and cut down the foe (70. 112 *sq.*).

The stronghold Semponmāri in the Pāṇḍu country was captured by the Sīhalas within half a day. After they had broken through two outer-walls and four gate-towers, they penetrated into the interior of the fortress and slew there the Damiḷas, many thousands in number (76. 241 *sq.*). When Parakkamabāhu after many actions approached Pulatthinagara and had sent in advance his light troops, the Vyādhas and Kirātas, the dwellers in Pulatthinagara were living as in a besieged town. As circulation on all the roads leading to the city was stopped by those troops they dared not even by day leave their houses and go outside the gate when they wanted supply of water and wood. In the shops here and there on the outskirts of the town the various businesses were completely given up (72, 209 *sq.*). When captured by storm the towns were plundered and destroyed in the most reckless manner.

THE SOURCES FOR A STUDY OF THE REIGN OF KING PARĀKRAMABĀHU I

By

MISS SIRIMA WICKRAMASINGHE, B.A.

Assistant Lecturer in History, University of Ceylon.

THE study of ancient history depends largely on the source materials available and on their trustworthiness. The sources for the reign of King Parākramabāhu I can be broadly divided into two—the literary and the archaeological. The literary sources can be further sub-divided into the strictly historical literature, the non-historical literature and the foreign literary sources, while the archaeological sources include the epigraphic, monumental and numismatic evidence. A third section of secondary sources, being recent writings on Parākramabāhu I and the Polonnaruva Period, is also added so as to direct the interested reader in his further reading.

PART I—LITERARY SOURCES

Historical Literature

CŪLAVAMSA.[1] The *Cūlavaṃsa* which forms the second part of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is the main source book for the study of the reign of Parākramabāhu I. The *Cūlavaṃsa* seems to have been written in various parts at different times. The first section appears to have come up to the end of the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great, for in many manuscripts it has been noted that the section after the end of Parākrama's reign begins with "*Namotassa Bhagavato Arahato Sammā Sambuddhassa,*" which shows the beginning of a new section.[2] According to tradition, the author of the first part of the *Cūlavaṃsa* was a thera named Dhammakitti who came to Ceylon from Burma during the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1236—1271). The reign of this king is not far removed from the age of Parākramabāhu I and the information about his reign as given in the *Cūlavaṃsa* should be reliable and authentic to a very great degree. This is not to say that the *Cūlavaṃsa* account is not without its limitations, Parākramabāhu I is the central figure in the first section of the *Cūlavaṃsa* and the author tries to suppress certain facts at times, and gloss over the failures of the monarch. For instance, Parākramabāhu and Kīrti Srī Megha

1. Ed. Wilhelm Geiger, *Culavamsa.* 2. Vols. (Pali Text Society, London 1929)
2. *Culavamsa*—Vol. II P. T. S. 1927 ch. 79 v. 84 (foot note)

are always described as greatly attached to each other.[3] But certain statements in the *Cūlavaṃsa* itself show that this was not so. The murder of Senāpathi Saṅkha by Parākramabāhu[4], the pursuit of Parākramabāhu by Kīrti Srī Megha's troops[5] and Parākramabāhu's hesitation to enter the capital of Kīrti Srī Megha,[6] all indicate that feelings were strained between the uncle and nephew at times. The reverses suffered by the Sinhalese troops in South India are left out entirely, and the author brings to an abrupt end the account of the South Indian Wars, rather than speak of the defeats. Leaving aside a few such instances, where Dhammakitti tries to keep out facts which might discredit the good name of his hero, the *Cūlavaṃsa* account of the reign of Parākramabāhu is for the most part trustworthy. The more important events of the reign are very often corroborated by inscriptional evidence. Thus, the merging of the three Nikāyas is confirmed by the Gal Vihāra Rock Inscription, and the Devanagala Inscription records the wars with Gajabāhu and Mānābharana and the expedition to Burma. The South Indian war is also confirmed by inscriptions, though the details as to the end of the war are not found in the *Cūlavaṃsa*. The *Cūlavaṃsa* is thus the earliest comprehensive account of the reign of Parākramabāhu I, and forms the main source for the study of the period.

PŪJĀVALIYA[7] The *Pūjāvaliya* was written by the thera Buddhaputra of the Mayurapāda Pirivena during the reign of king Parākramabāhu II (1236—1271). This book too was thus written at about the same time as the first part of the *Cūlavaṃsa*. Perhaps both authors drew their material from the same sources. A comparative study should shed some light on the nature of the sources of the *Cūlavaṃsa*. The information about Parākramabāhu I in the *Pūjāvaliya* is found in the thirty-fourth or last chapter of the book. The King's religious buildings and irrigation works are mentioned and his unification of the three nikāyas of the Sangha. The foreign campaigns are also mentioned though not in detail. He is said to have sent his soldiers to India and fought and defeated the Cholas and Pandyas and gone as far as Aramaṇa (Burma). Most of this information is found in the *Cūlavaṃsa* as well, and it is possible that the author of the *Pūjāvaliya* went to the same sources as the *Cūlavaṃsa* author, while of course, it is even possible that the former borrowed direct from the latter book.

---

3. *Culavamsa* ch. 63. v. 48 ff., ch. 67, v. 57. ff., etc.
4. *Culavamsa* ch. 64.
5. *Culavamsa* ch. 66. v. 57—70.
6. *Culavamsa* ch. 67. v. 75—87.
7. Ed. V. Dhammananda, *Pujavaliya*. 1903—1908.

NIKĀYA SANGRAHĀWA.[8] The *Nikāya Sangrahāwa* is a history of Buddhism in India and Ceylon from the time of the Buddha to about the end of the 14th Century. The author of the book is the thera Dhammakirti who lived in the reign of King Vīra Bāhu (1391—1397). The reigns of the kings of Ceylon from Vijaya to Vīra Bāhu are dealt with and attention is drawn to their work, particularly in the religious sphere. At the outset the author tells us what sources he used in writing his book—these being "the writings of the Theras of old," his own knowledge of contemporary events, and tradition. What the "writings of the theras of old" were, we are not told. They might have included such works as the *Cūlavaṃsa*, *Pūjāvaliya*, etc. The historical information about the reign of Parākramabāhu I in the *Nikāya Sangrahāwa* is not extensive. The religious buildings and the kings unification of the three nikāyas with the help of the thera Mahākassapa of Udumbaragiri are mentioned. About the foreign dealings of the king, the *Nikāya Sangrahāwa* almost repeats the *Pūjāvaliya*. An addition is a list of government officials and departments of state.

RĀJĀVALIYA.[9] The *Rājāvaliya* is a history of Ceylon from the time of Vijaya to King Vimaladharma Sūriya I (1592—1603) of Kandy. Mudaliyar Gunasekera who has edited the *Rājāvaliya* suggests that at least two authors were responsible for the work.[10] His conclusions are based on the style and on the fact that the phrases *Apage Budun* (Our Buddha) and *Apage Swamivū Yesus Christus* (Our Lord Jesus Christ) both appear in the text, implying two authors, one Buddhist and the other Christian. Neither the name of the author nor the time in which he lived is known. If one accepts the view that there are two authors, then it may be suggested that a part of the work was written earlier and the book completed during or immediately after the reign of King Vimala Dharma Sūriya. On the reign of Parākramabāhu, the material given is similar to that found in the *Pūjāvaliya*, the additional information being a statement that annual tributes were paid to Ceylon from Paṇḍya, Chola and Aramaṇa.

RĀJARATNĀKARAYA.[11] The *Rājaratnākaraya* is a history of the Sinhalese kingdom from Vijaya to Vīra Vikkama (early 16th Century) of Senkadagala. The name of the author is given in some manuscripts as Thera Walgampāya. A great deal of the material in this work is derived from the *Nikāya Sangrahāwa*. It is noteworthy however that the names and dates of the kings

8. Ed. W. F. Gunawardana, *Nikaya Sangrahawa*, Colombo.
9. Ed. B. Gunasekera, *Rajavaliya*, Colombo 1900.
10. *Ibid*, Introduction.
11. Ed. Simon de Silva, *Rajaratnakaraya*, Colombo 1907.

given here sometimes differ from those in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. The account of Parākramabāhu's reign in the *Rājaratnākaraya* is similar to that in the *Pūjāvaliya* and the *Nikāya Sangrahāwa*.

SĀSANA VAMSA DĪPAYA[12] and the *RĀJARATNĀCARĪ*[13] These two works seem to have been written in comparatively late times and repeat the earlier books like the *Cūlavaṃsa* and *Pūjāvaliya*.

SĀSANAVAMSA[14] This is written by a Burmese author Paññāsanu and is dated 1861 A.D. It is an attempt to write a general history of Buddhism and the author depends on sources mentioned earlier for his information.

Non-Historical Literature

The age of Parākramabāhu the Great witnessed a revival in Buddhism and this was followed by intense literary activity in Pali, particularly in Buddhist studies. Sanskrit learning too gained in popularity as is evident from the large number of Sanskrit works written at this time. The writers of the period were for the most part interested in writing explanatory works on the extant Buddhist literature, while a few treatises on grammar were also written. So far there has been no attempt made to study the non-historical literature of the Polonnaruva Period from a historical standpoint. A careful study should be able to throw some interestting sidelights on the political, social and economic history of the age.

The non-historical books assigned to the reign of Parākrama Bāhu I are as follows:—

Bālāvabodhana.[15] A Sanskrit grammar by Dimbulāgala Mahākassapa Thera. *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha Porāṇa Tīkā* by Dimbulāgala Mahākassapa Thera. A Sinhalese Sanna to the *Samantapāsādikā* also by Dimbulāgala Mahākassapa Thera. *Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa*.[16] A Pali grammar by the Thera Moggallāna, a disciple of Dimbulāgala Mahākassapa. *Abhidhammappadīpikā*[17] a Pali vocabulary by Thera Moggallāna. Seven important works, are attributed to the Thera Sāriputta who lived during the reign

12. Ed. Acariya Vimalasara. *Sasana Vamsa Dipaya*, Colombo. 1929.
13. Ed. Edward Upham, *Rajaratnacari* (Parheny, Allen & Co. 1883).
14. Ed. Mabel Bode, *Sasanavamsa*, (P. T. S. London 1897).
15. Ed. R. Pannasara, *Balavabodhana*, (Colombo, 1895).
16. Ed. H. Devamitra Thera, *Moggallana Vyakaranya*, Colombo 1890 and 1919.
17. Ed. Waskaduwe Subhuti Thera, *Abhidhammappadipika*, Colombo 1865.

of King Parākramabāhu I. (1) *Sāratthadīpanī*[18] a commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā*. (2) *Sāratthamanjusā*[19] or *Anguttara Tīkā*. (3) *Līnatthappakāsini* or *Papancasūdani Tīkā*. (4) A Sinhalese Sanna to the *Abhidhammattha Saṅgahā*[20]. (5)*Panjikālaṅkāra* or *Candragomin-Vyākarana-Panjikā Tīkā*. (6) *Vinayasaṅgaha*[21] or *Pālimuttaka-Vinaya Sangaha*. (7) *Padāvatāra*, a concise Sanskrit grammar. *Abhidhammattha Saṅgahā Saṅkhepa-Vaṇṇanā by* Thera Saddhammajotipāla. *Pātrīkaraṅa Tīkā*[22] by the Thera Buddhanāga. *Anuruddha Śataka*[23] by the Thera Anuruddha. *Nāmāṣṭa Śataka*[24] by an anonymous author, *Buddhagadya*[25] and *Sakaskaḍa*[26].

There are a few more grammars and sub-commentaries ascribed to pupils of the theras Sāriputta and Moggallāna, but one is not certain whether they lived in the time of Parākramabāhu I.

A few Sinhalese works are also ascribed to this period, but there seems to be no agreement among scholars as to the exact dating of these books. The *Muvadevdāvata*[27], according to some[28] is anterior to the *Sasadāvata*[29] which we know was definitely written during the time of Queen Līlāvati who reigned from 1197 to 1200, and for two short periods in 1209 and 1211. Mr. W. A. de Silva[30] is of the opinion that the *Muvadevdāvata* was composed during the time of Parākramabāhu I, though other scholars disagree[31]. The *Dharmapradīpikāva*[32] and *Amāvatura*[33] of Gurulugōmi are thought to be works of this period by some, though others prefer to ascribe a later date[34]. Similarly a few scholars are of opinion that the *Kavsilumiṇa*[35] too belongs to the time of Parākramabāhu I [36].

---

18. Ed. Rev. Bihalpola Devarakkhita.
19. *Saratthamanjusa*, Colombo 1930.
20. Ed. Yotagamuwe Pannamoli Tissa, *Abhidharmartha Sangraha Sannaya*, Peliyagoda 1897
21. Ed. Nanavimala Tissa, *Palimuttaka Vinaya Vinicchaya Sangaha*, Alutgama 1905.
22. Unpublished. Mss in Vidyodaya library, Colombo.
23. *Anuruddha Sataka*, published by Ratnakara Book Depot., Colombo, 1948
24. *Namasta Sataka*, published by Karunadhasa, Colombo.
25. *Buddhagadya*, published by Sri Lanka Jyotissa Vidyalaya, Panadura.
26. *Buddhagadya, saha Sakaskadaya*, Colombo—1914.
27. Ed. Kumaranatunga, *Muvadevda* (Colombo—1938).
28. *Muvadevda Vivaranaya*, Intro. by Munidasa Kumaranatunga.
29. Ed. Dharmapala, *Sasada* (Colombo, 1934).
30. *Catalogue of Palm leaf Mss in the Colombo Museum.* Colombo Museum Memoirs—Series A. 1938.
31. Martin Wickramasinghe, *Sinhala Sahityodya Katha*, Mt. Lavinia, 1946.
32. Ed. Dharmarama, *Dharmapradipikava*, (Kelaniya—1906).
33. Ed. Sorata, *Amavatura* (Colombo—1948)
34. *Sinhala Sahitya Vamsaya*, Sannasgala, Colombo—1947.
35. Ed. Sorata, *Kavsilumina*, (Colombo, 1948).
36. Ed. Munidasa Kumaranatunga, *Kavsilumina*.

Foreign Literary Sources

The Persians and the Arabs had established themselves as traders on the Indian coast from very early times and continued to maintain a monopoly of the Eastern trade till the arrival of the Europeans in the 16th Century. The Arabs were interested in geography and there are many Arab geographical works giving descriptions of the countries visited by them together with accounts of their forms of government and institutions, and the articles of trade.

The *Geography of Edrisi*[37] is known to have been written in 1154 A.D. He quotes largely from an earlier Arab writer, Abou Zeid who wrote at the beginning of the 10th century A.D. on Ceylon, Edrisi's book only gives the oft repeated details of the height of the holy mountain, and of the gems, musk, perfumes and scented woods to be found there. He mentions twelve cities, but they cannot be very well identified with any of the cities known to have existed in Ceylon at the time. The king of Ceylon, he says, had a council of sixteen, four of whom were Buddhists, four Christians, four Muslims and four Jews. One of the chief cares of the government was the safety of the historical records of the kings, the lives of the teachers and the sacred books. Silks, precious stones and perfumes are some of the Island's exports mentioned by him. Attention is also drawn to Ceylon's trade with China. This work has to be treated with great caution for the information in the book may not be first hand and is almost certainly a distortion.

The *Glass Palace Chronicle*[38] of Burma gives us some information about the connections between Ceylon and Burma during this period. This work was compiled in 1829 and the section dealing with the Parākrama Period seems to have been derived from the Kalyāni inscription in Burma.

PART II - ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

Epigraphical Evidence

Epigraphic Records in Ceylon

The epigraphic evidence is very important for the study of any period of early Ceylon History. The Ceylon inscriptions are almost all contemporary records and thus invaluable as source material. The Ceylon inscriptions pertaining to the Parākrama Period very often corroborate statements in the *Cūlavaṃsa* and

37. A. Jaubert, *La Geographie de Edrysy*, Paris, 1836, Vol. I. p. 72.
38. Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*.

occasionally supplement the knowledge we have from the latter source. It is only seldom that these inscriptions contradict the *Cūlavaṃsa* account of the period.

(1) The Polonnaruva Potgul Vehera Inscription (*Epigraphia Zeylanica* II. 39). Though this record is somewhat after the reign of Parākramabāhu I, it refers to the original construction of the Vihara by Parākrama, and its rebuilding and improvement by his two queens.

(2) The Polonnaruva Slab Inscription of the Vellaikāras (*E.Z.* II. 40). This is ascribed to the period between 1137 and 1153. A.D. The record is in Tamil with an introductory Sanskrit verse. The first part of the inscription deals with the meritorious work of Vijaya Bāhu I (1055—1114), and states that he ruled for 55 years. The second part says that the Thera Moggallāna gave the Vellaikāras the custody of the Tooth Relic. Here they state at length the special protection afforded by them to the Relic by the assignment of lands, guards, etc. The inscription shows that the Vellaikāras were a influential body of people at this time.

(3) The Galvihāra Rock Inscription of Parākramabāhu I at Polonnaruva (*E.Z.*II. 41). This record is a *Kathikāvata* or ordinance for the guidance of the Sangha. Interesting information is found on the nature of the Sangha at this time.

(4) Kīrti Niśśaṅka Malla Slab Inscription (*E.Z.* II. 13). A reference is here made to the oppression of the people by Parākramabāhu I by excessive and illegal punishments.

(5) Laṅkātilaka Guard Stone Inscription of Vijayabāhu IV (1270—1272) at Polonnaruva (*E.Z.* III. 2.). This record is written in Pali verse. The first half of the inscription mentions the building of the Lankātilaka Vihāra by Parākramabāhu I, thus corroborating the *Cūlavaṃsa*.

(6) The Devanāgala Rock Inscription of Parākramabāhu I (*E.Z.*III. 34.). It is dated in the twelfth year of the king's reign. Here it is mentioned that Parākrama had to fight Gaja Bāhu and Mānābharana before he became the ruler of the whole Island. The expedition against Aramaṇa (Burma) is also stated. All this evidence corroborates the *Cūlavaṃsa* account. A supplementary piece of information in this record is the name of the Burmese king, Bhuvanāditya, against whom the expedition was sent, and the date.

(7) Galapāta Vihāra Rock Inscription (*E.Z.* IV. 25). This record belongs to either the reign of Parākramabāhu I or

Parākramabāhu II. For the greater part, the inscription consists of a bare list of the lands and serfs dedicated to the monastery.

(8) The Slab inscription of Queen Kalyānavati (1202—1208) (*E.Z.* IV.33.). The record gives an account of the offerings made to the Ruvanveli Seya by Vijayānāvan, who was treasurer to Parākramabāhu I and other kings. The *Thūpavaṃsa* is mentioned here, but it is not clear whether it is the extant Pali *Thūpavaṃsa* or its earlier Sinhalese version.

(9) The Saṃgamu Vihāra Rock Inscription (*E.Z.* IV. 1.). This inscription records a treaty between Gaja Bāhu II (1137—1153) and Parākramabāhu I and is one of the most important epigraphic records pertaining to the period. The *Cūlavaṃsa* too mentions this agreement, but there seems to be a slight discrepancy between the two accounts. The *Cūlavaṃsa* makes it out that Gaja Bāhu humbled himself in the presence of Parākramabāhu and bequeathed his kingdom to the latter. But the inscription makes it clear that this and other clauses of the treaty were reciprocal. Both kings made each the other's heir and also agreed that each would fight the other's enemy. Gaja Bāhu's name is mentioned first in the inscription and perhaps this would indicate that Parākramabāhu conceded precedence in rank to him. It is however true that the treaty was more beneficial to Parākramabāhu, he being the younger of the two, while it also gave Parākrama the legal right to succeed Gaja Bāhu. The treaty however, was one signed by two monarchs who were of an equal standing.

(10) Ihala Puliyankulama Pillar Inscription (*J.R.A.S. Ceylon Branch* Vol. XXX. p. 271) This record is dated in the ninth year of Parākramabāhu I. It speaks of an officer (aḍhikāra) of Parākrama named Tisa Māranāvan who ruled over Māyā Rata.

Epigraphic Records in South India

The evidence of the South Indian inscriptions shows that the *Cūlavaṃsa* author picked out certain facts favourable to his narrative and ignored others. In this connection one has to keep in mind that Parākramabāhu I was the hero of the first part of the *Cūlavaṃsa* and his character and work had to be detailed without any blemishes. That there is a deliberate attempt to gloss over unfavourable facts can be seen from the *Cūlavaṃsa* account itself. On the South Indian wars, reading between the lines one can clearly see that all did not go well with Laṅkāpura, the Sinhalese general who was sent to fight in the Paṇḍyan war of succession. At one stage it is said that Laṅkāpura after a number of victories "returned and betook himself to Parākkamapura

to satisfy his troops with food and pay".[39] Geiger suggests[40] that this is" a veiled allusion to certain difficulties with which Laṅkāpura was faced during his advance." At another stage, Laṅkāpura is spoken of as returning to a fortress he had already captured, which again is interpreted by Geiger [41] as an attempt at concealing a defeat suffered by the Sinhalese general. Again after the battle of Mānaviamadhura it is vaguely stated that Laṅkāpura was victorious, and immediately after is mentioned the arrival of Jagadvijaya in India with reinforcements from Ceylon.[42] This too would seem to indicate a defeat suffered by the Sinhalese troops. The account of the war in the *Cūlavaṃsa* ends rather abruptly. Laṅkāpura's return to the Island is not mentioned, and nothing is said about the final outcome of the war. This silence is probably an attempt to conceal the later disasters that befell the Sinhalese army. That Laṅkāpura was not always victorious in his campaigns, and that he was finally routed is made clear by the South Indian inscriptions.

(1) Ārpākkam Inscription of the fifth year of Rājādhirāja II (*Madras Epigraphical Collection.* No. 20 of 1899). This record confirms the *Cūlavaṃsa* story to theextent that the Sinhalese army won certain victories and drove Kulasekhera from Madhura. But it says that later Laṅkāpura and Jayadratha were defeated. It is not possible to determine the exact stage in the war referred to. However the capture of Toṇḍi and Pāśa by Laṅkāpura, which is mentioned in the inscription, is given fairly early in the *Cūlavaṃsa* account of the war.

(2) The Pallavarāyanpettai Inscription of the 8th year of Rājādhirāja II. (*Madras Epigraphical collection* 433 of 1924; *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IXXI. pp 184—193; *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIX, pp 57 ff; *Annual Reports on Epigraphy Madras* 1924, Part II) The record states that Kulaśekhera on being ousted from Madhura by the Sinhalese army, successfully appealed for help from the king of Chola to get back the Pandyan throne. The Chola commander Pallavarāyar is said to have reconquered the Paṅḍyan kingdom, and nailed the heads of Laṇkāpura Daṇḍanāyaka and others to the gates of Madhura.

(3) Tiruvālangāḍu Inscription of the 12 year of Rājādhirāja II (*Madras Epigraphical Collection* No. 465 of 1905; *Annual Reports on Epigraphy* 1906, II 23; *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXII pp 86—92). This record refers to a later stage of the war. It begins by giving

39. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 76. v. 133.
40. *Ibid.* footnote by Geiger to Ch. 76. v. 133.
41. *Ibid.* Ch. 76. V. 184—186. and footnote.
42. *Ibid.* Ch. 76. v. 290—294.

a brief account of the earlier stages of the war and the restoration of Kulaśekhera to the throne of Paṇḍya. Next there is an account of an expedition to Ceylon organised by the Chola general Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan. It is stated that this Chola general, having heard that Parākramabāhu was preparing to attack the mainland employed Sri Vallabha a nephew of the King and a claimant to the Sinhalese throne to lead an expedition to Ceylon. At this juncture Parākramabāhu is said to have reversed his former policy, and made an alliance with Kulasekhera who removed the heads of the Sinhalese generals from the gates of Madhura. The Cholas led by Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan are said to have supported Vīra Pandya and installed him on the Pandyan throne.

(4) The Sambanārkōvil Inscription of the sixth year of Kulottunga III.[43] Here it is said that due to an invasion in the reign of Rajādhirāja II, the images of a temple had to be removed to another temple for safety. Nilakanta Sastri suggests[44] that this statement makes it probable that at some stage in the war, Kulaśekhera and Parākramabāhu led an expedition into the heart of the Chola country.

(5) An inscription of Vīra Pandya in Sucīndram (*Travancore Archaeological Series* II p 18 ff) This is a record of a gift of land to a temple on the occasion of the king's coronation. It might either refer to the period when Laṇkāpura installed Vīra Pandya on the throne or to the period when Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan placed him on the throne.

(6) An Inscription from Chidambaram dated the 9th year of Kulottunga II (*Madras Epigraphical Collection* 457 of 1902 and No. 1 of 1899; *South Indian Inscriptions* III p. 86.) Here it is said that Vikrama Pandya sought Chola help against Vīra Pandya, who together with the Sinhalese soldiers supporting him, was defeated by the Cholas and Vikrama Pandya installed on the throne. This brings to light a still later stage in the war where Vīra Pandya appears to have once more allied with the Sinhalese against the Cholas.

The same information is repeated in several other inscriptions belonging to the reign of Kulottunga III:—

(7) Inscription at Kũgaiyũr (*Madras Epigraphical Collection* 94 of 1918).

---

43. *Madras Epigraphical Collection*, 171 of 1925
44. *The Cholas* Vol. II (Part I).

(8) Inscription at Cidambaram of the 12th year of Kulottunga III (*Madras Epigraphical Collection* 458 of 1902; *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, 87).

(9) Inscription at Tirukkadaiyur of the 15th year of Kulottunga III (*Madras Epigraphical Collection* 254 of 1925).

(10) Inscription of the 11th year of Kulottunga III (*Madras Epigraphical Collection* 42 of 1906).

(11) Tīruvidaimarudūr Inscription dated in the 16th year of Kulottunga III.[45] According to this record the warriors of Kulottunga began to guard all places in response to the order "Capture Ilam in the South....." Further defeats of the Sinhalese army are recorded but they fall outside the reign of Parākramabāhu I.

(12) An inscription from the Koṅgu country (*Madras Epigraphical Collection* 336 of 1928). This record speaks of an invasion of the Madhura country by the Koṅgu-Chola ruler Kulottunga in order to capture Madhura for his nephew. It has been suggested[46] that this might refer to the first occasion when Kulaśekhera captured Madhura or to the aid received by him after his initial defeats at the hands of the Sinhalese army. According to the *Cūlavaṃsa* he received help from Koṅgu on both occasions. However the inscription cannot be accurately dated.

Epigraphic Records in Burma

That Ceylon was intimately connected with Burma during this period is clear from the *Cūlavaṃsa*. Evidence for this close connection is found in Burmese Inscriptions as well.

The Kalyāni Inscriptions.[47] The record comprises ten stone slabs of the reign of king Dhammaceti of Pegu. The inscription is dated 1476 A.D. The object of the record is to give an authoritative ruling on the *Uposatha* and *Pavāraṇa* and to prescribe a ceremonial for the consecration of a Sīmā. To this is given a sort of historical introduction in which there is a reference to Burma's connection with Ceylon during the time of Parākramabāhu I. This particular reference is found on the obverse side of the first stone slab. The record states that in the year 1163 A.D., Parākramabāhu I purified the

45. *Madras Epigraphical Collection*, 288 of 1907.

46. By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his article "Parakramabahu and South India" appearing earlier in this journal.

47. Taw Sein Ko, "The Kalyani Inscriptions of Dhammaceti" *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXII.

Sangha. Six years later the Burmese monk Uttarajīva came to Ceylon with a few other monks and a samanera (novice) to worship at the sacred shrines in Laṅka. The samanera, Chhapaṭa by name was ordained in Ceylon by the Sinhalese and Burmese monks together. Uttarajīva left Ceylon having worshipped the shrines, but Chhapaṭa stayed back to learn the Tipitaka. After ten years he returned to Burma with four other theras, one of whom was a Sinhalese. The inscription says that thus was Buddhism from Laṅkādīpa established in Pūgāma. The priests ordained by the theras who returned from Ceylon were known as the Sīhala Sangha.

Monumental Evidence

The aesthetic advancement of 12th Century Ceylon is amply revealed by the art and architectural remains of the Polonnaruva Period. The skill of the architect, sculptor and painter is seen from these extant remains and adds glory to the splendid epoch of Parākramabāhu the Great. The huge rock cut statue at Potgul Vehera, identified by some[48] as Parākramabāhu himself, the colossal Buddha images at Gal Vihāra, the Uttarārāma of former days, the secular structures such as the Royal Baths and the King's Palace and the paintings decorating the walls of temples like the Laṅkātilaka and the Tivaṅka - Paṭimaghara—all this is ample testimony to the power and magnificence of the period. It is unfortunate that some of the buildings, images and paintings belonging to the age have not withstood the ravages of time, but what is left is enough evidence as to the country's great economic resources and its devotion to the arts.

The extant remains of temples and other buildings help one to locate the more important places of historical interest. Also they often give authenticity to statements in the *Cūlavaṃsa* and other historical works about the building activities of the king. According to Dr. Paranavitana[49] the art and architecture of the period does not reveal any foreign influence, the patterns being a development of earlier forms found in the Anurādhapura Period. The article on the "Art and Architecture of the Polonnaruva Period" by Dr. S. Paranavitana, which appears earlier in this Journal, deals fully with the monumental evidence relating to the Polonnaruva Period.

According to the *Cūlavaṃsa*, Parākramabāhu I built and restored a large number of irrigation works. These have for the

48. For a full discussion of the statue's identity see "The Statue of the Potgul Vihara in Polonnaruva" by Dr. S. Paranavitana in *Ceylon Journal of Science* (*G*). Vol. II. Pt. III. and Paranavitana's "The Statue of Parakramabahu" in *Artibus Asiae* Vol. XV.

49. *Art and Architecture of Ceylon*, Polonnaruva Period, by S. Paranavitana (Arts Council of Ceylon, Colombo, 1954).

most part been identified with the remains of ancient irrigation schemes, chiefly in the Dry Zone, though a few still remain unidentified. These irrigation works all reveal a skill in engineering which is noteworthy. The article on the "Irrigation works of Parākramabāhu I" by Mr. C. W. Nicholas appearing in this Journal, deals fully with this aspect of the monumental sources.

Numismatic Evidence

There are not many coins, so far discovered, which belong specifically to the reign of Parākramabāhu I. There are a number of coins however bearing the name Parākramabāhu, but as there was more than one king of that name, all these coins can not be definitely dated. A few black and white copper coins have been assigned to his reign,[50] the white coins being copper washed in silver. There is a theory[51] that the "Lankeṣvara" coins too belong to the same period as the copper coins of Parākramabāhu I, but Codrington[52] is of opinion that on grounds of epigraphy they belong to an earlier period.

The workmanship of the coins of Parākramabāhu I seems to have fallen off from earlier standards. Also the minting of gold seems to have almost ceased and the coins are of debased metal, sometimes washed in silver. The numismatic evidence does not lend support to the view that the age of Parākramabāhu I was a very prosperous one.

PART III - SECONDARY SOURCES

The reign of Parākramabāhu I has, not unnaturally, provoked a great deal of writing in recent times. Being considered one of the national heroes of the Sinhalese, not all this writing on Parākramabāhu has been critical or based on scholarship. The short list of secondary sources published below does not claim to be exhaustive, but it indicates all the books and articles that a student of history will find useful reading.

Brohier, R.L.; "The Inter-relation of groups of reservoirs and channels in Ceylon." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ceylon.* Vol. XXXIV. No. 90, 1937.

Cordrington, H.W.; "Mr. Wickramasinghe and the Dalada Pujavaliya" *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* Vol. IV and IX.

---

50. *Ceylon Coins and Currency* by H. W. Codrington (Colombo Museum Memoir 1924) p. 66.
51. Mentioned by Codrington in his *Ceylon Coins and Currency.*
52. Codrington. H. W. *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (Colombo—1924). p. 72.

Codrington, H.W., *Short History of Ceylon* (*Macmillan & Co.*,1926).

Codrington, H.W., *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (*Colombo Museum Memoir* 1924).

Copleston, Rt. Rev. R.S., "The Epic of Parākrama" *J.R.A.S. Ceylon Branch* Vol. XIII No. 44.

Harvey, G.E., *The History of Burma* (*Longmans Green*, 1925)

Hultzsch, "Contributions to Sinhalese Chronology" *J. R. A. S. Great Britain and Northern Ireland*, 1913.

Jayatilaka, D.B., *Katikāvat Sangarā.*

Nilakanta Sastri, K.A., *The Cholas* 2 Vols. (*Madras University Press* 1935—37).

Paranavitana, S., "Matrilineal descent of the Sinhalese Royal Family" *Ceylon Journal of Science* (*G*) Vol. II Pt. III.

Paranavitana, S., "Mahindatalaka Vewa" *Ceylon Journal of Science* (*G*) Vol. III Pt. III.

Paranavitana, S., "Polonnaruva Topography" *Ceylon Journal of Science* (*G*) Vol. II Pt. III.

Paranavitana, S., "Two dagabas of Parākramabāhu I " *Ceylon Journal of Science* (*G*) Vol. II Pt. III.

Paranavitana, S., "The Statue of the Potgul Vihara In Polonnaruva" *Ceylon Journal of Science* (*G*) Vol. II Pt. III.

Paranavitana, S., "The Palace of Parākramabāhu I" *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. III No. 2.

Paranavitana, S., "Statue of Parākramabāhu I" *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XV.

Paranavitana, S., "The Maravidiya Paintings of the Polonnaruva Period " *Ceylon Journal of Science*, (*G*) Vol. II.

Phayre, A.P., *History of Burma.* (*Trubner*, 1883).

Smith, Vincent., *Fine Arts in India and Ceylon* (*Oxford, Clarendon Press* 1930).

Storey, H., "Parākramabāhu the Great" *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* Vol. VII pt. I, 1921.

BOOK REVIEWS

Raffles of the Eastern Isles—By Charles E. Wurtzburg (*Hodder and Stoughton* —42sh).

I should say at the outset that Charles Wurtzburg's *Raffles of the Eastern Isles* is one of the best historical biographies I have read recently, and is certainly one of the most important publications to appear in the last few months on the history of South East Asia. What makes the present biography so useful is the fact that Raffles' achievement has been the subject of much controversy and that all the studies of his life written so far—by such scholars as Boulger, Egerton and even Coupland—tend to emphasive the British point of view at the expense of the Dutch, and treat Raffles more as a hero with an obvious bias in his favour, rather than as a historical personage. The present work, I think, gets over both these difficulties very well, and was undertaken since the author too "felt that the existing biographies were not entirely satisfactory", and as he felt that the "British point of view was perhaps too readily accepted, possibly at the expense of the Dutch."

Starting from this premise, Charles Wurtzburg began collecting source materials and documents on Raffles, until he had read through and indexed almost every single scrap of evidence relating to the biography. The collection of materials alone lasted for a period of over 30 years beginning in 1920, while the author had in addition the good fortune of being stationed in Singapore for seventeen years, where he could personally experience the benefits of Raffles' rule and pick up the background on which his hero worked. These are advantages which none of Raffles' previous biographers have had, and hence the great value of this work, even though the book in it's final published form is an edition from Mr. Wurtzburg's drafts, done by Clifford Witting, due to the former's sudden death in 1951.

Raffles' work in the East was within the comparatively short space of the twenty years between 1804 and 1824. But in that period he laid the foundations of British hegemony in Malaya and the Eastern Archipelago and set a new standard of colonial administration, that was followed long after an ungrateful England had let him die in disgrace in 1825. One particular aspect of his work, on which controversy has long been centred on, is the magnitude and effect of the reforms he introduced into the conquered Dutch colony of Java. Here Dutch historians mention him more as a continuer of a movement of reform that was thought out by the V. O. C. and begun by Daendels—Napoleon's representative in Java—rather than as an innovator, while the English biographers have tended to discount this view. On this controversial problem, Wurtzburg has, I think, maintained a level argument, bringing out for the readers own judgment, the arguments that could be produced for both sides.

As an aid to the biography proper, there are six appendices which make clear doubtful points regards Raffles' family background, while one of the best features in the book is the comprehensive bibliography of over 15 pages, that lists all the major publications and source materials relating to the study. A full glossary helps the unfamiliar reader with the meanings of Malay words. The book runs into over 800 pages and apart from it's special merits that we have noted above, it's very comprehensiveness alone, should make it an essential acquisition for all students of colonial and South East Asian History.

B. M.

South East Asia, A Short History—By Brian Harrison (Mac Millans—10sh. 6d).

South East Asia as a political term has only a short history, for though it is a unit geographically it does not form a cultural or political whole. The present book by Dr. Brian Harrison, Professor of History in the University of Hong Kong and former Senior Lecturer at the University of Malaya, can I think, claim to be the first work dealing with the history of the whole region. As the publishers blurb would have it, the book has been "written for the student of history and the general reader rather than for the specialist scholar"; but this should not detract from the book's value, since it is both a pioneer work and as it attempts, and I think successfully deals with, the history of an area that has been subject to more cultural contacts and changes than perhaps any other single geographical unit in the world.

The main difficulty an author faces in writing the history of a long period of time, is the question of what facts to choose and what to leave out. On what principles is the selection of facts to be made, specially when the subject is one like South East Asia where the mingling of cultural factors have been so wide? Dr. Harrison has chosen as his vital theme—the principle on which selection is to be done—the theme of culture contact, the story of the successive waves of cultural, religious, racial, linguistic and commercial influences which have swept over the area in both destruction and creation. He deals with all the important factors involved in each period over the area, dealing with them chronologically and by topic rather than by region, and showing how they contribute to the general picture. The result is that we get an excellent account of all that has gone into the making of present day South East Asia.

South East Asia has been the crossroads of Asia, the centre where all the different cultures of the continent have met and mingled most. Racially the people are of Indonesian stock, but the geographical and other factors involved have brought Indian, Chinese, Islamic and European civilisation, each with it's different cultural variations. The earliest influence was from the Chinese Empire while the most powerful contact in medieval times was that of India, when Indian States were founded in Java and Sumatra. The next powerful influence was the coming of Islam, which was itself followed shortly after by the arrival of Europeans and Western civilisation.

The influence of the West has perhaps contributed more to the problems that face the region today than any of the earlier culture contacts, and the author quite rightly stresses the history of the last 500 years, dealing in detail with the results of the impact of the West. Thus the company trade, the new commerce, the new balance of power and the consolidation of British and Dutch power, all get separate chapters. With the new colonialism, we find a greater rate of improvement and this is rapidly followed by the growth of capital development and population and it's ultimate result— nationalism. A brief chapter on the aftermath of the war and it's effects on the region completes the history, on the threshold of independence for South East Asia.

The book could certainly be recommended for students, as it admirably provides the background for an understanding of South East Asian problems, which we in Ceylon will require to know with our increasing participation in the affairs of this region. Readers in Ceylon will however, regret the fact that though Ceylonese usually consider themselves as part of South East Asia, they are really South Asians, and hence do not come within the scope of this book. Ceylon's insular position and its place on the sea routes of the Indian ocean have however, subjected it to many of the culture contacts that are so ably traced by Dr. Harrison for South East Asia, and most of the lessons and conclusions that apply there will apply equally to this country.

B. P.

The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042—1216—By Frank Barlow. (*Longmans Green & Co.*,—25sh).

Readers will recall the review in our last journal of Professor James A. Williamson's *The Tudor Age* and the account we had of the new nine volume History of England that Messrs. Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., of London have inaugurated. We are now glad to notice the second volume of the series which has just been issued. *The Feudal Kingdom of England* 1042—1216 is as excellent a piece of historical writing as the earlier volume and deals, as it's title indicates, with the rise and fall of feudalism in England from 1042 to 1266, and the growth of the new kingdom of England that was soon to become the dominant power of the world. The author Dr. Frank Barlow is Professor of History at University College, Exeter and has done considerable research into the history of Medieval England.

What gives the book it's great importance for students is the fact that it very ably bridges the gap between Ancient and Modern England. At the beginning of the tenth century, England was a "barbarian" state on the fringe of the classical world, inspired and influenced totally by the Roman Empire. In the 11th and 12th centuries, a near revolution takes place, and by the reign of John in the early 13th century, we have entered a new England, an England which the reader can recognise and understand—in short, the England of the Modern Age.

As we noted in our previous review mentioned earlier, the aim of the series is more to give a narrative history than an analytical study, of the various periods of English history. This however does not detract from the book's value, for the other aspects are not forgotten. Thus we get chapters on Edward the Confessor who represents the England of the Roman influence, on the Norman conquest with it's resultant changes and it's closer French contacts and in conclusion the Angevin Empire and the despotism which replaced it. But this somewhat droll narrative of great men—bishops, barons and kings—is not all. Each section is not divorced from the more important aspects and the aim has been to show that throughout the changes in the fortunes of the great men there have been changes in the political, religious, social and economic structure of society—changes in fact which brought England from an appendage of classical antiquity to the threshold of the Modern Age.

As a history, we could certainly recommend the book, which should, as we noted earlier of *The Tudor Age*, be an indispensable addition to every school library in Ceylon.

W. A.

A History of Soviet Russia, Vol. IV. The Interregnum 1923—24—By E. H. Carr. (MacMillan & Co.—30sh).

Regular readers of our book reviews would have noticed that we have often had occasion to favourably comment on the work of Professor E. H. Carr. One inaugural number contained a review of his *Studies in Revolution* while *The New Society* was reviewed in our issue for January, 1952. This was due to a variety of reasons, the first and most important one being that Professor Carr is one of those few scholars, who have set out to write intelligently on Russia and the Soviet State, without that bias either for or against, which in a world of increasing tensions is becoming more and more difficult to maintain. Professor Carr's monumental work however has been *The History of Soviet Russia* of which three volumes have been published so far. *The Bolshevik Revolution* reviewed in Vol. III. No. I. of our journal brought the history upto 1923. The present volume, the fourth, aptly titled *The Interregnum*, deals with "the period of confusion and uncertainty during the months of Lenin's last illness and the first weeks after his death".

The work deals with a short period of a few months only, yet these few months were of tremendous importance. Several reasons accounted for this, but looming large in the background was always the question of the succession to Lenin. Professor Carr however, very ably shows in this book that the succession was not and could not be a purely personal question between individuals as is popularly believed, but that there were certain grave internal and international complications, the worsening and solution of which brought Stalin to ultimate power.

What were these conditions? Internally they were mainly economic, arising out of the New Economic Policy. The N. E. P. had revived the Soviet State but it had also meant a return to a quasi capitalist system, in which large scale unemployment and violent price fluctuations, two consequences which Marxism always regarded as characteristics of capitalism, were rampant. In 1922, Lenin himself had voiced the need of a "return" to socialism and in the period of the "interregnum" we find that the disorgarnisation and discontent among the richer peasantry that the termination of the N. E. P. created, was having a violent influence on national stability. Externally the conditions were as fluid and as badly disposed for the success of the Soviets. Anti-Communist forces were being strengthened everywhere, as was evidenced by such acts as the Curzon ultimatum, the German fiasco and the occupation of the Ruler.

How did these internal and international complications decide the future leader of the Soviets? The internal problems were solved by a tightening of government controls and by a stronger attitude against the N. E. P. men, while the international threats virtually resolved of themselves as it were, in favour of the Soviets, and several members of the capitalist world including Great Britain, recognised the new Russian State, thus taking away the fear of international intervention. Both these developments were to Stalin's favour as against Trotskys and we find that Stalin is one, if not the most important, among the triumvirate that holds power just before and just after Lenin's death. Separate chapters in the book deal fully with this triumvirate in power, and with the campaign against Trotsky.

The book as we have already mentioned is in line with the high quality of the three earlier volumes and will be a valuable acquisition to anyone interested in the history of the Soviet State. One eagerly awaits the next three volumes that are to deal with Stalin's consolidation of power upto 1928.

G. B. K.

The Teach Yourself History of Painting Series in Ten Volumes Edited By W. Gaunt from the original work by Schmidt Degener.

The Italian School Vol. I (10sh. 6d.)
The Italian School Vol. II (10sh. 6d.)
The Spanish School Vol. IV (10sh. 6d.)
The French School Vol. VII (10 sh. 6d.)
(English Universities' Press Ltd., London)

We are particularly glad to bring to the notice of our readers a series of ten books on the history of European painting. Entitled *The Teach Yourself History of Painting* series, each volume is devoted to one outstanding epoch in European painting, and includes pictures carefully selected and reproduced from the galleries of the world. These books are not however, picture books only. The text, based on the work of a noted European Scholar, Dr. H. Schmidt Degener, and edited for English readers by Dr. William Gaunt the eminent art historian, provides a clear and concise account, for the general reader, of each phase of painting illustrated, setting it against the historical background, summing up the achievement of the individual masters and constantly

referring to the pictures reproduced. Besides the volumes directly reviewed here, the other six books are on the Flemish School, the German School, the Dutch School and the British School, and a book each on the 19th and 20th centuries.

The richness and extent of Italian painting have made it necessary to devote two volumes to the subject. In the first book however, which is also the first of the series, there is also an introduction which suggests a mode of approach to the enjoyment and study of European painting in general. Two suggestions made in the introduction was particularly apt advice, I thought, for art students—the need for applying terms such as Renaissance, Classical etc., with as much exactness as possible and after definition, and the recommended method of studying only a few paintings, but as thoroughly and as completely as possible. Both suggestions have been throughout well used in all four books, and in the introduction itself we find the main stylistic periods—Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, etc., defined, the background, content and style of each group being given.

The first volume brings the history of Italian painting from it's early efforts to free itself from Byzantine conventions to the glorious expansion of the Renaissance, the main painters dealt with in this book being Giotto, Fra Angelico, Botticelli, Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci. The background and life of each painter is gone over in detail, and all the major paintings referred to in the text are given either in colour or half tone illustrations. Volume II continues the history of Italian painting from the heights of the Renaissance through the long continued and splendid maturity to the interesting period of decline, which is nevertheless marked by many great individual achievements. The dominating figures of this period are Michelangelo of Rome and the lesser lights of Titian, Bellini and Caravaggio. Both Volumes well illustrate the transference of the content of art from the religious to the humanistic sphere, which characterises the Renaissance.

The Spanish School which is dealt with in Volume IV, has indeed an individuality of it's own. Spain's geographical position has subjected if to numerous "international" cultural influences—Latin, Greek, North African and Asian, while the Pyrenees and the clearly marked internal geographical units has developed a strong national and local spirit in Spanish art; a "genius" too rich and many sided to be traced back to a single source, though many traits may be explained by the long period of Moorish domination. Three painters stand out in the Spanish school—El Greco, Velazquez and Goya, but the volume does not ignore or depreciate either their predecessors or contemporaries. The author traces the growth of the religions art that was the symbol of Christian Spain's fight for unity best seen in El Greco; the rise of realism in the 17th century superbly represented by Velazquez, and the changed conditions in which the genius of Goya found it's intensely national expression. The book concludes with a summary of the modern influence of the Spanish masters.

What is it that makes France great in Art? Attempting to answer the question in the VIIth volume of the series, the author shows how tradition and new ideas, the characteristics of the North and South of Europe, the claims of art and life, have all been happily balanced and continued in the work of the great French painters. He traces the growth of it's great tradition from the local schools of the late Middle Ages to the time when Paris set European standards, concluding with an account of the powerfully influential classic and Romantic movements of the early 19th century, and discussing individually such masters as Poussin, Claude, Chardin, Watteau, Fragonard, Ingres and Delacroix.

A word should be said in conclusion about the excellent get up of the books and the very high quality of the reproductions of the paintings, both in half tone and colour, while a feature which I found particularly valuable,

is the comprehensive list of additional literature that is prescribed at the end of each book, to guide the interested student in his further reading. This series forms a particularly useful introduction to students of European painting, and one will be glad to see it in use in more school libraries in the Island.

W. D.

Soviets in Central Asia—By W. P. and Zelda K. Coates (*Lawrence and Wishart* —25sh).

The present work is a very interesting and valuable book for several reasons. Central Asia has throughout history been a mystery land to which few have had access, and on which very little has been written. Since 1917 it has been an even remoter land of which nothing has been known. The present book, written by two first hand eye witnesses, who travelled in the Central Asian Republics of the U. S. S. R. a few years ago, tend to lift the veil somewhat, though the book suffers to an extent from the authors' obvious bias for the Soviet system. The greatest value of the book however, is that it ably outlines Soviet policy towards national minorities, and shows the successful outcome of this policy in action.

The book is divided into two parts, firstly a historical section and secondly the condition of the Central Asian Republics today. The first part deals with the physical and human elements in Central Asia, and traces their long history from the conquest by Alexander the Great, through centuries of commerce and trade to the Russian conquest of the Khanates in the 18th and 19th centuries. A chapter on how the Tsarist Government misruled and mismanaged Central Asia brings the history upto 1917, in which year the revolutionaries took over.

The second part gives a comprehensive survey of each of the five Soviet Republics of Central Asia, based on the authors' own observations made during a recent visit to the region. Under the Soviets, Central Asia is divided into five Socialist Republics—Kazakhstan, Kirghiziana, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan—each unit the equal of any other republic of the U. S. S. R. As the publishers blurb would have it "the development of the Central Asian Soviet Republics, is one of the most facinating stories of modern times —the story of the transformation of Arabian Night cities like Samarkand, Bokhara and Tashbent into modern industrial towns". It is however the story too of the success of Soviet policy towards national minorities, consistently applied in relation to the formally backward and oppressed Asiatic countries. This policy indeed, so ably thought out and applied by Lenin and Stalin, will have a greater meaning to Easterners today, where the problems of national minorities play so important a part.

G. W.

India and Her Neighbours.

India and Ceylon—By P. R. Ramachandra Rao (*Orient Longmans*—Rs. 2.75).

India and Malaya—By Nedyam Raghavan (*Orient Longmans*—Rs. 2.75).

The books under review here are two of a series entitled "India and Her Neighbours" which has been inaugurated by the Indian Council of World Affairs. The aim of the series is to present a concise account of the political, economic and cultural relations between India and each of her neighbouring countries—Ceylon, Malaya, Burma, Nepal, Tibet and Pakistan—as they have developed in the recent past. As the Preface says, closer and friendlier relations between India and her neighbours is very necessary today, and books "based on a study of documents and presented in historical perspective," should further this to a great extent. Both books are well written and include accounts

of the essential geographical features of each country, the racial composition of the people, their historical background, economic resources and trade relations, the cultural influences, and political questions including the problems raised by the presence of immigrants of Indian origin in the various countries.

The book on *India and Ceylon* is written by P. R. Ramachandra Rao, an advocate of the High court of Madras, and is based on some study and personal visits paid to Ceylon in the last few years. In the prologue itself he lays down the basis on which Indo-Ceylon relations are to be studied—they must be separated from the controversies of the moment and analysed in a broader and longer perspective. "Unfortunately, the 'Indian Problem' in Ceylon has by the daily friction of divergent economic interests and attempted adjustments, repeatedly baffled solution, it is necessary to lift the gaze beyond the conflicts of national economic opportunities and political rights and survey the radiating oceanic expanse, because on its waters will be decided the interwoven destinies of the arch of countries around it."

The most important section of the book for Ceylon readers is the chapter entitled "The Indian Ocean", which should be read by all interested in Ceylon's foreign policy, for it represents a point of view, or rather states several obvious conclusions, which are so very important but not realised from their very obviousness. The problem of the Indian Ocean is the problem of it's defence. For over 150 years prior to the Second World War, Great Britain was the master of the Indian Ocean, this mastery being held by it's control of the sea gates leading to the Ocean, *e.g.*, Cape of Good Hope, Singapore or Aden and by a vast network of ports within the Ocean itself, *e.g.*, Bombay, Colombo, Trincomalee and Mauritius. Since the War however, Britain has abdicated from the Indian Ocean, leaving a power vacuum which no other single state has filled. There is no longer a single ruler for the Ocean, but a whole crowd of smaller rulers. The result is that this power vacuum can be made use of by any strong aggressive power to re-subjugate Asia. Ceylon plays an important part in the Indian Ocean by it's central position and by it's proximity to the peninsula of India, and it will be one of the first areas to be attacked by any aggressive power. The author then proceeds to argue that Ceylon and the rest of the countries of the Indian Ocean, should band together for a regional defence alliance. Thought of in this light, the grouping of the Colombo powers becomes a real need instead of a political stunt.

Except for this exceedingly refreshing first chapter, the rest of the book is drab and is merely a collection of facts and figures which the Ceylon reader would hardly need to read about. Thus the chapters on the Geography and People of Ceylon, and on Economic Resources and Trade Relations is of little value, while the chapter on Indian Immigration does not do full justice to the Ceylon point of view in certain matters, *e.g.*, nothing is said of the Ceylon Government's Ordinances for immigrant welfare prior to 1922.

The second book on *India and Malaya* is likewise a useful work. It gives the background to the Malayan people and the country, and traces the historical background from India's early connexions down the ages to Pearl Harbour and the Japanese occupation. Several valuable chapters on the administrative structure, on immigration and on Indian influences on Malayan culture, help to round off the work.

Considering the limited aim of the series—namely that of promoting understanding between India and her neighbours, these two books could be said to be successful. It would have been more useful however, if the Indian Council of World Affairs with the great resources at it's disposal, had produced works which dealt with the problems in more detail.

K.A.S.

The Men Who Ruled India—By Phillip Woodruffe. (*Jonathan Cape, London*)

The Founders (30sh.)
The Guardians (25sh.)

The Founders and *The Guardians* are two of the most interesting and informative books on Indian history that I have had the pleasure of reading for quite some time. They are valuable for two reasons, first and most important, the author adopts a sane attitude in his writing, there is no attempt to apportion the guilt for the mistakes and the faults of the past, and second there is no overbearing sense of having borne a "white man's burden." The role of the English in India, was a formative and creative one, as no one will doubt, and it is best to regard it in this way; and the present books seek to present the British period as being as much a contribution to the development of India as the Norman conquest was to that of England. What has largely made such an attitude possible however, and this I am saying without in any way detracting from the excellence of Mr. Woodruffe's work, is the fact that the books are "about the men, not about tendencies or policies, but an attempt to show what these men were like, what they thought and felt and how they came to rule so many people with so little force." Mr. Woodruffe's is the biographical road to history and as such has it's limitations, but the excellence of his writing and the vivid sketches he makes of both men and background, make these two works more refreshing and more informative reading than many other books dealing exclusively with Indian political, social or economic history.

The author's method is biographical, he chooses men, not necessarily the great ones who have crept into the history books, but those who seem representative of different types and of different periods, and gives some account of their lives and opinions, well supplemented with vivid and life-like accounts of their background. The book is, to quote the introduction, not written for the specialist reader or scholar but for the general reader—in short for anyone who wants to know how and by whom the achievement of the English in India was carried out. The picture that emerges is of an administrative machine which to the eye of a visitor might seem impersonal, but which worked just because it was personal, because the district officers who composed the machine were men highly individualist, critical of those above them, yet disciplined by the immense responsibility which had been given them, and confident that what they did was morally right.

The Founders as it's name implies, deals with the men who established British rule in India. This period naturally falls into three parts—from the beginning of British trade in 1600 to 1751, the establishment of an administrative system from 1751 to 1798, and a final period aptly titled "the Golden Age" from the beginning of the 19th century to 1858. The first section contains sketches of Thomas Roe, Akbar and Job Charnock while the background for these early rulers is amply provided for in the description of a journey from Agra to Surat and a description of English life in Surat. Part two similarly has biographies of Vansittart, Verelst, Hastings, Sir John Shore and William Hickey, all men who consolidated English rule and all drawn from the upper middle class of England. A particularly useful chapter is that on John Shore where the controversial question of land revenue is very well analysed, though in relation to the individual. The final part or "the Golden Age" from 1798 to 1858, has more than enough men of distinction, but the choice has very ably fallen on Munro, Malcolm, Elphinstone and the rulers of the Punjab and the North West, with several lesser heroes. Each of the individuals chosen are great and form a type, either of administrator or soldier. Two particularly useful chapters are the descriptions culled from Heber and Jacquemont of Indian life, and the ending of the social evils of *suttee*, *thuggee* and human sacrifice. The concluding chapter deals with the Mutiny, with which the first volume ends.

In the title of *the Guardians* there is a double allusion—to the conception of India as a trust (a doctrine enunciated very early and comfortably forgotten by many, though always actively held by a few) and to the ruling caste of Plato's *Republic* trained to rule for the good of the State, not in accordance with the wishes of the people. This volume carries the tale of the men who ruled India from the Mutiny to the end of British rule in August, 1947. As in the first volume, the author tells his story as far as he can through the lives of individual men and through vivid portrayals of the background. In the great Victorian period, the work of the pioneers was over and the three great objects of all Indian rulers seem to have been achieved. There was unity, a stable treasury and a stable peasantry. Now came system and regulation, some hardening of the administrative asteries, and a lack of warmth and humanity from government, as might be expected. Besides, for the last thirty years of this period, English and Indians indulged in "a surreptitious and intermittent civil war". Mr. Woodruffe believes that the ultimate justification for British rule in India may be the reaction it provoked, the fact that it stung India into life. But the achievement itself is one on which he would have England look back with respect for herself, both for what she has done, and above all for the men she sent out.

The Guardians is divided into two parts, "The System at Work 1858—1909" and "The Demission of Power 1909—1947." None of the biographies however are on the "great" men with which this period teems, but on the lesser men, the District Officers and the senior staff of the Provinces, the men who really came into contact with and ruled the people. The complete chapters on the education and training of the District Officers in both periods were I thought particularly valuable, while the chapter on the administrators who initiated co-operative credit, the National Congress, etc., is noteworthy.

Both volumes have comprehensive bibliographies which will guide the reader in the further study that these books are sure to provoke him to undertaking. Similarly the several illustrations and maps should add to this interest. I personally can think of very few similar books that can add so much flesh to the dry bones of the history of the British in India.

S. D.

Eastern Europe in the Socialist World—By Hewlett Johnson. (*Lawrence and Wishart, London*—12sh. 6d.)

Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, has been one of the foremost interpreters of the communist countries to the "'Capitalist" world. *Eastern Europe in the Socialist World* concludes a series of five books on the birth and development of socialism. The first three—*The Socialist Sixth of the World, Soviet Strength* and *Soviet Success* dealt with Russia while the second of the trilogy, *China's New Creative Age*, was published a few years ago (see review in Vol. III. No. 2 of this journal). The present work seeks to do for Eastern Europe what the earlier books did for Russia and China. The book has one great advantage which should be stated at the outset, and that is that the work is not one compiled at home, but one based on the author's personal observations made on frequent visits to Eastern Europe, both before and after its "liberation." He has besides had the fortune of having spoken and discussed, "with members of the governments, leading churchmen, writers and artists, and with the ordinary industrial workers and peasants" of Eastern Europe.

Eastern Europe prior to World War II was impoverished, backward, feudalistic, colonial in status and ignorant in the main of the barest elements of democracy. Western Europe on the other hand was rich and prosperous, possessed of vast empires controlled by wealthy classes. The end of World War II saw the role of each reversed. Eastwards standards expand, Westwards

standards contract. With war time losses treble those of the West and deprived of foreign economic aid, the East passed her pre-war production levels long before the West. This in brief sums up the achievement of socialism in Eastern Europe.

The book itself is divided into three parts. The first part shows that Eastern Europe is a unity and that its best development can take place only with a uniform plan for the whole area, or with a series of national plans all aiming at mutual improvement. The latter method has been chosen, and thus Poland's Nova Huta will provide steel for all Eastern Europe while Hungary and Czechoslovakia will provide machines and Roumania, oil. An interesting section to the reader in this part is the chapter on subversion, where the meaning of the trials of Mindzensty, Grosz, Royk and others are explained. Part Two of the book is divided into five sections, each dealing with one of the five East European States of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria. A full analysis is made of each country's condition, on the "liberation," the early steps for reconstruction, the planning, what aspects of industrialisation are emphasised, the Social Services available to the people and the relations with the church. The particular achievements of the different States such as the development of oil resources in Roumania or industrialisation in Poland are also treated with in detail.

The concluding section entitled "Humanity Triumphant" deals with the human aspect of the problem, and shows how far the projects of socialist economic reconstruction have helped the once downtrodden people of Eastern Europe to become energetic human beings with hope and courage for the future, and with power to free themselves and to resist oppression.

The book however does suffer at times from the author's too obvious sympathy for communism. Very often mere words such as "thrilling spectacle," "clossal energy," "astonishing new program," "world shaking Revolution" are brought in to add to and sometimes to obscure the meaning and value of the writing. The work however should prove to be of some use to students as it provides in a handy form a good deal of information, from a reliable eye-witness of what is happening behind the Iron Curtain in Europe, information which is not readily accessible elsewhere.

R. D. S.

Printed at the C.W.E. Printing Department, 160, McCallum Road, Colombo 10.