

VOL. III

PART 1

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CEYLON

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

BEING

LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF CEYLON

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

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EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA

No. 1. CEYLONESSE CHRONOLOGY

THE chronological problems that have been raised in the past numbers of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* make it indispensable that we should have some sort of a settled chronological table of Ceylon kings, to which we could consistently refer in our future discussions. We propose, therefore, to prefix to this number such a one, which, though probably subjected to criticism, we feel sure, will none-the-less be welcome to the readers of this publication.

In the history of Buddhism in Ceylon there are some outstanding events, which, by reason of the sanctity a devout people have invested them with, and the importance of the part they have played in the rise and progress of Buddhism, have come to serve as landmarks in the history of the Island. Not only the circumstances connected with these events, but their dates as well, are matters of general agreement among the Buddhist chroniclers of Ceylon and elsewhere; so much so that we find later writers have often gone to the extent of adjusting the lengths of reigns of kings so as to fit in with these universally accepted dates.¹

As an instance, there is the old synchronism of Devānampiya-Tissa with Asoka, whose date is fixed from external sources, with the result that the Nibbāna of the Buddha falls in 483 B.C.² Upon this synchronism some of the later landmarks of Buddhist history are based; so that when we are told, for example, that at the beginning of Siri-Meghavaṇṇa's (No. 59) reign, 845 years have nearly elapsed since the death of the Buddha, the chroniclers had not the vaguest idea of the existence of a Christian era, and it was of no consequence to them whether according to this era the Buddha's nibbāna fell in 483 B.C. or in 544 B.C. They simply adhered to the traditional Buddhist date, already widely known, without any other calculation whatsoever.

The contention³, that the dates of these landmarks were probably arrived at by the computations of historians who lived after the establishment of the 544–543 B.C. era, holds good, if at all, only in such cases as are not corroborated by external synchronisms.

But there exist external synchronisms which do corroborate not only the 483 B.C. era, e.g. the embassy to Samudragupta in the reign of Siri-Meghavaṇṇa (No. 59), the arrival of Fa-Hian in the reign of Buddhadāsa (No. 61)

¹ For example, see below, p. 5, note 1.

² See Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 22. Cf. also Pradhan's *Chronology of Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1927), Ch. xxii for arguments adduced in favour of fixing the death of the Buddha in 487 B.C. instead of in 483 B.C.

³ As adduced by Fleet, *Ib.*, pp. 5 and 333.

and Kassapa I's (No. 74) embassy to China¹, but also the newer one, namely, the 544–543 B.C. era, e.g. Māna-Vamma's (No. 99) first unsuccessful attempt to gain the Ceylon crown soon after 642 A.D. in the reign of Hatthadātha I (No. 95); the invasion by the Sinhalese and the Pāṇḍyas, of the Cōla country in Kassapa V's (No. 115) reign; and the invasion of Ceylon by Parāntaka I about 943 A.D.² These synchronisms, as will be seen from the chronological table, agree with the older era of 483 B.C. up to the time of Kassapa I (No. 74) 526–552 A.D. On the other hand, from the time of Hatthadātha I (No. 95) 642–651 A.D. they seem to follow the dates based on the era of 544–543 B.C. How this excess of about sixty years in the Buddhist reckoning, came into existence within a period of nearly 125 years (526–651 A.D.)—whether by the accumulation of errors in the computation of regnal years, or by the deliberate adjustments made by later historians³, or through the introduction of a new era from some other Buddhist country—we are unable at present to determine⁴.

In drawing up the following table, we have more or less followed the model suggested⁵ by the late Dr. Fleet, to whom we owe so much for his labours in the field of Indian epigraphy. We have also carefully considered the duration of each king's reign, and made due allowance for expired and current years. The importance of the latter consideration, in achieving accuracy of chronology, is obvious and has been already demonstrated by, among others, the Gate-Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana in his Introduction to the English translation of the *Nikāyasairgaha*⁶.

Our chronological table, calculated on these lines, shows where the compilers of the *Mahāvāṃsa*⁷, for example, have attempted the adjustment of lengths of reigns in the manner stated above. It will, moreover, bring to prominence the places where the dates from external sources are in agreement with those calculated from the Sinhalese chronicles, and based on the landmarks of Buddhist history.

¹ See below, p. 11 and Sylvain Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 316 et seq. and pp. 401 et seq.

² For these three synchronisms, see Hultzsch, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 525.

³ By means of adding or omitting reigns or making two contemporaneous kings rule one after the other instead of simultaneously in different parts of the Island. This supposition is not improbable when we consider that the Thera Dhammaditti who wrote this portion of the *Mahāvāṃsa* or rather the *Cūlavāṃsa* lived in the thirteenth century A.D. when 544–543 B.C. era was well established in Ceylon. See below, p. 25.

⁴ In this connexion we venture to suggest that this discrepancy of 60 years may be accounted for, if it can be proved that there were variations in the calculation of the Christian calendar since the death of the Macedonian king, Alexander, in 323 B.C., as the difference appears only after the fifth or the sixth century A.D., when Buddhist dates of synchronous events are compared with Christian dates.

⁵ See *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 338, n. 1.

⁶ pp. xiii and xiv.

⁷ We use the title *Mahāvāṃsa* to include the second part of this work, namely, the *Cūlavāṃsa*.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 2, line 22, read Guṇawardhana.

Page 6, No. 20, read 44-17.

Page 29, foot-note 2, read Guṇawardhana.

Page 30, foot-note 1, read Guṇawardhana.

Pages 39-45. For an understanding of the historical value of *R* and *Mv.* for this period, consult Schurhammer-Voretzsch's *Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bāhu und Franz Xavers*, Leipzig, 1928, pp. 25-28 and 51*53

Page 41, No. 173 According to Portuguese authorities, No. 173 whose reign is omitted in *Mv.* seems to be identical with No. 172. If this is not the case, No. 173 probably held the Kōṭe sovereignty for about ten years only (1506-1516 A.D.).

Page 43, line 16, read after a reign probably of ten years.

Page 43, No. 174. For 2054-2071 and 2071-2072 read 2046-2059 and 2059-2064; for 1511-1528 and 1528-1529 read 1503-1516 and 1516-1521. See pp. 283, 428, and 582 of Schurhammer's work cited above.

Page 43. Before Jaya-vīra Bandāra insert Dom Manuel; for about 20 years read about 41 years; for 2085 and 1542 read 2106 and 1563. This ruler was born in 1486 A.D. (*ib.* p. 425), still reigning in 1551 (*ib.* p. 555) and in 1562 (*ib.* p. 49).

Page 44, No. 175. For 21 years read 30 years; for 2072-2093 and 1529-1550 read 2064-2094 and 1521-1551 (*ib.* pp. 283, 584, 585, and 675).

Page 44. Before Kumāra Bandāra insert Dom João; for 45 years read 19 years; for 2085-2130 and 1542-1587 read 2106-2125 and 1563-1582 (*ib.* pp. 49 and 152). This prince was born in 1526 (*ib.* p. 152).

Page 44. Delete and his grandson was made a Christian with the title Don Juan Dharmapāla; for Dec. 1550 read May 1551.

Page 45, No. 176. Read Dom João Dharmapāla. This king was baptized in 1557 (*ib.* p. 643).

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
OF CEYLON KINGS

No.	Name and relationship	Mahāvamsa	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
17	Thūlathana(ka) (Sinh. <i>Tul-nâ</i>) <i>Son of No. 16.</i>	1 month 10 days	1 year 8 months <i>R. P</i>	A. B. 424	B.C. 59	—	Anurādhapura stain or deposed by No. 18	Date agrees also with the <i>Nar.</i>
18	Lañja- or Lajji-Tissa (Sinh. <i>Lämäñi-Tis</i> ; inscr. <i>Devanaply-a-</i> <i>Tisa Abaya</i>) <i>Brother of No. 17.</i>	9 years 14 days	9 years 8 months 14 days <i>Pūj</i> 9 years 8 months <i>Nar</i>	424-433	59-50	—	” natural death	See Fleet, <i>loc. cit.</i>
19	Khallājanāga (Sinh. <i>Kalun-nâ</i>) <i>Brother of Nos. 17-18.</i>	6 years	6 years <i>Nar</i>	433-439	50-44	—	” slain by his general Kam- mahāratuka	<i>R</i> omits this king.
20	Vatī-Gāmanī-Abhayā (Sinh. <i>Vala-Gam-Bâ</i> ; inscr. <i>Devanaply-a</i> <i>Maharaja Gāmani</i> <i>Abaya</i>) <i>Brother of No. 19.</i> On the throne	5 months	5 months	439-466	44-1	—	” ousted	Date agrees with <i>Nik</i> , see <i>E.Z.</i> , I, table facing p. 142.
21	Pulahattha			439-466	44-1	—	each stain by the succeeding usurper, No. 25, slain by No. 20	The Buddhist scriptures were committed to writing for the first time during the reign of No. 20 (<i>M</i> ., and <i>Pūj</i>). The famine called Bāmi- nitiyā-saya occurred in this reign (<i>Pūj</i>); but ac- cording to <i>R</i> , in the reign of Cōra-nāga No. 27.
22	3 years Bahiya	14 years	27 years	3 years	3 years 7 months	7 months		
23	2 years Panayamā- raka	7 months	7 years	7 years				
24	while king in exile		Pilayamā- raka	7 months				
25	Dāthika or Dāthiya I	2 years	Dāthika or Dāthiya I	12 years	12 years	7 months		
(20)	Back on the throne.							

NO. 1] A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CEYLON KINGS

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26	Mahācūlī Mahā-Tissa (Sinh. <i>Mahasimha-Maha-Tissa</i> ; also called <i>Mahā-dāliyā-Tissa</i>) <i>Son of No. 19.</i>	14 years	—	466–480	17–3	—	—	"natural death"
27	Cora-nāga <i>Son of No. 20.</i>	12 years	—	480–492	3 B.C.–9 A.D.	—	—	"poisoned"
28	Tissa (or Kudā-Tissa) <i>Son of No. 26.</i>	3 years	—	492–495	A.D. 9–12	—	—	"poisoned"
29	Queen Anulā¹ With <i>Sīra</i> 1 year 2 months With <i>Vatuka</i> 1 year 2 months With <i>Dārubhatika-Tissa</i> 1 year 1 month With <i>Nilya</i> 6 months Alone 4 months <i>Widow of No. 27.</i>	4 years 3 months	5 years 4 months <i>Pūj</i>	495–500	12–17	—	—	"slain by No. 30
30	Kutakanna-Tissa (Called also <i>Makalan-Tissa</i> or <i>Kājakanni-Tissa</i>) <i>Son of No. 26 or brother of No. 28.</i>	22 years	—	500–522	17–39	—	—	"natural death"
31	Bhātikābhaya (Called also <i>Bhātika-Tissa I</i> or <i>Bhātiya-Tissa</i>) <i>Son of No. 30.</i>	28 years	18 R	522–550	39–67	—	—	"natural death"

¹ It is wrong, we think, to identify this lady with Anulādevī, the queen of Nos. 19 and 20. According to *Pāli*, No. 29 was the wife of No. 28; but *Mv.* states that she was only the wife of No. 27, and that she poisoned both No. 27 and No. 28.

Date of accession agrees with *Nar.* According to another copy [B.M. Or. 6606(62)] he died in 544 A.B.

Pājāvaliya gives
Balat-Siva 1 yr. 2 m.
Vatuka 1 2
Brahman 0 6
(Niliya?)
Astrologer 1 1
Vāsuki
Bāla-Tisu 1 1
(Dārubhatika-Tissa)
Alone 0 4

5 yr. 4 m.

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
	Mahāvansī	Other sources	A. B.	A.D. 67-79	Anurādhapura natural death	
32	Mahādāthika-Mahā-Nāga (Sinh. <i>Mahādālīyā-Māṇasī</i>) <i>Younger brother of No. 31.</i>	12 years	—	55c-562	—	Date of accession agrees with <i>Nar.</i>
33	Āmunda-Gāmani (Sinh. <i>Aḍa-Gāṇuṇu</i>) <i>Son of No. 32.</i>	9 years 8 months	—	562-572	79-89	—
34	Kanirajānu-Tissa (Sinh. <i>Kinihitidala</i>) <i>Younger brother of No. 33.</i>	3 years	—	572-575	89-92	” No. 34
35	Cūlābhaya (Sinh. <i>Kudā-Abā</i> or <i>Suhū-Abhā</i>) <i>Son of No. 33.</i>	1 year	—	575-576	92-93	” natural death
36	Queen Sivalī <i>Daughter of No. 33 or younger sister of No. 35.</i>	4 months	—	576	93	” natural death
37	Ilā-Nāga (Sinh. <i>Eḷunna</i>) On the throne, 1 year Deposed by the Lambakkans, 3 years Back on the throne, 6 years <i>Bhāgavatī or nephize of No. 33.</i>	10 years	—	576-586	93-103	It was in the first year of Ilā-Nāga that the Lambakkans deposed him. Both Geiger and Fleet omit recognition of this fact in their list of Ceylon kings.
38	Candamukha-Siva (Sinh. <i>Sanda-muñuṇu</i>) <i>Son of No. 37.</i>	8 years 7 months	—	103-112	—	” No. 39
						Date of accession agrees with <i>Nar.</i>

39	Yasalālaka-Tissa (Sinh. <i>Yasasīlu</i>) <i>Son of No. 37 or brother of No. 38.</i>	7 years 8 months	8 years 7 months	595-603	112-120	—	“slain by” order of No. 40
40	Subha-rāja <i>A gate-watchman, son of Datta, also a gate- watchman.</i>	6 years	—	603-609	120-126	—	“slain by” No. 41
41	Vasabha (Sinh. <i>Vāhāp</i>) <i>Of the Lambakāmī clan.</i>	44	—	609-653	126-170	—	“natural death
42	Vankānāsika-Tissa (Sinh. <i>Vakkāhā-Tissa</i> ; <i>Vannāśinamappa</i> ; inscr. <i>Devanapiya-</i> <i>Tissa Mahārāja</i>) <i>Son of No. 41.</i>	3	—	653-656	170-173	—	“natural death
43	Gajabāhuka-Gāmaṇī (Sinh. <i>Gaja-bā</i> ; inscr. <i>Devanapiya-Gamini-</i> <i>Abhayā Mahārāja</i>) <i>Son of No. 42.</i>	22	12 <i>Nar</i> 24 <i>R and Rp</i>	656-678	173-195	—	“natural death
44	Mahallaka-Nāga (Sinh. <i>Mahalaka-Nāga</i> , and <i>Mahālu-Mānā</i> ; inscr. <i>Devanapiya - Naka</i> <i>Mahārāja</i>) <i>Father-in-law (?) of No. 43.</i>	6	6	679 ¹ -685	196 ¹ -202	—	“natural death” 40.
45	Bhātika-Tissa II (Sinh. <i>Bātiyā-rāja</i>) <i>Son of No. 44.</i>	24	24	685-709	202-226	—	“natural death
C	Kanitha-Tissa (Also called <i>Cūla-Tissa</i>) <i>Younger brother of No. 45.</i>	18	18	709-727	226-244	—	“natural death”

No.	Name and relationship	Mahāvansīsa	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. or as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
47	Khujia-Nāga (Sinh. <i>Kuhun-Nā</i>) <i>Son of No. 46.</i>	2	2	A. B. 728 ¹ -730	A.D. 245 ¹ -247	—	Anurādhapura <i>slain by No. 48</i>
48	Kuñca-Nāga (Sinh. <i>Kudā-Nā</i>) <i>Younger brother of No. 47.</i>	I	1	730-731	247-248	—	Ekanālīka famine broke out. For reference to a famine in Kānchi proba- bly about this period, see <i>KrishnaswamiAiyangar's</i> <i>Marimēkhatali</i> , p. 20.
49	Siri-Nāga I (Sinh. <i>Siri-Nā</i> or <i>Kudā</i> <i>Siri-Nā</i>) <i>Brother-in-law of No. 48.</i>	19	19	732 ¹ -751	249 ¹ -268	—	" <i>natural death</i>
50	Vohārika-Tissa (Sinh. <i>Vēra-Tissa</i>) <i>Son of No. 49.</i>	22	22	752 ¹ -774	269 ¹ -291	—	" <i>slain by No. 51</i>
51	Abhaya-Nāga (Sinh. <i>Abā-Sen</i> , and <i>Abhā-Tissa</i>) <i>Brother of No. 50.</i>	8	8 2 R	774-782	291-299	—	" <i>natural death</i>
52	Siri-Nāga II (Sinh. <i>Siri-Nā</i>) <i>Son of No. 50.</i>	2	2	782-784	299-301	—	" <i>natural death</i>
53	Vijaya-kumāra(ka) (Sinh. <i>Vijayīdu</i>) <i>Son of No. 52.</i>	I	6 R	784-785	301-302	—	" <i>slain by No. 54</i>
54	Saṅgha-Tissa I <i>Of the Lambakāma clan.</i>	4	4	785-789	302-306	—	" <i>poisoned</i>

¹ Continuation of expired years makes it necessary to treat this reign as having commenced in this year.

55	Siri-Saṅghabodhi I (Sinh. <i>Dāhāmi Siri-Sañ-</i> <i>gabō</i>) Of the <i>Lambakanya</i> clan.	2	789–791	306–308	—	“ abduction
56	Goṭhābhaya, called also Meghavāṇībhaya (Sinh. <i>Goṭu-Abā</i>) Of the <i>Lambakanya</i> clan.	13	792 ¹ –805	309 ¹ –322	—	“ natural death
57	Jettha-Tissa I (Sinh. <i>Kalakan-Deta²-</i> <i>Tis</i> or <i>Makatalan-Deta-</i> <i>Tis</i>) Son of No. 56.	10	806 ¹ –816	323 ¹ –333	—	“ natural death
58	Maha-Sena (Sinh. <i>Maha-Sen</i>) Younger son of No. 56.	27 24 R	817 ¹ –844	334 ¹ –361.	—	“ natural death
59	Siri-Meghavanna (Kit- ti-s-Siri-Meghava- nna I) (Sinh. <i>Kit-siri-mēvan</i>) Son of No. 58.	28	845 ¹ –872	362 ¹ –389	—	“ natural death
60	Jettha-Tissa II (Sinh. <i>Deta²-Tis</i>) Younger brother of No. 59.	9	872–881	389–398	—	“ natural death
61	Buddha-dāsa (Sinh. <i>Bujas</i>) Son of No. 60.	29 c.	—	881–909	398–426	“ natural death

¹ Continuation of expired years makes it necessary to treat this reign as having commenced in this year.² Or *Detu*.

This date agrees with *Nik*,
for 795 A.D. expired =
fourth regnal year of Go-
thābhaya = the foundation
of the Sāgaliya sect.

This date agrees closely
with *Nik*, *R*, *Rp*, *Pūj*,
and other Sinhalese
chronicles.

Meghavanna's embassy to
Samudragupta (326–375
A.D.). Cf. Sylvain Lévi
in *J.A.*, 1900, pp. 316 ff.,
401 ff. Also Geiger *Ma-*
hanamsa. Translation,
Introduction, p. xxxix.
The arrival of the Bud-
dha's Tooth-relic in the
ninth regnal year of No.
59 (*Me*. xxxvii. 92).

Mahā Dhammadhāni trans-
lated the Pāli suttas into
Sinhalese in the reign of
No. 61 (*Me*. xxxvii. 175).
Arrival of Fa-Hian *circa*
411–413 A.D. Cf. *E.Z.*
Vol. I, pt. iii, p. 83; and
J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 1144.

No.	Name and relationship	Mahāvanīsa	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
62	Upa-Tissa I <i>Eldest son of No. 61.</i>	42	42	A. B. 909–951	A.D. 426–468	—	Anurādhapura <i>stain</i>	Mahānāma's embassy to China in 428 A.D. (Sylvain Lévi, <i>J.A.</i> , 1900, pp. 412, 421). This may have taken place probably when Mahānāma was a priest wielding power in Upatissa's reign. Cf. also <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , (<i>C.B.</i>), vol. xxiv, No. 68, p. 107.
63	Mahānāma <i>Brother of No. 62.</i>	22	20 R	951–973	468–490	—	" <i>natural death</i>	Buddhaghosa's visit and the commencement of his commentaries on the Buddhist canon in Mahā- nāma's reign (No. 63). See <i>Mv.</i> xxxvii, 243–244.
64	Sotthi-Sena (Sinh. <i>Sen-got</i>) <i>Son of No. 63.</i>	1 day	1 day	973	490	—	" <i>poisoned</i>	
65	Chatta-gāhaka, Jantu (Sinh. <i>Sat-gāhaka</i> ; also called <i>Lāmāni-Tis</i>) <i>Husband of Saṅghī,</i> <i>daughter of No. 63.</i>	1 year c.	1 year	973	490	—	" <i>natural (?) death</i> <i>within the year</i>	
66	Mittta-Sena (Sinh. <i>Mit-Sen</i> ; called also <i>Karai-Sora</i>) <i>A minister of No. 65.</i>	1 year	6 years R	973–974	490–491	—	" <i>stain by No. 67</i>	
67	Pandu <i>Tamil usurper.</i>	5 years c.	—	974–978	491–495	—	" <i>natural death</i>	Six Tamil usurpers Nos. 67–72.
68	Parinda <i>Son of No. 67.</i>	3 years c.	—	978–981	495–498	—	" <i>natural death</i>	According to R seven usur- pers apparently counting from No. 66.
69	Khudda-Parinda <i>Younger brother of No. 68.</i>	16 years c.	—	981–996	498–513	—	" <i>natural death</i>	Dhātu-sena (No. 73), all the time waging war against the usurpers.

70	Tirīṭara <i>Tamil usurper.</i>	2 months	—	996	513	—	“ slain by Dhātusena (No. 73)
71	Dāthiya II <i>Tamil usurper.</i>	3 years	—	996-999	513-516	—	“ slain by No. 73
72	Pithiyā <i>Tamil usurper.</i>	7 months	—	999	516	—	“ slain by No. 73
73	Dhātu-sena	On the throne probably 10 years c. In captivity 8 years (Sinh. <i>Dā-Sen-Kāli(ya)</i>) Of the Mōriyan dynasty.	18 years	999-1009	516-526 (a)	—	(a) A <i>Dīparavīmaṇapakarana</i> was compiled in Pāli by Mahānāma, the incumbent of Dighāsana or Dighasanda-vihāra (<i>Nar.</i> <i>Mz.</i> xxxix. 42); obviously the first thirty-seven chapters of the <i>Mahāhārāmaṇa</i> . This Mahānāma Therā was Dhātusena's mother's brother (<i>Mz.</i> xxxviii. 16 and 59). Kassapa I (No. 74) took his father Dhātusena prisoner and ascended the throne (<i>Mz.</i> xxxviii. 84-85). So he reigned while No. 73 was alive. Hence part of reign of No. 73 is included in No. 74. It is improbable that both 73 and 74 reigned the same number of years each.
74	Kassapa I (Sinh. <i>Kasabu</i> or <i>Sigiri-</i> <i>Kasabu</i>) <i>Son of No. 73.</i>	18 c. of No. 74	18 years	1009-1035	526-552 (b)	—	Anurādhapura and Sigiriya committed suicide (<i>Mz.</i> xxxix. 27)
75	Moggallāna I (Sinh. <i>Mugalan</i>) <i>Son of No. 73.</i>	18 years	18 years	1035-1053	552-570	—	Anurādhapura natural death
76	Kumārāci-Dhātusena (Sinh. <i>Kumāra-Dās</i> or <i>Kumara-Dāsen</i>) <i>Son of No. 75.</i>	9 years	9 years	1053-1062	570-579	—	“ natural death

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign*	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
Mahāvansā	Other sources	A. B.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.		
77	Kitti-Sena (Sinh. <i>Kit-Sen</i>) <i>Son of No. 76.</i>	9 months	9 years <i>R</i> 6 years <i>MR</i>	1062–1071	579–588	518–527	Anurādhapura slain by <i>No. 78</i>
78	Sīva I (Sinh. <i>Mädi-Siv</i>) <i>Uncle of No. 77.</i>	25 days		1071	588	527	" slain by <i>No. 79</i>
79	Upa-Tissa II (Sinh. <i>Lämäqi - Upa- Tissa</i>) <i>Father-in-law of No. 80.</i>	1 year 6 months	1 year 6 months <i>Pūj</i> 2 years 6 months <i>Nar</i>	1071–1073	588–590	527–529	" <i>died through grief</i>
80	Amba-Sāmanerādi-Silā- kāla (Sinh. <i>Lämäni Añba- herana - Samamēran</i> ; called also <i>Lämäni- Akbo</i> in <i>R</i>) <i>Moggallāna T's sister's husband, also husband of daughter of No. 79.</i>	13 years c.		1073–1086	590–603	529–542	" <i>natural death</i>
81	Dāthāpabhuti I (Sinh. <i>Dāpuļu-Sen</i>) <i>Second son of No. 80.</i>	6 months 6 days		1086	603	542	" <i>suicide on field of battle</i>

82	Moggallāna II or Cūla-Moggallāna (Sinh. <i>Dala-Mugalan</i>) <i>Eldest son of No. 80.</i>	20 years c.	20 years	1086–1105	603–622	542–561	"natural death"	
83	Kitti-Siri-Megha [-vanna] II (Sinh. <i>Kudā-Kit-Siri-Mēvan</i>) <i>Son of No. 82.</i>	19 days	19 years <i>R, Pūj</i>	1105	622	561	"slain by" No. 84 A	We do not think that the length of the reign of No. 83 as given in <i>R</i> and <i>Pūj</i> can be correct, considering that No. 84 A was a contemporary of Nos. 80, 81, and 82. The text of <i>Me. xl. 91</i> is, moreover, ambiguous. It may be inferred from it that the day on which Mahānāga (No. 84 A) killed No. 83 was the nineteenth from his departure from Rohana. This might or might not have been the nineteenth day after the accession of No. 83. No. 84 B is omitted in the <i>Mahavamsa</i> and <i>Nār</i> , but appears in the <i>Pūj</i> and all the <i>Rajivatīyas</i> . The Sinhalese authorities seem to indicate that Nos. 84 A and B were two different persons, and not one and the same individual.
84 A	Mahānāga (Sinh. <i>Senevi-Mānā</i>) <i>Of the Moriya-vansā.</i>	3 years c.	3 years	1105–1108	622–625	561–564	"natural death" or "slain by" No. 84 B (<i>R</i> and <i>Pūj</i>)	No. 87 is probably identical with Saṅghabhadda; see <i>Me. xlii. 42.</i>
84 B	Lāmāni-Siṅgānā (Called also <i>Lāmāni-Sinhi</i> and <i>Saladala-bōnā</i>)	9 years	9 years				"slain by" No. 85	
85	Aggabodhi I (Sinh. <i>Akkō</i>) <i>Mahānāga's nephew.</i>	34 years c.	30 <i>R</i>	1108–1141	625–658	564–597	"natural death"	
86	Aggabodhi II (Sinh. <i>Kudā-Akkō</i>) <i>Son of sister of No. 85.</i>	10 years c.	10	1141–1150	658–667	597–606	"natural death"	
87	Saṅgha-Tissa II (Sinh. <i>Asigāha-Saṅgha-Tissa</i>) <i>Brother of No. 86 R and Pūj</i>	not stated	2 months <i>R, Pūj</i>	1150	667	606	"slain by" order of No. 88	
88	Moggallana III or Dalla-Moggallāna (Sinh. <i>Lāmāni-Bō-nā-Mugalan</i> , or <i>Mādi-Bō-Mugalan</i>) <i>General of No. 86 (Me., xlii. 2–3)</i>	6 years c.	6 years	1150–1155	667–672	606–611	"slain by" No. 89	

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. or as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
	Mahārāma	Other sources	A. B.	A. D.		
89	Silāmeghavāma, called also Asiggāha(ka) (Sinh. Salamevāvan) Son of Malavarāja (Mv., xliv. 53-56)	9 years c.	9 years	1155-1163	672-680	Anurādhapura death through illness
90	Aggabodhi III, called also Siri-Saṅghabodhi II (Sinh. Sirisāṅga-bo) Son of No. 89.	6 months		1163	680	" ousted
91	Jettha-Tissa III (Sinh. Lāmāṇi-Katūsara Deita-Tis) Son of No. 87.	5 months		1163	680	" suicide on battlefield
[90]	Aggabodhi III (throne recovered)	12 years	{ 1163-1175	{ 680-692	{ 619-631	Cf. <i>Mahāvāma</i> xliv. 126-131 and 143-144.
			16 Pūj			" dethrown and driven back to India, finally died in Rohana through illness
92	Dāthāsiva, afterwards called Dāthōpa-Tissa I (Sinh. Lāmāṇi-Dalupa-Tis) At war with No. 90 4 years c. A general of No. 91.	16 years c.	{ 1175-1178	{ 692-695	{ 631-634	Dāthōpa-Tissa's (No. 92) reign of twelve years is made up of four years' war with No. 90 and eight years' war with No. 93. <i>Nar</i> rightly omits this king.
93	Kassapa II (Sinh. Pāsuta-Kasubu) At war with No. 92 8 years As paramount king 1 year Younger brother of No. 90.	9 years	"	"	634-642	" death through illness
					1 Or <i>Detu</i> .	

94	Dappula I (Sinh. <i>Dāpulu</i>) <i>Second son of Mahā-Tissa</i> (<i>Mv.</i> , xiv. 38-41).	7 days 3 yrs 3 months <i>Pūj</i> 10 years <i>R</i>	1186	703	642	" death through grief	
95	Hathadātha I, called also Dāthopā-Tissa II (Sinh. <i>Lāmāni Dālupa-Tis</i>) <i>Nephew (?) of No. 92</i> (<i>Mv.</i> , xiv. 154)	9 years c.	1186-1195	[703-712]	642 (a)-651	" death through illness	
96	Aggabodhi IV, sur-named Sirisanghabodhi III (Sinh. <i>Siri-Saṅgabō</i>) <i>Younger brother of No. 95.</i>	16 years c.	1195-1210	[712-727]	651-666	" natural death?	
97	Datta (Sinh. <i>Valpitit-västi-Dat</i>) (<i>Mv.</i> , xvi. 41.)	2 years	{ 2—6—o Nar 10 years R	[727-729]	666-668	" natural death?	
98	Uñhanāgara Hathadātha II (Sinh. <i>Hunannaru-ri-yan-dāta</i>)	6 months	1212	[729]	668	" s/ain (<i>Mv.</i> xvii. 57-58)	
99	Mānavamma (Sinh. <i>Mahātī-pāṇo</i>) <i>Son of No. 93 (<i>Mv.</i>, xlv. 6 and xlvii. 2-3)</i>	not stated	35 years <i>R, Pūj</i>	1212-1247	668-703	" natural death?	
100	Aggabodhi V (Sinh. <i>Akbo</i>) <i>Son of No. 99 (<i>Pūj and R</i>)</i>	6 years	6	1248 ¹ -1254	[765-771]	704 ¹ -710	" natural death?
101	Kassapa III (Sinh. <i>Kasubu</i>) <i>Brother of No. 100.</i>	not stated	7 years <i>R, Pūj</i>	1254-1261	[771-778]	710-717	" natural death?
102	Mahinda I as ādipāda (Sinh. <i>Mide-rāja</i> or <i>Mide-rāja-pāṇo</i>) <i>Brother of Nos. 100 and 101.</i>	3 years	3 years	1262 ¹ -1265	[779-782]	718 ¹ -721	" natural death

¹ Continuation of expired years makes it necessary to treat this reign as having commenced in this year.(a) Mānavamma's (No. 99) first attempt with the help of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (c. 630-668 A.D.) to gain the Ceylon crown, repulsed by Dāthopātissa II (No. 95) (see *Mv.* xlvii. 39-43 and Hultzsch in *J.R.A.S.* 1913, pp. 528-529). This synchronism proves that the Buddhist Era of 544-543 B.C. was in use in Ceylon in the seventh century A.D.Duration of reign not given in the *Mahāvamsa*. The second invasion of No. 99 probably took place in the last year of Narasimha-varman (*Mv.* xlvi. 49-53).Duration of reign not given in the *Mahāvamsa*.

A portion probably included in the seven years of Kassapa III.

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. or as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
103	Aggabodhi VI, sur- named Silāmegha (Sinh. <i>Akkō-Salamēvan</i>) <i>Son of No. 101.</i>	40 years c.	40 years	1265-1305	[A. B.] [782-822]	A. D. 721-761	Anurādhapura natural death
104	Aggabodhi VII (Sinh. <i>Kudā-Akkō</i>) <i>Son of No. 102.</i>	6 years c.	—	1305-1311	[822-828]	761-767	Polonnaruva natural death
105	Mahinda II, surnamed Silāmegha (Sinh. <i>Salamēvan Mi-</i> <i>hiḍu</i>) <i>Son of No. 103.</i>	20 years	—	1311-1331	[828-848]	767-787	Anurādhapura natural death
106	Dappula II, called also Udaya-rāja (Sinh. <i>Dāpulu</i> and <i>Udā-</i> <i>rāja</i>) <i>Son of No. 105.</i>	5 years	—	1331-1336	[848-853]	787-792	Polonnaruva (?) <i>Mr.</i> , xl ix. 9. natural death
107	Mahinda III, surnamed Dhammika Silā- megha (Sinh. <i>Hālligāravil His-</i> <i>kā-Sō-Mihindu</i>) <i>Son of No. 106.</i>	4 years	7 years R	1336-1340	[853-857]	792-796	Anurādhapura (?) natural death
108	Aggabodhi VIII (Sinh. <i>Mādi-Akkō</i>) <i>Grandson of No. 105 or son</i> <i>of No. 106 (Mr., xl ix. 45)</i>	11 years c.	—	1340-1351	[857-868]	796-807	" natural death
109	Dappula III (Sinh. <i>Dāpulu</i>) <i>Younger brother of No. 108.</i>	16 years	12 years R 16 years <i>Puj.</i>	1351-1367	[868-884]	807-823	" natural death
110	Aggabodhi IX (Sinh. <i>Pāsulu Akkō</i>) <i>Son of No. 109.</i>	3 years	—	1367-1370	[884-887]	823-826	" natural death

111	Sena I, surnamed Silamegha (Sinh. <i>Matvala-Sen</i> or <i>Salamēvan-Sen</i>) Younger brother of No. 110.	20 years	—	1370–1390	[887–907]	826–846	Polonnaruva <i>natural death</i>	According to <i>Nik</i> the ac- cession of No. 111 = 1363 A.B. c., a discre- pancy of about six years.
112	Sena II (Sinh. <i>Mugayin-Sen</i> ; inscr. <i>Abhā-siri-sāñ- gabō</i> or <i>Buddas-siri- sāñgbo</i> - <i>Abhay</i>) Son of Kassapa, brother of No. III.	35 years c.	—	1390–1424	[907–941]	846–880	” <i>natural death</i>	Cf. Codrington, <i>op. cit.</i> , pp. 37 and 52.
113	Udaya I (Sinh. <i>Udā-</i> <i>Abhā-Salamēvan</i>) Brother of No. 112.	11 years c.	—	1424–1435	[941–952]	880–891	Anurādhapura (<i>Mv.</i> li. 126) <i>natural death</i>	The expedition of the Pāndya and the Sinhalese troops of Kassapa V against the Cōlas is also recorded in an inscription of the twelfth year of Parāntaka I (i.e. 918– 919 A.D.) (see Hultzsch, <i>J.R.A.S.</i> 1913, p. 526).
114	Kassapa IV (Sinh. <i>Kasup</i> ; inscr. <i>Kasub-siri-sāñgbo</i>) Brother of No. 112?	17 years	—	1435–1452	[952–969]	891–908	Polonnaruva <i>natural death</i>	
115	Kassapa V (Sinh. <i>Kasup</i> or <i>Pāsulu</i> <i>Kasubu</i> ; inscr. <i>Sala- meyvan Abhay</i>) Son of No. 112?	10 years c.	—	6 years <i>R</i> and <i>Pūj</i>	1452–1462	[969–979]	908–918	” <i>natural death</i>
116	Dappula IV (Sinh. <i>Dāpulu</i>) Son of No. 112 or half- brother of No. 115 (<i>E.Z.</i> , I, p. 184).	7 months c.	7 months	1462	[979]	918	” <i>natural death</i>	
117	Dappula V (Sinh. <i>Kudā</i> <i>Dāpulu</i> ; inscr. <i>Buddas Abhay</i> <i>Salamēvan Dāpula</i>) Brother of No. 116 (<i>Pūj</i> and <i>R</i>)	12 years c.	12 years	1462–1474	[979–991]	918–930	” <i>natural death</i>	During the reign of No. 117 the Pandyan king crossed over to Ceylon to enlist assistance against the Cōlas, but as this was not forthcoming he de-

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign		Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. or as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 483 B.C. or as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
		Mahāvansī	Other sources					
118	Udaya II (Sinh. <i>Udā</i>) <i>Son of Mahinda, brother</i> <i>of No. 112 (E. Z., I.</i> <i>p. 184).</i>	3 years c.	—	A. B. 1474-1477	A. D. [991-994]	930-933	Polonnaruva <i>natural death</i>	posited in Dappula's care his crown, &c., and went over to the Kēralas. This statement of the <i>Me.</i> is confirmed by the inscrip- tions of Rājendra Cōla I (Hultzsch, <i>l.c.</i>).
119	Sena III (Sinh. <i>Sen</i>) <i>Brother of No. 118 (R</i> <i>and Puj)</i>	9 years c.	—	1477-1486	[994-1003]	933-942	" <i>natural death</i>	
120	Udaya III (Sinh. <i>Udā</i>) <i>Brother of Nos. 118 and</i> <i>119 (E. Z., II, table</i> <i>facing p. 59)</i>	8 years c.	—	1486-1494	[1003-1011]	942-950	" <i>natural death</i>	The Cōla invasion during the reign of No. 120 was probably that of Parān- taka I in or shortly before 943 A.D. (Hultzsch, <i>l.c.</i>).
121	Sena IV (Sinh. <i>Pāsuṇu</i> or <i>Mādi-</i> <i>Sen?</i> <i>Son of No. 115 (E. Z., II,</i> <i>table facing p. 59).</i>	3 years	—	1494-1497	[1011-1014]	950-953	" <i>natural death</i>	
122	Mahinda IV (Sinh. <i>Kuḍā Midel</i> or <i>Midel-salā R</i>) <i>Brother of No. 121</i> (E. Z., <i>l.c.</i>)	16 years.	—	1498-1514	[1015-1031]	954-970	" <i>natural death</i>	Cf. Codrington, <i>op. cit.</i> , pp. 39-40, 53.
123	Sena V (Sinh. <i>Salamevan-rāja</i>) <i>Son of No. 122 (E. Z.,</i> <i>l.c.).</i>	10 years.	—	1515-1525	[1032-1042]	971-981	" <i>death through</i> <i>drink</i>	" , ,

124	Mahinda V (Sinh. <i>Mihindu</i>) Half-brother of No. 123 (E. Z., l. c.)	36 years c.	1525-1561 c. [1042-1078]	981-1017 c.	In his thirty-sixth regnal year Mahinda V was taken captive by the Cōla forces of Rājendra Cōla I in about 1017 A.D. (Hultzsch, <i>J.R.A.S.</i> 1913, p. 523).
125	INTERREGNUM, while the Cōlas were ruling at Polonnaruva, and Mahinda V in captivity in India.	12 years	1561-1573 c. [1078-1090]	1017-1029 c.	Polonnaruva and Rōhana
126	Kassapa, afterwards called Viikkama Bāhu, whose authority was upheld by the Sinhalese, while the Cōlas ruled at Polonnaruva. <i>Son of No. 124.</i>	8 days	1573-1585	1029-1041 c.	Rōhana <i>death through illness</i>
127	Kitti <i>A general.</i>	3 years c.	—	1041-1044 c.	slain by "No. 127
128	Mahālāna Kittī (Sinh. <i>Mahālē</i>)	16 years Nar	1585-1588 c.	—	" committed suicide on being defeated by the Cōlas
129	Vikkama-Pandū	1 year	1588-1589	1044-1045	Kalutara slain by No. 129
130	Jagatipāla or Jagatpāla	4 years	1589-1593	1045-1049	Rōhana slain by the Cōlas
131	Parakkama-Panḍu I <i>Son of No. 128.</i>	2 years	1593-1595	1049-1051	"
132	Loka or Lokissara I	6 years c.	1595-1601	1051-1057	Kātaragama <i>natural death</i>
132	Kassapa (Chief of the Hair Relic.)	6 months	1601	1057	" slain

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
	Mahāvamsa	Other sources	A. B.	A. D.			
133	Kitti, called afterwards Vijaya-Bāhu I (a) Rōhāna (b) Before Coronation 15 years (c) After Coronation 2 years	Correctly (a) 15 expired (b) 2 (c) 38	{ 55	{ (a) 1602-1617 (b) 1618-1620 (c) 1620-1658	—	(a) 1058-1073 (b) 1074-1076 (c) 1076-1114	Polonnaruva natural death
134	Afterwards Vijaya-Bāhu II Brother of No. 133. Son of No. 133.	Correctly 2 c.	1658-1660	—	1114-1116	" deposed	See E. Z., II, pp. 200-202.
135	Vikkama-Bāhu I Son of No. 133.	—	1660-1681	—	1116-1137	" natural death	
136	Gaja-Bāhu II On the throne. At war with No. 137 Son of No. 135.	16 years 6 years	{ 22	1681-1697	—	1137-1153	" natural death
137	Parakkama-Bāhu I Son of Mānāharanya (E. Z., II, l. c.).	27 years	{ 33	1697-1730	—	1153-1186	" natural death
138	Vijaya-Bāhu III, called also Pāṇḍita Vija- ya-Bāhu Son of No. 136 (E. Z., II, l. c.)	1	—	1730-1731	—	1186-1187 c.	" poisoned?
139	Mahinda VI (Sinh. <i>Kilin-kes-dā-Mi- niñdu</i>)	5 days	—	1731	—	1187 c.	slain by "No. 140

NO. 1] A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CEYLON KINGS

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				For this king's full name see <i>E.Z.</i> , II, p. 221.
140	Kitti-Nissanka-Malla <i>Of the Kāliṅga race.</i>	9	1731-1740	—
141	Vira-Bāhu I <i>Son of No. 140.</i>	1 day	—	1187-1196 c. "natural death"
142	Vikkama-Bāhu II <i>Younger brother of No. 140.</i>	3 months	1740	— 1196 c. "slain ?"
143	Codagāṅga <i>Nephew of No. 140</i> (<i>E.Z.</i> , II, p. 221).	9 months	—	1196-1197 c. "deposed"
144	Lilāvati (through the minister Kittī) <i>Queen-dowager of No. 137.</i>	3 years	1740-1744 c.	— 1197-1200 c. "
145	Sāhassa-Malla <i>Half-brother of No. 140</i> (<i>E.Z.</i> , II, p. 221).	2 years	1744 c.-1746	— 1200 c.-1202
146	Kalyāṇavatī <i>Queen-dowager of No. 140.</i> (Through the minister Āyasmanta Camū- pati (<i>M.v.</i> , lxxx, 33- 38))	6 years	1746-1752 c.	— 1202-1208 c. Polonnaruva "deposed"
147	Dhammāsoka , a prince, 3 months old, with the above-mentioned minister as regent (<i>M.v.</i> , lxxx, 43). Relationship not stated.	1 year	1752-1753	— 1208-1209 Both the prince and the regent "slain by No. 148."

No.	Name and Relationship	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 483 B.C.	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
	Mahāvansī	Other sources		A. B.	A. D.		
148	Anikanga, Mahādipāda (Sinh. <i>Aniyāṅga</i>) <i>Usurper</i> .	17 days	17 days	1753	—	Polonnaruva slain by his own general, Camū- nakka	544-543 B.C.
[144]	Lilāvati Restored by <i>Camūnakka</i>	1 year	1 year	1753	—	"	544
149	Lokissara II <i>Usurper</i>	9 months	9 months <i>Nar</i> 5 months <i>R</i>	1753-1754	—	1209-1210	"
[144]	Lilāvati Restored by <i>Parak-</i> <i>kama</i> of the Kālanā- gara-vansī	7 months	7 months <i>Nar</i> 4 months <i>R</i>	1754	—	1210	"
150	Parakkama, Paṇḍu II (Sinh. <i>Pārakum Pañdi</i>) <i>Usurper</i>	3 years	3 years	1754-1757	—	1210-1213	taken captive by No. 151
151	Māgha, afterwards called Kālinga Vijaya- Bāhu, and Jayā- Bāhu <i>Usurpers</i>	21	19 <i>R</i>	1757-1778	—	1213-1234	" deposed?
	Contemporary rulers :—			—	—	—	
	(1) <i>Subha-Senāpati</i>			—	—	—	Subhapabbata (Sinh. <i>Yāpavu</i>)
	(2) <i>Bhuvaneka-Bāhu</i>			—	—	—	Govinda-pabbata in Rohana
	(3) <i>Sankha-Camūpati</i>			—	—	—	Gangādoni- pabbata in the Manimekhala country

152	(4) Vijaya-Bāhu III, called also Vijaya- Bāhu Vat-himi <i>Descendant of No. 55.</i>	4	24 <i>Pūjī, R</i>	1763-1767	Jambudoni (Sinh. <i>Damla- deniya</i>) <i>natural death</i>	The Buddhist scriptures revised and copies of them made; a <i>Katikā- vāla</i> was issued; the Tooth-relic was brought from Kotmale to Daṁ- badeniya and was en- shrinéd on Beligala rock; so Buddhism was re- stored. This ruler had two sons, <i>Parakkama- Bāhu</i> and <i>Bhuvanaka- Bāhu</i> , and one daughter.
153	Parakkama-Bāhu II, called also <i>Kalikāla</i> <i>Sāhiya</i> <i>Sarvajīna</i> <i>Pandita Parākrama</i> <i>Bāhu I</i> <i>Son of No. 52.</i>	10 years at war with No. 151 and others	33 <i>Pūjī</i> [32 <i>R</i>]	1788-1778	—	<i>Pūjāvaliya</i> being a con- temporary record, we accept 33 years as the correct duration of this king's reign reckoned from his coronation in 1779 A.B. (1236 A.D.)
154	—	—	—	1225-1235	Dambadeniya and Polonnaruva <i>natural death</i>	Dambadeniya and Polonnaruva <i>natural death</i>
155	—	—	—	1236-1266	—	—
156	—	—	—	1266-1289	—	—
157	—	—	—	1779-1809	—	—
158	—	—	—	1809-1812	3 years in retire- ment	—

Geiger's Preface to *Cūla-
vāma*, pp. ii-iii. Possibly
death or political disor-
ders may have prevented
his continuing the chrono-
nicle to his own time,
namely, 1236-1269 A.D.
The second coronation at
Polonnaruva (*M.v. lxxxix.*
10) took place probably

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
	Mahāvāsinī	Other sources	A. B.	A. D.		
154	Vijaya-Bāhu IV, called also Bōsat Vijaya-Bāhu Eldest son of No. 153.	5 years ^c Probably 3 years after retirement of No. 153 and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ years as his successor	1813-1815 —	1270-1272	Polonnaruva slain	This king (No. 154) was slain at the instigation of a general named <i>Mitta</i> who attempted to usurp the throne, but was in his turn killed, and the army placed <i>Bhuvaneka Bāhu I</i> of Yāpavu on the throne. Soon after or just before this king's death (comp. <i>Mv.</i> and <i>Daldāśirīa</i>) a famine arose in Ceylon, and
155	Bhuvaneka-Bāhu I, called also <i>Lokēka-Bāhu</i> (<i>Rr</i> and <i>Dal</i>) Brother of No. 154 or son of No. 153.	11 years	1815-1826 c. —	1272-1283 c.	Dambadeniya and Yāpavu natural death	Jaffna
	INTERREGNUM (Ārya-Cakravarṭī)	3 years?	1826-1829 I	1283-1286		

¹ His first invasion took place in 1236 A.D. the eleventh regnal year of this king according to *Mv.* apparently reckoning from 1225 A.D., the second in 1256 A.D. See *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Deel. 83, p. 472 and *J.R.A.S.* (C. B., No. 68, p. 110).

	Arya Cakravarti made a raid and was successful in carrying away the Tooth-relic (<i>Datadā</i>) from Yāpavu, which he delivered over to his king Kulaçekhara, who has been identified with the Pāñdayan king Māra-varman Tībhuvana-cakravartin Kulaçekhara-deva, c. 1268–1308 A.D. (see <i>Madras Epigraphy</i> , Report for 1907, p. 70, and Hultzsch, <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1913, p. 531).	Recovered the Tooth-relic from Kulaçekhara by friendly negotiation and deposited it in the Tooth-relic temple at Polon-naruva.	According to the <i>Datadā-sirila</i> , both No. 156 and No. 157 ruled contemporaneously at their respective capitals until the latter, for some reason or other, deposed the former and brought the Tooth-relic from Polonnaruva to Kurunegala. The <i>Mi.</i> text is corrupt here.	We are indebted to Mr. Codrington (<i>Ceylon Antiquary</i> , x. 2, p. 89) for drawing attention to the Tamil poem <i>Sarajōti-malai</i> . The king mentioned in its colophon should in our opinion be
156	Parakkama-Bāhu III <i>Son of No. 154 or grand-son of No. 153.</i>	not stated but from calculation approximately 7 years	1286–1293 —	Polonnaruva <i>deposed?</i>
157	Bhuvaneka-Bāhu II, called also Vat-himi-Bhuvaneka-Bāhu <i>Son of No. 155.</i>	not stated 24 years <i>R.Y.</i> more probably 9 years	1293–1303 —	Kurunegala (Hathisela-pura) <i>natural death</i>
158	Parakkama-Bāhu IV, called also <i>Pandita Parakkama-Bāhu II</i> <i>Son of No. 157.</i>	not stated Calculated from facts shown in remarks column about 30 years	1303–1333 —	" <i>natural death</i>
	Digitized by Noolaham Foundation. noolaham.org aavanaham.org			

No.	Name and relationship <i>Mahāvansī</i>	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. or as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. or as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
		A. B. A. D.		A. D. A. D.			identified with Parak- kama-Bānu IV for the following reasons :— Like <i>anurāi</i> for <i>anurā</i> , <i>mālāi</i> for <i>mālā</i> or <i>sapāi</i> for <i>sabhā</i> , <i>tambāi</i> or <i>dambāi</i> can in Tamil stand for <i>tambū</i> or <i>dambū</i> but not for <i>tambā</i> or <i>dambā</i> , besides the Tamil equivalent for <i>jambū</i> is <i>ṭamōṇ</i> . We may, how- ever, take <i>ṭamōṇ</i> as a mislection for either <i>ṭuṇḍōṇ</i> (war) or <i>ṭuṇḍō</i> (elephant); and we may interpret the latter as a Tamil abbreviation for Hatti-sea-pura ('ele- phant-rock-city', Kunune- gala) the capital of Parak- kama-Bānu IV (No. 158). So according to this poem, No. 158 was on the throne in Caka 123 ² (1310 A.D.) and this being his seventh regnal year, his accession was in 1303 A.D. According to the <i>Daldāśirīta</i> com- posed by this king himself or at his request, he was still on the throne in Caka 1247 expired (1326 A.D.). He had the <i>Bodhinīmīsa</i> also translated into Sinha- lese by Vilgammūla Mahā -

Thera, and from the latter's inscription at Kit-sirimevan-kālāni-vihāra we see that in 1876 A.B.¹ (i.e. 7 years after the compilation of the *Dala-dāśirita*) he was still holding the post of Māhimi. The king's death may have taken place about 1876 A.B. (1333 A.D.). The authorship of the Sinhalese *Jātaka* book is also attributed to this king (*Mv.* xc. 83).

The reign of No. 160 is presumed to have ceased with the accession of No. 161 in 1890 A.B. as stated below. The portion of the *Cūlavarāma* beginning from No. 159 was written in the middle of the eighteenth century A.D., during the reign of Kirti Cūri Rājasimha. The scanty treatment of the reigns of these kings may be due to the author not having found records concerning them.

This king's minister's, namely, Senālaiikādhiukāra's Lankātilaka inscription (Br. Mus. copy) gives Caka 1264 (1885 A.B. = 1342 A.D.) as Bh. B. IV's accession, while *Mṛ*, *Nīk*, *Nar*, and other authorities record 1894 A.B. as the fourth regnal year of

159 Bhuvaneka-Bāhu III, called also <i>Vanni</i> Bhuvaneka Bāhu <i>Relationship not stated.</i>	approximately 14 years <i>Vijaya-Bāhu V</i> , called in <i>Mv.</i> <i>Jaya-Bāhu</i> and in Sinh. works <i>Savuṭu Vijaya-Bāhu</i> <i>Relationship not stated.</i>	1876-1890 —	Kurunegala? 1333-1347	Gangāśripura (Gampola) <i>natural death?</i>
160 <i>Relationship not stated;</i> <i>probably son of No. 158.</i>	 <i>As īḍḍī²</i> { 1885-1890 <i>As king</i> 1890-1895	at least 10 years —	{ 1342-1347 { 1347-1352	 <i>Gangāśripura</i> <i>(Gampola)</i> <i>natural death?</i>

¹ See *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. ii, pt. 3, p. 152.

² Wielding equal power with the king, as suggested both by Mudaliyar W. F. Goovavardena and Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka.

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. or as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C.	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
Mahāvīra	Other sources	A. B.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.		
162	Parakkama-Bāhu V (Sinh. <i>Savuṭu Pārikum-</i> <i>rāja</i>) Son of No. 160 accord- ing to R (Brit. Mus. Or. 6606(91)). See also <i>Pārikumbā-</i> <i>sirila</i> .	at least 11 years not stated	As ḫpā ¹ 1891-1895 As king 1895-1902	—	1348-1352 1352-1359	Dātiγama ² and Gamropa not stated	Hapugastūne inscription gives Caka 1281 expired as the eleventh regnal year of No. 162. . His accession = 1281- 11 = 1270 = 1891 A. B. = 1348 A. D., but according to Vēgiri-devāle inscrip- tion quoted above he was holding the office of ḫpā in 1352 A. D. So 1348 A. D. was most probably the year of his appoint- ment to the office of ḫpā shortly after No. 161 be- came paramount sove- reign.

¹ Wielding equal power with the king, as suggested both by Mudaliyar W. F. Goovavardena and Mr. D. B. Jayatiaka.

² Or Dādiγama, the intervocal / being pronounced as its voiced equivalent ð according to the usage of Tamil and certain Prākrit dialects.

<p>163</p> <p>Vikkama-Bâhu III <i>Relationship not stated; probably a nephew of No. 162.</i></p>	<p>As <i>Yuva râja</i> 1900-1903 As king 1903-1918</p>	<p>— at least 18 years</p>	<p>Gampola <i>not stated</i></p>	<p>Niyangampâya inscription gives 1916 A.D. as the seventeenth regnal year of No. 163. Therefore his accession was in 1900 A.D. Vigulavatta inscription makes Caka 1282 expired as the fourth regnal year, which gives Caka 1279 (1900 A.D.) as the date of accession. Thus the two inscriptions agree, and they both count from the date of the assumption of the rank of sub-king. <i>Vimukti-saṅgraha</i> was composed in the eighteenth regnal year of this king.</p>
				<p>During the reign of No. 163 Niççanka Alagakkô-nâra of Amaragiri, otherwise Alakeçvara, an intrepid warrior of the Giivânsa lineage¹, who was allied by marriage to Senâlankâdhikâra Senevirat, a minister of Bh. B. IV (No. 161), came into prominence, rose to the rank of minister and dwelt in Pêradenîya. With a view to check the ever-growing domination of the Tamils under their ruler Ärya Cakravarti of Jaffna, he commenced war preparations and had strong fortresses built at Rayigama and Kôtte.² In 1912 A.D. (1369-70 A.D.)</p>

¹ For a full account, see Mr. Edward W. Perera's contribution to *J.C.B.R.A.S.*, 1904, and Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka's Introduction to his edition of the *Pârâkumbâ-sîrita*.

² See *Nikayatasangraha*, p. 28.

No.	Name and relationship Mahārāja	Length of reign		Christian era based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	<i>Synchronisms and Remarks</i>
		whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Other sources				
		A. B.	A. D.				he called together a convo- cation of Buddhist priests under the presidency of the elder Dhama- kitti, and had the religion purified. Thereafter, to- wards the close of Vikkama-Bāhu's reign, Alakecvara, after he had reviewed his army, felt himself strong enough to defy the Tamil king. So he showed his spirit of independence by hang- ing Arya-Cakravari's tax collectors. This led the Tamil king to dis- patch two divisions of his army by land and sea to crush the Sinhalese. Bhuvaneka Bāhu V (No. 164), who had by this time succeeded Vikkama- Bāhu III (No. 163) to the Gampola throne, got frightened and fled from Gampola and took refuge in the fortress of Rayi- gama. In the battles that ensued, Arya Cakravari's power was effectively destroyed. Bhuvaneka Bāhu returned to Gam- pola, but his cowardly conduct made him so unpopular in the capital that he seems to have

betaken himself to Kōtē and to have lived more or less under the aegis of his powerful minister Alakeçvara, who was in Caka 1304 (1925-26 A.B. = 1382 A.D.) still his prime minister. At this time Alakeçvara's brother Arthanāyaka also was his minister (*Athmagaluvamīsa*).

According to *Nik*, the fifteenth regnal year of No. 164 was 1929 A.B. Therefore the year of accession probably from *āḍīā* to the rank of *yuvarājya* (sub-king) was 1914 A.B., because No. 163 was alive in 1918 A.B. as shown above. In the twentieth regnal year of No. 164 āḍā Vira-Bāhu (No. 165) ascended the throne (*Nik* and *Mv*). Counting from 1914, i.e. the year of accession of Bh. B. V (No. 164) to *yuvarājya* rank, the end of his reign may have been in 1934 A.B. The statement in the Vēgiriya inscription that a grant was made by this king in his thirtieth or thirty-fourth regnal year may be explained by counting the regnal years from the

	Gampola and Kōtē <i>natural death</i>
	{ 1360-1371 }
	{ 1371-1375 }
	{ 1375-1391 }

164

Bhuvaneka-Bāhu V
*Relationship not stated;
probably related to
Senalankādhikāra,
prime minister of No.
161.*

at least 30 years
20 years

{ As *āḍā*
1903-1914
As *yuva-rājya*
1914-1918
As *king*
1918-1934 }

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. or as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
	Mahāvīra	Other sources	A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		possible date of his assumption of the rank of <i>īpī</i> in 1903 A. D. (1360 A. D.). See, however, Mr. H. C. P. Bell's explanation in <i>J.C.B.R.A.S.</i> , 1912, pp. 292-295. After this Tamil war, Niçamika Alakeçvara, the prabhu-rāja, with his brother Arthanāyaka, lived for some time in Rayigama, and afterwards the former settled down for the rest of his life in Kōtte, the city he had himself built, where No. 164 also held his court for reasons explained above. At Rayigama, the family seat of the clan, the prabhu-rāja's son Kumāra Alakeçvara may have, in the usual course, assumed the reins of government. Shortly afterwards, probably on the death of the prabhu-rāja and his son (c. 1925-1930 A. D., 1382-1387 A. D.), his nephew (sister's son), Vira-Alakeçvara, became the governor of Rayigama, while his other nephew, Vira-Bāhu, who had distinguished himself

as a soldier, succeeded him as *āpā* of Bh. B. V (No. 164), and lived in Gampola. But on the death of No. 164 in about 1934 A. B. (1391 A. D.) Vira Alakeçvara, being the elder of the two nephews, challenged Vira-Bāhu's right to succeed No. 164 to the sovereignty of the Kōtṭe kingdom. As a result there was civil war in which Vira-Alakeçvara was vanquished and was compelled to flee the country. We may add that Senā-lankādhikāra Senevirat of the Melanavara clan, a close relative of the royal family, may have married the prabhu-rāja's sister. The two nephews were the issues of this marriage, and that is why they are referred to as scions of the Mehēnava clan and Vira-Bāhu (No. 165) as *sālako* (Sinh. *suhuru-bādu*) of No. 164. The last reference lends, it is true, some colour to the statement in the *Rājaratnākara* and in the *Mahāvansā* that Nigāraka Alagakkōmāra became Bhuvaneka-Bāhu V (No. 164), but contemporary records are quite against this view.

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign		Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	<i>Synchronisms and Remarks</i>
		Mahāvansī	Other sources					
165	Vira-Bāhu II <i>Brother-in-law?</i> (<i>sālaka</i>) of No. 164.	not stated	6 years	A. B.	1934-1940	A. D. —	Gampola and Kōṭe? <i>Ousted by No. 166</i>	In 1939 A. B. expired (1396 A.D.), another con- vocation of the Elders of the Buddhist Church was held under the patronage of No. 165. It was presided over by Dham- makitti II, author of the <i>Nikāyusangraha</i> and other treatises. No. 165 had two sons, namely, <i>Vijaya āpā</i> and <i>Tunayesaya</i> . The for- mer, on his father's acces- sion to the throne, may have become <i>āpā</i> , being the heir-apparent to the crown. The fate of these princes, or even of their father, is not known.
166	Vira-Alakeçvara, pro- bably called also <i>Vijaya Bāhu VI</i> <i>Elder brother of No. 165</i> .	12 years Sr	—	1397-1409	—	Kōṭe <i>taken captive by the Chinese</i>	We stated above that No. 166 was defeated in battle by his younger brother Vira-Bāhu II (No. 165), and had to flee the country. But he returned with a large South Indian army, prob- ably in about 1397 A.D., and ousting No. 165 from the Kōṭe throne reigned there for twelve years (Sr.). It must be remembered that at this period the kings of Kōṭe, no doubt through the	

late prabhu-rāja's military achievements, were recognized as the paramount sovereigns of the island. So, No. 166, on ascending the Kōtī throne, may have taken the *birudā* title Vira Vijaya-Bāhu as many a Sinhalese sovereign had done before. But the evidence so far adduced in support of this probability is not sufficient to settle the point. Neither the inscriptions nor the Sinhalese works of the period help us much. For further discussion, see *J.C.B.R.A.S.*, 1912.

In 1405 A.D. the Chinese eunuch Tcheng Houo arrived to take away the Tooth-relic of the Buddha, but his plans were frustrated and he himself was plundered by Alagakkōnāra (obviously No. 166). Four years later, in 1409 A.D., he came again—this time with a large army—and managed to capture Alagakkōnāra with his queen, children, &c. (*Spolia Zeylanica* (June 1912).

Tcheng Houo returned to China in 1411 A.D. together with the Ceylon king and his family as captives. So, from the end of 1409 A.D., Ceylon was with-

1410-1415

1410-1415

1410-1415

not stated

about 5 years

INTERREGNUM [*Parak-*
kama-Bāhu *Āpā*]
ruling]
A grandson of Senā-
lakshmikāra Senuti
(Sr.)

167

No.	Name and relationship Maharawisā	Length of reign whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Buddhist era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
		A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		<p>out a king, but according to <i>Sudharmaratnākara</i>, a grandson of the above-mentioned Senālankā-dhikāra Senevi, by name Parakkama-Bāhu and by rank an <i>āḍīā</i>, held sway during the interregnum. If this was the case, then this Parakkama-Bāhu was a member of the Alakevvara family, possibly a son of the captive king or of his brother Vira-Bāhu II (No. 165). He may, therefore, be identified with the ruler appointed by the Chinese as their vassal and also with Alakeçvarayā of the Rājavalya, who made several attempts to kill the young Lambakanna prince (a great-grandson of No. 162), whom Visidā-gama Thera had arranged to place on the throne as Parakkama-Bāhu VI (No. 168).</p> <p>Vira-Alakevvara and the other captives were released in about 1411-1412 A.D. by the Chinese, but in the night after their return to Ceylon, Vira Alakevvara is stated to have been murdered</p>

168	Parakkama-Bâhu VI <i>Son of Lîmâni Jaya Mahatâna or great- grandson of No. 162.¹</i>	52 years	57 years	(a) As king elect in hiding 1953-1955	(a) The year of accession according to <i>Mzi</i> , xci, 15, and <i>Nar</i> = 1953 A.B.
				(b) As ruler of Rayigama and at war with No. 167 1955-1958	(b) The year of accession according to <i>Pâñcika Prâdipa</i> <i>Ganîasînha</i> and <i>Nâmarâdiya</i>
				(c) As crowned king of Kôtte 1958-2010	(c) The year of accession according to <i>Sr. Ruvannamala</i> <i>Kâvîrâgîkhara</i> and inscriptions
					= 1955 A.B.
					The poem <i>Kîti-lakuzumijamal</i> was composed in the fifty-fourth year of this king.
					Princess Ulakudaya Devî was the daughter of No. 168. Her eldest brother was Senânayaka Sapumal-kumâra who invaded the kingdom of Jaffna, killed its Tamil king Arya-Cakravarti, and established himself as its ruler. Another brother was the Prince of Ambulgala (<i>R</i>) who by order of his father the king (No. 168) led a punitive expedition to the Kanda Uda-rata (Kandyan District), which was then a subordinate principality, reduced its refractory ruler Jotiya Situ to subjection and appointed

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
169	Jaya-Bâhu II, called also <i>Vira Parakkama-Bâhu</i> (R) <i>Son of princess Ulakudaya-Devi or grandson of No. 168.</i>	not stated about 2 years	A. B. 2010–2012	A. D. —	A. D. 1467–1469	Kötte slain by No. 170	On receiving the news of the death of No. 168 and the accession of No. 169 to the throne, Prince Sapumal, the rightful heir, came down from Jaffna with a large army, and killing No. 169 ascended the throne under the title Bhuvaneka-Bâhu VI. His brother, the prince of Ambulgala, quelled a rebellion in the South raised by Crivardhana Patirâja and Kûragama Himi. The Kalyâni Upasampâda ordination was held as stated in the Kalyâni inscription (<i>Ind. Antq.</i> , vol. xxii. 1893).
170	Bhuvaneka-Bâhu VI, previously called <i>Senâ-nâyaka Sapumal-kumâra</i> <i>Eldest brother of princess Ulakudaya-Devi or son of No. 168 (R).</i>	7	2012–2019	—	1469–1476	" natural death	Prince Ambulgala rose against the king, killed his generals in battle, and entering Kôtte, killed No. 171 at midnight. The
171	Parakkama-Bâhu VII, called also <i>Pandita Parâkrama-Bâhu</i> <i>Adopted son of No. 170.</i>	not stated about 8 years	2020–2028	—	1477–1485	slain by No. 172	

next morning he ascended the throne under the title Vīra Parakkama-Bāhu.

172 Parakkama-Bāhu VIII,
called also *Vīra Parākrama-Bāhu*, pre-
viously known as
Ambulugala-Rāja

20 years *R*

2028-2048

1485-1505

Kōte
natural death

No. 172 had one daughter and six sons, namely:
(1) *Dharma Parākrama-Bāhu*, (2) *CriRājasimha*,
(3) *Sakkāyudha*, (4) *Rāyigam Bandāra*, (5) *Tāniyān-Vallabha*, and (6)
Sakalakāī-Vallabha.

Of these the second and third lived at Mānikkāvara as fellow husbands of a Kiravalla princess; the fourth at Rayigama; the fifth and sixth were sons by a second wife; the former lived at Madampē, and his daughter had two sons, Vidiya Kumāra and Tammitta-Bandāra, by a Malabar prince; the latter settled himself at Udugampola. On the death of No. 172 his eldest son Dharma Parākrama-Bālu ascended the Kōte throne.

The Munnessaram Samāsa which has been condemned as not genuine (*J.C.B.R.A.S.* xix, p. 399 note), gives in fact the correct Buddhist date, for 2060 A.D. expired, being the twelfth regnal year of No. 173, his accession must fall in (2061-12) 2049 A.D. (1505-6 A.D.) as given in

not stated

This king's reign
is omitted in *M*

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173 Parakkama-Bāhu IX,
called also *Dharma Parākrama-Bāhu*
Eldes' son of No. 172.

20 or 22 years *R*

1506-1528

"

The Munnessaram Samāsa which has been con-

demned as not genuine (*J.C.B.R.A.S.* xix, p. 399 note), gives in fact

the correct Buddhist date,

for 2060 A.D. expired,

being the twelfth regnal year of No. 173, his accession must fall in (2061-12) 2049 A.D. (1505-6 A.D.) as given in

No.	Name and relationship Maharawana	Length of reign Other sources	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
			A. B.	A. D.	A. D.		<p>the present list. According to Müller's and Bell's reading, however, of the Kānṇiya inscription (<i>A.I.C.</i>, No. 162 and <i>Ceylon Antiquary</i>, i, 3, p. 156) this king ascended the throne in 2051 A.B. But the correct reading is most probably <i>de dās ekun pānas</i> (2049 A.B.) instead of <i>ek pānas</i>.</p> <p>Under orders from the king, his two brothers Sakalakala-Vallabha and Taniyān-Vallabha attacked and destroyed the Moors (<i>Yon-senāna</i>) who had come to Chilaw for the pearl-fishery, led by their captain named Kadira of Kāyala-pattanam, while the third brother, Cri Rājasimha of Mānikkadavara, brought the ruler of Udāra to subjection. Some time later this ruler became again recalcitrant and had to be subdued by Sakalakala-Vallabha of Uḍugampola. The <i>Rājāvaliya</i> speaks of the arrival of the Portuguese in 1522 A.D., but according to Portuguese authorities they seem to have come to Colombo</p>

<p>either in November 1505 or in September 1506 (<i>J.C.B.R.A.S.</i>, xix, 1997, p. 320). As soon as No. 173 heard of their arrival, he summoned to his presence his four brothers, took counsel with them, and on the advice of his brother Sakkāyudha, who had secretly seen the strangers, he entered into a treaty of peace and friendship with them. No. 173 died after a reign of 22 years. His brother Cri Rājasiṁha being dead, the throne was offered to Sakalakala-Vallabha, but was declined as Sakkāyudha (No. 174) was the rightful heir.</p>	<p>No. 174 and his late elder brother Cri Rājasiṁha were associated husbands of a Kiravälla princess at Mānlakajavara. To them were born four sons, namely : (1) Mahā Raygam Bandāra, who died when young, (2) Bhuvaneka-Bāhu, (3) Para Rājasiṁha, and (4) Māyādunne. No. 174 married a second time and brought up a stepson or a brother-in-law called Deva-rāja Kumārayā, whom he nominated for the throne, overlooking the claims of the three</p>
<p>Kōṭe <i>murdered</i></p>	<p>1511–1528 1528–1529</p>
<p>(As semi-independent ruler in the South)</p>	<p>over 15 years <i>R</i> (probably 18 years)</p>
<p>2054–2071 As Kōṭe king 2071–2072</p>	<p>1522 (?)– 1542 (?)</p>
<p>Vijaya-Bāhu VII, previously called Sakkāyudha (Cakrāyudha) Brother of No. 173.</p>	<p>about 26 years</p>
<p>Jaya-vīra Bandāra, king of Kanda-udarata, married d. of Sakalakala-Vallabha.</p>	<p>2065 (?)– 2085 (?)</p>
<p>Kandy</p>	<p>Kandy</p>

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign		Christian era based on 483 B.C. or on 544–543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544–543 B.C. or as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Government and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
		Mahāvansī	Other sources				
175	Bhuvaneka-Bāhu VII <i>Son of No. 174.</i>	over 20 years <i>R</i> (probably 21 years)	—	1529–1550	Kōtṭe accidentally shot	For a discussion on the date and duration of the reign of No. 175 see <i>J.C.B.R.A.S.</i> for 1912.	
	Contemporary rulers:					This king had a grandson (afterwards called Don Juan Dharmapāla) whom he nominated for the throne. This caused the brothers with Jayavira, king of Kandy, as their ally, to rise against him. He, on the other hand, secured the assistance of the Portuguese.	
	(a) <i>Rājasinha</i> , called also <i>Rayigam Bandāra</i>	,	about 12 years	1529–1541 (?)	Rayigama	Ambassadors were sent to Lisbon, and his grandson was made a Christian with the title Don Juan Dharmapāla. The war continued with varying success until in Dec. 1550 the king (No. 175) was accidentally shot by a servant of the Portuguese viceroy.	
	(b) <i>Māyādunne</i> (P. <i>Māyādhana</i>) <i>Second younger brother of No. 175.</i>	,	about 46 years	1535–1581 ¹	Sitāvaka		
	(c) <i>Jayavīra Bandāra</i> , mentioned above.	,	—	—	—		
	(d) <i>Kumāra Bandāra</i> <i>Son of (c).</i> probably identical with <i>Vira-Vikkama</i> (<i>Mn.</i> xcii. 6–10).	,	Probably 45 years	1542–1587 (?)	—		

¹ See also the B. M. copy of *Rājatēkhanaya*, Or. 6606 (104).

176	Don Juan Dharmapāla <i>Grandson of No. 175.</i>	<i>not stated</i>	46 years	2094–2140	—	1551–May 27, 1597	Kōtē and Colombo <i>natural death</i>	Thereafter the Portuguese placed No. 176 nominally on the Kōtē throne. Māyādunne as leader of the national party took the field again against the Portuguese. This time he was assisted among others by his own sons, notably Tikiri Rajjuru Bandāra, whose military achievements got him the appellation Rājasinha. According to <i>Rājalekhana</i> Māyādunne died in Caka 1503 on Sunday the twelfth day of the waning moon in Nikini (i.e. 1581 A.D.), and Rājasinha, who in May 1578 was vested with regal power, carried on the war successfully until he made himself master of the whole interior of Ceylon. In August 1587 he laid siege to Colombo, and in March 1593 (on Wednesday the fifteenth day of the waning moon in Mādin-dina, Caka 1514 ¹) died of illness. His grandson Rājasūrya Kumāraya succeeded him on the throne of Sīravaka. But soon afterwards Sīravaka fell and Konappu Bandāra assumed paramount sovereignty in the interior under the title of Vimala Dharma Sūrya
177	Rājasinha I, called also Tikiri Rajjurubo <i>Son of Māyādunne.</i>	<i>not stated</i>	about 12 years	2124–2136	—	1581–March 1593 ¹	Sīravaka <i>natural death</i>	
178	Vimala Dhamma Sūri- ya I, previously called Konappu Bandāra <i>A prince of the Gampola dynasty.</i>	<i>not stated</i>	about 11 years	2136–2147	—	1593–1604 ¹	Kandy <i>natural death</i>	

¹ See *Rājalekhana* and Pieris's *Ceylon and the Portuguese*, pp. 113–114.

No.	Name and relationship	Length of reign	Buddhist era whether based on 483 B.C. or on 544-543 B.C.	Christian era based on 483 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Christian era based on 544-543 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death	Seat of Govern- ment and cause of end of reign	Synchronisms and Remarks
179	Senaratna (Sinh. <i>Senarat</i>) <i>Brother of No. 178.</i>	7 years	about 31 years	A. B. 2147-2178	—	A. D. 1604-1635 ¹	(No. 178). He, more- over, strengthened his position by marrying Dona Catherine, the ad- mitted heiress to the Kanda-Uda-Rata. No. 176 died in Colombo on May 27, 1597. No. 178 died in Caka 1526 (1604 A.D.), on Monday the second day of the waxing moon in the month of Vesak ¹ , having appointed Senaratna as Regent dur- ing the minority of his son Āsthāna Bandāra. Senā- ratna, however, married the widowed queen and assumed the crown in 1609 A.D. In the same year he formed an alli- ance with the Dutch. In 1628 he divided his king- dom among his two step- sons Kuniāra Simha (i.e. Āsthāna, Bandāra) and Vijayapāla and his own son Maha Āsthāna, called afterwards Rājasimha II, to whom fell the Uda- rata. According to <i>Rāja- lakkhana</i> king Senāratna died in Caka 1557 (1635 A.D.) and Rājasimha II in Caka 1609 (1687 A.D.)
180	Rājasimha II <i>Son of No. 179.</i>	52 years	—	2178-2230	—	1635-1687	" natural death natural death

NO. 1] A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CEYLON KINGS

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on Friday evening the second day of the waxing moon of the month of Unduvap.

181	Vimala Dharmā Sūrya II <i>Son of No. 180.</i>	22 years	20 years	—	1687–1707	Kandy <i>natural death</i>	No. 18 caused an ordination ceremony to be held in 2240 A.B. (1696–7 A.D.). He died in Caka 1629 (1707 A.D.) on Friday the fifth day of the waxing moon in Vesak.
182	Çri Vira Parākrama Narendra Simha <i>Son of No. 181.</i>	33 years	32 years	—	1707–1739	— <i>natural death</i>	No. 182 died in Caka 1661 (1739 A.D.) in the month of Vesak.
183	Çri Vijaya Rājasimha <i>Brother-in-law of No. 182.</i>	8 c.	—	—	1739–1747	— <i>natural death</i>	No. 183 died in Caka 1669 (1747 A.D.) on the fifth day of the month of Nikini.
184	Kirti Çri Rājasimha <i>Brother-in-law of No. 183.</i>	35 c.	33 years Nar	—	1747–1780(?)	— <i>accidental death</i>	No. 184 ascended the throne in 2290 A.B. (<i>Mu. xcix. 2</i>) and died in Saka 1703 (1781 A.D.?) on Wednesday the third day of the waning moon in the month of Unduvap. According to Mr. H.C.P. Bell, he died in 1778 by a fall from a horse (<i>Kegalle Report</i> , p. 11).
185	Çri Rajādhi Rājasimha <i>Brother of No. 184.</i>	18 c.	—	—	1780–1798 c.	— <i>deposed</i>	—
186	Çri Vikrama Rājasimha <i>Son of the sister of No. 185.</i>	17	—	—	1798–1815	— <i>deposed</i>	Deposed by the English on Feb. 8, 1815, and died in captivity in 1832.

No. 2. (REG. NO. 4). POLONNARUVA: LAÑKĀTILAKA GUARD-STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-BĀHU IV (1270-1272 A.D.)

IN the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* for 1910-1911 (p. 37), Mr. Bell mentions the discovery of this epigraph on the inner face of the left guard-stone¹ of the east entrance to one of the buildings in the group of ruins now, rightly or wrongly, known as Jetavanārāma². He speaks of it as follows :—

'The inscription (every letter of which was separately enclosed in a square formed by perpendicular and horizontal lines) is too much weathered in the middle lines to yield that portion of the record with any certainty. But the greater part of its text is clear enough. Like the pillar inscription at "Pot-gul Vehera"³, this too was couched in Pāli.'

The **letters** are shallowly engraved in seventeen lines, each line consisting of five akṣaras of one to two inches in size each. They resemble those of the Pot-gul Vehera record and are in keeping with the type of the Sinhalese alphabet of the thirteenth century.

The **language** is Pāli as stated above and the composition is metrical, the whole record being framed in two *gāthās*, each containing two nineteen-syllable lines. Two conventional signs of a conch-shell mark the end of the text⁴.

The **subject-matter** is quite simple. The first half of the first *gāthā* records the building of the Lañkātilaka Vihāra by Parakkama-Bāhu; the second half which is illegible seems to deal with some repair or other done to a wall. The second *gāthā* tells us that this temple had remained in disrepair for 100 years when king Vijaya-Bāhu had it completely re-built.

Now on consulting the *Mahāvamsa* for confirmation of these facts, we find the following reference to the building of Lañkātilaka :—

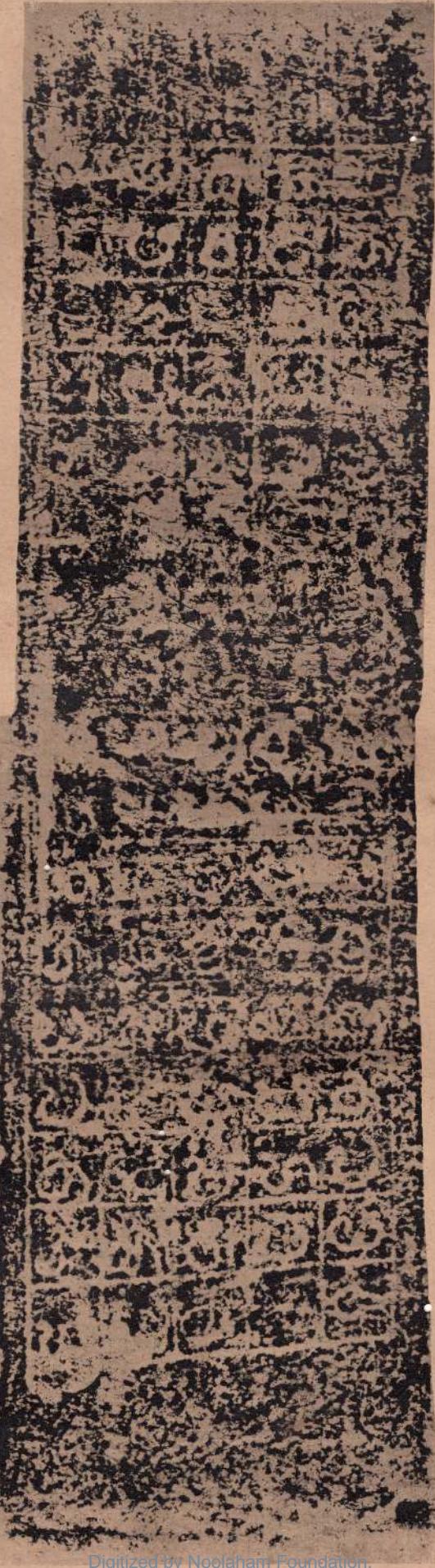
'He [i.e. Parakkama-Bāhu I, 1153-1185 A.D.] made also a beautiful image-house with five stories, that contained the likenesses of gods and Brahmans and other beings, and workmanship of flowers and plants, and adorned with pinnacles and caves, and inner rooms, halls, and chambers—an image-house, which bore

¹ For a clear illustration, see *A.S.C. Annual Report, 1920-1921*, Plate XIV.

² See plan of Polonnaruva facing p. 84 above, Vol. II.

³ See Vol. II, No. 39, p. 238 ff.

⁴ See Plate I.



worthily the name of Laṅkā-Tilaka, which signifies the jewel of Laṅkā. And he made there a standing image of Buddha of the full size, which was delightful to behold, and called it Laṅkā-Tilaka¹.

This description more or less tallies with what remains still to be seen in the ruined building where the inscribed guard-stone is *in situ*. Mr. Bell² is, therefore, quite justified in identifying the ruin with the Laṅkātilaka image-house built by Parakkama-Bāhu I. Mr. Hocart, however, thinks that as the balustrades do not fit the present stairs, they might have been brought from another building³. Possibly the guard-stones only are in their original position.

The *Mahāvamsa*⁴ states further that towards the end of the reign of Parakkama-Bāhu II (1236–1269 A.D.), his son Vijaya-Bāhu IV (1270–1272 A.D.), made extensive reparations in Polonnaruva. This goes to confirm what our inscription records in the second *gāthā*. We cannot, therefore, be wrong, if we count Laṅkātilaka as one of the many shrines restored by Vijaya-Bāhu IV.

The question whether he had the epitaph engraved on a guard-stone which his workmen specially made and set up at the entrance to the temple or whether it was engraved on the guard-stone which was already there *in situ* can only be settled by a careful examination of the difference of workmanship in the two periods.

The following edition of the inscription is based on two estampages supplied by the Ceylon Archaeological Survey. We have also examined the text published by Mr. Bell for the first time in his *Annual Report* for 1910–1911⁵.

TEXT.	TRANSCRIPT.
1 (ය) ලංකාතිලක	1 (Yam) Laṅkātila-
2 කම පරකා	2 -kam Parakka-
3 ම ගුණ කාර	3 -ma-Bhujo kāre-
4 සි ලංකිස්ස	4 -si Laṅkissa-
5 රෝ [] කු(මිත් මා)	5 -ro [] ku(d)dām mā)
6	6
7	7
8	8

¹ Ch. lxxviii, 52–55. Wijesinha's translation.

² A. S. C. *Annual Report*, 1910–1911, p. 37.

³ A. S. C. *Annual Report*, 1920–1921, p. 8.

⁴ Ch. lxxxviii, 92–121.

⁵ In the second volume of the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* just to hand, we find on p. 11 this faulty text reprinted. It is a pity that the epigraphist was not consulted beforehand on the matter.

TEXT (*continued*).

- 9 .. (හවේ) [॥] (නං) සූ
 10 (රෝ වි)ජයාධි
 11 බාහු වසුදා
 12 නාත්‍ය මහිම
 13 (බ)නං [!] ජීණ්ණං
 14 වස්සසනං
 15 නඟුව හට
 16 නං කාරාපයි
 17 සාධකං [॥]

TRANSCRIPT (*continued*).

- 9 .. (bhave) [॥] (tam) sū-
 10 (-ro Vi)jayādi-
 11 Bāhu-vasudhā-
 12 nātho mahī-ma-
 13 (nda)nam [!] jin̄nam
 14 vassa-satam
 15 tad eva bhava-
 16 -nam kārāpayī
 17 sādhukam [॥]

TRANSLATION.

Parakkama-Bāhu. Lord of Laṅkā, caused Lankātilaka to be built . . . (the wall) . . . that same temple (*bhavana*)—an ornament of the earth—which had been in dilapidation for a hundred years, the mighty Vijaya-Bāhu, Lord of the Earth, caused to be thoroughly [re-]built.



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The Preliminary and Index to Volume II is issued with this part.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. = Apabhramśa.	Jay. = H. Jayatilaka's Elu-Akārādiya. Colombo, 1893.
Abh. = Abhidhānappadīpikā, edited by Waskaduwē Subhūti. Colombo, 1865.	JM. = Jaina-Māhārāṣṭri. JS. = Jaina-Śaurasēṇi.
A. I. C. = Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon. By Dr. E. Müller. 2 vols. London, 1883.	Lit. = literally.
Am. = Amāwatura, edited by H. Jayatilaka. Colombo, 1885-86.	L. S. S. = Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen, von Wilhelm Geiger. Strassburg, 1900.
AMg. = Ardhā-Māgadhi.	M. = Māhārāṣṭri. Mg. = Māgadhi.
Arch. Surv. = Archaeological Survey.	Mp. = Müller's plate.
A. S. C. = Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.	Mr. = Mahāsammata-Rājāvaliya.
A. S. S. I. = Archaeological Survey of Southern India.	Mt. = Müller's text.
A. S. W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India.	Mv. = Mahāvāṁsa. Mv. T. = Mahāvāṁsa Tīkā.
Bt. = Bell's Text.	M. W. Dict. = Sir Monier Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary. Oxford, 1899.
c. = current.	Nām. = Nāmāvaliya.
Ca. = Ceylon Antiquary.	Nar. = Narendracaritāvalokana-pradīpikā.
C. B. R. A. S. = Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.	Nik. = Nikāyasaṅgraha.
C. I. I. or Corp. Inscript. Ind. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.	Or. Soc. = Oriental Society.
Comp. Gram. = A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India. By John Beames. 3 vols. London, 1872-79.	P. = Pāli. p. = page. par. = paragraph.
Dh. = Dhammapada (Fausböll's edition, 1885).	Piyum. = Piyummala.
Ds. = Dañḍāśirita.	p. p. p. = past participle passive.
Dv. = Dīpavāṁsa.	Pkt. = Prākrit. Pūj. = Pūjāvaliya.
E. I. or Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.	R. = Rājāvaliya, printed edition.
E. S. = Etymologie des Singhalesischen, von Wilhelm Geiger. München, 1897.	R. A. S. = Royal Asiatic Society.
E. Z. = Epigraphia Zeylanica.	Rp. = Rājavikrama-pravṛitti.
Gram. = Grammar or Grammatik.	Rr. = Rājaratnākara.
Hc. = Hēmacandra.	Ruvan. = Ruvammala.
Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.	S. = Śaurasēṇi.
J. or Journ. = Journal.	S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East, edited by F. Max Müller.
	Sinh. = Sinhalese.
	Skt. = Sanskrit.
	Sr. = Saddharma ratnākara.
	T. = George Turnour.
	W. = L.C. Wijēśinha, translator of the Mahāvāṁsa.
	Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

