

REVIEW ARTICLES

BACKGROUND TO THE SRI VIJAYA STORY—PART IV.

Senarat Paranavitana, *Ceylon and Malaysia*, (Lake House, 1966), and other sources of interlinear writing (see list in section 21)

16. VIJAYABAHU I, PARAKRAMABAHU I AND NISSAMKAMALLA

This part, in fifty pages, deals with the history of Ceylon from the Accession of Vijayabahu the Great in 1073 to the coming of the Portuguese in 1505, a period of over four centuries. Nobody can accuse me of not bringing down the cost of living. But the aim is not to tell the history of Ceylon as such, but to give that history within the pattern of a history of Sri Vijaya. The story is based on the accepted sources with the addition of two Ceylonese inscriptions recently published; while Paranavitana's sources of interlinear writing will only be used sparingly as connecting links in the overall story. The two 'new inscriptions' are the Panusvasnuvara Pillar Inscription of the 9th century where the toponym Yavaju-Kalingubimhi appears; and the Madirigiri Slab Inscription of the 11th century with the name Samara Vijayottunga. These inscriptions comprise two of four irrefutable pieces of evidence, three of which have already been mentioned in the third part of this paper, while the fourth will be submitted in Section 17 below. With all this new evidence, the story of this four hundred years' period produced by historians of Sri Lanka must be looked at again from an entirely new angle. Irrespective of whether the Kalinga in the story was in Orissa-India, as the Sinhalese historians have thought, or it was in Southeast Asia, as the evidence now shows, it seems curious that these historians have never asked themselves the reasons why the Kalinga princes who became kings of Ceylon, such as Nissamkamalla and Magha, ever invaded the island in the first place. It is difficult to see Ceylon as a worthwhile prize considering the enormous risks involved in the whole enterprise of an oversea invasion across such vast distances. I hope it is still not too late to ask this question though my study can only be superficial for lack of space and knowledge of the subject. But the main object is to extract a little history of Sri Vijaya from the confusion.

The orthodox history of Ceylon, based mainly on the *Culawamsa*, does not mention King Mahendra VI, the cousin, son-in-law and ally of Maharaja Samara Vijayottunga. Vijayabahu I is given sole credit for liberating the island from the Chola yoke after long years of struggle. In this way the international character of the story is changed to an insular one. The reason of course is that the authors of the *Culawamsa* were of the faction that supported Vijayabahu, who in this way became the national hero of Ceylon in the same way that Airlangga was the national Javanese hero. The story of Vijayabahu in its economic aspects also differs somewhat from its political aspects.

When Rajaraja invaded Ceylon in 993, he was satisfied to sack Anuradhapura and move the capital to Polonnaruva because it commanded all the crossings of the defended river line in North Ceylon. Mahinda V escaped to the south where he was left to rule in Ruhuna. We are not told whether the king became a guerrilla, but certainly his people would have been. Ceylon's wealth, or rather its lack, did not justify Rajaraja's sending men into such guerrilla territory. Even today Ceylon cannot grow enough food to feed herself, and there was no reason for Rajaraja to occupy such barren land. It is true that Ceylon produced pearls and precious stones, but it is to be doubted that Rajaraja would be prepared to turn his soldiers into miners and deep-sea divers. Today Ceylon is famous for her tea, but I wonder if the ancient Indians drank tea to any great extent. And of course Ceylon was, and still is, a stronghold of Buddhism. This no doubt attracted pilgrims and tourists to the island, but Rajaraja's religion was Hinduism and he would hardly have been interested in Buddhist shrines. So he had no reason to conquer the whole of Ceylon.

However Ceylon was on the route between the Middle and Far East, and her real wealth lay in her ports. Ships plying between the Middle East and India would go to ports on the west coast of India, such as Karachi and Bombay; while those plying between China and India would go to ports on the east coast of India, such as Calcutta and Madras; but long distance ships plying the whole route would go to Ceylon and not to Indian ports. It was possible, using the rhythm of

the monsoons, for ships to sail from the Middle East to Ceylon, from Ceylon straight across the Ten Degree Channel to a port on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, slip down the Malacca Straits to a port on the east coast, and from there on to China. When the monsoon changed the ships could return and be home within a year. The same applied to ships sailing the other way. But to go off the route to any extent, such as to a port on either coast of India or below the equator, could mean losing a whole season. In this way, the ports of Ceylon became important entrepôts where Indian goods and merchandise were collected for this long distance trade.

All this Rajaraja did not know until he sent an embassy to China in about 1014. The embassy returned just before or just after the king's death, and the report brought back in 1016 impressed the new king, Rajendra. It opened his eyes as to the possibilities of this traffic, and he decided to wrestle the trade from Sri Vijaya—why, who knows he might even be able to conquer China itself! But to subdue Sri Vijaya he first had to have complete control of the ports of Ceylon. So he invaded the southern part of the island in 1017, captured King Mahinda V and took him to India. Then in 1025 he successfully invaded Sri Vijaya, sent an embassy to China in 1033, and visited the Malay Peninsula in 1044, possibly to see what prospects there were of invading China itself. Unfortunately he got into trouble with a young girl and was assassinated. In this way the Chinese Empire was saved from Chola invasion. This is a good story even if I only bring it in as a joke. However the *Sejarah Melayu* has something like it (from page 10 of C.C. Brown's translation, Oxford 1970), although the story is too long to give in detail.

When Raja Shulan (Rajendra I of Chola India) died, he was succeeded by his grandson, Raja Chulan (Kulottunga I). The new king decided to invade China and arrived at Temasek (Singapore) with his forces. When the Raja of China heard the news there was consternation, but the Chinese produced a thoroughly Chinese ruse to put him off, and Raja Chulan returned home to India. The episodes of Rajendra's conquest of the Peninsula and Kulottunga's visit to China seemed to have been well entrenched in the minds of the local people, but as the stories

the fighting in Anuradhapura; and Vijayabahu had himself crowned king in that city. According to Parnavitana, Vijayabahu usurped the throne, but as he was already Mahadipada, it could be that he was only acting in his own rights in taking the kingdom. Vijayabahu moved his capital to Polonnaruva, and this begins the period of that name in Ceylonese history, which lasted a century and a half.

Meanwhile, many years before, when Prince Kitti, future King Vijayabahu, was still a young boy and the land was under Chola occupation, many guerilla chiefs came into their own. One of these was a general named P. Buddha (Lord Budal of Sitnarubim.) He protected Prince Kitti and groomed him for kingship of the whole island. The general served the king until his retirement and the king expressed his heartfelt gratitude to the general in an assembly of nobles, and his words were indited on a copperplate which the general took with him into his retirement in the country. The inscription has come to light and I quote a passage from page 183 of *Glimpses of Ceylon's Past*:

“At the time we were remaining concealed in the mountainous wilderness, having been deprived of our own kingdom in consequence of the calamity caused by the Soli Tamils, Lord Budal of Sitnarubim, Constable of Ruhuna, protected, with the aid of his retinue, the entire royal family, including our father, His Majesty King Mugalan, the Great Lord; he brought us up in our tender age; he nurtured us with the sustenance of edible roots and greenherbs from the jungle, he concealed us from our enemies who were prowling about seeking us wherever we went; engaging himself in this place and that place, he made the Province of Ruhuna once again loyal to us, took us out of the mountainous wilderness and established us in our own kingdom.”

This expression of heartfelt gratitude from a monarch of Sri Lanka to his benefactor in a copperplate found at Panakaduva, reminds one of another inscription from Madirigiri set up by King Mahendra VI some two decades earlier, when he expressed the same sentiments of heartfelt gratefulness to the Maharaja Samara Vijayottunga (see section 14 above):

“enacted in order to commemorate Samara Maharaja who drove away the Colas that remained spread over the entire Island of Lanka The village of Mehendibapiti, which is belonging to King Samara, shall be given to the tenants; it shall be made to remember that at the present time, we have been liberated by this king; it shall also be made to remember that at the present time, our villages and land have been liberated by this king; it shall also be made to remember that however much of the village one possessed, how many houses and gardens one possessed, the houses and gardens will remain without officers of the palace breaking into them and confiscating them.”

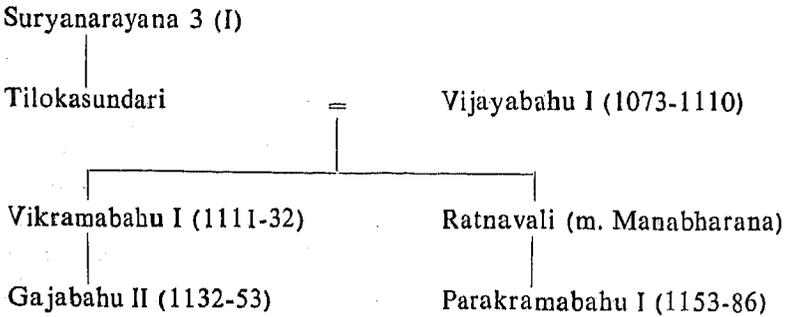
I will make only one short comment on these two inscriptions. Vijayabahu stated that the Colas (Soli Tamils) chased him all over the island; while Mahendra stated that Maharaja Samara chased the Colas from the same island. Such is the epigraphic evidence. It would be as well if Sinhalese scholars would go through these two records again without interference from the chronicular *Culawamsa* or Paranavitana's interlinear sources, and decide who it really was who drove the Colas out of Ceylon. In this way perhaps the discrepancy of Kassapa VII being the predecessor of Vijayabahu could be ironed out.

To return to the Sri Vijaya story as told by Paranavitana. This concerned Suryanarayana, the third of that name to appear in the records (Chapter IV of his book, *Ceylon and Malaysia, The Relations Between Sri Vijaya and Ceylon from Vijayabahu I to Magha*, pp. 59-73.) When King Mahinda IV died in 972 his queen Sundari, the damsel in distress of Appendix I, returned to the Malay Peninsula and lived with a prince of Java named Purandara. This prince was the younger brother of Suryanarayana to whom the princess had been betrothed before she became Mahinda's queen. The union produced a son who was called Suryanarayana, and the son in turn produced a son who was also called Suryanarayana.

Suryanarayana 3 was in Ceylon when King Mahendra VI was on the throne, and he held the office of Admiral of the Fleet (*Danda-nayaka*), an office that his grandfather Purandara had held under Mahinda IV.

The events after Vijayabahu's accession are not very clear, but Suryanarayana then fought with Vijayabahu and was defeated. He retired to Sri Vijaya, where he was given the same high office of Admiral of the Fleet. After that, probably when Samara Vijaya died and his son Manabharana became Maharaja, Suryanarayana again went to Ceylon. Vijayabahu made him Admiral of the Fleet. Then Suryanarayana again returned to Sri Vijaya, perhaps when Manabharana died. Soon after he became Maharaja (Suryanarayana I.) Vijayabahu sent a messenger to congratulate him on his attainment of the 'overlordship of all the Kataha kingdoms', and Suryanarayana sent his own daughter, Tilokasundari, to become Vijayabahu's queen. She was the 'charming young princess of the Kalinga family' of the history of Ceylon; and she became the mother of Vikramabahu I (1111-32) and Ratnavali, who in turn was the mother of Parakramabahu the Great (1153-86). The story is told on pages 63-5 of Paranavitana's book under review.

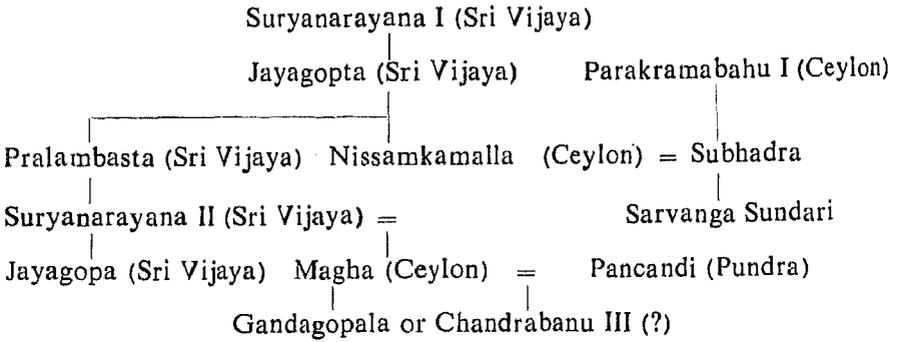
Genealogical Table VI



So there was goodwill between Sri Vijaya and Sri Lanka. The trade route between the Middle and Far East was kept open, and Vijayabahu was able to rehabilitate the land and brought peace in a long reign of 37 years. He was followed by two reigns each of twenty years (Vikamabahu I and Gajabahu II), but there was trouble and the island was not unified. Then came, in the words of the *History of Ceylon*, "The emergence of Parakramabahu the Great," when the island came under one ruler once more,

Parakramabahu reigned for over thirty years, and again there was good-will between Sri Vijaya and Sri Lanka. The trade route was kept open, and Parakramabahu was able to carry out a tremendous building programme, and tremendous also were the tanks he dug. At the same time he invaded India and Burma. All these activities would indicate that he had what would today be called 'foreign aid' (it bears repeating that Ceylon is only a small island.) That aid came from Sri Vijaya, especially naval aid. In that period the Pagan dynasty had come to power in Burma. Its policy was expansionist. They had already taken Thaton in Lower Burma, the religious capital of the Mon, and this brought them to the doorstep of Suvarnnakudya, one of the City States of Sri Vijaya. So it was in the Maharaja's interest to support Parakramabahu in his enterprise to stop further expansion of Pagan. Parakramabahu's expedition would appear to have been successful on this count, though this is not the story given in Sinhalese sources. In any case the 'invasion' could only have consisted of raids on the ports and sea coasts.

Parakramabahu was followed by Vijayabahu II, a son of one of his sisters, who came from Suvarnnakudya in Kalinga (Sri Vijaya—in this period the two names were synonymous), but he was soon put away, and Nissamkamalla, a prince from Simhalapura (Singora) in Kalinga followed him. Nissamkamalla was a nephew, or son-in-law, or both, of Parakramabahu, and he followed the same policy of pacifying the land to keep the trade route open. He carried out the same programme of public works; he toured the island and set up edicts and hospitals; he remitted taxes; and he invaded India. Historians tend to take Nissamkamalla's inscriptions as boastful. The reason is because they thought he came from Kalinga-India. From new evidence, he came from Kalinga-Peninsula, where he had the support of the Maharaja, so his statements may not have been as exaggerated as would appear at first sight.

Genealogical Table VI

The story of Chandrabanu, the third of that name to appear in the records, will be told in Section 18, while that of Gandagopala in Section 19. It should be understood that the Kalinga princes who invaded Ceylon, Nissamkamalla, Sahasamalla, Lokissa, Magha, Chandrabanu and others, did so on the order of the Maharaja of Sri Vijaya. The only reason for undertaking these dangerous expeditions over such vast distances was obviously not to colonise Ceylon, if I may put it like that, but to hold the ports so that the trade route between the Middle and Far East could be kept open. In short, the reason was not political but economic.

17. FROM NISSAMKAMALLA TO MAGHA

Nissamkamalla, the last king of a unified Ceylon until the advent of Parakramabahu VI over two centuries later, died after a reign of nine years (1187-96), and trouble started at once. In the period of nearly twenty years before the advent of Magha in 1215, the island had as many as eleven rulers, of whom the sixth or middle name was Dharmasoka. The Pandya and Sri Vijaya factions fought for control of the island, and the Colas also took a hand in the proceedings. It might make the confused history of Ceylon in this period a little easier to understand if it is remembered that Cola and Sri Vijaya had been on good terms since the Maharaja put Kulottunga I on the Cola throne in 1070, that is, the Indian policy did not envisage any more overseas expansion, so there was no cause for conflict. In fact, Cola mercenaries were readily available to the Sri Vijaya faction. Meanwhile in Ceylon,

king-and queen-makers rose to the fore. Of these, one was a General Kitti, who put Queen Lilavati, the Pandyan widow of Parakramabahu I on the throne for the first of the three times that she was ruler. The general had to defend the island against three Cola invasions during the queen's short reign of three years. Another king-maker was Abo (also called Elala Abo, Ati and Ayasmanta) who supported Sabasamalla, Queen Kalyanavati and Dharmasoka, all of the Kalinga clan.

Sabasamalla, a step-brother of Nissamkamalla, was invited to come to Ceylon from Kalinga by Abo. On the way he stopped off in Cola India for two years while the land was made safe for him; and he was consecrated on August 23, 1200. After that Abo deposed him and put Queen Kalyanavati, widow of Nissamkamalla, on the throne. Then in 1208 he placed Dharmasoka, a five months old prince, on the throne. After that, one Anikanga, called a Mahadipada (heir apparent), invaded the island with a force of Cola troops, killed Abo and the infant king, and ascended the throne. One of the chronicles stated that Anikanga was the father of Dharmasoka. This is sheer nonsense. Nobody is going to put a five months old baby on any throne unless he is the Dalai Lama, and in any case, if Anikanga was Dharmasoka's father, he would hardly have had his own son killed. Here is where the history of Ceylon can benefit a great deal from a little guessing on my part. Dharmasoka was not a five months old prince, but what the story means is that he ruled for five months. I will return to this subject later.

Anikanga lasted only seventeen days when the Pandya faction placed Queen Lilavati on the throne for the second time, then a third time after a short reign of Lokissa, a Kalinga king. After that, in 1214, a Kalinga prince named Magha landed at the head of a Malala army of 24,000 men. He was consecrated at Polonnaruva in 1215, and ruled for twenty-one years (to 1236, or for forty years according to another Ceylonese source, that is, to 1255.)

Magha's policy was to use the iron fist, and the *Culawamsa* (Geiger's translation, page 132), moaned:

"But since in consequence of the enormously accumulated various evil deeds of the dwellers in 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, whose heart rejoiced in bad statesmanship, who was a forest-fire burning down the bushes in the forest of the good—that is generosity and the like—who was a sun whose actions closed the rows of night lotus flowers—that is the good doctrine—and a moon destroying the grace of the groups of the day lotuses—that is of peace—(a man) by name Magha, an unjust king sprung from the Kalinga line, in whom reflection was fooled by his great delusion, landed as leader of four and twenty thousand warriors from the Kalinga Country and conquered the Island of Lanka. The great scorching fire—King Magha—commanded his countless flames of fire—his warriors to harass the great forest—the kingdom of Lanka.”

The *Culawamsa* was written by the Mahavihara Sect, which supported the Pandyan faction, so the account is distorted. Other records, such as the *Nikaya-sangraha* and the *Saddharmaratana-kara*, give an entirely different picture and it is said that the calamities that befell the land happened before the arrival of Magha. The *History of Ceylon*, page 245, adds :

“The Minipe inscription, referring to the Tamil invasion four years before Magha, says that the invaders destroyed the entire social structure and the religious organisation, a succinct description of the very thing which the *Culawamsa*, in many words, attributes to Magha.”

Magha's main concern would seem to have been defence against invasion from India. He set up forts on the northwest and northeast coasts of the island, which would not only prevent invasion but at the same keep time open the trade route to the Malay Peninsula, though in the unsettled conditions prevailing at the time, it is to be doubted whether very much local produce could be picked up at the ports. The Sinhalese under Parakramabahu II were left to their own device at Dambadeniya (Jambuddoni) on the southwest coast of the island. This was a fatal mistake. In 1236 the Sinhalese, probably in conjunction with the Pandyas, took him by surprise and Magha was driven from Polonnaruva. Apparently his soldiers fell into an ambush laid by the Sinhalese. The *Culawamsa* gloated (page 150):

“They took all their elephants and horses, as well as their pearls and costly stones, the royal diadems and all the beauties of the harem, all ornaments, cloths, mantles, baskets and every kind of valuables with them in their fear and began to leave the town. But owing to the action of the King’s merit they mistook the regions of the heavens. They thought it was the eastern gate and marched out through the western gate and came to Kalavapi where the army of the Sihalas had set up an entrenched camp. With all their goods they had alas! also to sacrifice their life by each giving his to the Sihala warriors, thus carrying out themselves what the King had only thought. And all the Sihalas taking from them their accumulated treasures, became from this time onward rich people, as in ancient times all the dwellers in Mithila who gained the wealth which the kings, a hundred in number, had through fear flung away.”

With Magha’s defeat the Dambadeniya period in Ceylonese history started, I will leave the story at this date (1236) and come back to it later. It might be mentioned that another Ceylonese source, the *Pujavaliya*, gives Magha a reign of forty years instead of the twenty one years given by the *Culawamsa*, that is, from 1215–55. This discrepancy in the two records will be considered later. Meanwhile two points need to be mentioned to tighten up the whole story.

In 1225, after Magha had been on the throne for a decade, Chau-ju-kua, the Chinese writer, stated that there were fifteen dependencies of San-fo-tsi (Sri Vijaya.) The fifteenth was Si-lan (Ceylon.) Elsewhere Chau-ju-kua stated that Ceylon was under the Nanpi (Malabar.) These two records, though seemingly contradictory, when taken together comprise the fourth of the four irrefutable pieces of evidence in the story. During the period of twenty years from the death of Nissamkamalla in 1196 to the advent of Magha in 1215, the island was under the Kalinga clan for slightly over twelve years, and under the Pandyas for over seven years. So when the Pandyas were rulers, Chau-ju-kua stated that the island was under the Nanpi, and when it was under the Kalingas, as it surely was in 1225, he stated that Si-lan was a dependency of San-fo-tsi.

But 'dependencies of San-fo-tsi' does not seem correct to me, and I think it should be 'the fifteen City States of Sri Vijaya.' Of these States, Ceylon was a very important unit because it was on the trade route between the Middle and Far East, and Sri Vijaya wanted to keep this route open at all costs. This concept of the United City States of Sri Vijaya can be supported by other evidence. In Tang times, the *New Tang History*, 222B, 5a, stated that *Shih-li-fo-shih* had fourteen cities and was divided into two parts. The western part is called *Lang-po-ku-sau*. The two parts were the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. The names of the cities are not given, but they would not include Ceylon. Then in 1025 Rajendra I invaded the Peninsula. First he took Kadaram (Kedah), then Sri Vijaya (Chaiya), followed by eleven other states, whose names appear in the South Indian Tanjore inscription. These perhaps did not include Suvarnakudya, which according to Paranavitana had already gone over to the Cholas before the invasion (see Section 14 above), and Ceylon. The names in the two lists are:

<i>Tanjore Inscription</i>	<i>Chao-ju-kua</i>
Kadaram	Pong-fong
Sri Vijaya	Tong-ya-nong
Pannai	Ling-ya-si-kia
Malaiyur	Kilantan
Mayirudingam	Fo-lo-an
Ilangasoka	Ji-lo-ting
Mappapalam	Tsien-mai
Mevilimbangam	Pa-ta
Valaippanduru	Tan-ma-ling
Talaitakkolam	Kia-lo-hi
Tambralinga	Pa-lin-fong
Ilamuridesam	Sin-to
Nakkavaram	Kien-pi
(Suvarnakudya?)	Lan-wu-li
(Ceylon)	Si-lan

The evidence for these United City States may not be very strong because the names in the two lists cannot be equated without playing a combined Sino-Indian word-game, nor can they be equated

with modern locations without a great deal of guessing. But the fact of the cities in the three lists numbering the same seems very significant. I will leave this problem to future students.

The second point to tie up concerns Dharmasoka, the five months old baby who was put on the throne of Lanka in 1208. This is an impossible story. I will anticipate the evidence of the next section by stating that Dharmasokaraja, or Phya Sri Thammasokaraja as he was called in the Thai chronicles, was the title of the first king of Nakorn Sri Thammaraj (Tambralinga.) Sometimes he was also the Maharaja of Sri Vijaya. The name first appeared in an inscription dated 1167, or some four decades before this first mention in the Sinhalese chronicles. The story of the five months old baby, then, should be interpreted that the Maharaja Sri Thammasoka went on an inspection trip to Ceylon to see the chaotic conditions for himself. He stayed five months to wait for a change of winds and then returned. With this interpretation, the pattern of the history of Sri Vijaya and Sri Lanka in the Polonnaruva Period becomes clear.

During the reigns of Vijayabahu I and Parakramabahu I, there was co-operation between Sri Vijaya and Sri Lanka. The trade route was kept open, and there was prosperity on both sides. After Parakramabahu, Nissamkamalla was sent with orders to follow Parakramabahu's policy of pacifying the land and to keep the trade route open. After Nissamkamalla's death, Sahasamalla was sent, but after two years he was deposed by Abo, who raised Queen Kalyanavati, the Kalinga widow of Nissamkamalla, to the throne. She had a comparatively long reign of six years considering the troubled times. Then, probably when she died, the Maharaja crossed the seas on an inspection trip, and on his return he sent Anikanga, called a Mahadipada, who killed Abo and ascended the throne. But he was soon deposed by the Pandya faction, and the Maharaja then sent Lokissa (or Lokesvara), who was in turn deposed after nine months. The Maharaja then sent Magha with orders to use force, bring the land under control and keep the trade route open. Magha carried out his instructions so well that the *Culawamsa* (pp. 133-4) groaned;

“The monarch forced the people to adopt false views and brought confusion into the four unmixed castes. Villages and fields, houses and gardens, slaves, cattle, buffaloes and whatever else belonged to the Sihalas he had delivered to the Keralas. The viharas, the parivenas and many sanctuaries he made over to one or the other of his warriors as dwelling. The treasures which belonged to the Buddha and were the property of the holy Order he seized and thus committed a number of sins in order to go to hell. In this fashion, committing deeds of violence, the Ruler Magha held sway in Lanka for twenty-one years.”

The story of Magha to 1236 when he was driven from Polonnaruwa has already been told and there is no need to repeat it. We will now go to the Malay Peninsula and look at the evidence from that side.

18. PHYA SRI THAMMASOKARAJA AND CHANDRABANU

Some time in the century between about 1070 A.D. when Kulottunga I and Vijayabahu I came to the thrones of Chola India and Ceylon respectively, and 1167, there was a change of dynasties in the Sri Vijaya country. As the Thai understand it, the new dynasty was the Padmawamsa (the Lotus Line). Alternatively it might have been the Pancandawamsa (Line of Pancandi or Pancali). The two names appear only once, in the inscription set up by Chandrabanu at Nakorn Sri Thammaraj in 1230. According to Paranavitana, Pancandi was Chandrabanu's mother, and in that case the Pancandawamsa started and ended with Chandrabanu (his sons and grandsons not being relevant to the Sri Vijaya story in the Malay Peninsula), whereas the Padmawamsa (as opposed to the Sailendrawamsa) might have started when Suryanarayana became Maharaja, but the evidence is rather meagre. The Lotus Line of course might merely mean that the dynasty was Buddhist because the Lotus is one of the symbols of the Lord. In this case the Buddhist Sailendras would have been of the Lotus Line too. I will use both names and start with the safe and neutral date of 1156 for this change of dynasties when Se-li-ma-ha-la-cha of San-fo-tsi (Sri Maharaja of Sri Vijaya) sent an embassy to China. This is only a decade before the first evidence on the Padma dynasty. Here is the evidence in

chronological order. I should add that in the first part of this paper I accepted the opinion of the experts, Sastri included, that Chandrabanu was killed in Ceylon in 1270 or 71. But it now seems that Chandrabanu's second invasion (as given in the *Culawamsa*) was made in about 1260.

1167 A.D. Inscription from Dong Mae Nang Mueng, Nakorn Sawan province: The text, written in the Khom script and language, states that the Maharajadhiraja (king of kings), also named Asokamaharaja and Sri Thammasoka, issued an edict to King Sunata of Dhanayapura to detach certain paddy land for the upkeep of the (stupa containing the) ashes of Kamarateng Chakata Sri Thammasoka. One Maha Senapati (high official) named Sri Bhuvanatitya Indradvipa bore the decree to King Sunata in the year corresponding to 1167 A.D.

This epigraph is interesting for the appearance of two Sri Thammasokarajas, one of whom, Kamarateng Chakata, was dead and the other was known as Maharajadhiraja. The name Thammasokaraja appears in many parts and many periods—to mention but a few, Sukhothai, Sri Sajnalai and Kampaeng Bejr in the north; in some legends of Patalung, in some doggerel at Chaiya and, of course, at Nakorn in the south. The two Thammasokarajas in this inscription are generally accepted to have been father and son and they were kings of Nakorn Sri Thammaraj. It will be seen later that this was the title of the first king of Nakorn.

There have been many conjectures about this inscription. The best suggestion is probably that the dead Thammasoka had taken a lady of Nakorn Sawan to wife, perhaps even as his queen. When the old king died and was cremated, she returned home, taking back with her some of her husband's ashes (*sariradhatu*), which she had interred in a stupa. The new king, Maharajadhiraja, who was her son, lent his good offices by sending orders to King Sunata of Dhanayapura to see that everything was carried out according to the old lady's wishes. In this way King Sunata would be a relative of the old lady and of the Maharaja of Nakorn himself. This conjecture, put forward by a southern scholar, is based on the present name of the locality where the inscription was

found—Dong Mae Nang Mueng. Mae Nang Mueng is a southern expression, and it means the Great Queen, or what we would call the Queen Mother today, or even the Old Matriarch (cf. *Sala Mae Nang Sundari* in section 13.)

1178 A.D. Chinese chronicles and Ma Tuan Lin: San-fo-tsi sent an embassy in this year. Ma Tuan Lin stated that the embassy told the emperor that their king had succeeded his father in 1069. As there is a difference of only two years between this record and the inscription above, the new king was probably the Maharajadhiraja.

1183 A.D. Inscription on the base of a bronze image (Buddha under Naga, cast in three pieces) from Chaiya: A king named Kamarateng an Maharaja Srimat Trailokyaraja Maulibhusana Varmadeva issued a decree to the governor of Grahi, Maha Senapati Glanai, to invite (the artist) Marateng Sri Yano to make this (Buddha) image for the people to adore. Trailokyaraja was king of Chaiya where the image was found (one of the city states of Sri Vijaya); while Grahi was probably Kraburi or Krabi (more likely Kraburi, in present-day Chumporn Province). I would not be surprised if the image contained a high percentage of tin, because both Kraburi and Krabi were centres for the production of this metal. I should add also that this king should not be confused with the kings of Malayu named Maharaja Srimat Tribhuvanaraja Mauli Varmadeva (1286 and 1347.) Not only are the names different but the dates differ also.

Circa 1200 A.D. Chronicles of Nakorn Sri Thammaraj: Two Sri Thammasokarajas and two Chandrabanus appear in this source.

Phra Chao Sri Thammasokaraja, the king of Nakorn Sri Thammaraj, was an old man and a very pious person. Tao U-Thong of Ayodhia (not to be confused with the Phra Chao U-Thong who founded Ayudia and took on the title of Ramatipati) moved down south with his army, and Sri Thammasoka, who preferred peace to war, met him in Bang Sapan in presentday Prachuab Kirikband province. Tao U-Thong pointed to a sila (stone, boulder, hill or mountain) and said that south of this sila should be the territory of Phra Chao Sri Thammasokaraja, and north of this stone should be the territory of Tao U-Thong. The forests then separated of their own accord.

Tao U-Thong and Phya Sri Thammasokaraja then poured (lustral) water into the ground and swore eternal friendship as blood brothers. Phya Sri Thammasokaraj asked Tao U-Thong, in the case of his death, to look after his wife and two younger brothers, Chandrabanu and Pongse Suraha. After suitable conversation the two kings departed for their respective cities.

On his return home, Phya Sri Thammasoka hurried the building (or repair) of the Phra Boroma Dhatu stupa; and when the work of gilding was complete, he conscripted the Twelve Naksat Cities to make images for the Verandah. After that he had a big vihara built, which was called Pihara Luang; and he sent word to Tao U-Thong, presenting him with the merit he had gained. Tao U-thong in return sent gold (for the gilding of the stupa) and some salt.

In due course Phya Sri Thammasokaraja died and was succeeded by his younger brother, Chandrabanu, who sent the news of his brother's death to Tao U-Thong, who, in return, sent presents to help in the cremation ceremonies. Chandrabanu took on the name of Sri Thammasoka and his younger brother, Pongse Suraha, became Chandrabanu (second king) in his stead; and in due course when the elder Chandrabanu died, he was succeeded by the younger.

In this way Bang Sapan became the dividing line between Central and Peninsula Siam. Even today some people who travel to the south say that the trees on one side of the *sila* that Tao U-Thong pointed to as demarcation line lean one way, while the trees on the other side of the *sila* lean the other way.

The two important points in this source are: first, the Central Plain of Siam (Ayodhia) had entered into the affairs of the Peninsula. Ayodhia was followed by Sukothai before the end of the century, and Ayudhia in turn followed Sukothai after its foundation in 1350 A.D. The second point is that Sri Thammasokaraja was the title of the first king of Nakorn Sri Thammaraja, while Chandrabanu was the title of the second king or *uparaja*. Both names appear in several other sources.

Two Sri Thammasokarajas also appear in the legends of Patalung (written down in 1629 towards the end of the Ayudhia period) and in a Ceylonese reference dated 1751 (16 years before the fall of Ayudhia in

1767). The first story cannot be dated and need not concern us, while the second was written by one Vilbagedara Naide, one of the leaders of a religious mission sent to Ayudhia by Kirti Sri Rajasimha of Kandy in 1750. On the return journey the party was nearly shipwrecked but managed to wade ashore at Nakorn Sri Thammaraj (Muan Lakon and Pataliputra in the text.) The following translation by Dr. P.E.E. Fernando is quoted from page 137 of Paronavitana's book, *Ceylon and Malaysia* :

“On Tuesday, the thirteenth day of the bright half of the same month (December 17, 1751), when they were about to reach Muan Lakon, a territory that belonged to Siam, the ship sank in the mud. But no one was injured, and all on board landed in the district called Muan Lakon. In this district is a large city called Pataliputra with ramparts around it. In the centre of the city is a *stupa* as large as the Ruvanali Stupa at Polonnaruva in Ceylon. This had been constructed by King Dharmasoka who had enshrined relics of the Buddha there. From the spire down to the triple berm, this *stupa* still glitters like a newly made sheet of gold without a blemish. Around this *stupa* are three hundred images, seated, recumbent and standing, and two hundred *stupas*, some nine carpenter's cubits and others eleven carpenter's cubits in height. There is also a *bodhi* tree here which had been taken from Anuradhapura at the request of King Dharmasoka the Younger, who became king of that city in later times.”

The younger Dharmasoka in this text was the same as the first Chandrabanu of the Nakorn chronicles, who succeeded his elder brother, while his younger brother, Pongse Suraha, became Chandrabanu in his stead. The name Pataliputra (Nakorn) also appears in one or two local chronicles and in a poem written in the Dhonburi period, between 20 and 30 years after the mention of this name in the Ceylonese source.

1230 A.D. Tambralinga Inscription of Chandrabanu: Chandrabanu, the third of that name to appear in the records, set up an inscription at Nakorn Sri Thammaraj in 1230. This is No. 24 in Professor Coedes' *Receuil II*, and he said that it came from Wat Hua Wieng, Chaiya. Such

is not the case. According to the official records, it came from Nakorn. The place of provenance is not given, but it was probably from the newly repaired Wat Phra Dhatu. The inscription starts with four lines of verse followed by prose. The following translation by Professor Sastri was made from a translation into French by Professor Coedes:

“Fortune! There was a king Chandrabhanu—resembling Cupid in his beautiful form, and called Sri Dharmaraja, Lord of Tambralinga, who gave great felicity to the religion of the Buddha... having for origin this lamp which is the family of those who engender the Family of the Lotus, as expert in policy as Dharmasoka and Lord of the Pancandawamsa. (verse)

“Fortune! Happiness! There was a king, support of the Family of the Lotus, Lord of Tambralinga, of powerful arms... by strength of his good works relating to all men, (possessing?) in some sort the power of the sun and the moon... Chandrabhanu, the bearer of world wide fame, the king of Sri Dharmaraja. In Kaliyuga 4332...” (prose, the date corresponds to 1230 A.D.)

Coedes' mistake in mislocating this stele has led to a great deal of conjectures. The most charming I have read is by Dato Sir Roland Braddell (*Journal of the Malayan Branch*, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIII, pt. 3). He equated Tambralinga with Tembelling in Malaya, and thought that Chandrabhanu was an upstart chieftain who somehow managed to gain control of the Malay Peninsula. Chandrabhanu then overreached himself when he invaded Ceylon (twice) and was heavily defeated, losing his life in the second attempt. Sir Roland's thesis is not generally accepted, but later writers quote it all the time—in a rather negative way. I presume Professor Coedes' charming classic on his Sri Vijaya Empire will be quoted and discarded by future writers in the same negative way.

Thai scholars on the other hand, who knew all along that the Tambralinga inscription was set up at Nakorn and not at Chaiya, and that Chandrabhanu was not a name, but the title of the second king of Nakorn Sri Thammaraj, have never accepted any of the conjectures. It did not seem logical to them that Chandrabhanu who, as ruler of Sri

Vijaya with 15 dependencies under him, including Ceylon (Chau-ju-kua, 1225 A.D.), would be a wealthy potentate, should risk all the power he had in the Peninsula to invade Ceylon. Also, if he had really invaded Ceylon, why should he have taken his court ladies and treasures with him (see below under 1260)? It is more logical to think that he had rights in Ceylon through family connections with the royal house, which rights he defended. Unfortunately there was no evidence to support this theory. But now, Paranavitana has found new evidence on the subject, which confirms this belief.

On the whole the Tambralinga inscription is most unsatisfactory. As Paranavitana has pointed out, it does not 'say anything.' The stone is a large one, but we are not told whether the record was set up to commemorate the founding of a wat or a stupa, or to record some grant to a temple. All that emerges is the name Chandrabanu, who was called Sri Dharmaraja and was Lord of Tambralinga, also he was of the Padmawamsa (Lotus family) and Pancandawamsa (family of Pancandi). All this in bad Sanskrit. A date also appears at the end, corresponding to the year 1230 A.D. I will give Paranavitana's story in detail, though his major conclusion cannot be accepted with confidence. On page 78 of his *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Paranavitana writes :

"The Chandrabhanu of the Jaiya (Chaiya) inscription is described as the 'Lord of Tambralinga.' This agrees with the *Hatthavanagalla-vihara-wamsa* which states that Candrabhanu came from the Tambalinga country. Candrabhanu is described in this work as 'a lion in prowess unto the rutting elephants who are the kings of many other countries, whose impetuosity could not be resisted by any one, who had deluded the whole world by a show of service to the world and the religion, who possessed an abundant military train, who was determined on taking possession of the sovereignty of Lanka, who came from the Tambalinga country and was accompanied by feudatory kings'.

"This description, particularly the reference to feudatory rulers, would call to one's mind a potentate like the Maharaja of Zabag, whose might and wealth have been extolled by the Arab

geographers, rather than a local ruler of obscure origin who had but recently shaken off his allegiance to his suzerain of Sri Vijaya, as Candrabhanu is generally held to have been by historians.”

Chapter V of Paronavitan's book, called Candrabhanu and Magha, deals with the evidence on Chandrabhanu as it was known when he wrote. The second half of the chapter puts forward philological proofs that Magha, the Kalinga king of Ceylon (also known as S. Kalinga Vijayabahu), was a king from the Malay Peninsula. After he had written his book, he was able to decipher more evidence, and this evidence is expounded shortly in the Preface to his book. In short, Magha was the father of Chandrabhanu. The following is from pages vi and vii of his book :

“It is due to the reason that the *Culawamsa* does not enlighten us with regard to the origin of Candrabhanu, that the close relations which Ceylon had with Sri Vijaya have remained unrecognized for so long. In a document called the *Magharajavrttanta*, which Parakramabahu VI caused to be indited in between the lines of the original inscriptions on several stones, it is stated that Magha came from Suvarnapura to the Pundra country (Malabar) and married the daughter, named Pancandi (Pancali), of the king of that country. Candrabhanu was the son of this Malayalee princess; following the matrilineal system of descent, he is referred to as of the Pancandawamsa. Magha, it is said in this document, captured Polonnaru with the help of forces supplied by his father-in-law, the Pundra king. In the course of his reign, he led an expedition to Tambralinga, and established his son Candrabhanu in independent authority over that territory. Later, he went to Suvarnapura and had Candrabhanu installed as the Maharaja.”

Paronavitana also has some new evidence on Chandrabhanu's inscription of Tambralinga. He thought, following Coedes, that it came from Jaiya (Chaiya), whereas of course Nakorn was its place of provenence. The inscription contains four lines of verse followed by some prose (translated into English by Sastri from the French of Coedes.) On pages vii and viii of his Preface, Paronavitana gives two versions of the quatrain

in Sanskrit, which I will call Versions A and B, while Coedes' reading I will call Version C. The first and fourth lines in all three versions are almost the same, the second and third lines of Versions A and C are similar, while those of Version B differ from the other two versions. Dr. Indu Shekar has been kind enough to render a literal, line-for-line translation of the texts. In the following quotation from the Preface of Paranavitana's book, I will substitute these translations for the Sanskrit texts, and at the same time give Sastri's translation of the whole quatrain of Version C for comparison:

“Parakramabahu VI has also recorded some startling facts about the Jaiya inscription of Chandrabanu. He gives the text of the Sanskrit stanza as it was on the stone in his time. This reading, which tallies closely with that given by Coedes, except for a few minor details, is given (in translation) below:

Line by line translation by Dr. Shekar of Version A

1. Illustrious, foremost in the auspicious Buddhist order, who is the Lord of Tambralinga
2. As if living in the beautiful abode (heaven), creator of the Padmawamsa, a source of light for his family
3. In physical form, indeed, Chandrabhanu resembles Cupid, called Shri Dharmaraja
4. Proficient in statecraft like Dharma-Asoka, lord of the Pancanda family.

Stanza translation by Professor Sastri of Version C.

“There was a king Candrabhanu—resembling Cupid in his beautiful form, and called Sri Dharmaraja, Lord of Tambralinga, who gave great felicity to the religion of the Buddha... having for origin this lamp which is the family of those who engender the Family of the Lotus, as expert in policy as Dharmasoka and Lord of the Pancandawamsa.” (from page 134 of the *History of Sri Vijaya*.)

“As the scholar who had dealt with this inscription in the fifteenth century has pointed out, the Sanskrit of the second and third *padas* of this stanza is very inaccurate, in contrast to that of

lines one and four, which is on the whole satisfactory. The stanza, as now found on the stone, does not give a coherent meaning. The Sanskrit of the prose passage is even more barbarous than that of the second and third *padas* of the verse. Neither the verse nor prose passage states the purpose for which the record was set up. This unsatisfactory state of the inscription, we are told, is due to the reason that we do not now have, on the stone, the record as it was originally set up. A wilful attempt was made to erase the inscription, it is said, by none other than Candrabhanu himself. After the failure of his second expedition to Ceylon, he returned to Sri Vijaya through Tambralinga. He was bitter against the Sinhalese for having invited Sundara Pandya to take the field against him. He therefore ordered to destroy all documents which referred to his connection with the Ceylon royal house, and this record was one of them. After the record had been almost totally erased, the abbot of the monastery intervened and begged him to stop the vandalism. But the damage had already been done. Subsequently, the inscription has been engraved on the stone again, but the text was prepared by a person who had a very meagre knowledge of Sanskrit, and no clear idea of the contents of the original record.

“A copy of the original inscription had fortunately been preserved among the archives of Sri Vijaya, and a copy of this came to the hands of Parakramabahu. He had this copy indited on a number of stones, together with the inscription as it was found in his time and the information briefly summarised above. The original text of the stanza, as recorded on a slab at Anuradhapura, (*Ep. Zey.* Vol. I, Plate 10), is (translated) as follows:

Line by line translation by Dr. Shekar of Version B.

(The first and fourth lines of this version are the same as in Versions A and C.)

2. Son of King Magha, vanquisher of the brave, who was titled Candrabhanu

3. He reached his own regions and (was) in Patalipura; he also (arrived) on the bridge of the route.

Paranavitana's story of Chandrabanu being the son of Magha is plausible in view of the unsatisfactory inscription, but it cannot be accepted unless the date is moved from 1230 to 1250 or even 1260. The only evidence of Magha being the father of Chandrabanu is based on the Tambralinga inscription which Chandrabanu himself is supposed to have tried to erase. The stele is now kept in Bangkok, and there is no sign whatever of any vandalism. Of course it might have been repolished and new writing in very bad Sanskrit put on. Then again, if Chandrabanu was the Second King of Nakorn, why should he also be called Lord of Tambralinga? This would seem to support Paranavitana's story, namely the inscription was first put up when the author was Chandrabanu, then it was erased and rewritten when Chandrabanu III had become Sri Dharmasoka. But the date will not fit. The first part of the inscription is very clear, the second part is weather worn, while the third part is illegible. The date appears in the clear part. I wondered if the epigraphists could have made a miscalculation in arriving at 1230 as the date of the inscription, and asked Dr. Prasert na Nakorn, a mathematician, to check. Dr. Prasert confirms that 1230 is correct. So we can come to a few conclusions.

1. Irrespective of whether the inscription is as it was originally set up, or it was rewritten with the old date retained, Magha could not have been the father of the author (Chandrabanu III.)

2. Magha might have been the father of Chandrabanu IV who invaded Ceylon in 1247 and 1260, but as in the hierarchy of Sri Vijaya, Chandrabanu was a higher ranking prince than Magha, the chances are that he was not.

3. The Maharajas in the story were probably Suryanarayana II and his son Jayagopa, the last recorded Maharaja of Sri Vijaya.

In the story that follows the dates given in the Sinhalese chronicles are conflicting, but the story fits into a clear pattern. As it is necessary to have one or two dates as anchors to hold the evidence together, the dates in the inscriptions are to be preferred to those in the Ceylonese

chronicles. These are 1230, the date of Chandrabanu's Tambralinga inscription of Nakorn Sri Thammaraj, and 1264, the date of Vira Pandya's Kudumiyamalai inscription of South India. The dates in the chronicles should be adjusted to these two inscriptions, but this is something I will leave to future students. Meanwhile we return to 1236, when the Dambadeniya period in Ceylonese history started.

19. PARAKRAMABAHU II OF DAMBADENIYA

When Magha was driven from the throne of Polonaruva in 1236, Parakramabahu II, son of Vijayabaha III, the first king of Dambadeniya on the west coast, became king. In 1258 he was afflicted by an incurable disease and control of state affairs was entrusted to a minister. In 1262, the king's eldest son, the future Vijayabahu IV, was made virtual ruler. Another prince, Virabahu, who was a son of the king's sister, Svarnmanikya, also had an important part to play in the story.

1247 A.D. Chandrabanu's first invasion of Ceylon: According to the *Culawamsa*, as translated by Geiger and quoted on page 74 of Paranavitana's book:

"When the eleventh year of the reign of this king had arrived, a king of the Javaka known by the name of Candabhanu landed with a terrible Javaka army under the treacherous pretext that they were also followers of the Buddha. All these wicked Javaka soldiers who invaded every landing place and who with their poison arrows, like to terrible snakes, without ceasing harassed the people whomever they caught sight of, laid waste, raging in their fury, all Lanka. Just as flashes of lightning with floods of water (visit) a place destroyed by lightning with flames of fire, so Lanka, which had been harassed by Magha and others, was ravaged anew by the Javakas. Then the king sent forth his sister's son, the heroic prince Virabahu, with soldiers to fight the Javakas. The fearful Rahu, namely Virabahu, with his terrible appearance completely destroyed (the moonlight, namely) Candrabhanu in the fields of heaven, namely in the battle. He placed his heroic Sihala soldiers here and there and began to open fight with the Javaka warriors. The good Sihala warriors, sure in aim,

the archers, shattered in pieces with their sharply pointed arrows, in the battle the countless number of arrows whizzing against them with their poison tips which were shot swiftly one after the other by the Javaka soldiers from a machine. Going forth to the combat like Rama, Prince Virabahu slew numbers of the Javakas, as Rama (slew) the Rakkhasas. The Verama wind, namely Virabahu, possessed of great vehemence, shattered again and again the forest wilderness, namely the Javaka foes. After thus putting to flight the Javakas in combat, he freed the whole region of Lanka from the foe . . . Thereupon he returned and came to the town Jamboddoni, he sought out Parakramabahu, and he was overjoyed."

1257 A.D. Thai Chronicles: Sri Intaratit became king of Sukhothai (about 1800 B.E.) He was the first of the Phra Ruang Dynasty, and the local chronicles call him, in Pali, Rangaraja and Rocaraja. The following translation from the Jinakanmalipakorn is from pages 77-8 of Paronavitana's book. It differs slightly from the other sources, but is adequate for this study. Siridhammanagara in the text meant Nakorn Sri Thammaraj, and Siridhammaraja was its king.

"Thereafter, when eighteen hundred years had elapsed from the passing away of the Buddha, in the year 618 of the Sakaraja era, a certain Rocaraja reigned at Sukhodaya in Syamadesa in the south-eastern part of Jambudipa . . . One day Rocaraja, desirous of seeing the great ocean, went, accompanied by an innumerable multitude of warriors, down the course of the river Nan and reached the city of Siridhammangara where King Siridhamma was reigning. Having heard of the arrival of Rocaraja, King Siridhamma came forward to meet him, and after treating him with due honour, told Rocaraja of the wonderful account of the Sihala image as he had heard it. Having listened to this account, Rocaraja asked, 'Will it be possible for us to go there?' Siridhammaraja answered, 'Not possible, because four powerful divinities, namely, Sumanadevaraja, Rama, Lakkhana, and Khattagama, protected the island of Lanka.' Thereafter, the two kings sent a joint envoy (to the Sihala

monarch), and Rocaraja returned to the city of Sukhodaya. The royal envoy went to the island of the Sihalas, and delivered his message to the Sihala king who gave the image to the messenger after having paid homage to it for seven nights and days.

“The royal messenger bringing the Sihala image returned in a ship which, being caught in a storm, struck against a reef and was wrecked. The Sihala image rested on a board which, after three days, arrived at Siridhammanagara, through the power of the Naga kings. The king of Siridhamma, having come to know of the arrival of the Sihala image by means of a dream which the devas sent him during the night, despatched boats in various directions. Having boarded a vessel himself, he searched for the Sihala image and by the indication of the king of the Devas, he came across the plank on which the image rested, brought it into the city and paid homage to it. Thereafter, Siridhammaraja sent a message to Rocaraja announcing the arrival of the Sihala image. Having heard it, Rocaraja came to Siridhammanagara and conveyed the image to the city of Sukhodaya where he paid homage to it.”

1255 A.D. According to the Ceylonese chronicle, the *Pujavaliya*, Magha was king for forty years (1215-55.) The *Culawamsa* gives him a reign of twenty one years (to 1236).

1258 A.D. South Indian sources: King Jatavarman Sundara Pandya subjugated Ceylon. “But,” remarked Professor Sastri on page 94 of his *History of Sri Vijaya*, “of all this *Culawamsa* says nothing.” In this same year King Parakramabahu II became afflicted with an incurable disease and his son Vijayabahu became virtual ruler.

About 1260 A.D. (between 1258 and 1262) Chandrabhanu's second invasion of Ceylon: According to the *Culawamsa* (pp. 187 of Geiger's translation):

“At that time the Lord of men Chandrabhanu, formerly beaten after hard fighting, having collected from the countries of the Pandyas and Colas and elsewhere many Damila soldiers, representing a great force, landed with his Javaka army in Mahatittha. After the King had brought over to his side the Sihalas

dwelling in Pali, Kurunda and other districts, he marched to Subhagiri. He set up there an armed camp and sent forth messengers with the message: 'I shall take Tisihala; I shall not leave it to thee. Yield up to me therefore together with the Tooth Relic of the Sage, the Bowl Relic and the royal dominion. If thou wilt not, then fight.' Thereupon Vijayabhu summoned the Ruler Virabahu, took council with him, had a strong force equipped for him and spoke: 'Hurrah, today both of us shall see the strength of our arms.' Then the two set forth, surrounded the great army of Chandrabhanu on all sides and fought a great battle, terrible as a combat of Rama. Then were the hostile warriors subdued in battle and weaponless the soldiers of the foe wandered around, prayed and implored, tortured by fear, were benumbed, trembled, begged for mercy in the fight, whined and grieved in the fight. In their distress, certain of the foe fled to the forest, others to the sea, others again to the mountains. After Vijayabahu had thus fought and slain many soldiers, he sent the Lord of men Candrabhanu flying defenceless. But the loveliest women of his court and all the elephants and horses, the swords and many other weapons, the entire treasure, the trumpets of victory, the umbrella of victory, the drum of victory, the banner of victory— all these he sent to his father."

1262 A.D. Consecration of Parakramabahu II: The king had been on the throne of Dambadeni since 1236, but he had not been consecrated. This he wanted done in Polonnaruva. So Vijayabahu and Virabahu rehabilitated the land, and the king was brought in state where a coronation festival was held amidst great rejoicing. After that Vijayabahu escorted his father back to Dambadeniya, and on his return to Polonnaruva brought back with him the Tooth Relic which was installed in its ancient temple.

1264 A.D. South Indian sources: King Jatavarman Vira Pandya invaded Ceylon in 1263, and in 1264 set up an inscription recording his victory. The invasion was made on the appeal of a Ceylonese minister, and after its success, a Javakaraja was set up on the throne of Ceylon that had previously been held by his father.

The following quotation is from page 135 of Professor Sastri's *History of Sri Vijaya*. (Pandya Tamil on Candrabhanu.)

Summary: "Account of Ceylon expedition opens with an appeal from the Ceylonese minister to the Pandya, and the defeat and death of one Ceylonese king and capture of his paraphernalia, the setting up of the flag of victory on the Konamalai and the Trikutagiri, and the subjugation of another king, and finally comes reference to Savakanmaindan, his initial contumacy, later submission, the rewards he received, the procession on an elephant and his restoration to the kingdom of Ceylon once ruled by his father."

The events recorded between 1255 and 1264 would appear to be episodes in the same continuous story. Paranavitana accepted 1255 as the year that Magha was driven from the throne, that is, he accepted the evidence of the *Pujavaliya* rather than that of the *Culavamsa*. It would appear that the Sinhalese and Pandya combined to drive Magha from Polannaruva, and when Chandrabhanu invaded Ceylon for the second time, he was defeated by the same combination. Both factions claimed sole credit for the victories. According to the contemporary Ceylonese chronicle, the *Hatthavanagallaviharavamsa*, Chandrabhanu apparently lost his life in this second invasion. Then Vira Pandya turned on the Sinhalese and put Magha's son on the throne. According to Paranavitana, Gandagopala was the Javaka prince (Magha's son) put on the throne by Vira Pandya, who justified his action by stating in his Kudumiyamalai inscription that "it is just that Ilam, ruled by the father, should be obtained by the son."

But again, according to Paranavitana, this time from an interlinear source, Magha, after his defeat, returned to Suvarnapura (Chaiya) and made a full report to the Maharaja, who then realised that he was fighting the Pandya at cross purposes. Pandya wanted political control of the island, while Sri Vijaya wanted control of the ports to keep the trade route between the Middle and Far East open. So peace was made, whereby the kingdom of Anuradhapura was conceded to Sundara Pandya, while Sri Vijaya retained the northern ports, which presumably included

Trincomalee, one of the finest natural harbours in the world. The story is told in Paranavitana's interlinear source (Princess Ulakudaya's Wedding, *University of Ceylon Review* pp. 103-137, Peradeniya, October 1963). I will quote a short passage from page 120.

"It is said that Magha, who came from Suvarnnapura (Sri Vijaya), enjoyed a long period of success, in which he was engaged in works of religious merit. He was at last defeated by the combined efforts of Parakramabahu (the second, of Dambadeni) and Sundara Pandya. Magha went to Suvarnnapura and gave the tidings of these events to the Maharaja, who made peace with Sundara Pandya by conceding to him the kingdom of Anuradhapura. Magha, thereupon, returned to Ceylon, installed his son Gandagopala-dena on the throne of Subhapattana (Jaffna), went back to Suvarnnapura and entered the monastic order. Gandagopala was thus the first king of Jaffna. It is he who is referred to in the Kudumiyamalai inscription of Vira Pandya as the Javaka's son"

This brought the Sri Vijaya story in Southeast Asia to an end. Though Paranavitana still has more evidence, this concerned only Ceylon. Other sources show that the Peninsula and Sumatra had become separated, and while the city states continued to send embassies to China, which the Chinese recorded as coming from San-fo-tsi, control of the Malacca Straits was no more.

To continue with the story in Ceylon, from the same interlinear source (Princess Ulakudaya's Wedding), Paranavitana gives a list of the Javaka kings of Jaffna: Gandagopala, son of Magha; Chandrabanu, son of Gandagopala; Suryanarayana, Vijayabahu V and Parakramabahu, three sons of Chandrabanu, the fifth of the name to appear in the records. Paranavitana equates this Chandrabanu with Marco Polo's Sendeman: the dates fit, and certainly the sound of Sendeman is closer to Chandrabanu than it is to Vijayabahu, Parakramabahu and Bhuvanāikabahu, the other names in the story at that period.

About 1270 A.D. Death of King Parakramabahu II: Vijayabahu succeeded his father, but was soon assassinated by a general named Mitta. His brother Bhuvanāikabahu managed to escape and came to

the throne after Mitta had been killed. Bhuvanaika I reigned for twelve years and after him there was an interregnum.

By this time the trade route between the Middle East and Far East had been cut, both at Ceylon and in the Peninsula. Bhuvanaikabahu I made an attempt to open the Middle East-Ceylon section again, and the *History of Ceylon*, pp. 288-9, stated :

“He was interested in establishing trade relations with the Arab power which controlled the sea lanes at that time; an embassy despatched by him to the Sultan of Egypt was received at Cairo in April, 1283. In his letters to the Egyptian court, Bhuvanaikabahu stated that the pearl-fishery was in his dominions and he possessed numerous vessels . . . But nothing resulted from this mission, and Bhuvanaikabahu died in or about 1284 in the twelfth year of his reign . . .

“The tradition among the Tamils of Jaffna speaks of a king of the northern realm waging war with a Bhuvanaikabahu over the pearl fishery, and gaining a decisive victory as a result of which the northern potentate’s authority extended over the whole Island. The Pandya king intervened and the territories conquered were restored to Parakramabahu, the successor of Bhuvanaikabahu, the Pandya guaranteeing the paying of tribute by the Sinhalese ruler to the Jaffna king.”

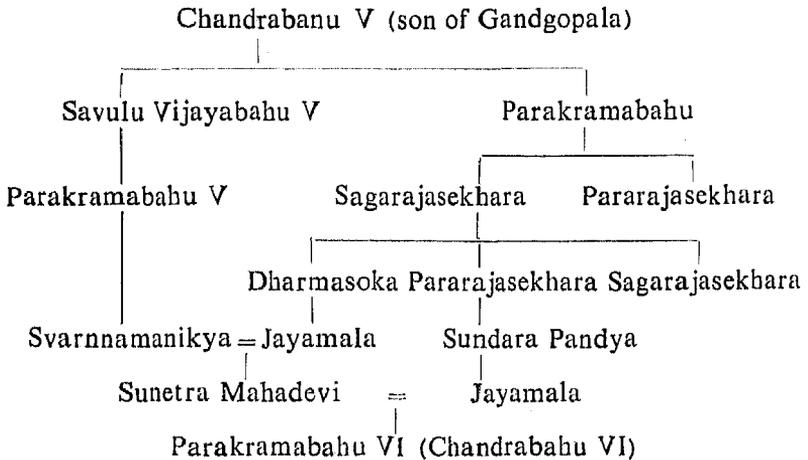
The pearl-fishery of Ceylon, compared to the enormous feast that accrued from control of the trade route in the previous centuries, must indeed have been small bone. Yet we have two kings (Bhuvanaikabahu I and Chandrabanu V), or perhaps I might even say two dogs, fighting over the bone, so to speak, until Kulasekhara, the Pandya king, who had the controlling power over the Island at that time, stepped in and stopped the quarrel.

Meanwhile the dreary and wearying history of Ceylon drags on and on, with one king coming to the throne and being deposed almost immediately. I will skip a century or so and come to the long reign of Parakramabahu VI (1412-67). He was the first king of a unified island since Nissamkamalla over two centuries earlier.

20. PARAKRAMABAHU VI OF KOTTE

The descent of Parakramabahu, based on Paranavitana's Princess Ulakudya's Wedding (*University of Ceylon Review*, 1963) is as follows.

Genealogical Table VIII



All were of the Javaka race (Savulu, Kalinga), and a literary source written early in Parakramabahu's reign, the *Saddharmaratanakara*, called him by the title Chandrabanu. This means that at one time he was second king of Nakorn Sri Thammaraj, but at the time of the story he was at Suvarnnapura (Chaiya.) This would indicate that he was not the Maharaja, but who the Maharaja was is not indicated. At that late period the Thai had become firmly entrenched in the Peninsula and perhaps Parakramabahu was their Governor-General. This would explain the story that follows, namely why he left the Peninsula to become Maharaja of Ceylon. He preferred to be the first king of a small island rather than second king of a dead-end, as Chaiya must surely have become in that late period.

Cheng-Tsu, also known as Yung-lo, the third Ming Emperor of China, came to the throne in 1402. At that time the trade route between the Middle and Far East had dried up. Thirty years before, according to Professor Mjumdar in his *Suvarnadvipa*, Vol. I, page 201, Sri Vijaya had broken up into three parts.

“By the year 1373, San-fo-tsi was divided into three states and their rulers, named Tam-ma-sa-na-ho, Ma-na-ha-pau-lin-pang and Seng-ka-liet-yu-lan sent envoys in 1373, 1374 and 1375 respectively.”

In this period Nissamka Alakesvara, or Alakesvara III, or Alagak-konara (A-lie-ku-nai-eul in Chinese) was the most powerful personage in Ceylon. He was called Sri Lankadhisvara, the Lord of Sri Lanka, and he died sometime between 1382 and 1392. I do not know how to play the Chinese wordgame, in fact I do not even know what the rules of the game are, whether one uses the Tang pronunciation, or the Ming, or modern pronunciations of the Chinese names that crop up so blithely in the English texts. For all that I venture to submit the following identifications of the three names above:

Tam-ma-sa-na-ho = Dharmasoka (Chaiya or Nakorn)

Ma-na-ha-pau-lin-pang = Something of Palembang

Seng-ka-liet-yu-lan = Nissamka Alakesvara (Rayigama)

If these suggestions are in any way plausible, than the three parts that San-fo-tsi broke into were the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Ceylon. This was not conducive to any very strong control of the trade route through the Malacca straits.

So the Emperor Yung-lo decided to do something about it. First an embassy under Yin Ching was sent to the Malay Peninsula in 1403. Yin Ching arrived at Malacca, which at the time was trying to set itself up as an independent state. The local chieftain, Paramesvara, took the opportunity to ask for Chinese protection, which was given, and in a very short period the Chinese built up Malacca into the most important entrepot in Southeast Asia, taking the place of Kedah and Muara Takus, the two control points of the Malacca Straits in the heyday of Sri Vijaya. In short, the Straits was now controlled from one place, a place located in the middle of the Straits instead of from the top and bottom as in former times.

Then the Emperor had a fleet of sixty two vessels built which he put under the command of Cheng Ho, a Muslim eunuch. Over a period of thirty years, Cheng Ho, or rather the fleet, made seven expeditions

(some of which were without Cheng Ho) and got as far as Arabia. Cheng Ho's perigrinations in Southeast Asia and Arabia need not be recounted, and only his exploits in Ceylon mentioned.

On Cheng Ho's first trip between 1405 and 1407, he landed in Ceylon. The local king, Vira Alakesvara, was hostile, so Cheng Ho withdrew. On his second trip he again landed in 1411. The king was even more hostile, so Cheng Ho broke into his palace, captured the king and took him back to China. The Emperor ordered the Ceylonese present at his court to choose the most worthy member of their tribe to become king. The choice fell on Yeh-pa-nai-na, which Pranavitana takes to be Apana meaning Prince. Cheng Ho again set sail and put the prince on the throne as Pu-la-ko-ma-pa-su-la-cha (Parakramabaturaja or Parakramabahu VI.). The year was 1414, which differs from the *History of Ceylon* by a few years.

The whole story has been well recorded in both the Chinese and Sinhalese sources, but somehow the two do not fit as well as they might. For instance, Parakramabahu, to judge by his name, was of the line that ruled at Gampala, while Vira Alakesvara was of the line that ruled at Rayigama. The two factions were deadly enemies. Parakramabahu would rather have been seen dead than show his face in Rayigama, or rather, if he had shown his face in Rayigama, he would have been dead. So he could not have been captured at the same time as Vira Alakesvara and taken to China, as some have conjectured.

But once again Paranavitana, from his wondrous source of interlinear writing (Princess Ulakudaya's Wedding, page 134), has supplied a connecting story that cements the two sources so well that the whole story becomes more logical than the two component parts on their own viz. Cheng Ho picked up Parakramabahu from the Malay Peninsula, took him to Ceylon and put him on the throne.

"Hail! The great king Parakramabahu, having been at Suvarnnapura, was established in the sovereignty of Lanka by the Emperor of China, and arrived in Ceylon together with the Imperial Chinese convoy. He waged war with Parakramabahu Adipada

(*apa*) and obtained the kingdom. Having remained for sometime at Rayagramapura (Rayigama), he came to reside at Jayavardhanapura (Kotte.)”

So the trade route, which had been the responsibility of Sri Vijaya to keep open in past centuries, was again opened by the Chinese. Two major ports were used instead of three or four as previously, and this shortened the overall sailing time considerably. From the Middle East the ships sailed to Kotte on the west coast of Ceylon (instead of rounding the island to a port on the northeast coast); from Kotte across the Ten Degree Channel to Malacca inside the Straits (by-passing Kedah on the west coast of the Peninsula); and from Malacca, rounding Singapore, straight to China (by-passing Muara Takus and a port on the east coast.) In one of Cheng Ho's trips, he left a port in China and arrived in Ceylon in 97 days; while the return trip was even faster, being accomplished in 92 days.

Historians have asked what were the practical results of Cheng Ho's seven voyages? And the reply they give to their own question is 'absolutely none'. This is looking at eastern history with western imperialist eyes even before the Europeans arrived in Asia. The Chinese Emperor was not interested in overseas expansion. Nor was he interested in showing the flag to some half naked rulers of Southeast Asia. The Emperor was interested in trade, as many Chinese gentlemen of today who become shop-keepers, who open noodle eateries, who take in laundry, still are. The trade route was probably kept open till the end of Parakramabahu VI's long reign; and perhaps for another half century till the Portugese arrived in Ceylon in 1505, and at Malacca in 1511.

Historians also take the view that the Arabs were the successors of Sri Vijaya after its fall. There does not seem to be very much evidence to support this. The carrying trade and controlling the ports where dues are collected are two entirely different enterprises. There is no evidence that the Arabs controlled any ports in Southeast Asia in the way the Europeans did later. Ming pottery has been found scattered over wide areas of Southeast Asia, Surely the Chinese could have

carried this trade as well as the Arabs. And there is no reason to think that the natives of Southeast Asia were not concerned in this trade either, because we know from I-ching's evidence that the king of Sri Vijaya had ships of his own in the 7th century.

There is also archaeological evidence to support Paranavitana's story. At Chaiya and its environs, there are about a dozen large Buddha images made of red sandstone (three at Wat Phra Dhatu, four heads at Wat Champa and six images at Wat Pradu, at Kanjanadit, including the main image which is said to have been taken from a wat by the Chaiya railway station.) Students are agreed that there was a local school of art at Chaiya in the early Ayudhia period, that is, after Ayudhia had been founded (in 1350), but no explanation could be found for this school because Chaiya was supposed to have dropped out of history since the 9th century. But now from Paranavitana's story, we can say that Parakramabahu VI or his immediate predecessors made these images. This would give Chaiya, or Suvarnnapura, a history of 1700 years. According to Paranavitana, Suvarnnapura was founded by a Mauriyan prince named Sumitra, who went to Lanka in the suite of the Emperor Asoka's daughter, the Theri Sanghamitta, when she took the sapling of the bodhi tree under which the Buddha found Enlightenment to Anuradhapura. The whole story has to be tightened up a great deal, and historians of Southeast Asia should start using a screw driver on it.

Epilogue

The story of Sri Vijaya and Sri Lanka from Paranavitana's sources that I have submitted started with the romance of King Mahinda IV and Princess Sundari in the middle of the 10th century. It would be as well to end with another romance five hundred years later. This story is told in Princess Ulakudaya's Wedding.

<i>Ceylon</i>	<i>Pandya</i>	<i>Suvarnnapura</i>
Parakramabahu VI	Sundara Pandya X	Sundara Pandya
Princess Candravati (Ulakudaya)	Sundara Pandya XI	Princess Sundari

To make the story easier to tell, I will call Sundara Pandya of Suvarnapura 'Sundara Sri Vijaya'.

In this period, about eighty years before the accession of Parakramabahu, the Indian Vijayanagara Empire in the Deccan had come into being. In the words of Professor Sastri, in his *History of South India*, page 253, that great empire, "by resisting the onslaughts of Islam, championed the cause of Hindu civilization and culture in the South for close upon three centuries and thus preserved the ancient tradition of the country in its polity, its learning and its arts. The history of Vijayanagara is the last glorious chapter in the history of independent Hindu South India."

Within a few decades, Vijayanagara expanded southwards to include the ancient Cola, Pandya and Cere kingdoms. Madhura, the capital of Pandya, was conquered from a Muslim Sultan in 1371. This brought Vijayanagara to the sea bordering Ceylon.

During the reigns of Parakramabahu VI of Ceylon (1415-67) and Devaraya II of Vijayanagara (1422-46), there are miscellaneous records of Ceylon paying tribute to Vijayanagara. Meanwhile Parakramabahu had wed Princess Svarnnamanikya, and in 1432 the union produced a daughter, Princess Candravati or Ulakudaya.

When the princess was grown up, Sundara Pandya X is said to have given support to the Emperor of Vijayanagara, and Parakramabahu's counter-stroke was to arrange for the wedding between his daughter and Sundara Pandya XI. But at that time the prince was on a visit to Suvarnapura, where he had become engaged to Princess Sundari, the daughter of Sundara Sri Vijaya. Parakramabahu sent a message to Sundara Sri Vijaya to demand that Sundara Pandya XI be sent back to his own country; and Sundara Pandya X also sent a message to his son to break off the engagement. Both refused, so Parakramabahu, accompanied by his daughter, set sail across the ocean. His suite probably included a prince of Java named Purandara.

On arrival in the Peninsula a message was again sent to Sundara Sri Vijaya, who again refused. Thereupon Parakramabahu waged war

with Sundara Sri Vijaya, who was defeated. In the peace terms dictated to Sundara Sri Vijaya, the latter was to enter the monastic order at the Abhayagiri Vihara at Anuradhapura.

Meantime, Sundara Pandya XI had seen Princess Candravati. He fell in love with her at first sight; and Princess Sundari, having seen Prince Purandara, fell in love with him at first sight too. So the old engagements were mutually broken and new ones put in train. This is the sort of story that Shakespeare might have thought up, except that he hadn't been born at that time. King Parakramabahu then returned to Ceylon with his daughter and her catch, and the wedding was celebrated at Anuradhapura on Wednesday, April 10, 1448.

The above story is based mainly on Paranavitana's Princess Ulakudaya's Wedding. In the source a Sanskrit verse, referring to the romance of King Mahinda IV and Princess Sundari with which I started this story, is repeated several times:

*Sa Suvarnaparam prapya Vijayasriyam arahat
Sundarim Srimarasutam samudhe svarnamalaya.*

(He arrived in Suvarnapura and obtained for himself the Goddess of Victory. He also wedded, by means of a golden necklace, Sundari, the daughter of Srimara.)

At the wedding the pedigrees of the bride and groom were recited, and the word Svasti is repeated as a sort of subdued chorus. Here is Paranavitana's description of the scene (page 130).

"From the manner in which these pedigrees, the poem and the word Svasti have been written on the slab from Bolana, one can visualise the scene of the royal wedding. From a brief historical account of the reign of Parakramabahu written on one of the above mentioned slabs, we learn that the wedding of Candravati took place in a pavilion specially constructed for the purpose near the Bodhi tree (Bodhi-manda) at Anuradhapura. The decorations, the pomp, the show of military might, music, etc, usual on such occasions, must of course have been there. The dignitaries of state, the relatives of the royal family, royalty from friendly states, and other persons honoured with invitations for the occasion

having taken their appointed seats, the parents of the bridegroom having occupied their special seats, and the king and queen being seated on their thrones, the prince and princess come to the dais and stand holding each other's hands. Then the purohita comes forward and, facing the assembly, recites the pedigrees, preceded or followed by the announcement that Candravati stands holding the hand of Sundara Pandya or vice versa. The sonorous Sanskrit words and phrases with their alliterative repetitions, recited in the stentorian voice of the purohita, would have exercised a magical effect on the assembled multitude, who all the time were muttering the word Svasti (May it be well). The attendant priests seated on either side of the purohita would be chanting in a low voice the Sanskrit poem referred to above, while the purohita recited the pedigrees. At the close of the recital of the pedigrees, the purohita announces the names of the bride and bridegroom, each followed by the word Svasti. The whole of the audience would have responded to the purohita by uttering Svasti, not in low tones as before, but in a loud chorus. In the meantime, the attendant priests who were chanting in a low voice the poem about Sundari would have so timed it as to recite the two last verses which they repeated several times. While the pavilion was reverberating with the word Sundarim Srimara-sutam samudhe svarnamalaya, the bridegroom, who had all this time been standing motionless holding the hand of the bride, would have been handed the necklace, which he tied on the neck of the bride. And the prince and princess would be acclaimed by peals of music and other manifestations of rejoicing usual on such occasions."

I will quote one final paragraph from Paronavitana's source (page 136) though I doubt whether the story can stand up against the other evidence of the period. That evidence will be submitted in the next part of this paper.

"By this victory, Parakramabahu became master of what was then left of the once mighty empire of Sri Vijaya. The son of the king of Java, married to the daughter of the deposed Sundara Pandya, was appointed to govern Sri Vijaya as a vassal of Para-

kramabahu. In the year 1459, envoys sent by the ruler of Ceylon arrived at the Chinese Court, and the name of their sovereign given by them, has been rendered in Chinese characters as Ko-li-shenghsia-la-chi-li-pa-chiao-la-jo. There was no other ruler in Ceylon on this date but Parakramabahu, and the name thus rendered in Chinese characters appears to have been Kalinga-Simbala-Sri-Vijaya-rajā. This title thus appears to have been assumed by Parakramabahu after his conquest of Sri Vijaya, before the marriage of his daughter."

21. PARANAVITANA'S SOURCES OF INTERLINEAR WRITING

Before leaving the story in Ceylon for the Peninsula, I will say something about Paranavitana's new sources. In chronological order, the books and papers he produced based on these sources are:

1. 1963: Princess Ulakudaya's Wedding, *University of Ceylon Review*. Vol. XXI, pp. 103-37. Tells the story of the wedding of King Parakramabahu VI's daughter, where the genealogies of the bride and groom are given in Sanskrit and translated (see Section 20 above.)
2. 1964: Linguistic Studies in Ceylon and Sri Vijaya, *TUCLS*, pp. 79-100.
3. 1965: Appendix to the Giritale stone-seat Inscription *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol.V, Part 3, pp. 440-3.
4. 1966: Ceylon and Sri Vijaya, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 1, pp. 205-212, Switzerland. Recounts the Romance of King Mahinda IV and Princess Sundari (see section 13 above.) Here Dr. Paranavitana translates his own Sanskrit text of Appendix I, which should be interesting to compare with the translation made by Dr. Shekar.
5. 1966: *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Lake House, pp. 234, including three Appendices in Sanskrit, plates. Subject of Part III of this article.
6. 1967: Newly Discovered Historical Documents Relating to Ceylon, India and Southeast Asia, *Buddhist Yearly*, pp. 26-58, Buddhist Centre Halle, Germany. Gist of the various sources. This paper was prepared in 1964, but published much later.
7. 1967: *Sinhalayo*, Lake House, pp. 61, reprinted 1970, Bird's-eyeview of Ceylonese history.

8. 1971: *The Greeks and the Mauriyas*, Lake House, pp. 188 including nearly 50 pp. Sanskrit texts, plates.

9. 1972: *The Story of Sigiri*, Lake House, pp. 152 excluding pp. 127 Sanskrit texts, plates.

The list is not complete. There were some short papers printed in the *Mahabodhi*, Calcutta, one of which, the Designer of Barabudur, I have used in Part II of this paper; there were also papers written in the Sinhalese language which were read at learned institutions; and there were papers that might be called 'preliminary skirmishing' when Paranavitana introduced his new theories without saying that he had 'new sources' (Ceylon and Malaysia in Medieval Times, in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (JCBRAS), Vol. VII, pt. 1, 1960, pp. 1-43; and The Arya Kingdom in North Ceylon, *JCBRAS*, Vol. VII, pt. 2 1961, pp. 174-224). The first drew a review by Professor Nilakanta Sastri (Ceylon and Sri Vijaya, *JCBRAS*, Vol. VIII, Pt. 1, 1962, pp. 125-140) to which Paranavitana made effective reply (Ceylon and Malaysia: a Rejoinder to K.A. Nilakhanta Sastri, *JCBRAS*, Vol. VIII, pt. 2, 1963, pp. 330-337).

At that time, after retiring from the Archaeological Department in 1956, he was at Peradeniya, University of Sri Lanka, where he was Research Professor of Archaeology till he retired in 1965. While at Peradeniya, Paranavitana edited Volume I of the University's History of Ceylon (from earliest times to the arrival of the Portugese, in two parts), of which he himself wrote more than half; with its by-product, a *Concise History of Ceylon*, which was published in 1961. Also while at Peradeniya, he deciphered his new sources, or 'documents' as he called them, and when he returned to Colombo after his retirement, Lake House became his publisher. They produced his last five books (the fifth being *Art of the Ancient Sinhalese* in 1971), with the final book, *Story of Sigiri*, being distributed posthumously. At the time of his death, Paranavitana was working on another book for Lake House.

The following information has been extracted from the books and papers mentioned above. Apparently there were three major works: the *Suvarnnapurawamsa* (the Chronicle of Suvarnnapura or Sri Vijaya), the

Rajawamsapustaka (the Book of Royal Dynasties), and the *Paramparapustaka* (the Book of Traditions.)

The *Suvarnnapurawamsa* was first completed in 300 A.D. when King Mahasena was on the throne of Ceylon. The chronicle was brought up to date and enlarged in the 11th century by Maharaja Manabharana, son of Maharaja Samara Vijayottunga (see Section 14). The original was written in the Malay language of that time, but it was translated into Sanskrit and several other languages.

The *Rajavamsapustaka* was started in the last year of King Mahasena and finished in the reign of his successor, Sri Meghavarnna, by Maha Buddharakshitasthavira, a monk of the Abhayagiri Vihara Sect. The work was written in the Sinhalese language of that time, and there was a Sanskrit version which also was said to have been written by the same monk. Then in the twelfth century the great scholar, Buddhapriyasthavira, wrote a number of historical essays based on the *Rajavamsapustaka*. The monk was born at Suvarnnapura of a Sinhalese father and a Malayan mother, and at one time was at Nagapattana in South India, where he was Lord-abbot at Cudamanivarmavihara which the Sailendra king Culamani had built early in the 11th century. From Nagapattana, Buddhapriya came to Polonnaruva, where he presumably died. The *Rajawamsapustaka* and the later chapter, *Yavana-rajya-vrittanta*, were the main sources for *The Greeks and the Mauriyas*.

The third document, *Paramparapustaka*, was written in the reign of Vikramabahu (1111-1132) by Bhadra-sthavira, who had been the disciple of Suvarnnapura-sthavira (head of the Sangha of Sri Vijaya). According to Paranavitana (*The Greeks and the Mauriyas*, page 10):

“Bhadra-sthavira’s approach to history is biographical. He has selected a number of outstanding historical personages of different times and climes, and narrated their life stories, referring in the process to historical events with which they were connected. Most of the heroes whose lives are narrated are from Ceylon, India and the countries in which Indian culture still prevails, or has prevailed in the past, but famous personages of Greek, Persian and

Roman history are the subjects of some chapters. Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar and the Emperor Augustus have each been given a chapter in the *Paramparapustaka* . . .

“The author of the *Paramparapustaka* was acquainted with the *Rajavamsapustaka* and the redaction of the *Suvarnapura-vamsa*, but there are many instances in which the *Paramparapustaka* has given an account of a historical personage or event differing in important details from those in the earlier works. The case of Candragupta is a case in point... On some stones have been recorded a list of contents of the chapters of the *Paramparapustaka*; from this it is seen that Bhadra’s work was voluminous, and consisted of over two hundred chapters.”

Another author that might be mentioned is Buddhmitra of Suvarnapura. He came to Ceylon in the latter part of the reign of King Parakramabahu VI (1412—1467) and acted as adviser to that king. In due course, he became ordained, not in the Abhayagiri Sect as were the other writers mentioned, but in the Theravada Nikaya, and was known as Ananda-sthavira. He was a great historian and archaeologist, who researched in the old texts and wrote the Story of Sigiri. Lake House’s blurb about this book says:

“This book gives the results of researches into the history which centred round Sigiri carried out by Buddhmitra (of Suvarnapura), a scholar of the fifteenth century, who unlike the ‘scientific historians’ of present-day Ceylon, studied history in depth... The result of the researches of this great historian and archaeologist, given in Sanskrit, were incised in tiny characters on a dozen or more of earlier Sinhalese inscriptions on the order of that liberal and enlightened monarch, Parakramabahu VI, who was a scion of the Kalinga (Srivijaya) branch of the Sinhalese royal family.”

The Mahavihara church of Ceylon, who considered themselves orthodox, were wont to destroy the writings of the Abhayagiri Sect. Even historical writing they destroyed, and the history that they themselves wrote, the *Mahawamsa* and *Culawamsa*, was biased to the faction they supported. All this the Kalinga kings, who supported the

Abhayagiri Sect and were villains to the Mahavihara, knew, and some of them, principally Magha and Parakramabahu VI, had the story that the Abhayagiri Sect wrote incised in minute characters on earlier inscriptions. But not all the Abhayagiri writings were put on stone, and Paranavitana says (page 12, *The Greeks and the Mauriyas*):

“The chapters of the Rajavamsa-pustaka, relating to the Greek kingdoms, whether in the original Sinhalese or in the Sanskrit translation, have not been met with in any of the inscriptions so far examined for the interlinear writings.”

The story seems clear enough, namely that Paranavitana had documents and inscriptions, and he deciphered the documents while he was at Peradeniya. He said as much in a mimeographed paper dated 1964, a year before he retired.

Meanwhile Paranavitana produced his *Ceylon and Malaysia* in 1966, which drew a couple of critical reviews, both by historians from Peradeniya. The arguments on both sides are too philological for me to follow, but the gist of the argument is, one, Paranavitana and no one else can read these interlinear writings, so they do not exist and Paranavitana invented the whole thing himself; and, two, the main location of Paranavitana's story was Kalinga, and there was no place with such a name in Southeast Asia. Kalinga was in India, where the conservative historians have located all mentions of the name in the *Culawamsa*. The second argument can now be brushed aside. The name Kalinga has appeared in an inscription date 893 (the Panuvasnuvara Pillar Inscription, see Section 12 above), and this Kalinga was certainly in Southeast Asia. So from this date to the reign of Parakramabahu VI in the 15th century, every mention of Kalinga in the *Culawamsa* and Paranavitana's sources refers to Southeast Asia, or more specifically to the Malay Peninsula in most cases. Also it is ridiculous to say that Paranavitana invented the whole story, since he produced out of his interlinear writing three different versions complete with Sanskrit texts of the stories of Chandragupta in *The Greeks and the Mauriyas*, and three of Dhatuṣeṇa in *The Story of Sigiri*.

As for the visibility of the interlinear writing, the whole thing reminds one of a bus journey in up-country Ceylon. The buses had rails to which those standing can hold. Then some small boys got on. They could not reach the rails, in fact some of them were so small that they could not even see the rails. So all those small boys said was, "There ain't no such thing as rails on this omnibus, pal."

Paranavitana's reply was to produce his *The Greeks and the Mauryas* and *The Story of Sigiri*, when he flooded his critics with hundreds of pages of Sanskrit text. But all the time, the professor had his supporters, mainly epigraphists and, of course, my ubiquitous friend, Mr. Alexander B. Griswold, who is mentioned in the Preface to *The Story of Sigiri* as supplying 600 dollars worth of photographic material to the Archaeological Department on Paranavitana's behalf; as well as a good typewriter and a stock of paper to facilitate the work. There were short, very favourable reviews, but the epigraphists kept quiet. So the situation degenerated further. Paranavitana was the greatest scholar Ceylon produced in recent years, with an international reputation to boot, yet his integrity has now been questioned. When he edits an orthodox inscription, i.e. a non-interlinear one, such as the Panuvastuvara Pillar Inscription mentioned above, where the name Kalinga appears, or the Madirigiri Slab Inscription, where the name Maharaja Samara Vijayottunga appears (see Section 14 above) the doctors of methodology suspect that he either invented the whole inscription or misread certain parts so as to find support for his new theories. This sounds like desecration of a great scholar to me.

As it happened, while I was writing this paper for publication in the Journal of the Siam Society in instalments, the Ford Foundation was kind enough to give me a research grant which enabled me to travel in South Siam and Malaya, and to spend a month in Ceylon and another month in Java. While in Ceylon, Mr. H. Amarasinghe, Publishing Manager of Lake House Investments Ltd., who published Paranavitana's last few books, took me under his wing. He introduced me to Sinhalese scholars, both those who supported Paranavitana and those who were against his theories,

Dr. C.E. Godakumbura, who succeeded Dr. Paranavitana as Archaeological Commissioner when the latter retired, but has now retired himself, took me to the Library, the Museum and the Archaeological Service in Colombo. I was shown some inscriptions, estampages and photographs with interlinear writing. There is no doubt that there *are* interlinear writing, even if nobody but Paranavitana could read them. But the numerous texts that the professor produced could not possibly have all been written on the stones, so in reply to one or two questions, Dr. Godakumbura stated that Paranavitana definitely had documents which he had not divulged, probably at the insistence of the man who supplied them. They might have come into his hands illicitly. Dr. Godakumbura then explained that when Paranavitana got stuck on a passage, he would ask for estampages of that particular part and not of the whole inscription, so that he could check passages in his reading. There is confirmation of this from Peradeniya. While the professor was at that Campus, he did not go prancing all over the island looking at inscriptions, but worked quietly in his room. As it happened, before leaving Peradeniya, the professor made public, or rather strongly hinted at, the existence of documents, but to get the full significance of his remarks it is necessary to read carefully between the lines. I will give just one example, from the last paragraph of a paper mimeographed in 1964 and subsequently published in 1967 (see above.)

“In the case of some (documents), the fact that they have been recorded on stone is taken from statements made to that effect, incised on stones other than those on which they have been written. Of the documents of historical importance, too, only a small fraction has been fully deciphered, though that will be enough, when properly edited, translated and annotated, to form a large volume.”

Professor Paranavitana died suddenly, with another book commissioned by Lake House still unfinished. He had made a will leaving his estate to the Public Trustee, who was to sell the property and set up a fund to help needy scholars who were researching on the subjects he was interested in. The only thing to do was to see the Public Trustee, so an appointment was made, and we went. The party consisted of Mr,

Perera, Librarian of the Archaeological Department; the afore-mentioned Mr. Amarainghe of Lake House; Dr. Liyanagamage, a Senior Lecturer in the History Department of the University of Sri Lanka Vidyalandara Campus; and myself.

At the Public Trustee's office we were shown some palmleaf manuscripts, but they were about Buddhist teachings and medicine. Then we went to the professor's house where we found a great deal in his own handwriting. If I understand the situation correctly, the last chapter of the *Paramparapustaka* that Paronavitana used was 84; and we found that his draft had got to chapter 88. We did not have much time to do a thorough search, so we left, intending to go again. Unfortunately I could not extend my stay in Ceylon and had to leave before another appointment with the Public Trustee could be made, so that is all I know, but as the Public Trustee will in due course publish Paronavitana's correspondence, as well as some other unpublished material, we shall no doubt know more about these interlinear sources than we do at present.

It is my guess that these documents were supplied from abroad and not found in Ceylon itself, otherwise there would have been no need for all this secrecy. An example of an ancient document found recently in a Western library might be cited. Mr. John Black, Corresponding Member of the Journal of the Siam Society, discovered some 'Marco Polo Documents' in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., and he had the maps printed in one of the Volumes of JSS, 7th November 1965, with the texts to follow. In the case of the documents under discussion, they might have been obtained from some Western library in the same way, perhaps illicitly or even surreptitiously, so Paronavitana was asked not to divulge his source. This must have been mental torture to a scholar of Paronavitana's calibre having to use some source which he could not divulge. If my guess is correct, I wish whoever supplied the documents would make them public as soon as possible. That person should understand that they could change a great deal of the histories of Ceylon, South India and Southeast Asia.

Two Ceylonese inscriptions recently published in 1973 (*Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. VI, part 1), give two or three names that change the histories of Sri Vijaya and Sri Lanka. The inscriptions are No. 3 Panduvasnuvara Pillar Inscription of the Reign of Udaya II, dated 893, pp. 12-20, which mentions a Sangha Radun, who was a princess of Palambanpura Suvanvaraya (Palembang the Harbour of Gold) in the land of Yava ju Kalingubimi (Javadvipa-Kalinga); and No. 8 Madirigiri Slab Inscription of Mahinda VI, dated circa 1060, pp. 39-58, in which Maharaja Samara was said to have driven away the Colas that remained spread over the entire Island of Lanka. Both inscriptions were edited by Paranavitana, but they were *not* from his interlinear sources. I have already dealt with these inscriptions in Parts III and IV of this paper, but it would be as well to have a very short summary.

1. The history of Ceylon in this period, based mainly on the chronicular *Culawamsa*, gives sole credit for driving out the Colas to Vijayabahu I. This is contrary to the contemporary epigraphic evidence cited above.

2. The theory of a Sri Vijaya Empire based on Palembang can no longer hold water. If Palembang was Palambanpura, it could not have been Sri Vijaya at the same time. Sri Vijaya was Chaiya, where an inscription with that name has been found.

3. The historians of Sri Lanka have considered that all mentions of Kalinga in their chronicles to have been located in India, but now that there is epigraphic evidence that there was a Kalinga in Southeast Asia (Javadvipa), to identify the Kalinga princes and princesses who became kings and queens of Ceylon as Sri Vijayan royalty would fit the story better. Such royalty included Raden Sangha, the princess from Palambanpura mentioned above, King Mahinda IV's Sundari, whom the *Culawamsa* called Kalinga princess, King Vijayabahu the Great's Tilokasundari, the 'charming young princess of the Kalinga family'; Nissamkamalla, Sahasamalla, Magha, Chandrabahu and Parakramabahu VI of Kotte, the last of whom was called Chandrabahu in a literary source written early in the reign called the *Saddharmaratana-kara*. This would indicate that he had connections with Sri Vijaya.

Before the publication of these two inscriptions, there were some highly controversial Indian and Chinese records, such as the inscriptions of Kulottunga I of Cola, who appeared as Ti-hua-ka-lo in the Chinese records; and he was said to have been high Chief of San-fo-tsi (Sri Vijaya) as well as King of Chulien (Cola). This evidence will not fit the two Ceylonese inscriptions and make sense unless Paranavitana's sources are used as well. Without them, the histories of Sri Vijaya and Sri Lanka have to be revised anyway; but with them, the two stories can be integrated into a combined history of Sri Vijaya and Sri Lanka in the same way the stories of Normandy France and Norman England in the same period comprise one history. I donot know about historians of Ceylon, because as far as I can see writing the histories of India and Ceylon has now become a closed field of endeavour for Western scholars; but historians of Southeast Asia should certainly be grateful to the memory of Professor Paranavitana for what he has already contributed towards a far, far better History of Sri Vijaya than what Professor Coedes produced over fifty years ago.

There will be a Part V to this paper, but it will have to be delayed somewhat. The story, from Chandrabanu's second invasion of Ceylon in about 1260 to the arrival of the Portugese at Malacca in 1511, covers two and a half centuries of the post-Sri Vijaya or pre-European period in the history of the Peninsula and Sumatra.

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