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THE RISE AND DECLINE
OF CHOLA POWER
~~GOIA~~ ~~RISE~~ IN CEYLON

by

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Abstract.

The present thesis attempts to critically examine the rise, decline and effects of Coḷa rule over the northern half of Ceylon during the first three quarters of the eleventh century. The short introduction explains the need for a comprehensive investigation into many of the more important aspects of those critical years. It also stresses the need for a closer examination of the motives behind the sudden expansion of Coḷa power outside India. This is followed by a chapter (I) on the Sources pertaining to our study. The main study begins with Chapter II with an account of the relations between Ceylon and South India up to the tenth century. Chapter III traces the rise of the Coḷa Vijayālaya line in South India and its impact on Ceylon. This becomes evident with the accession of Parāntaka I (906-955 A.C.). But in spite of his attempt to conquer Ceylon the position remained unchanged till the accession of Rājarāja I (985-1014 A.C.). There is also a conflicting account of an Indian invasion of the north of Ceylon in the time of Mahinda IV (956-972 A.C.). Chapter IV is devoted to the Coḷa occupation of Rājaraṭṭha in the time of Rājarāja I, and the consolidation of their power during the reigns Rājendra I and Rājādhirāja I. Chapter V covers the vital phase of the struggle between the

Sinhalese and the Coḷas. Taking advantage of the difficulties of the Coḷas following the death of Vīrarā-jendra the Sinhalese under the leadership of Vijayabāhu I were able to overthrow the power of the Coḷas in Ceylon. Thus their power in Ceylon came to an end, but the relations between the Sinhalese and the Coḷas continued to be unfriendly for over another hundred years. Chapter VI is devoted to a study of the administration of Rājaraṭṭha (Anurādhapura kingdom) and its economic conditions under the Coḷas. What we have undertaken here is the first serious survey of its kind. The last chapter (VII) discusses the effect of the Coḷa occupation on the society and religion in Ceylon. The more important results of our investigations are summarised in a Conclusion.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Adikaram - Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon,
E. W. Adikaram.
- ALTRC. - Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue of Ceylon,
H.W.Codrington.
- Ancient India - Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeologica
Survey of India.
- ARE. - Annual Reports on Epigraphy, Madras.
- ASCAR. - Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual
Reports.
- BEFEO. - Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme
Orient.
- BSOAS. - Bulletin of the School of Oriental and
African Studies.
- CALR. - Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.
- CCMT. - Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times,
W. Geiger.
- CHJ. - Ceylon Historical Journal.
- CII. - Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
- CJHSS. - Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social
Studies.
- CJSc. - Ceylon Journal of Science.
- Cv. - Cūlavamsa.

- Dv. - Dipavamsa.
- EC. - Epigraphia Carnatica.
- EI. - Epigraphia Indica.
- EZ. - Epigraphia Zeylanica.
- HAISI. - Hindu Administrative Institutions of
South India, S.K.Aiyengar.
- HC. - History of Ceylon, University of Ceylon.
- HCIP. - History and Culture of the Indian People,
ed. R.C.Majumdar and A.D.Pusalkar.
- IA. - Indian Antiquary.
- IHQ. - Indian Historical Quarterly.
- JAHS. - Journal of the Andhra Historical Society.
- JAS. - Journal of Asian Studies.
- JBHS. - Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.
- JIH. - Journal of Indian History.
- JMBRAS. - Journal of the Malayan Branch of the
Royal Asiatic Society.
- JOR. - Journal of Oriental Research.
- JRAS. - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JRASCB. - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,
Ceylon Branch.
- JRASCB(NS). - JRASCB, New Series.
- Klgp. - Kalingattup-parani.

Later Coḷas	-	Later Coḷas, pt.I, S.Sadasiva Pandarathar.
Minakshi.	-	Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas, C. Minakshi.
<u>Mv.</u>	-	<u>Mahāvamsa.</u>
<u>Nks.</u>	-	<u>Nikāyasaṅgrahaya.</u>
<u>Pjv.</u>	-	<u>Pūjāvaliya.</u>
PTS.	-	Pali Text Society.
QJMySoc.	-	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society
Rahula.	-	History of Buddhism in Ceylon, W.Rahula.
<u>Rjr.</u>	-	<u>Rājaratnākaraya.</u>
<u>Rjv.</u>	-	<u>Rājāvaliya.</u>
SBE.	-	Sacred Books of the East.
SII.	-	South Indian Inscriptions.
SIP.	-	South Indian Polity. T.V. Mahalingam.
SMC.	-	Society in Medieval Ceylon, M.B.Ariyapala.
TAS.	-	Travancore Archaeological Series.
The Cōḷas	-	The Cōḷas, K.A.Nilakanta Sastri.
TL.	-	Tamil Lexicon.
UCR.	-	University of Ceylon Review.

INTRODUCTION

This study covers a very important period in the history of Ceylon. It saw the first successful attempt at making at least part of Ceylon tributary to a foreign power. This was achieved towards the end of the tenth century by the Coḷas of South India under the vigorous leadership of the Vijayālaya dynasty. The existing studies on the Coḷas devote some space to the Coḷa occupation of the northern half of Ceylon, e.g., the contributions by Nilakanta Sastri and by Sadasiva Pandarathar on the history of the Coḷas.¹ Nilakanta Sastri's article on Vijayabāhu I,² on the other hand, was the first serious attempt to unravel this period without making it an insignificant part of the vast Coḷa history. There is also a short study made quite some time ago by S. Paranavitana of the relations between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese.³ The chapters in the History of Ceylon published by the University of Ceylon⁴ mark another important stage in the critical examination of the history of this period. This work,

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1. The Coḷas, pp. 121-4, 154-5, 172-3, 199-201, 223, 249-253, 271, 309-311, 314-6.
 2. CALR., X, pt. II, pp. 114-121.
 3. The Later Coḷas, pt. I, pp. 72, 105-8, 116, 145-8.
 4. JRASCB(NS), IV, pt. I, pp. 45-72.

understandably enough, treated the Coḷa occupation of Ceylon only as an episode in the long history of Ceylon, so that once again this period failed to receive all the attention it deserves. The present study is undertaken to meet this special need.

The past memories of the Coḷa occupation of Ceylon have often been invoked, even in the present times, as a period of ruthless destruction of Ceylon and Sinhalese culture. Traditions regard the Tamils in general and the Coḷas in particular as the inveterate foes of the Sinhalese and of Buddhism in Ceylon. The most popular kings in the minds of the people have always been those who were reputed to have fought the Tamils. Names like Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, Gajabāhu, Dhātusena, Sena II, Vijayabāhu, Parākkamabāhu I and Parakkamabāhu II often revive memories of the times when Ceylon was rescued from the Tamils, or when the Sinhalese themselves invaded the mainland to attack the Tamils.² These factors have assumed such proportions that they have almost completely clouded the other side of the picture, that of close cultural relations between South India and Ceylon. It may therefore be interesting to find

1. HC., I, pt. I, Bk.3, chap.V; I, pt.II, Bk.4, chap.I-III, VIII C-D.

2. Cv., LXXXII. 19-27.

how and why this strong distrust of, or antipathy against, the Tamils arose in Ceylon, and to see to what extent the period of Coḷa occupation of Rājaraṭṭha has helped to crystallise this idea, and influence the subsequent relations between the two major communities in Ceylon. It is however interesting to note that while the Tamils were often distrusted by the Sinhalese in the past, they occupied important positions in medieval Ceylonese society. Their armies were often engaged by the Sinhalese kings to fight their wars, sometimes even against their fellow Tamils. Tamils often acted as trusted body-guards of Sinhalese kings. Even Vijayabāhu, who waged successful war against the Coḷas, had Tamils in his personal service.¹ The influence of the Tamils on Ceylon has indeed passed through many vicissitudes, and has continued to this day.²

The geographical position of Ceylon³ has made it inevitable that Ceylon should get drawn into South Indian politics. Geographically, Ceylon is considered once to have been a part of India. Only twenty-two miles of shallow waters separate Ceylon from the nearest point of South India.

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1. EZ., V, pt.I, p.27.
 2. JRASC.B., XXXIII/88, pp.123-153; XXXIII/89, pp.233-251; W.Geiger, Culture of Ceylon in med. times, p.18; BSOAS., XI, pt.4, pp.837-841.
 3. See for more details, P.Udagama, Historical Geography of Ceylon, M.A., Thesis, London, 1958, Chap.I; HC., I/I, Bk.I, chap.I; Spolia Zeylanica, XXIII pt.I, pp;1-9.

This provided Ceylon with a certain amount of isolation from, as well as a nearness to, India. The Ceylonese themselves, whether Sinhalese or Tamil, had originally come from various parts of India. For a long period the Sinhalese were in control of the whole country, and maintained friendly contact with South India. But with the rise of powerful states in South India Ceylon was gradually drawn into South Indian politics and as a result even had to suffer serious consequences at times. The proximity of Ceylon to South India led to the frequent arrival of Tamils in Ceylon (this has continued to this day), many of whom have settled down in the northern parts and along the north-eastern and north-western coasts of the island. With the passage of time, owing to political and economic factors, the Sinhalese gradually moved out of the northern parts of Ceylon, and drifted to the south. This left the north in the hands of the Tamils, partially isolating the two communities. But there were still marginal areas like the Vanni, which saw close contact between the two communities. The fact that the Sinhalese continued to be the major community may have also led to the assimilation of some of the Tamils into Sinhalese society.¹

The geographical position of Ceylon in relation to the

1. CHJ., 11/3-4, p.244; Tamil Culture, I/II, pp.132-142.

Coḷa country played a decisive rôle in the relations between the Sinhalese and the Coḷas, and in particularly so in the context of the Coḷa maritime policy. It is often assumed that the Coḷa occupation of Ceylon was the result of their desire to convert the Bay of Bengal into a virtual Coḷa lake, and that for the fulfilment of this policy the control of Ceylon was essential.¹ There is, however, no direct evidence to suggest that the Coḷa emperors themselves engaged in trade, not to speak of international trade, or that they had a royal merchant navy which tried at this time to take over the trade from other merchant navies. There are, of course, references² to many wealthy and influential merchant communities like the Valañjiyars, Kaikkōḷars, Maṇigrāmans and Nānādeśīs, who had their interests in South India, in Ceylon and South-East Asia. One may wonder whether these merchant corporations, like the British East India Company, which exerted much pressure on the British government during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, could also have exercised influence on Coḷa policy. The capture of Mahinda V and the strict control over Rājaraṭṭha, as well as the attempt to subjugate the remaining parts of Ceylon, definitely suggest a strong desire

1. CHJ., IV, pp. 15, 19 =; The Cōḷas, pp. 183, 218-220; HC., I/I, pp. 349-350.

2. See infra, pp. 273-9.

to bring Ceylon under direct Coḷa rule. This has no precedent in South India, or in India for that matter. At this time, Ceylon too, may have had a stake in the trade which passed between the Far East and the Arabs from the West. At least the central position of Ceylon in the Indian ocean would have increased the importance of Ceylon as a centre of maritime trade.¹ The Pāṇdyas and the Keraḷas were also active in the field of maritime trade; and it is possible to regard the Coḷa activities in Ceylon and their attacks on Viliñam and Kāṇḍalūr-śālai² in South India, often referred to in the Coḷa inscriptions, as very significant events, as is also the case with the interference in the affairs of Srīvijaya, ~~which~~ was a deliberate attempt to muzzle the others engaged in maritime trade. Coḷa maritime policy may be compared with the attempt of western powers from the sixteenth century on, to control all the strategic places in this part of the Indian ocean with the intention of making the maritime trade a monopoly of their own.

The wealth of the Coḷa kings, witnessed by their stupendous religious buildings, and lavish gifts to the temples, also suggests that they had access to a vast source

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1. Foreign Trade and Commerce of Ancient Ceylon, CHJ., I, no. 2, pp. 109-119; I, no.3 pp. 192-204; I, no.4. pp. 301-320; EI.no.1-2, pp.14-22.
 2. K.V.R.Aiyengar Commemorative Vol. (1940), pp. 209-222; TAS., II pp. 1-6; JIH., II p. 319n.

of wealth, other than what could have been derived from land revenue, and even the booty captured in war. The need to control the affairs in Kerala, matrimonially connected with the Coḷas, and the activities of the Coḷa navy in South India and even outside India, all seem to support the view that the Coḷas were preoccupied with the expansion of maritime trade, as much as with territorial expansion.¹

The present study of the relations between the Sinhalese and the Coḷas, with special reference to the period of Coḷa occupation of Rājaraṭṭha, is preceded by a short study of the relevant sources, especially the Cūlavamsa and the Sinhalese and Tamil inscriptions. And perhaps for the first time the information in the numerous Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon, the majority of which belong to the Coḷa period, has been utilized. We have also drawn heavily on the large collection of Coḷa inscriptions from South India, even more than ever before, to enable us to arrive at a more satisfactory reconstruction of the history of Ceylon in the eleventh century. Other sources, which are only supplementary, have been treated rather lightly. This is followed by a short account of the relations between Ceylon and South India before the rise of the Coḷa Vijayālaya line in the middle of the ninth century. This takes us as far back as the earliest times, and the theme that runs all along is the

1. See also Wolters, O.W., Early Indonesian Commerce and the Origins of Śrīvijaya, Ph.D. Thesis, London, 1962. pp. 542-4, 546; R.C. Majumdar, Suvarnadvīpa, pt. I, p. 171.

widening gap between the Sinhalese and the Tamils, owing to political and religious considerations, and to the tension caused by the increasing number of Tamil immigrants to Ceylon. The gap was further widened by the Tamil raids and invasions of increasing intensity.

The political background furnished in the above chapter is then followed by the main chapters on the relations between the Coḷas and Ceylon, from the latter half of the tenth century to the end of the eleventh century. These chapters trace the worsening relations between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese, which eventually led to the establishment of Coḷa power in Rājaraṭṭha. Very little is ^{directly} known of the conditions in Rājaraṭṭha, which remained under their control for nearly three-quarters of a century. The history of Rohaṇa, which continued to be governed by Sinhalese and some Indian princes, is better represented in the Cūlavamsa, and even supplemented by the Coḷa inscriptions. How and why the Coḷas succeeded in conquering the greater part of Ceylon, and how they kept it under their control are some of the problems that have engaged our attention here. An attempt has also been made to create a more realistic picture out of the rather boastful and rhetorical claims of the Coḷas and the very inadequate accounts in the Ceylonese sources. The difficulties in utilising the Coḷa and the Ceylonese sources and their

chronology remain a serious challenge to the student of the history of Ceylon of this period, but nevertheless we have tried to reconstruct the history within the available historical and chronological framework.

The political history is continued through the rise of Vijayabāhu in Rohaṇa, and his preparations to expel the Coḷas. His career has been dealt with at some length, in keeping with his importance in the history of Ceylon. The detailed examination of political history comes to a close with the expulsion of the Coḷas by Vijayabāhu, and with a short study of his relations with his Coḷa adversary Kulottuṅga I. A short note on the subsequent relations between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese has been appended here to bring the present study to a proper conclusion. As far as possible, it has been tried in the present chapters, to synchronise the events in Ceylon with developments in South India, and to view the events against the background of the wider field of Coḷa activities in South India, and even outside India. For this end the history of the Coḷas, though not in very great detail, is interwoven with the study of the relations between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese.

The study of the administration and the economic conditions in Ceylon during the Coḷa occupation have engaged our particular attention. It is felt that more information on these aspects has to be found and made use of in order to

obtain a clearer picture than the very inadequate one that we have at present. With more intensive examination of all the available sources, we have been able to obtain some gratifying results. It must, however, be admitted that it is difficult to determine conclusively the effect of Coḷa rule on Ceylon and its economy. As a result, one cannot escape being speculative at times, and leaning too heavily on general statements in the Cūlavamsa. Similarly the brief study of the impact of Coḷa rule on the Sinhalese society has been extremely difficult, especially owing to the paucity of sources. The danger of generalisation was ever present, and the study has perhaps failed to elicit any significant results.

A clear picture emerges as we proceed to the study of the religious conditions in Ceylon in the eleventh century. The accounts of the destruction of Buddhism, which figures prominently in the Ceylonese sources but finds no direct confirmation from any other source, is the most important fact that has to be established, or in failing to do so, has to be taken for what it is worth. That, this exclusively Ceylonese version is not without foundation is evident from more reliable archaeological evidence and indirect information from South Indian sources. This aspect, however, has to be kept within reasonable proportions in view of the other factors

which could have contributed to the decline of Buddhism in Ceylon at this time. The spread of Hinduism in its Śaiva form under the aegis of the Coḷas is an absorbing study. The influence of Hinduism on Buddhism and the Sinhalese society during this period remains an indeterminate factor, owing to the continuation of its impact even afterwards. The study of Coḷa art and architecture in Ceylon, and their influence on Sinhalese forms have only been briefly treated, while attention has been drawn to specialised studies of those subjects. The restoration of Buddhism, including the revival of higher ordination for monks, in the time of Vijayabāhu completes the study of religious conditions.

The chronology followed in the present study is that proposed by S. Paranavitana in the Epigraphia Zeylanica (vol. V, pt. I, pp. 86-111), and followed in the History of Ceylon (I/11, pp. 843-849), and later modified by the same scholar in the University of Ceylon Review (vol. XVIII, pts. 3-4, pp. 129-155). Wherever we felt it necessary the results of these investigations have been discussed, with a view to a better understanding of our special chronological problems.

I wish to express here my gratitude to Dr. J. G. de Casparis for his kind supervision of the preparation of this thesis. Dr. R. E. Asher, Dr. Lakshman, S. Perera, Mr. K. D. Swaminathan, Dr. M. H. Peter Silva and Mr. B. Bastianpillai are also gratefully remembered for the kind assistance given to me in the course of my work.

CHAPTER I

SOURCES

The sources pertaining to our present study can be divided into two broad categories, literary and archaeological. The former cover the literary works, and the latter the inscriptions and archaeological remains. There is however no one single work which deals exclusively with this period of the history of Ceylon. The earliest sources which are relevant to this study are the Sinhalese and Tamil inscriptions which are more or less contemporary with the events. The monuments and coins may be as old but are much less important. They are followed by the Chronicles such as the Cūlavamsa and the Sinhalese and Tamil historical works which are considerably later in date. Although none of these works is contemporaneous with the events they are based on earlier records, some of which may even be as old as the events themselves.

The reconstruction of the history of this period depends largely on the Cūlavamsa,¹ which is only another name for the continuation of the Mahāvamsa. The Cūlavamsa is foremost

1. Cūlavamsa, ed. and tr., W. Geiger; Corrections to the Cūlavamsa translation, UCR., VIII/2, pp. 96-109; VIII/3, pp. 161-180; Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times, pp. 234-256.

among the ancient historical works of the Sinhalese. Its authorship, sources, contents and authenticity have been discussed at some length in many recent studies.¹ The comments made here are therefore confined mainly to those chapters which are of special importance to us. The Cūlavamsa deals with the history of Ceylon from the accession of Sirimeghavanna (301-328 A.C.) to our own times. But this long history has been written in three parts and at different times by different authors.² The first part of the Cūlavamsa which covers the ground up to the end of the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186 A.C.)³ is its longest part, both in volume and in the length of the period dealt with. Thus, the part pertaining to the period considered in this study may have been written towards the end of the twelfth century, which is nearly two hundred years after the conquest of Rājarat̥ṭha by the Coḷas. The authorship of the Cūlavamsa still remains an open question. Some attribute it to a Thera Dhammakitti, and others to another Thera named Moggallāna.⁴

The first part of the Cūlavamsa runs into forty-two

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1. Cv., tr., pt.I, Introduction, pp. iv-xiv; S.Wickramasinghe, The Age of Parākramabāhu, (Ph.D. Thesis, London, 1958), pp. 8-33; G.F.Malalasekara, Pali Literature of Ceylon, p.215; JRASCB., XXXVIII, pp.123-6; HC., I/I, pp.51-3; Cv., tr., pt.I, pp.92n3, 192fn.3.
 2. HC., I/I, pp. 51-2.
 3. It has been suggested that even this part was written in two sections, one up to the Coḷa conquest and the other starting with Vijayabāhu I and ending with Parākramabāhu I. The Age of Parākramabāhu, pp. 12-13, 18-19.
 4. HC., I/I, p.51; The Age of Parākramabāhu, pp. 11-12.

chapters including the continuation of the chapter thirty-seven of the Mahāvamsa in the Cūlavamsa. Sixteen of these chapters are devoted to the career of Parakkamabāhu I. The period from the capture of Mahinda V to the death of Vijayabāhu I is dealt with only in six short chapters [Chaps. LV - LX]. The section dealing with the genealogy of Vijayabāhu seems unreliable and is its least reliable part.¹ Apart from a few other ~~other~~ such shorter passages this section of the first part of the Cūlavamsa is considered the most reliable.² Many of the names of the Sinhalese kings of this period as recorded in the Chronicle are confirmed by contemporary inscriptions. The relations between the Sinhalese and the Coḷas as mentioned in the Cūlavamsa find an appreciable amount of confirmation from the Coḷa sources. This section of the Chronicle has no special hero: Vijayabāhu I was at most regarded as a minor hero compared with Parakkamabāhu I. This has saved Vijayabāhu account from unnecessary embellishments but has at the same time deprived it of much desirable information. The account here follows a rather matter-of-fact tone and is not long-winded.

The turbulent years which followed the death of Mahinda IV probably led to the neglect of the recording of events in the

1. Cv., LVII. 4-26.

2. The Age of Parākramabāhu, p.22.

monasteries, and even some of the existing records may have suffered destruction and decay following the Coḷa invasions. The decline of Buddhism in Rājaraṭṭha and even in Rohaṇa would have resulted in the neglect in the keeping of the records so that there could have been a gap for this period. This was perhaps put right in the time of Vijayabāhu, as the king himself appears to have been occupied with the palace records.¹ Perhaps owing to this factor and also the intention of the author of Cūlavamsa to keep the Vijayabāhu account within certain proportions so as not to overshadow the greatness of Parakkamabāhu I many data concerning the period of Coḷa occupation and the subsequent liberation of Ceylon by Vijayabāhu are wanting in the Cūlavamsa. From this point of view one may regret that full justice has not been done with the history of Vijayabāhu in keeping with his significant achievements. As a matter of fact even in the Vijayabāhu account the birth of his incomparable hero, Parakkamabāhu I is already anticipated.² We have however a few indirect advantages arising out of this less enthusiastic treatment of Vijayabāhu, because there was no deliberate attempt to create out of him an all-conquering hero at the expense of the others. This made the whole

1. Cv., LIX. 10.

2. Cv., LIX. 34-40; see also The Age of Parākramabāhu, pp. 22-23.

account matter-of-fact and compact. But in spite of these short comings and omissions the Cūlavamsa is still the most useful source not only for our present study but also for most of the history of medieval Ceylon.

Lastly we may have to bear in mind that the Cūlavamsa or any of the other Ceylonese chronicles was not written as a historical treatise in the modern sense. Religious matters and the meritorious deeds of the kings, including their secular activities receive strong emphasis; interwoven with these are the important political developments of each reign. As historical works they may reveal many lapses and shortcomings but that should not deter us from using their material. In fact we must be thankful that the monks kept any records at all rather than blame them for their shortcomings. What we ought to look for in these records is the amount of information included in them and, whether the recorders made any deliberate attempt to leave out those things that were not to their particular liking. On both these counts the Cūlavamsa comes out quite creditably indeed. Unlike its forerunner the Mahāvamsa which had a number of chapters devoted to religious matters we have hardly two separate chapters in the Cūlavamsa concerned exclusively with such information. But the Cūlavamsa also has considerable amount of religious information well interwoven with the

accounts of the kings. This religious bias need not necessary be so objectionable either, because religion after all took such an important part in the history of Ceylon and the life of the people. Moreover this bias did not prevent the authors of the Cūlavamsa from recording the kindly treatment of Brāhmaṇas by the Sinhalese Buddhist kings,¹ or the religious developments in Ceylon which undermined the influence and the good name of the Saṅgha.² Any undisguised bias for or prejudice against any particular Nikāya or Vihāra is also absent in the Cūlavamsa. Perhaps at the time Cūlavamsa (Pt.I) came to be written the unification of the Saṅgha by Parakkamabāhu I had taken effect and removed much of the friction between the various monasteries.

The political and other matters of general interest in the Cūlavamsa are also very considerable. These were included by the monks even when they were not usually expected to pay much attention to such transitory things.³ The long descriptions of the wars of Parakkamabāhu I and of his achievements in the field of agriculture and irrigation reveal the wide interests and the worldly outlook of the author of the Cūlavamsa.⁴ The Cūlavamsa no doubt has a distinct bias

1. Cv., XLVIII. 23; L.5; LI.66-67; LX.77-8 etc.,

2. Cv., LXXVIII. 2-27.

3. Rahula, pp.161-2.

4. Cv., chapters LXIII-LXXII, LXXIV-LXXVIII. etc.

in favour of Buddhism and of those who were its loyal patrons. Thus those who failed to live up to this tradition "went without exception, helplessly to destruction".¹ The Tamils who destroyed Buddhist institutions in Ceylon also earned his invective and were compared to blood-sucking yakkhas.² On the other hand, those who helped the Saṅgha and Sāsana irrespective of their nationality won the approbation of the Cūlavamsa author.³ In fact in one place he states that because of the righteousness of Mahinda IV, "without letting the season pass the god at that time sent showers streaming in the right way".⁴ The bias in the first part of the Cūlavamsa is most evident when it deals with the history of Parakkamabāhu.⁵ But in spite of some of these shortcomings we have a great deal of information in the Cūlavamsa which is reliable and can be used profitably for our purposes.

After the Cūlavamsa we have a number of Sinhalese works dealing with the political and religious history of Ceylon. Many of the general remarks made about the Cūlavamsa as a source may be applied to these sources, too. Most of these works suffer from the paucity of details. On the whole they

1. Cv., LVI. 17.

2. Cv., L. 33-36; LV. 20-21; see also XXXVIII. 36.

3. Cv., XLVI. 19-24.

4. Cv., LIV. 3.

5. The Age of Parākramabāhu, pp. 23-29, 31-33.

have only summaries of the reigns of kings and some of the important political and religious episodes. The accounts in these Chronicles which pertain to our present study run only into one or two paragraphs in each of them. But these short accounts however record some details and important traditions which seem to have escaped the notice of the Cūlavamsa, or were not known to its author. In this respect they may appear like independent works but, on the whole, their contents are not basically different from, or independent of, the Cūlavamsa. The details and the traditions which seem to be different from, or supplementary to, the Cūlavamsa discussed here are those relevant to our present study. Common to most of the Sinhalese chronicles are the traditions that it was a Tamil ruler from the Coḷa country who invaded Ceylon in the time of Mahinda IV (Kudā Midel); that the commander Sena who opposed Sena V had gone to India and brought with him 95000 Tamils, and that from the second year of Sena V till the accession of Vijayabāhu I, for ninety-six years (sometimes 86 years) the Tamils controlled the villages, market-towns and districts of Ceylon. These works also add that twenty monks and copies of the scriptures were brought from Rāmañña (Lower Burma) in the time of Vijayabāhu.¹

1. see infra, pp. 99-100, 104, 5, 127, 153 n1, 331 n1.

These details are either not found at all, or not in that form in the Cūlavamsa. The king lists in these works as well as the order and the length of reigns are at least in a few instances, different from those in the Cūlavamsa.¹ This raises the important question how and from where were these different or new traditions originated, and how reliable they are? These few but important differences and additions suggest that there were sources other than those from which the Cūlavamsa borrowed its material. This also suggests that as much as there was no unanimity or agreement in the matter of religion and its vested interests among the various fraternities and the monasteries, there was also no unanimity in their records. But how reliable one is in comparison with the other is difficult to ascertain.

Among the Sinhalese sources, the Pūjāvaliya² is the first in order of time. It is a long religious work, written in the time of Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271), by a Thera named Buddhaputra of Mayūrapāda-parivena. The last two chapters [XXXIII-XXXIV] of this work deal with the outlines of the political and the religious history of Ceylon, from the

1. see infra pp. 156-7.

2. ed. A.V. Suraweera Colombo 1961; see also B.Gunasekara, A contribution to the history of Ceylon; C.F. Godakumbura, Sinhalese Literature, pp. 61-66.

establishment of Buddhism (3rd century B.C.) to the time of Parakkamabāhu II. Its details increase progressively, but the period under discussion is dealt within only three unequal paragraphs.¹ In addition to what is mentioned above as limited to the Sinhalese works, there are a few more additional references in the Pūjāvaliya. It records, for instance, that Kudā Dāpulu (Dappula IV) killed many of the Tamils and drove away the others who had come from the Coḷa country.² The Cūlavamsa knew only of his intention to attack the Coḷas, which however, did not take place.³ The accession of Lokeśvara (Loka) is also explained as owing to the extinction of the royal line,⁴ which, as we shall see later, is rather in contrast to what is said about the genealogy of Vijayabāhu in the Cūlavamsa. The Pūjāvaliya, however, comes very close to the Cūlavamsa as regards the names and the regnal years of the princes of Rohaṇa.⁵

The next work chronologically is the Nikāyaśāstrāya,⁶ also called the Sāsanāvatarāya. This is essentially a history of Buddhism in Ceylon and India, written by a Thera Jayabāhu Devarakkhita, later called Dhammakitti. It is a short work,

1. Pjv. pp. 104-105.

2. Pjv. p.104; see infra, pp. 37 n4.

3. see infra p. 83.

4. Pjv., p.104; see infra, pp. 153 n1.

5. see infra, p. 156-7.

6. Nikāyaśāstrāya, ed. W. Amaramoli, Colombo, 1955; Tr. C.M. Fernando, Colombo, 1908; C.E. Godakumbura, Sinhalese Literature, pp. 122-124.

interspersed with Pāli stanzas and short king lists. What concerned the author most were the religious developments in India and Ceylon, and the religious works of the kings. The history of Ceylon in the eleventh century runs into a short paragraph, more than half of which is devoted to the religious and political achievements of Vijayabāhu. The history from Sena II to the accession of Vijayabāhu is preserved only in a bare list of kings.¹

The Rājaratnākaraya² which chronologically and in its subject matter follows the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, is attributed to a Thera Valgampāya who lived in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century. This work seems to have borrowed heavily from the then existing works such as the Mahāvamsa, Pūjāvaliya and in particular the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya. It is also interspersed with Pāli verses, and contains occasional king lists. It shares with the others those peculiarities which we have already noticed.³ The period of our study is limited to a long paragraph⁴ which does not even contain some of the chronological and geneological details found in the other works.

1. Nks. pp.22-23.

2. Rajaratnākaraya, ed. Simon de Silva, Colombo, 1907; see Sinhalese Literature, p.127.

3. see supra, p. 25.

4. Rājāvaliya, ed. B. Gunasekara, Rjr. pp.33-34.

The Rājāvaliya¹ is one of the latest of this tradition of Sinhalese historical writing. It exists in many recensions. Its author or authors are unknown. The published recension follows the history of Ceylon from the earliest times up to the time of Vimaladharmasūriya II (1687-1707 A.C.) of Kandy. The Rājāvaliya in a way is the counterpart of the Nikāyasāṅgraha, being more interested in political history than religious matters. It seems to have borrowed both from the Cūlavamsa and the Pūjāvaliya, or the sources from which these texts had derived their information. The importance of the Rājāvaliya is mostly apparent for the later medieval period and has little to add to what we already know from the other Ceylonese sources.

In addition to these works there are a few other Sinhalese literary works which make similar but shorter allusions to the events of this period, particularly to the achievements of Vijayabāhu. These writings also go back to about the same period as the preceding ones, and their accounts of an historical nature belong to the same tradition. Among these the most relevant for our present study are the Daḷadāpūjāvaliya,² Daḷadāsirita³ Pārakumbāsirita⁴ and the

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1. Rājāvaliya, ed. B. Gunasekara, Colombo, 1953; Tr., same author, Colombo, 1900; see Sinhalese Literature, pp. 127-129.
 2. Daḷadāpūjāvaliya, ed. K. Ratnaransi, Colombo, 1954, pp. 58-59; Sinhalese Literature, pp. 114-5.
 3. Daḷadāsirita, ed. W. Sorata, Colombo, 1955, pp. 42-3; Sinh. Lit. 112-4.
 4. Pārakumbāsirita, ed. A. Gunawardhena, Col. 1953, pp. 44, v. 25; Sinh. Lit. pp. 222-224.

Saddharmaratnākaraya.¹

A few Tamil literary works have some bearing on our study, although they contain only incidental references to Ceylon. They add very little to what we can learn from the more reliable contemporary Tamil inscriptions. Tamil classics like Śilappadikāram and Periyapurāṇam are important for the earlier periods only, while others like the Kāliṅgattup-parani and the uḷas on Vikramacoḷa, Rājāraja II and Kulottuṅga II are important mainly for the history of the Coḷas in South India. There are however, at least a few incidental references to Ceylon such as those to the conquest of Ceylon by Aditya and Parāntaka in the works of Nambi Andar Nambi,² and the reference to the Siṅgalas who had come to pay tribute to Kulottuṅga I in the Kaliṅgattup-parani.³ But otherwise the Tamil writings have not much to contribute in a positive way to our studies. Other non-Ceylonese literary works which shed some welcome light on this period are the Yaśastilaka of Somadeva,⁴ the Vikramāṅkadevacarita of Bilhana,⁵ the Sāsanavaṃsa⁶ and Glass-palace Chronicle of Burma.⁷ The first

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1. Saddharmaratnākaraya, ed. P. Vimalakirti, p. 311; Sinh. Lit. pp. 94-7.
 2. IA., XXV, p. 154.
 3. See infra, p. 223-4.
 4. Yaśastilaka, ed. Svadatta. see infra, p. 99.
 5. Vikramāṅkadevacarita, ed. Buhler, see infra, p. 219.
 6. Sāsanavaṃsa, ed. B. C. Law (PTS.); see infra, p. 185, 332-3.
 7. The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma, ed. Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce; see infra, pp. 185.

refers to the relations between Kṛṣṇa III and Ceylon, while the second describes the complications in the Coḷa capital which followed the death of Virarājendra. The last two, which are of Burmese origin, make occasional references to the contact between Burma and Ceylon and lend some support to the Cūlavamsa account of the relations between Vijayabāhu I and Anuruddha of Burma.

The Sinhalese and Tamil inscriptions which belong to this period are the next important group of our primary sources. These epigraphs are more or less contemporary with the events of this period, and as sources they have not suffered from any subsequent handling or copying. The Coḷa inscriptions cover the entire period of our study, and provide a considerable amount of information, which, as a matter of fact, compensates for the meagre help derived from Tamil literary sources. The Sinhalese inscriptions directly relevant to us are extremely few, and there are no records for the period between the reign of Mahinda V and the time of Vijayabāhu. There are a few Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon other than the Coḷa inscriptions, which are dated in the reigns of the immediate successors of Vijayabāhu, and are important for the study of religious and social conditions in Ceylon. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions also throw some light on the relations between

Kṛṣṇa III and Ceylon.¹

The Coḷa inscriptions in India² and Ceylon are important for the elucidation of those chapters in the Cūlavāṃsa which deal with the relations between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Cūlavāṃsa records practically none of the names of the Coḷa kings who were responsible for the conquest and the occupation of Rājaraṭṭha. All these names are available to us from the Tamil inscriptions which also furnish very useful information for the reconstruction of the course of many of the significant events of the time. They refer to almost all the Coḷa invasions to Ceylon from the time of Parāntaka I (907-955 A.C.) to the time of Kulottuṅga III (1178-1182 A.C.), and provide us with many of the names of the kings of Rohaṇa from Mahinda V to Vijayabāhu. They also furnish a panoramic vista of the South Indian background and reveal the aggressive imperialist policy of the Coḷas. As far as Ceylon is concerned, we have not only useful confirmation of many of the contemporary events, but also a number of useful synchronisms.

The Coḷa inscriptions are of a special interest for the study of Coḷa administration, and of the economic conditions,

1. see infra, p. 93-99.

2. There are a number of essays on the subject of the importance and the usefulness of the Coḷa epigraphs; see for e.g., Tamil Culture, vol. III, pp. 130-8; Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 173-182; The Coḷas, pp. 4-8.

in South India, but not to an appreciable extent of their rule of Coḷa-maṇḍalam in Ceylon. Ceylon is mentioned in some of these inscriptions either as tributary to or as a province of the Coḷa empire. The grant of revenue of some of the villages in Ceylon to the Tanjore temple in one of the Coḷa inscriptions¹ is unique in this respect. The religious conditions in South India are also revealed to us by these inscriptions, and are a guide to some of the developments in Ceylon. The most important among the Coḷa inscriptions from South India are the Udayendiram plates² of Pr̥thvīpati II; the Ambil plates³ of Sundara Coḷa; the Leyden grant,⁴ Tiruvallam⁵ and the Tanjore inscriptions⁶ of Rājarāja I; Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates⁷ and the Karandai plates⁸ of Rājendra I; Maṇimaṅgalam inscription⁹ of Rājādhirāja; Kanyākumāri¹⁰ and the Tirumukkūḍal¹¹ inscriptions of Vīrarājendra and the Tirukkaḷukkunṇam inscription¹² of Kulottuṅga I. It is necessary to remember that there are many others which

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1. see *infra*, p. 121, 263-6.
 2. *SII.*, II, pp. 375-390.
 3. *EI.*, XV, pp. 44-72.
 4. *EI.*, XXII, pp. 213-266.
 5. *SII.*, III, pp. 104-107.
 6. *SII.*, II, pp. 8-90; 90-109, 415-429.
 7. *SII.*, III, pp. 383-439.
 8. see *infra*, p. 130.
 9. *SII.*, III, pp. 50-58, see also pp. 58-64.
 10. *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 21-55.
 11. *EI.*, XXI, pp. 220-250; see also XXV, pp. 241-266, Charala pl. of Vīrarājendra.
 12. *SII.*, III, pp. 143-148.

may be as important as any of the above inscriptions. At the same time the Coḷa inscriptions in South India are not without their shortcomings. For instance the dating of the great majority of the inscriptions in regnal years and not in the Śaka or any other well-known Era as many of the Indian dynasties used to do, makes it very difficult to use them if there are no synchronisms to fit them into an acceptable chronological pattern. These epigraphs are also well-known for their boastful and panegyric character as a result of which every thing is mentioned in the most favourable terms for the Coḷas. Every success is hailed as a glorious conquest or victory in these inscriptions, and in some instances they assert complete victory, where there had only been partial success. But as royal praśastis or meykīrthi they may have been magnificent documents and even for our own studies they are an invaluable source.

A few Coḷa inscriptions¹ have been found in Ceylon too, but unfortunately many of them are not very well preserved. They are comparatively very short, and contain much less information. Apart from the few monuments, they are the most notable land-marks of the Coḷa occupation of Ceylon. Inscriptions ranging from the time of Rājarāja I to Adhirājendra

1. SII., IV, Nos. 1388, 1389-1391, 1392, 1394-5, 1408, 1412, 1414-1415. CJSc. 11, p.199, No.597. ASCAR., 1953, p.28. No.21-22, 18; 1906, p.26-7; 1909, p.27.

are found in Ceylon. These inscriptions contain a fair amount of very useful information on the administration and the economic and religious conditions in the northern part of Ceylon during the eleventh century. The usefulness of even these short and fragmentary inscriptions is inestimable because the Cūlavamsa and the other Ceylonese sources reveal practically nothing about Rājaraṭṭha during its occupation by the Coḷas. In addition to these there are a few more Tamil inscriptions¹ which cannot be easily dated but may be assigned to the tenth and eleventh centuries, on palaeographic grounds. A few other Tamil inscriptions which belong to the time of the immediate successors of Vijayabāhu I may also be considered here.² Among these the most noteworthy are the Polonnaruva inscription of the Vēlaikkāns³ and the Pālamottai⁴ and Budumattāva inscriptions.⁵ The Vēlaikkāra inscription⁶ furnishes useful confirmation of the important events in the reign of Vijayabāhu described in the Ceylonese chronicles. It is also an important document for the study of the religious conditions of the time and the position occupied

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1. SII. IV, Nos. 1393, 1400, 1405, 1409, 1411, etc. GJSc. 11, p.199, No. 596. ASCAR., 1953, p.27, No. 6,8,11 etc.,
 2. SII. IV, Nos. 1396-1410, 1406, 1407; GJSc. II p.122, No.509. ASCAR. 1953, p.27, No.16, p.28, No.19 etc.
 3. EI. XVIII, pp.330-338; EZ. II. pp.242-255.
 4. EZ. IV, pp.191-196.
 5. EZ. III, pp.302-312.

by the Tamil Vēḷaikkāma armies¹ in the country. The second inscription portrays the continued existence and influence of Hinduism, while it provides some more information on the role of the Vēḷaikkāras as protectors of places of worship.² There are two inscriptions at Budumuttāva, the first furnishing information of an extra-ordinary kind and indispensable for the student of the social history of Ceylon.³ The other reveals in rather uncertain terms a period of amity and even matrimonial relations between the Coḷas and the Ceylonese princes, not long after the death of Vijayabāhu.⁴

The Sinhalese inscriptions which can be positively dated in this period are very few in number. The earliest inscription known is one assigned to the second year of Mahinda V,⁵ but it has nothing of historical significance. Thereafter no inscriptions have been found till the last years of Vijayabāhu, when we have three long inscriptions. They are the Panākaḍuva copper-plate charter⁶ dated in his twenty-seventh year, the Aṃbagamuva rock-inscription⁷ of ~~the~~ the thirty-eighth year and the unpublished and badly preserved slab-

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1. JRASCB (NS), IV, pp.67-71. (see for a note on Vēḷaikkāras)
 2. see infra, p. 339.
 3. see infra, p. 297.
 4. see infra, p. 224.
 5. EZ., IV, pp.59-67. See also CHJ., II, No.3-4, pp.233 n.10, 235 n.25.
 6. EZ., V, pp.1-27.
 7. EZ., II, pp.202-218.

inscription from Gilīmalē,¹ which is a duplicate of the Aṃbagamuva inscription. The first record is unique among the so-far known Ceylonese inscriptions and provides a lot of fresh light on the life and times of Vijayabāhu. C.E. Godakumbura,² is of opinion that the date of this document could be later than the time of Vijayabāhu, and that the date itself may have been forged to lend it greater strength. There is no doubt that there is a certain amount of inconsistency between the Panākaḍuva copper-plates and the Aṃbagamuva inscription as regards the names of the parents of Vijayabāhu, and also in the palaeographical details. But, as a matter of fact, the name of Vijayabāhu's father in the former is in full agreement with the Cūlavamsa. As regards the palaeographical details it has been pointed out by both S.Paranavitana³ and D.M. de Z.Wickremasinghe⁴ that both inscriptions have advanced as well as archaic forms. Even if one may have reservations in accepting the date of this document, this need not stand on the way of utilising its excellent material. The Aṃbagamuva inscription, has a short but useful historical introduction, which in broad out-

1. CJSc., II, pp. 185, 196, No.579.

2. JRAS., 1956, pp.237-239; 1958, pp.51-52; see also 1957, pp. 213-214.

3. EZ., V, pp.1-3.

4. EZ., II, p.203.

line confirms the account of Vijayabāhu in the Cūlavamsa. Its contents also have a direct bearing on the study of the economic, social and religious conditions of this period.

The archaeological remains pertaining to our study, in addition to the epigraphs, are the artistic, architectural and the sculptural remains and a few coins.¹ Subsequent repairs as well as destruction and neglect have obliterated many traces of the ancient monuments. Nothing of a secular nature which can be assigned to the Coḷas has been found in Ceylon. The few Hindu shrines of which remains exist in varying degrees of preservation are not all datable to this period. Siva Dēvāle No.2 in Polonnaruva is one shrine which can be definitely dated in the Coḷa period.² According to the archaeological remains we may have to assign the Velgam-vehera also to this period.³ It was an ancient site of Buddhist worship, and seems to have undergone restoration or repairs in the time of the Coḷas. Tamil inscriptions refer to a number of Hindu shrines which flourished during this time, but no more traces of them are found today. Among the remains of Sinhalese constructions are the ruins of the palace of Vijayabāhu in Anurādhapura,⁴ and the Ata-dā-gē at

1. see infra, pp. 211 n2, 246 n2, 325-7, 332, 335-7, 340, 270.

2. see infra, p. 246 n2, 335-6.

3. see infra, p. 325-6.

4. see infra, p. 211 n2.

Polonnaruva.¹ The paintings and some of the relics in the relic-chamber of the Mahiyāṅgaṇathūpa² may also belong to the same period. Other remains of an artistic nature are the bronze and stone images of Hindu gods, goddesses, and Śaiva saints.³

Lastly we have a few coins pertaining to this period. Coḷa coins belonging to the reigns of Rājarāja I and Rājendra I have been found in a number of places in Ceylon.⁴ There are a few coins of Vijayabāhu, while many Chinese and Arab coins dating from the eleventh century on have been discovered from both coastal and inland sites.⁵ These coins alone would not have a great value, but taken in the light of what we can know from the Cūlavamsa and the inscriptions they also have something to contribute to our studies.

There are not many secondary works which deal with this period and not a single one which deals with it exclusively. We have already noticed five of the most important contributions which are chapters in longer works or separate articles.⁶ In addition we may also note the discussions of the relations

1. see infra, p. 332.

2. see infra, p. 327.

3. see infra, p. 336-7.

4. see infra, p. 270.

5. ASCAR., 1911-1912, p.56; 1934, p.15; 1946, p.6; 1950, p.23; 1951, p. 35; Spolia Zeylanica, IV, pp.29-31.

6. see supra, p.7.

Between Ceylon and South India in other studies on South Indian history.¹ Some of the historical introductions to the editions of inscriptions in the volumes of Epigraphia Zeylanica make critical examination of some of the events of this period. Here special attention should be drawn to the contributions of S.Paranevitana on Ceylonese chronology.² Among the Indian periodical publications on epigraphy which have lent us much assistance are the Annual Reports on Epigraphy, Madras, South Indian Inscriptions, Epigraphia Indica, Travancore Archaeological Series, Indian Antiquary and the Mysore and Carnatic Inscriptions. The studies of H.W.Codrington on Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon, Coins of Ceylon, and Ceylon Topography;³ the researches of W.Geiger,⁴ the special issue of the Ceylon Historical Journal on the Polonnaruva period,⁵ the researches of S.Wickramasinghe on the age of Parakkamabāhu,⁶ the writings of S.K.Aiyengar on the history and culture of South India⁷, and the many articles pertaining to

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1. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri: The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom; A History of South India, 2nd Ed.; The Early History of the Deccan (ed. G. Yazdani) pts. I-VI.
 2. see supra, p.17.
 3. see the Bibliography under Codrington. H.W.,
 4. see the Bibliography under Geiger, W., for a complete list of his writings on Ceylon, see Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times, pp.256-258.
 5. CHJ., Vol.IV.
 6. Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1958.
 7. see the Bibliography under Aiyengar S.K.

this period which are found scattered in the numerous Ceylonese and Indian periodical publications may be mentioned among those which could assist the student of medieval history of Ceylon.

CHAPTER II

Relations between South India and Ceylon up to the Tenth Century

According to the traditions in the chronicles, the history of Ceylon begins with the arrival of Vijaya and his followers in Ceylon on the day of the passing away of the Buddha. What is mentioned in the first chapter of the Dīpavamsa or the Mahāvamsa with regard to the three visits of the Buddha to Ceylon¹ before the arrival of Vijaya does not seem to have any historical foundation. The date of the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha is still an open question, as it has been fixed at either 543 B.C. or around 482 B.C.² At the same time Vijaya himself does not appear to be a distinct historical person but rather a type symbolising the dispersal of Indo-Aryans outside India.³ The legend of Vijaya and his followers probably represents the earliest arrival of Aryans in Ceylon in considerable numbers.

These early immigrants came to be called later by the name of Siṃhalas or Sihalas (Sinhalese). It is significant

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1. Dv. chaps. I-II, XV.64-47; Mv., chap. I.
 2. UCR., V.no.2.pp.62-74; Mv., tr.Intro.pp.xxii-xxviii; Cv., pt.II, Intro.pp.1-7.
 3. CHJ., I no.3 pp.163-171.

that these early immigrants do not seem to have come from South India, ~~and their~~ Their traditions take them back to Lāla.¹ Lāla itself has so far eluded conclusive identification, being placed sometimes in Orissa, (ancient Kāliṅga), in Bengal and in Western India, and most recently in North-western India.² What is however significant is that the traditions confirmed by linguistic arguments do not connect the Sinhalese with South India. They had probably no contact with South India before they were firmly settled in Ceylon. But before very long the desire to obtain a Kṣatriya maiden brought them into contact with South India. It is said in the Mahāvamsa that after sometime the ministers of Vijaya requested him to obtain a Kṣatriya maiden for his formal consecration. As a result the daughter of the Paṇḍu (Pāṇḍya) king of Dakkhina Madhurā was brought to Ceylon. Accompanying her were 700 other maidens for his followers.³ Dakkhina Madhurā is identified with the Pāṇḍya capital in South India.⁴ The traditions of course connect the Pāṇḍyas with North India too.⁵

By about the third or secondary B.C. the idea that the

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1. Dv., IX.2-5; Mv., VI.5,36; VII.3.
 2. History of Ceylon, vol.I, pt.I, pp.33-41-85-93.
 3. Mv., VII.46-58.
 4. Mv., p.59 n.1.
 5. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, The Pāṇḍya Kingdom, p.15.

people of South India, if not their royal families, were of a racial stock different from that of the Sinhalese seems to have been prevalent. The term Damiḷa, presumably in the sense of Draviḍa or Tamil, is frequently mentioned in the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvāṃsa.¹ An early Brahmi inscription in Anurādhapura also refers to a number of different persons as "Dameḍas"² (i.e. Damiḷas or Tamils). Probably from early times Tamils from South India were among the immigrants to Ceylon. From early times they may have been considered distinct from the Sinhalese, but in the beginning there does not seem to have been any racial tension between the two peoples. The earliest discernible signs of racial discord began to appear with the spread of Buddhism in Ceylon, and its acceptance by the great majority of the Sinhalese. Buddhism appears to have been much less popular with the Tamil inhabitants and the Tamil adventurers who later invaded Ceylon.

The first recorded Tamil interference in the politics of Ceylon occurred in the reign of Sūratissa (second century B.C.), one of the younger brothers of Devānāṃpiyatissa. According to the Mahāvāṃsa, two Tamils, Sēna and Guttaka,

1. Dv., XVIII, 48; XIX, 17, 39, 40-2, 51, 53-4; XX, 43.
Mv., XXI, 10, 13; XXII, 82, 85; XXIII, 9, 11, 14, 16; XXXIII, 39-42, etc.,
 2. JRASCB., XXXV, no. 93, pp. 54-56.

sons of a freighter who brought horses to Ceylon (assanāvika) overthrew the ruling king and ruled for twenty-two years.¹ Neither their place of origin nor the way in which they succeeded in ousting the Sinhalese ruler is mentioned in the Ceylonese sources. A certain amount of confusion also prevails about the total length of their reigns.² It is possible that these adventurers had taken advantage of the political situation in the country in this period, which was seriously disturbed by a struggle for the throne after Devānāmpiyatissa. Events had compelled Mahānāga, the younger brother of Devānāmpiyatissa to flee to Rohana in the southern part of Ceylon and set himself up there.³ The Buddhist commentaries add that he went to India before he made his way to Rohana.⁴ Although it is not suggested in the chronicles that there was any hostility between the Anurādhapura and Rohana kingdoms, a lack of interest in the affairs of the older kingdom is quite apparent. The political conditions in Rohana in the beginning also appear to have been far from settled,⁵ and the Rohana kings were presumably in no condition to assist the Anurādhapura kings against the South Indian

1. Mv., XXI.10-11, Pujāvaliya (p.85) and Rājāvaliya (p.18) refer to them as asvacari and asuru respectively, meaning instructors in horsemanship and horsemen.
 2. Dv., XVIII.49; 12 years.
 3. Mv., XXII.2-6.
 4. E.W.Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, p.61.
 5. HC., I, pt. I, pp.145-150.

adventurers.

S. Parnavitana has suggested that the Tamil invasions into Ceylon in this period were perhaps connected with the decline of the Maurya empire after the death of Asoka. He assumes that the disappearance of the Maurya power could have led to an outburst of energy on the part of some South Indian adventurers, who not being contained by any restraint like the friendship between Asoka and Devānāmpiyatissa, sought their fortunes in Ceylon. He also infers that the neglect of defence and military pursuits by the Sinhalese as a result of the spread of Buddhism could have provided another such reason.¹ The inscriptions of Asoka refer to the South Indian kingdoms of Coḷa, Pāṇḍya, Keraḷaputta, Satiyaputta and Tambapaṇṇi only as border kingdoms.² Of course it was the wish of Asoka that all his neighbours should have confidence in him and remain friendly neighbours.³

According to these references it is rather doubtful whether Asoka would or could have exercised strict control over these distant territories. The early Tamil invasions of Ceylon were raids by political adventurers rather than invasions directed from any of the South Indian kingdoms at

1. HC., I, pt. I, p. 144.
2. CII., I, pp. 52, 70, 83.
3. R. Thapar, Asoka, p. 123.

the time. The strain on the economy as a result of the donations made towards Buddhism has also been adduced as a reason for the failure of the Sinhalese to withstand the Tamil inroads.¹ But the primitive nature of the cave donations made during the early period does not seem to substantiate the above assumption. Even if there had been some strain on the economy it would have been amply compensated by the unifying effect exercised by Buddhism, as is clearly demonstrated many times when Ceylon was invaded by South Indians.

The rule of Sēna and Guttaka has been dismissed in the chronicles in a few words with the passing statement that they ruled justly (dhammena).² They were in turn ousted by Aseḷa, another brother of Devānāmpiyatissa. But soon after he was swept away by another storm created by another Tamil named Eḷāra, from the Coḷa country. It is said that he was of noble descent,³ but nothing more of his antecedents is known. In his adversity he seems to have had no one to turn to in South India and even Bhalluka who came from India with the intention of helping him had been invited by one of his generals.⁴ In Ceylon he seems to have had the support of many Tamils, including twenty-

1. See supra, p. 46n.1.
 2. Dv., XVIII.49; Mv., XXI.II.
 3. Mv., XXI.13; Nv., XVIII.50-calls him a Kṣatriya.
 4. Mv., XXV.75-78.

four other Tamil princes.¹ Many Sinhalese in Rājarat̥ṭha were in his service, as is suggested by the Chronicle.² Elāra had tried to consolidate his position by making it acceptable to the Sinhalese. He employed Sinhalese in his service, respected Buddhism, maintained strict justice and in many ways tried to follow the ancient canons of just rule.³ During his rule many more Tamils would have found their way to Ceylon. The number of Tamils killed during the subsequent war between the Tamils and the Sinhalese is said to have been millions.⁴ These figures may be greatly exaggerated and may have little relation to the actual facts.

The establishment of Tamil rule in Rājarat̥ṭha by Elāra would have widened the gap between Rohana and Anurādhapura, but at the same time it resulted in the rise of a unified Sinhalese kingdom following the defeat of Elāra by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī from Rohana. At one stage the followers of Elāra had even tried to cross the Mahavāli-gaṅga which formed the boundary between Rohana and Rājarat̥ṭha.⁵ According to the Rājāvaliya, Kāvantissa, father of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, had even paid tribute (kappan) to Elāra.⁶

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1. Mv., XXV.75; Sumangalavilāsini, vol. II, p.640; Rasavāhini, pt. II, pp.73-5; Sahassavattu, p.95ff.
 2. Mv., XXIII.4; XXV.16-18.
 3. Mv., XXI.15-34.
 4. Mv., XXIII.16; XXV.25, 46, 108; Pjv., p.86; Rjv. p.31; Rjr. p.II.
 5. Mv., XXIII.16; XXV.7-19.
 6. Rjv., p.18.

The identification of Eḷāra remains obscure to this day. Once it was pointed out that he resembled in many ways Manu Coḷa of the Periyapurāṇam, and also the sea-captain Eḷāla Singan of popular traditions in South India.¹ These suggestions have neither received any acceptance nor helped his identification. Many of the good deeds attributed to Eḷāra have been attributed to others in Tamil literature and epigraphs.² The Eḷāra account in the Mahāvamsa is by far the longest account of any non-Sinhalese ruler, and the most favourable one. He was respected by both Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and the author of the Mahāvamsa.³ The Sinhalese chronicles written after the twelfth century, on the other hand, display a very uncompromising attitude to Eḷāra,⁴ which is in contrast to what is found in the earlier Pāli works.

The success of the Tamils in ousting the local rulers would have driven home to the Sinhalese the danger that lay in the proximity of Ceylon to the Indian mainland, and to South India in particular. But during this time no attempt seems to have been made to find allies in South India against these Tamils. The king of Rohana, on the other hand, tried to unite the Sinhalese against the Tamils. In doing so

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1. CALR., X.no.2, p.115; HC., I pt.I, p.145.
 2. Periyapurāṇam, Madras Ed., pp.10-11; Kālingattup-parani, p.103, (Klgp) Canto.viii, v.10; SII., V.no.456.
 3. Mv., XXI.13-34; XXV.72-74.
 4. Rjv., pp.18-31; Pjv., p.85.

Buddhism probably proved a powerful factor. The subsequent war between the Sinhalese and the Tamils led by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Elāra respectively went against the latter, and Elāra died on the battlefield. In the meantime one of the Tamil commanders had sought help from his nephew in India. He came with 70,000 others seven days after the death of Elāra, and died on the same day being pierced by an arrow.¹ With his death the threat of the Tamils subsided for the time being, and for the next three centuries no mention is made of the Coḷas.

An important development in Ceylon by this time was the place of Buddhism in the country. It had won the hearts of the Sinhalese and their kings, and occupied a very high place in the land. The position of non-Buddhist rulers became incompatible with the almost established position of Buddhism. Thus we see the careful distinction drawn by the author of the Mahāvamsa between the kingly virtues of Elāra and his failure to put aside false belief.² Respect for ancient tradition and the Saṅgha would not have been the same as protection and patronage for Buddhism. At the same time the followers of Elāra had not shown even nominal respect for Buddhism and the religious establishments.³

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1. Mv., XXV.75-93.
 2. Mv., XXI.21-6.
 3. Mv., XXIII.9-11.

It may be said that these early developments led to the subsequent idea that one had necessarily to be a Buddhist to occupy the throne of Ceylon.¹

The reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and his successor Saddhātissa passed without any further foreign interference in Ceylon politics. But after the death of the latter political conditions began to deteriorate fast with internal dissension and open rebellion. The economy of the country suffered from famines and over-enthusiastic patronage of Buddhism. While there was much confusion in the country seven Tamils identified as Pāṇḍyas landed at Mahātittḥa with a large following.² The Sinhalese chronicles add that they disembarked simultaneously in seven different places.³ Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, the reigning Sinhalese king, caught between the invading Tamils and a rebellious Brāhmaṇa Tīya (Tissa) in Rohana tried to play one against the other. The Tamils first defeated Tīya and then attacked Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. The latter fled to Malayadesa (the central highlands of Ceylon), and remained there for fourteen years.

Two of the seven Tamils had gone back to India with the Bowl-relic of the Buddha and Somādevī, one of the queens of

1. Rahula, pp.63-71; EZ., II, p.122.

2. HC., I, pt. I, p.166 n.6.

3. Pjv., p.89-90; Rjv., p.32; Rjr., p.13.

Vatṭagāmaṇī. The other five ruled in ~~the~~ Rājaraṭṭha for fourteen years, each successive ruler killing his predecessor. The Pali commentaries written before the Mahāvamsa credit Tīya with a rule of fourteen years while making no mention of the Tamils themselves.¹ It is however possible that Tīya was in control of Rohana, while the Tamils held Rājaraṭṭha. The fact that he stayed in Malayadeśa also suggests the presence of powerful forces in Rohana and Rājaraṭṭha. There was also much disunity among the Sinhalese, and Vatṭagāmaṇī himself could not always keep his followers together. Eventually he succeeded in defeating the Tamils, and with that ended the third episode of Tamil rule in Ceylon.

For some time thereafter no allusion is made to Tamils, though it is likely that they were still in Ceylon in considerable numbers, and could not have been expelled altogether by Vatṭagāmaṇī. In fact, the Mahāvamsa refers to two Tamils, Vaṭuka and Niliya, who occupied the throne for a very short time a few years later. The former was a carpenter in the city, and the latter a purohita attached to the palace.² Their rule, of course, did not assume the

1. HC., I, pt. I, pp. 166-7; Adikaram, pp. 73-76.

2. Mv., xxxiv, 19-24.

form of foreign rule as such, since they were only the paramours of queen Anulā. In the meantime political conditions had continued to dev^{er}iorate, till in the reign of Iḷanāga (35-44 A.C.) a strong clan called the Lambakannas raised the standard of revolt and forced the king to seek refuge in India. In similar circumstances of political unrest in Ceylon South Indians had interfered in Ceylon politics before, but in this instance one of the aggrieved parties crossed over to India in search of safety and material aid.

All that is known of the place of Iḷanāga's exile is that it was on "the western shore of the sea."¹ This term may refer to the Keraḷa kingdom, on the western coast of South India. On his return to Ceylon he brought Indian soldiers, with whose aid he recovered the throne. He was the first Sinhalese ruler on record to have brought Indian soldiers to settle internal disputes. His son was Candamukha Siva whose queen was a Tamil lady (Damiḷādevī). But the Tamil element itself seems to have failed to make a great impact during this time because, hardly twenty years later the Lambakannas under the leadership of Vasabha assumed the control in Anurādhapura.

1. Mv., xxxv.26.

The Lambakanna dynasty founded by Vasabha lasted till the time of Cattagāhaka (c.425 A.C.) and according to the Pali chronicles no foreign invasion disturbed Ceylon throughout this period. The comparatively late Sinhalese works, Pūjāvaliya, Rājaratnākara and Rājāvaliya, however, refer to a Coḷa invasion in the reign of Vaṅkanāsikatissa (109-112 A.C.), and to a brilliant counter-invasion led by his son Gajabāhukagāmaṇī (112-134 A.C.).¹ It has been assumed that there was considerable political unrest soon after the death of Vasabha, and an invasion from South India about the same time would not seem impossible.² It is surprising indeed how the Mahāvamsa author should have been ignorant of these events, specially the significant success attributed to Gajabāhu.

There is, however, no unanimity, even among the Sinhalese sources, as far as the career of Gajabāhu is concerned. For instance, the Pūjāvaliya, the earliest of the Sinhalese works to incorporate this new account, states that when it was brought to the notice of Gajabāhu that people from Ceylon were going to Kāvērī[paṭṭanam] for service in his own time, he went to the Coḷa country, and after displaying

1. Pjv., p.93; Rjv., pp.34-5; Rjr. p.20.
 2. HC.I, pt.I, pp.181-5.

his physical prowess, brought back those who had gone for service, and issued a proclamation that thereafter no Sinhalese were to be conscripted for such compulsory service. It also adds that he placed guards along the coast.¹ There is no reference here to any previous invasion from the Coḷa country as such. The next account in point of time is found in the Rājarathākara, which follows the former literally, except for the additional detail that the Bowl-relic, taken to India in the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, was brought back by Gajabāhu.²

The Rājāvaliya gives the latest account, which is also the most elaborate, with the thickest coating of fiction and legend. This illustrates how much extraneous material came to be added to earlier traditions. As a result the whole account assumes a marvellous and romantic nature. It records that in the time of the father of Gajabāhu a Coḷa king invaded Ceylon, and took away as many as 12,000 men as prisoners. When it came to the notice of the latter under rather romantic circumstances, he went to the Coḷa country, accompanied only by his warrior Nīla, and having terrified the Coḷa king, returned to Ceylon with the 12,000 Sinhalese and another 12,000 Tāmils. In addition, he brought with

1. See ~~in the previous page~~ supra, p. 54 n.1.

2. See supra, n.1 above.

him the golden anklet of the goddess Pattini, the symbolic weapons of the Four-fold gods and the Bowl-relic. The Tamil prisoners were settled in the western and central parts of the island.

A detailed analysis of this account exposes its shaky foundations. It is hard to believe that Gajabāhu was completely unaware of an invasion if it had taken place in his father's reign. Nor could one seriously accept his breath-taking display at the court of the Coḷa king. Similarly the list of places where the Coḷa prisoners were settled reveals the late origin of the whole account.¹ The fact that the Dīpavamsa, the Mahāvamsa and the Vamsatthappa-kāsini (Mahāvamsa-tīkā) have all remained ignorant of these events suggests either that the whole account was added later, at a time when Tamil books were fairly popular with the Sinhalese scholars, and the Pattini cult itself was widely known in Ceylon, or the authors of these Pali works for some unknown reason left these traditions out of their works altogether.² Here one may suggest that the failure of the Mahāvamsa author to include the exploits of Gajabāhu

1. Rjv., p. 35: Alutkūruva, Hārasiyapattuva, Yatinuvara, Udunuvara, Tumpane, Hewahāta, Pansiyapattuva, Egodathiha and Megodathiha.

2. See HC., I pt. I, p. 184.

was because he would not have wished to diminish thereby the greatness of his hero, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, but the fact that the earlier chronicle, Dīpavamsa which had no such hero, also makes no mention of it robs this suggestion of its poignancy.

The only obstacle to the total dismissal of the Gajabāhu account in the Sinhalese works is the Silappadikāram, which is completely independent of the Ceylonese traditions. This Tamil classic, the older parts of which were compiled some time between the third and the seventh centuries, mentions that Kayavāhu (i.e. Gajabāhu) the king of Laṅkā surrounded by the sea visited the court of Seṅguṭṭuvan, the Cera king, on the occasion of the consecration of the goddess Pattini (Kannagi). It states further that Kayavāhu built a temple in Ceylon in honour of Kannagi.¹ The association of Gajabāhu with the cult of Pattini has taken deep root in Ceylon, and figures prominently in popular literature.² Apart from the Pattini cult, and the visit of Kayavāhu to the Cera court, however, there is no other information to establish the accuracy of the account of a Coḷa invasion to Ceylon, or a counter-invasion of the Sinhalese.

pp. 7, 14, 35, 31.

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- ed. H. Kasi-Visvanathan Seetiyar, p. 18, 3, 633.
1. Silappadikāram tr. V. R. R. Dikshitar, UCR., VI. No. 2., pp. 96-105; VII pp. 21-7; see also S. K. Aiyengar, Some contributions of South India to Indian Culture, pp. 87-95; Ancient India, chap. 14; V. R. Dikshitar, Studies in Tamil Literature and History, pp. 3-4.
 2. H. C. P. Bell, The Kegalle Report, p. 56; Spolia Zeylanica, XXVI pt. 2 pp. 251-263.

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 There/, however, traditions of an early Coḷa ruler Karikāla, who is said to have invaded foreign countries, and constructed the bounds of the river Kāvērī with the labour of prisoners.¹ The date of Karikāla has not been settled, nor is the identity of Śenguttuvan Cera because of the number of Cera kings who bore this name. There is also no South Indian tradition of an invasion of Ceylon by Karikāla, nor of the employment of Sinhalese in the work on the Kāvērī. Karikāla himself has been the centre of much popular tradition. The first recorded mention of the work on the Kāvērī is comparatively late. These factors make one seriously doubt the Gajabāhu account in the Sinhalese chronicles, except for the possibility that he was in some way connected with the introduction of the Pattini cult to Ceylon, which was later explained by the Sinhalese authors in a romantic way.

The political conditions in Ceylon towards the end of the second century were completely unsettled, and this state of affairs continued during the following century too. Disunity between king Vohārikatissa (214-236 A.C.) and his brother Abhayanāga led to the flight of the latter to

1. S.K.Aiyengar, Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, pp. 90-1; The Coḷas, p.36.

India. Later he is reported to have come back with many Tamils and captured the throne.¹ The third century in Ceylon was a period of religious conflicts, and these brought^{to} Ceylon a monk named Sanghamitta, from the Cola country.² According to the Mahāvamsa he persuaded king Mahāsena (276-303 A.C) to discriminate against the Mahāvihāra monks, and as a result there was much religious and political upheaval in Ceylon. Eventually he was killed, and the king was reconciled with the Mahāvihāra. There was no disturbance thereafter till the death of Mahānāma (410-432 A.C). One of his queens had been a Tamil lady,³ and the son born to her was named Sotthisena. In the absence of other male heirs Sotthisena ascended the throne, but on the very day of his accession was put to death at the instigation of his half-sister Saṅghā. It would appear from the Cūlavamsa account that the objection against Sotthisena was that his mother was a Tamil.

Not long after the murder of Sotthisena there occurred another Tamil invasion of Ceylon, led by a Tamil named Paṇḍu.

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1. Mv., XXXVI.49-51.
 2. Mv., XXXVI.112. Nikāyasāṅgrahaya (Nks) p.15: says that he was residing in Kanci.
 3. Cūlavamsa (Cv.) XXXVIII.1.

One may wonder whether this invasion was in any way connected with the death of Soththisena. The Tamils overran Rājaraṭṭha, and remained there for twenty-seven years. In the meantime the Sinhalese chiefs fled to Rohaṇa taking their families with them. There is a certain amount of disagreement among the Ceylonese sources regarding the identity of these Tamils. The Cūlavamsa, for instance, fails to mention anything else but their being Tamils, ^{that} and their leaders were six in number with Paṇḍu at their head.¹ The Rājāvaliya, on the other hand, states that seven Tamils came from the Coḷa country and ruled in Ceylon for 27 years.² The Pūjāvaliya also calls them Coḷas.³ It has however been assumed that they were Pāṇḍyas, presumably because of the name of their leader. But going by this as well as the other names alone it is difficult to determine their real identity. The activities of the Kaḷabhras in South India about this time has also been adduced as a probable reason for the coming of Tamils to Ceylon in this period.⁴ These Tamils however defied many attacks by the Sinhalese, and were at last vanquished by Dhātusena. Dhātusena was a very resourceful man, and

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1. Cv., XXXVIII.11-13, 29-34.
 2. Rjv., p.39.
 3. Pjv., p.99.
 4. HC., I/I, p.292; see infra, p.77-3.

can be considered a veritable forerunner of Vijayabāhu I.

There is very little information in ^{our} ~~the~~ sources about the rule of these Tamils. The Cūlavamsa, for instance, states that while the Tamils ruled on one side of the river (i.e. Mahāvāluka-gaṅgā), the Sinhalese ruled on the other side.¹ But indirect evidence from the same source and the inscriptions seem to suggest a far wider dispersal of the power of the Tamils.² It is also said in the Cūlavamsa that Buddhism suffered much under these Tamils,³ which is also contradicted by the inscriptions. S.Paranavitana has identified some donors of grants to the Saṅgha as two of these Tamil rulers. This identification would alter considerably the information in the Cūlavamsa regarding the extent of their authority, and their attitude to Buddhism.⁴ It is possible that their interest in Buddhism was dictated by political expediency, or they may have been Buddhists themselves. After all even the Cūlavamsa says that one of them, Khuddha Pārinda, did many things, both meritorious and evil.⁵

1. Cv., XXXVIII.12.

2. Cv., XXXVIII.37; CJSc., II. pp.181-182. EZ., III., pp.216-219; IV. pp.111-115.

3. Cv., XXXVIII.37-38.

4. See supra, p. n.2 above.

5. Cv., XXXVIII.31.

Dhātusena who had rescued the country from the Tamils met with a violent end at the hands of his son, Kassapa, born of a woman of inferior rank. In the meantime his half-brother Moggallāna had fled to India. Eighteen years later he came back with twelve others,¹ probably those who had gone from Ceylon, and having raised an army in Ceylon, defeated Kassapa, and established himself at Anurādhapura. It is said that he placed guards along the sea-coast, to ward off danger from the opposite coast. From this period onwards, however, greater awareness was shown on the dangers from outside, and not long after one of the princes himself was entrusted with the guard of the sea-coast.²

The greater part of the sixth century saw stable political conditions in Ceylon, but with the beginning of the following century, frequent contests for the throne undermined the stability of the country. The monks were also restive at times, and engaged in political activities.³ Treachery was rampant among the nobles, and famines ravaged the land.⁴ It was when things were in such a state that a

1. Cv., XXXIX.20-1: dvādasaggasahāyavā. The statement in HC.I/I, p.298 that Moggallana brought an army with him is only supported by the Sinhalese works.

2. Cv., XXXIX.57; XLI.36.

3. Cv., XLIV, 29, 74-80; XLV.31-35.

4. Cv., XLIV.15, 61-6, 123-4; XLI.75-79 etc.,

Sinhalese general named Sirināga, who had earlier fled to India, came back with many Tamils. But his attempt to forestall the ruling king ended in complete failure. Many Tamils were killed in the process, and those who escaped death were made slaves.¹ During this period it became quite common for defeated parties to flee to India, and come back with Tamil forces to retrieve their position.² Those who succeeded often became virtually prisoners of these foreign mercenaries. The civil wars which accompanied these events had disastrous effects, and the people suffered great misery. Some of the kings even tried to replenish their empty coffers by looting the monastic establishments. Their example was followed by the Tamil mercenaries.³

Māna was one of the few Sinhalese chiefs who tried to stem this tide, but his efforts were frustrated by the defiance of the Tamils. Soon after he himself was driven out of Anurādhapura and the Tamils installed their own Sinhalese nominee, named Hatthadāṭha, on the throne.⁴ Tamil soldiers had indeed assumed the rôle of king-makers in Ceylon, at least for a short time. Sinhalese kings

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1. Cv., XLIV, 70-73.
 2. Cv., XLIV, 94, 103-104, 152-153.
 3. Cv., XLIV, 131-142.
 4. Cv., XIV, 11-21.

like Dāthopatiss (II) and Aggabodhi (IV) were entirely dependent on the Tamils and their chief officials were also Tamils. The Tamil chiefs also figure as some of the greatest patrons of Buddhism at the time.¹ But the Tamils themselves did not assume nominal rule, instead they exercised effective control through their Sinhalese nominees. During this same period Polonnaruva [Pulatthinagara] became an alternate capital for a few kings, when Anurādhapura became a hot-bed of rebellions.²

The accession of Mānavamma in 684 A.C. brought an end to the spell cast by the Tamil mercenaries. Mānavamma himself had been in exile in the Pallava capital, and had seized the throne with Pallava aid.³ But his strong personality prevented the usurpation of authority by these foreign troops: and the Pallava kings do not seem to have taken political advantage of his obligations to them. The importance of his accession is apparent from the fact that the Cūlavamsa author also regards him as the founder of a new dynasty, even when there was no complete break in the royal line.⁴ The identification of Mānavamma

1. Cv., XLVI.19-22.

2. Cv., XLVI.34; XLVIII.74; XLIX.9; L.10 etc.; See also CJSc., 11, pp. 141-7.

3. Cv., XLVIII.1-61; see also History of South India, p.144.

4. Cv., XLVII.1-3; LVII.25-26.

however is not without difficulty, owing to the rather difficult state of the Cūlavamsa account.¹

The Mānavamma dynasty which lasted well over three hundred years till the end of Sinhalese rule in Anurādhapura in the tenth century, can be roughly divided into two equal periods. The first half of this long period enjoyed comparative peace, while the second half was marked by violent invasions from South India. The latter half also saw the increasing use of Polonnaruva as a temporary capital. Among other significant events was a revolt of the chiefs of Uttaradeśa (Northern provinces).² The influence of the Tamils in the country is indirectly suggested by the costly gifts made to Hindu shrines and Brāhman^as by Mahinda II, and also his charitable endowments to Tamils.³ The presence of Tamils and even Tamil villages in Ceylon during these centuries is confirmed by the contemporary inscriptions.⁴

The political disintegration which started with the accession of Mahinda II (777-797 A.C) continued till the Pāṇḍya invasion in the reign of Sena I (833-853 A.C). The latter himself succeeded to a shaky throne, with another

1. Cv., XLV. 51-82; XLVII; LVII. 4-26; HC., I pt. I, pp. 316-7.
2. Cv., XLVIII. 83-113.
3. Cv., XLVIII. 143-6; L. 5.
4. EZ., I, p. 170, 249; II, p. 38; III, pp. 80, 140, 277; IV, p. 45, 54, 252 etc.

Mahinda, one of the claimants to the throne still living in India. Sena however, succeeded in disposing of him with the aid of secret¹ agents, but before he could consolidate his position the Pāṇḍyas invaded Ceylon. One may wonder whether Mahinda was a guest of the Pāṇḍya court, and his assassination could have precipitated reprisals by the Pāṇḍyas. Whatever the reason, the Pāṇḍyas first invaded Uttaradeśa, and having overcome the opposition of the Sinhalese, marched on to the capital. According to the Oṽlavamsa they were joined by many Tamils who were already in Ceylon. Sena fled to Rohaṇa, and the Pāṇḍyas sacked the capital and the monastic buildings, and, "made the island of Lanka deprived of all her valuables, leaving the splendid city in a state, as if it had been plundered by the yakkhas." The Pāṇḍya king, thereafter agreed to restore the kingdom to Sena on condition that he surrendered the remaining treasures to the Pāṇḍyas, to which Sena was compelled to agree.²

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1. Cv., I.4-5. Rjr. (p.30) and Rjv. (p.41) place this invasion in the reign of Kuda-Dapulu (ie., Dappula II, 815-831 A.C), and the counter-invasion in the reign of his successor Mugayin Sen (Sena II of the Cv. and Pjv.) Pjv. and Nks. add that it was Sena I's association with corrupt monks which was responsible for his misfortunes.
 2. Cv., I.12-42.

The name of the Pāṇḍya king who is said to have personally conducted this campaign is not mentioned in the Ceylonese sources, but a comparison of the dates and the events in the Cūlavamsa and the Pāṇḍya inscriptions may render it possible to establish his identity. It is generally assumed that the Pāṇḍya king referred to here is Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha (815-862 A.C). This finds confirmation from the Larger Sinnāmanūr plates of his grandson, Rājasimha, which refer to the defeat of the king of the Sinhala and many other Indian rulers, by ~~Śrīvallabha~~ Śrīmāra.¹

In the meantime developments in the Pāṇḍya capital, where Śrīmāra was still reigning, seem to have provided ~~to~~ the Sinhalese/^{with} an opportunity to avenge the defeat and the indignities inflicted by the Pāṇḍyas. The Cūlavamsa at this point introduces an element of surprise and mystery to the account in describing how Sena II (853-887 A.C) discovered the damage suffered during the immediately preceding reign.² It is said that about the same time the son of the Pāṇḍya king, being ill-treated by his father, sought the help of Sena. Sena decided to take immediate action and despatched an army to the Pāṇḍya country.

1. SII., III, pp.441-460, vII.
 2. Cv., LI.22-6.

Within no time Madurai passed into the hands of the Sinhalese, and the Pāṇḍya king was defeated and made to flee. During his flight he succumbed to his wounds. The Sinhalese commander then entrusted Madura to the Pāṇḍya prince, and returned to Ceylon.¹

This account in the Cūlavamsa is confirmed by the Sinhalese texts as well as the contemporary inscriptions.² The date of these events is also given by one of the inscriptions, which places it in the ninth year of Sena (862).³ This date according to the now generally accepted reckoning corresponds to the last known year of Śrīmāra. There is however still some disagreement regarding the identity of the Pāṇḍya prince who sought the assistance of Sena. The general assumption is that he was Varagunavarman II, the son of Śrīmāra. Some scholars are disinclined to accept this identification on the grounds that there is no positive evidence of a breach between father and son.⁴ But silence need not necessarily mean the impossibility of an estrangement; on the other

1. Cv.,II.27-47.
 2. EZ.,II,No.6-9 pp.25-48; V,p.104 and n.4.
 3. EZ.,II,pp.42-49.
 4. EI.,XXXII, pt.IV, pp.269-276.

hand, it is possible that the Sinhalese and those South Indians who had suffered from the attacks of Śrīmāra could have resorted to means other than military to defeat him. They may have succeeded in estranging the father and the son, and the latter in his eagerness to assume the crown which his father had already worn for nearly half a century, would have succumbed to the overtures of secret agents. This is indirectly suggested by the Cūlavamsa, which says that he (i.e. the Pāṇḍya prince) resolved to gain kingship for himself.¹

These events are important for the subsequent history of Ceylon. The weakening of the Pāṇḍya power and the disappearance of the Pallavas as a power about the same time made it possible for the Coḷas to acquire a paramount position in South India, and later even to interfere in Ceylon with far-reaching consequences. This also brings us to a close of the first period of contact between Ceylon and South India.

The entire period, from the earliest times to about the tenth century, reveals certain important features, which demarcate this from the later periods. The chief source of information for most of these relations, and for the position of the Tamils in Ceylon is the Mahāvamsa and

1. Cv., LI.27-8.

the Cūlavamsa. They represent the attitudes of the monks who were the custodians of Buddhism in Ceylon. The monks appear to have suffered most from the hostile activities of the South Indian invaders. As a result their attitudes to the Tamils may be even more prejudiced than that of the people at large. During the earliest period, however, there were the complications created by South Indian adventurers, who were generally called Damīlas.¹ Sometimes they are said to have come from the Coḷa country.² In the beginning Damīls was only a generic term applied to all South Indians.³ In the comparatively late Sinhalese works all the early South Indian adventurers were regarded as to have come from the Coḷa country.⁴ The outstanding South Indian adventurer to have invaded Ceylon in the earlier period was Eḷāra. His activities and those of his followers have to a large extent coloured the attitude of the Mahāvamsa and the other works based on the Mahāvamsa towards the Tamils. The next invasion was a Pāṇḍya invasion which landed in

1. See supra, p.44. .
 2. See supra, pp.25,47,54-5.
 3. See also Geographical Essays, vol.I, B.C.Law, pp.76-80.
 4. See supra, n.2 above. .

Ceylon in the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇīabhaya¹ (89-76 B.C.). There is also the account in the Sinhalese works of a Coḷa invasion of Ceylon in the time of Vaṅkanāsikatissa (109-112 A.C.), which, as we have discussed, finds no direct confirmation from any other source.² Thereafter we know of two other invasions, one led by Tamils of uncertain origin in the time of Mittasena (428 A.C.),³ and the last by the Pāṇḍyas during the reign of Sena I (833-853 A.C.).⁴

During all these centuries the Coḷas were an insignificant political factor in South India, and had no direct relations with Ceylon. Relations with the Pāṇḍyas, on the other hand, were more frequent. In the beginning the Sinhalese did not turn to any South Indian power against these adventurers, but tried to contain them by closing their ranks and putting up a united front.⁵ In the meantime a number of Sinhalese kings and princes, starting with Iḷanāga (35-44 A.C.) fled to India and came back with Tamil armies to retrieve their thrones or to fight against their rivals.⁶ Some of the leaders of these mercenary armies

1. See supra, p.51. .
 2. See supra, pp.54-8.
 3. See supra, pp.59-62.
 4. See supra, pp.65-9.
 5. See supra, pp.48, 60-1.
 6. See supra, pp.53, 58-9, 62 n1, 63-4.

later assumed effective control of Rājaraṭṭha, but refrained from assuming nominal control. This was a conspicuous feature during the greater part of the seventh century. These Tamil forces who came to Ceylon at this time were perhaps drawn from the Keraḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, as would appear evident from the later references.¹ The presence of Tamils in many parts of the country is confirmed by the Cūlavamsa and the inscriptions, and there seems to have been no open hostility between the Sinhalese and the Tamils during this particularly period. Exceptions to this however are not unknown, as we have from the strictures placed against the appointment of Tamils as district chiefs (rat-nā) and giving daughters in marriage to them.² The Cūlavamsa also sometimes refers to the Tamils in not very complementary terms.³ But on the whole the Tamils appear to have become part of the population, though perhaps not well integrated with the Sinhalese owing to the differences in language, religion and social customs. The monks seem to have made their peace with the Tamils too, as some

1. See infra, p.112.
 2. EZ., III, p.80, D.11.14-16.
 3. CV., L.22 - as base people (nīcānam); XLV.19 - as despicable Tamils (paribhūta); see also infra, p.125. supra p.66.

of the latter became generous patrons of Buddhism.¹

The first rude shock to this state of affairs came with the change in the political situation in South India in the ninth century, when the Pāṇḍyas built up a powerful kingdom under the leadership of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha (815-862 A.C.). This resulted in a change in the pattern of the relations between South India and Ceylon. The Pallavas were the first to acquire an important ~~large~~ kingdom south of the Kṛṣṇa-Tungabadhra rivers, but it had brought no disturbing repercussions on Ceylon. But with the rise of the Pāṇḍyas the isolation of Ceylon was shattered and the Sinhalese were awakened to the dangers of the Tamils inside and outside the country. The Pāṇḍyas followed a very aggressive policy and expanded both northwards and southwards. They invaded Ceylon during the reign of Sena I.² A few years later however the concerted might of the enemies of Śrīmāra brought a sudden end to his power and replaced him with another on the Pāṇḍya throne. This was done with the active assistance of Sena II³ too, and from that time onwards the Pāṇḍyas

1. See supra, pp. 24, 3, 64.
2. See supra, pp. 65-66.
3. See supra, pp. 67-69.

and the Sinhalese were in close alliance. But the decisive stage of the Pāṇḍya-Sinhalese alliance which became a crucial factor later came with the rise of the Coḷas into prominence a few decades later. With the emergence of the Coḷas the Pāṇḍyas in their adversity depended more and more on the Sinhalese. This relationship became the corner-stone of their relations. The events which followed soon afterwards, leading to the invasion of Ceylon by Coḷa Parāntaka I, can be considered a direct corollary of this alliance.

CHAPTER III

FIRST PHASE: RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SINHALESE AND THE COLAS UP TO THE TIME OF RAJARAJA I.

(985-1014 A.C.)

The first phase of the relations between the Colas and the Sinhalese begins with the accession of Parāntaka I (906-955 A.C.) to the Cola throne. The Colas, as we have already seen, occupied an insignificant position on the South Indian political scene till the middle of the ninth century. The few Ceylonese references to the Colas or to those who were said to have come from the Cola country¹ in the earlier period have very little bearing on the subsequent periods. But the impression created by the Cola invasions of Ceylon after the ninth century was so great that it had a retrospective effect, so that the previous invasions by South Indians were attributed to the Colas by the Sinhalese chroniclers later.² It also hardened their attitude to the Tamils in general and to the Colas in particular. The cumulative effect of these developments, certainly fostered by the Buddhist historical writings, was that it created a certain

1. see supra pp. 70 n2.

2. see supra n. 1 above.

amount of distrust and fear of the Coḷas among the Sinhalese, and they came to be regarded as the greatest enemies of the Sinhalese and their culture. But this may have been only a result of the Coḷa invasions of Ceylon after the ninth century, while the attitude of the Sinhalese towards the Coḷas before this period itself remains unknown. A long period of comparative obscurity separates the Coḷas of the Vijayālaya line (9th-13th century) from those mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions and Saṅgam literature. The Coḷa dynasty which started with Vijayālaya appears to have been singularly prolific in kings of more than average ability, and they came in regular succession. This made it possible for them to create and maintain with great efficiency a large empire, which embraced much of South India. Their numerous inscriptions portray a highly organized state, with a well-developed system of rural self-government. The Coḷa conquest of, and control over the greater part of Ceylon, and their interference in the affairs of Srīvijaya are the first recorded maritime adventures by any Indian state up to that time, or even afterwards.

The Coḷas, Pāṇdyas and Kēraḷas in South India are frequently mentioned from the time of Aśoka¹. The Coḷas

1. ~~see also, above~~ S.V.Pillai, History of Tamil Language and Literature, pp.7-8. The Coḷas, pp.18-23. Indian Antiquary (IA) XIII, pp.332-3, 362, 368. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, Foreign notices of South India, pp.1-92.

originally occupied the Tanjore and Trichinopoly areas along the Kāvērī river. Their origins lie buried in the legends of the distant past, while their earlier history may be partly traced in the literary works of the Third Saṅgam, which have been assigned to the period between the last two centuries B.C., and the first two or three centuries A.C. The facts recorded in these works are neither very systematic, nor completely authentic, and they are often mixed with popular tradition. Whatever is relevant has to be interpreted in the light of other independent sources. According to these literary traditions the Coḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keraḷas seem to have shared the political scene of South India from the earliest times.

The history of the Coḷas after the end of the Saṅgam period until the rise of Vijayālaya is obscure. According to Buddhist literature, and also to South Indian traditions, some time before the sixth century A.C. a people called the Kalabhras seem to have temporarily occupied much of South India.¹ Thereafter the Pallavas, the Cālukyas of Vātāpi (Badāmi) and the Pāṇḍyas appear to have dominated the political scene. The Coḷas themselves seem to have played no significant role in this time. It has been suggested that some of the Coḷa

1. Buddhadatta's Manuals (PTS), ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, pt. II, pp. 228-9. The Coḷas, pp. 101-102; JIH., VIII, p. 74; XXXIV, pp. 182-9.

princes may have sought their fortunes elsewhere in India during this long period.¹ In the meantime the name of the Coḷas was kept alive by some princes and chieftains, but their connection either with the Saṅgam Coḷas or the later Coḷas remains unknown.² It would appear that they were feudatory, and paid tribute to their more powerful neighbours such as the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas.

The turning point in the history of the Coḷas came with the accession of Vijayālaya [c. 846-880 A.C.]. He was a vassal of the Pallavas, and so was his son Āditya for some time. The continuous wars between the Cālukyas and the Pallavas on one side, and the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas on the other side, had left all these contestants very much weakened. As a result, one by one, they had begun to disappear from the political scene. The first to go were the Cālukyas, and their place was taken by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The next on the way out were the Pallavas who were soon replaced by the Coḷas. The Pāṇḍyas however continued to hold their own till they were defeated by the Coḷas.

Little is known of Vijayālaya, the founder of the Coḷa dynasty, except for the later traditions in the inscriptions

1. The Coḷas, pp.100-101.

2. EI., VI p.11; XI, pp.337-345; XXVII, pp.220-251. SII., I, p.152; II, pp.510,512; III, pp.459, 461-2. The Christian College Magazine, Madras, Jan. 1929, pp.7-18; TAS., III. p.108.

of his more illustrious successors. These traditions attribute to him the occupation of Tanjore, and the building of a temple to the goddess Niśumbhaśūdinī (Durgā) there.¹ The other traditions about his valour in battle are very vague.² It is possible that he succeeded in extending his authority over a considerable area around Tanjore, probably taking advantage of the still-raging Pallava-Pāṇḍya conflict. The fact that he dated his inscriptions³ in his own regnal years may suggest that he was already independent of the Pallavas. He is also the first Coḷa ruler who seems to have used the title "Parakēsari", while his son called himself "Rājakēsari".⁴

The son and successor of Vijayālaya was Āditya (c.871-907 A.C.) Under him the Coḷa kingdom continued to expand, and finally shook off the yoke of the Pallavas. There is more information about his reign, but it is still difficult to extract sober historical events from these eulogistic accounts.⁵

1. EI., XVIII, p.52, vv.53-54; SII., III, p.418, vv.44-46.

2. EI., XV, p.68, v.16; XXII, p.255, v.13.

3. A.R.E., 1909, No.675; 1915, No.164; The Coḷas, p.111.

4. Tradition however avers that these titles were as old as the earliest times, but their actual use can be traced only as far back as Vijayālaya and his son. See Klgp., canto, VIII, s.114 p.107; st. v. 14; EI., XVIII, p.51, vv.36-37; XXII, p.255, v.7; SII., III, p.416, vv.30-31.

5. EI., XVIII, p.52, v.55; XV, p.68; vv.17-18; XXII, p.255 v.14; SII., III, p.418 v.47.

His most outstanding achievement appears to have been the defeat of the Pallava ruler Aparājita, and the conquest of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam.¹ The opportunity for this victory was provided by the struggle between the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas. Whether Āditya edged them on to a resumption of hostilities, expecting to gain thereby is purely conjectural. But such a course of action had its dangers as it could have led to the defeat of one and the emergence of the other in an even stronger position. In fact, the battle of Śrī Puṛambiyam where Āditya himself is assumed to have fought on the side of Aparājita, the Pallavas had emerged victorious.² But before the Pallavas could consolidate their gain, Āditya seems to have turned on them and killed Aparājita.³ After that he overran the Pallava country, and brought much of it under his authority.⁴ This is a very decisive victory in the history of the Coḷas. As a result they were not only able to assert their independence, but also to receive the recognition of contemporary South Indian powers,⁵ while the Pallavas were reduced to a subordinate position. Āditya was succeeded by his son, Parāntaka I.

1. SII., III, pp.418-9, vv.47-9. ARE., 1911, No.286; EI., XVIII, p.52.
 2. The Coḷas, pp.110,113,117-8, n.16; Jl. of the Annamalai Univ., XV, pp.85-88.
 3. EI., XVIII, p.52.
 4. SII., III, pp. Intro. pp.8-10, p.289. J.O.R., XIX, pt.II, pp.148-151
 5. EI., XIX, pp.81-88; XV, p.50, n.1; JAS., II pp.76-77; ARE., 1897, No. 5; 1911, No.286; 1928, No.161.

Before dealing with the reign of Parāntaka, during which a Sinhalese king actively interfered in South Indian politics, we shall first deal with the history of Ceylon, from the time of Sena II to the corresponding period in South Indian history. As it has been already shown Ceylonese forces during the reign of Sena II, had successfully interfered in the Pāṇḍya capital, where they had brought about a change of rulers. This had resulted in the improvement of relations between the Pāṇḍyas and Ceylon. But as we shall see later this was to have disastrous consequences for Ceylon. In the meantime, while there was a tendency towards ever wider political organization in South India under the Coḷas, there was a steady economic and political decline in Ceylon.

The confusion that existed in Ceylon after this time is reflected in the Ceylonese sources. There is only one Sinhalese inscription¹ known so far, which can be assigned to the period between the death of Mahinda IV, and the reign of Vijayābahu I. The Cūlavamsa becomes very confused at times, especially regarding the genealogical details of the Sinhalese kings after Kassapa V. The shortcomings of the Cūlavamsa, as well as the Sinhalese sources, which cover this period are probably due to similar shortcomings in the preceding sources on which these depended. The recording of events, as well as the preservation

1. EZ., IV, pp.59-67. See also CHJ., II, No.3-4, pp.233 n.10, 235 n.25.

of the records themselves, may have suffered from the depredations of the Tamil mercenaries and the later Coḷa invasions.

In the meantime, Sena II had passed away, and was succeeded by Udaya II (887-897 A.C.) and Kassapa IV (898-914 A.C.), who ruled for twenty-eight years altogether. The next ruler was Kassapa V (914-923 A.C.), the son of Sena II. The twenty-eight years which preceded the accession of Kassapa V was seething with internal dissension. But with the coming of Kassapa, the whole island was once again united and strong. The favourable position of the country under Kassapa was however jeopardized by his entanglements in South India.

In the meantime, in the Coḷa kingdom, Parāntaka I had acceded to the throne. He was one of the most forceful figures in Coḷa history. From the time of his accession he followed a policy of aggression against most of his neighbours, including Ceylon. The first to feel the brunt of his attack were the Pāṇdyas, and from about his third year he claims the conquest of Madurai, the Pāṇḍya capital.¹ The complete subjugation of the Pāṇḍya kingdom appears to have been a protracted affair, and to have required a number of invasions.² The

1. A.R.E., 1907, No.29; 1928, No.157; 1931, No.11.

2. The earliest known ins. of Parāntaka in the Pāṇḍya kingdom is dated only in the 24th year; A.R.E., 1917, No.446, see also 1905, No.63.

Pāṇḍyas also claim victories over the Coḷas,¹ but the indecisive nature of those successes is suggested by Rājasimha's appeal to the Sinhalese king, Kassapa (V), for help against his formidable enemy. Kassapa had then taken counsel with his ministers, and decided to send military assistance to Madurai. His own son, who was the Sakkasenāpati, was sent as the commander of the auxiliary force, which took ship from Mahātiṭṭha to the Indian coast.²

The earliest known reference to the events which seem to have followed the dispatch of Sinhalese troops to South India is found in the inscriptions belonging to the twelfth year of Parāntaka (919 A.C.).³ This probably corresponds to the fifth year of Kassapa. It is possible that the request for aid came some time after the Pāṇḍya victories referred to in the Sinnamānūr plates, of the sixteenth year of Rājasimha (916 A.C.).⁴ This would place the date of the despatch of Sinhalese troops, in the period between the latter date, (916 A.C.) and the twelfth year of Parāntaka (919 A.C.).

The arrival of the Sinhalese forces had caused much jubilation among the Pāṇḍyas, and the two armies had then

1. SII, III, p.461, l.123.

2. Cy., LII. 70-75.

3. SII., II, p.387; III, Intro. p.11; A.R.E., 1904, No.693; 1907, p.66. A.R.E., 1926, No.231; 1927, No.331; The Coḷas, p.135, p.8.

4. SII., III, p.461.

joined together to meet the challenge of the Coḷas. The combined armies then waited for Parāntaka to make the next move. The Coḷas once again marched into the Pāṇḍya country and a decisive battle was fought at Veḷḷūr, inside the Pāṇḍya country. Its location south of Madurai makes it evident that the Coḷas had penetrated deep into Pāṇḍya territory and the Sinhalese and the Pāṇḍyas were on the defensive. The allies suffered a crushing defeat, and the Pāṇḍyas retired from the scene, leaving the Sinhalese to continue the fight. According to the Cūlavamsa, the Sinhalese general rallied his forces and once again challenged the victorious Coḷas, but an outbreak of plague (upasagga roga) among his forces made him halt the operations. He himself fell victim to the plague, and the leaderless army, reduced by death and disease, was finally re-called by Kassapa.¹

The defeat of the Pāṇḍyas and the Sinhalese forms a popular theme in the inscriptions of the Coḷas and their allies.² One of the most rhetorical descriptions of the encounter is found in the Udayendiram plates of Prthvīpati (II), the Gaṅga ally of Parāntaka. According to these plates, "His (i.e. Parāntaka's) army, having crushed at the head of a battle, an immense army, despatched by the Lord of Laṅkā, which teemed

1. Cv., LIII. 76-79.

2. SII., II. p.387, vv.10-11. See also ARE. 1904, No.693; 1925-6, p.102, No.231.

with brave soldiers (and) was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears in the world the title Ṣaṅgrāmarāghava which is full of meaning. When he defeated the Pāṇḍya (king) Rājasimha, two persons experienced the same fear at the same time, (Kubēra) the Lord of Wealth on account of the death of his own friend, and Vibhīṣana on account of the proximity (of the Coḷa dominion to Ceylon)¹. The battle of Veḷḷūr may have occurred just before, or at the beginning of, the twelfth year of Parāntaka (919 A.C.). It was a severe test of the courage of Parāntaka, as appears from the contemporary epigraphs.² They also pay tribute to the strength and the valour of the Sinhalese troops. The outcome of the battle, as claimed by the Coḷa inscriptions and confirmed by the Cūlavamṣa, was a decisive victory for Parāntaka. The outbreak of plague had saved the Sinhalese from further ignominy, and provided a convenient excuse to pull out of the conflict.³ As the Tiruppārkadal inscription rightly sums up the result of the Coḷa-Pāṇḍya clash when it states that the Pāṇḍya king and the king of Ceylon came together and were defeated in a deadly battle with Permānadigal (Parāntaka) at Veḷḷūr.⁴

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1. Hultzsch explains that the epithet "Saṅgrāmarāghava"-resembling Rāma in battle - was appropriate in his case, because he defeated an army of the king of Ceylon, just as Rāma had killed Rāvaṇa, a legendary king of Laṅkā. SII., II, p.387, n.1.
 2. SII., III, pp.231-233. ARE. 1926, p.102. No.231.
 3. Incidentally there is a notice of a medical hall set up by Kassapa in Anurādhapura, EZ., I, p.51.
 4. see n.2 above.

After the victory of Veḷḷūr, Madurai is said to have been systematically sacked, ^{by the Colas,} and what remained was sent up in flames.¹ Parāntaka celebrated his victory with the assumption of the titles "madhurāntaka", "Siṃhaḷāntaka" and "Saṅgrāmarāghava" and "Maduraiyum-Iḷamum-koṇḍa".² There seems to be no justification however for the claim to the conquest of Ceylon coming only after a defeat of a Sinhalese army. But it is significant that this claim occurs only in the inscriptions of his sixteenth year, and does not seem to have been used again till his thirty-seventh year.³ The defeat of the Sinhalese at Veḷḷūr was a serious blow to Ceylon. Many lives were lost including that of the king's son. It also demoralised the Sinhalese to such an extent that when a renewal of the war against the Colas was contemplated, it only led to an outbreak of serious disturbances against the project, which as a result was abandoned.⁴

Veḷḷūr marked the second stage of the gradual reduction of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, which was pursued with great determination. Rājasimha soon found himself reduced to the position of

1. EI., XV, p.68, v.21; XVIII, pp.52-53, vv.56-60.

2. EI., XVIII, p.53 v.59; ARE., 1927, No.331; SII., II, p.387.

3. SII., III, Intro. p.11; A.R.E., 1927, II, para.10, pp.75-76. The earliest ins. which refers to "Iḷamum-koṇḍa" is dated in his 16th year (ARE., 1927, No.331), but not noticed again till his 37th year, after which date it is found in almost all the ins. An ins. of his 40th year significantly has a variant title - "Madirai-kond-Iḷam-puḡuṇḍa" - one who destroyed Madurai and entered Ceylon. EI. VII, p.1; A.R.E., 1900, No.34.

4. Cv., LIII, 7-9.

a king without a kingdom. Therefore, taking the crown and the other regalia he sought refuge in Ceylon.¹ The circumstances of his flight are thus described in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājendra I,²

"Encircled by the fire of whose (i.e. Parāntaka) prowess the Pāṇḍya king at once entered the sea, as if intent upon quenching the affliction, in haste, abandoning his royal glory and his hereditary dominion."

In the meantime in Ceylon Kassapa (V) had passed away. Before his death he had taken certain important precautionary measures, which suggested a state of emergency in the country. This was soon after his recall of the troops from South India. On his own initiative he had instituted a Pārittha ceremony, which was usually performed to ward off serious dangers or calamities, which in this instance was against plague and bad harvest.³ After the death of Kassapa, Dappula III ascended the throne, which he filled for seven months. He was then succeeded by another Dappula, (IV) (924-935),⁴ in whose reign Rājasimha arrived in Ceylon.

1. Cv., LIII. 5-7.

2. STI., III, p.419 v.51.

3. Cv., LII. 80-81. see also EZ., I p.51, 11.6-12.

4. According to the Sinhalese chronicles Dappula IV (KudāDāpula) had distinguished himself by fighting against the Tamils who came from the Coḷa country. This finds no confirmation from the Cv. or the Coḷa inscriptions. One of his inscriptions, however rhetorically claims the defeat of hosts of unnamed kings in diverse countries, and the tributes won thereby. (EZ.I.p.189) There seems to be much confusion in the Sinhalese sources regarding the names of kings and their regnal years, & some of the events themselves, see Piv., p.104; Rjr. p.31; Riv. p.41.

The flight of Rājasimha, which is rather peremptorily referred to in the Coḷa inscriptions, is more sympathetically described in the Cūlavamsa.¹ It is said that the Pāṇḍya king had left his country through fear of the Coḷas, and taking ship came to Mahātiṭṭha in Ceylon. Dappula sent for him, and having received him in a fitting manner, settled him in a mansion outside the city. Dappula, however, was not content with only providing shelter to his royal guest, but wished to recover his throne from the Coḷas. Therefore he made preparations for war. In his bold resolve not only to recover the Pāṇḍya throne, but also to dislodge the Coḷa monarch, he had failed to take counsel with his ministers. They were apparently not in the least enthusiastic to resume the war against the Coḷas, probably realising the inherent danger in such a policy, now made even more hazardous by the clear supremacy of Parāntaka. Their opposition did not stop with words, but took a violent turn. The king himself, probably realising the grave implications, did not press the matter further, and thus ended his lofty project to restore the balance of power in South India.²

1. Cv., LIII.5-10.

2. Cv., adds (LIII.10-11) that as this strife ended and Rājasimha left for Keraḷa, Dappula presented the Mahā-Bodhi Temple with a village, perhaps as an expiation of a vow.

When Rājasimha realised that it was futile to entertain hopes of further Sinhalese aid, he did not wish to stay any longer as an inconvenient guest in Ceylon. To spare his friend of any more embarrassment, he entrusted his royal treasures to Dappula and departed for the Keraḷa country.¹ Although Rājasimha failed in his attempt to drag Ceylon into a war with the Coḷas, yet by this action he paved the way for the events that were to take place under his successors. Rājasimha's voluntary separation from his crown jewels clearly suggests his own predicament. It must have been a very painful decision for him to leave for the Keraḷa court in his condition, with neither a kingdom nor the golden aura of royalty, nor any safe refuge. The attitude of the Keraḷa court had greatly changed since the time when his own father had married a Keraḷa princess.² Keraḷa, which was much weaker than some of her neighbours, had to be cautious in the choice of her allies. Therefore, when the Coḷas rose to power they sought a matrimonial alliance with the Coḷa dynasty as well.³ Thus when Rājasimha decided to go to Keraḷa, he probably did not expect a very friendly welcome there. After his departure nothing more is heard about him, and all the sources seem to

1. Cv., LIII. 9-10.

2. See SII., III, pp.457-9.

3. EI. XV, p.68 v.22.

have lost interest in him. He may have been persuaded to abandon all hopes of recovering his lost patrimony, which by that time had passed into the hands of the Coḷas. His regalia, on the other hand, remained in Ceylon, and became a bone of contention between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese, till the time of Rājendra I.

The important role played by the Pāṇḍya regalia in the relations between the Sinhalese and the Coḷas during this time deserves some attention. One of the driving motives behind the invasions of Ceylon by the Coḷas was their desire to possess these royal treasures. As the Cūlavamsa rightly states when the Coḷa king wished to achieve consecration as the king of Pāṇḍya, he sent for these symbolic insignia of Pāṇḍya royalty.¹ The importance of the regalia (rājakakudhabhaṇḍāni) for the ceremony of royal consecration itself needs no emphasis.² The Pāṇḍya royal treasures, however, were not captured till the time of Rājendra I, but by that time a certain transformation seems to have come over Coḷa policy with regard to Ceylon, and the invasions were not motivated by this desire alone. This however did not lessen the significance of the Pāṇḍya regalia, as it is

1. Cv., LIII. 40-43.

2. SMC., pp.68-84; CCMT., pp.124-7.

implied by the proud claims of Rājendra in making detailed records of the royal booty captured ~~by~~ in Ceylon by his forces.¹

In the meantime some very important changes had taken place in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom, lying to the north-west of the Coḷa empire. These developments did not portend well for the dominant Coḷas. In the beginning the relations between the Coḷas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were friendly but seem to have deteriorated with the accession of Parāntaka. The accession of the ambitious Kṛṣṇa III to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne about 939 A.C. brought the two powers to the brink of armed conflict. Parāntaka's concern in the developments in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom is seen in some of the defensive measures which he took along his north-west frontier.² The rumblings of danger seem to have moved even closer with the débâcle which overtook the Coḷa protégé in the Gaṅgavādi, which lay between the Coḷa and Rāṣṭrakūṭa territories. Here in Gaṅgavādi, Pṛthvīpati II, the faithful feudatory of the Coḷas had died about 939 A.C. and in the ensuing scramble for the throne, Būṭuga II (Bhūva-

1. See infra, pp. 134-5; EI., IX, p. 230; ARE. 1907, pp. 73-4;
 2. ARE., 1921, pt. II, para. 25, pp. 94-5. The Coḷas, pp. 125-129, 136-7 nn. 22-41; EI., VII, pp. 194-5.

vallabha), the nominee and brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇa had emerged victorious.¹ This was a serious set-back for Parāntaka, but he does not appear to have attempted to undo the damage, probably fearing a worsening of the situation. Instead he turned his attention to Ceylon, to obtain the possession of the Pāṇḍya regalia, still in the hands of the Sinhalese ruler.

By this time, Dappula (IV), to whom Rājasimha had entrusted his valuable possessions, was no more, and the Sinhalese throne was now occupied by Udaya IV (946-954). According to the Cūlavamsa,² he was slothful, and "a friend of spiritous drinks". The reign of Udaya once again saw the resumption of the long smouldering Coḷa-Sinhalese conflict. Parāntaka who had been waiting to obtain the Pāṇḍya regalia, would have found the accession of Udaya an opportune moment for action. First he resorted to diplomacy, sending envoys to Udaya, requesting him to hand over the treasures.³ It is doubtful whether Parāntaka seriously believed that Udaya would accede to his request. The envoys received a cold refusal. Parāntaka then decided to resume hostilities, and sent a strong force to Ceylon.

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1. A.S. Altekar, The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, pp.112-114. The Early History of the Deccan (Ed.G.Yazdani), pts.I-IV. pp.292-3. The Coḷas, p.128; EI., III. p.183; VI. pp.55-7; VII, p.195; E.C., XI, Chit., 76.
 2. Cv., LIII. 40.
 3. Cv., LIII. 41-2.

The date of this invasion can be fixed on the basis of the information in the Cūlavāṃsa, and the indirect information in the Coḷa and Sinhalese inscriptions. The background of contemporary South Indian history is another useful guide for the dating of these events. The Cūlavāṃsa places the invasion in the reign of Uḍaya IV. He is reckoned to have ascended the throne in 946 A.C. One of his inscriptions,¹ dated two years later, is found at Mahiyaṅgaṇa, between Rohaṇa and Rājaraṭṭha. It is assumed that this was recorded probably while he was returning to his capital from Rohaṇa, after the Coḷas had departed.² The sudden withdrawal of the Coḷas was probably due to the invasion of the Coḷa empire by Kṛṣṇa about 948-9 A.C. We can therefore assign this Coḷa invasion of Ceylon to a date between 947 and 949 A.C. This conclusion finds support in the inscription belonging to the 40th year of Parāntaka (c.947-8) which positively refers to a Coḷa invasion of Ceylon.³

There is no dearth of information regarding the course of this invasion with the Cūlavāṃsa⁴ and the Tamil inscriptions confirming each other. The Kanyākumārī inscription⁵ of

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1. EZ., III, pp.71-100; See HC., I pt.I p.338 for the identification of the ruler there.
 2. HC. I, p.338.
 3. A.R.E., 1900, No.34; see Supra, p.36 n3.
 4. Cv., LIII. 40-48.
 5. EI., XVIII, p.53.

Vīrarāṅendra briefly states that Parāntaka caused his army to cross the sea and defeat the king of Siṃhaḷa, who was waiting on the shore to give battle, and thereby he received the true title "Siṃhaḷāntaka". The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājendra,¹ on the other hand, transform the account into one of magnified glory, where it is claimed that the fire of Parāntaka's anger, after burning his enemies was not quenched even in the waters of the sea, but subsided only by the tears of the wives of the Sinhalese king, who was cut to pieces and killed. This description reminds one more of his own achievements, than those of Parāntaka. Parāntaka himself seems to have made no such claim in his inscriptions.² The very fact that till the time of Rājendra the Pāṇḍya regalia were not recovered reveals the eulogistic and patently great exaggeration of this claim. The Cūlavāṃsa, however, does not deny the defeat of the Sinhalese ruler, but goes on to say how the invaders fared thereafter, and had to go back without the coveted prize.

According to the Cūlavāṃsa,³ at the first signs of the impending invasion, Udaya had sent for his commander, who was

1. SII., III, p.419 v.52.

2. SII. V. p.226; ARE., 1895, No.15; 1918, No.465; 1931-2, II, para II. ARE., 1931-2, No. 135, 206.

3. see supra, p. 93 n4.

at the time subduing a border province, and ordered him to meet the Coḷa threat. But at the battle which followed between the two armies, the Sinhalese were badly defeated and the commander was killed. Udaya, when informed of the disaster, hastily moved to Rohaṇa, taking with him all the treasures, including the Pāṇḍya regalia. The victorious Coḷas pursued the Sinhalese right up to Rohaṇa, but before they could lay their hands on the king or the treasures, they had to make a hasty retreat. They had to turn back presumably because of tidings of some grave developments in the Coḷa country itself. The Cūlavamaṃsa, of course, avers that the invasion was called off owing to their inability to penetrate into Rohaṇa.¹ It is inconceivable that the defences of Rohaṇa would have been so formidable that they could have withstood the Coḷas. As suggested above, it may have been the more imperative ~~need~~ need to concentrate all the Coḷa forces at home which would probably have dictated this sudden change of their plans. The effect of this invasion was felt mostly in Rājaraṭṭha. According to the Cūlavamaṃsa, before their withdrawal they had collected much booty, and done considerable damage to religious buildings.² The fortuitious circumstances which had saved the Sinhalese, at least for the time being,

1. Cv., LIII. 45.

2. Cv., LIII. 47, 51; LIV. 44-46.

appear to have been the activities of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

It is assumed by some scholars that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under Kṛṣṇa had clashed with the Coḷas for some time before the battle of Takkolam (949 A.C.).¹ The Coḷa-Rāṣṭrakūṭa hostilities perhaps go as far back as 943 A.C., leading to no decisive result. Some time before 949 A.C. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were on the march again, probably taking advantage of Parāntaka's preoccupation with the invasion of Ceylon. The war between the two major South Indian powers and their allies led to the overwhelming defeat of the Coḷas at Takkolam in Tondaimaṇḍalāṃ.² Among the more grievous losses of the Coḷas was the life of Rājāditya,³ the eldest son of Parāntaka. It was however a hard-fought battle, with the issue in the balance at one stage, but in the end Kṛṣṇa and his allies brought out a brilliant victory. The victors had then undertaken a major invasion of the Coḷa empire, which seems to have occupied them for nearly ten years.

These momentous events in South India had immediate repercussions in Ceylon, and led to the sudden withdrawal of the Coḷas. In the meantime the Sinhalese also seem to have made a lightning raid to the borders of the Coḷa country. The

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1. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, pp.116-119; The Age of Imperial Kanauj, p.14; The Early History of the Deccan (Yazdani), p.294. For a different view see The Coḷas, pp.129-131.
 2. EI., VI p.56; VII, p.195.
 3. EI., XXII, p.256; SII. III, p.419. See n.2 above.

Cūlavam̐sa even claims that the Sinhalese commander forced the Coḷa king with threats to restore all the booty taken from Ceylon.¹ The difficulties that faced Parāntaka, shaken as he was by the shattering blows of Kṛṣṇa and his allies, may warrant the assumption that he paid a price to keep the Sinhalese away from making more trouble for him. The inscriptions of Parāntaka also suggest that his initial success in Ceylon was his last notable achievement, in a long life devoted mainly to military pursuits.

The reign of Udaya IV, which had such fluctuating fortunes, lasted nine years. He was then succeeded by Sena IV (954-956), who ruled for three years. The next ruler was Mahinda IV² (956-972). His was the last notable reign in the long line of Anurādhapura kings. The Cūlavam̐sa has devoted a whole chapter (Chap.LIV) to Mahinda, and many of his achievements described there find indirect confirmation in his inscriptions.³ Mahinda is the first king on record to have married a Kāliṅga princess.⁴ S.Paranavitana has suggested that this marriage alliance was probably meant to be a safeguard against the foreign enemies, and would have been concluded

1. Cv., LIII. 46-48.

2. In the Sinhalese chronicles Sena (IV) is succeeded by another Sena, and Mahinda (IV) seems to be the successor of the latter. His name, and the length of his reign appear to be confused with that of Sena (III).

3. EZ. I, No. 2 iiiA, 1920.

4. Cv., LIV. 9-10. His inscriptions make frequent references to officials of the Kiliṅga (Kāliṅga) families: EZ., II, No.10; I, No. 2 iii A, etc.

sometime before the invasion of Vallabha, referred to in the Cūlavamsa.¹

To begin with Mahinda had to face a threat of rebellion, which, however, did not assume serious proportions. The next important political development was the arrival of a force in Nāgadīpa, in the north of Ceylon. This army had been sent by a Vallāha (king). According to the Cūlavamsa, Mahinda sent his commander Sena to fight the invaders. Sena defeated the Vallabha army, and remained master of the battlefield. Then, "as the kings with Vallabha at their head, were unable to vanquish our king (Mahinda), they made a friendly treaty with the ruler of Laṅkā".²

The identity of this Vallabha (king) has been a matter which has received considerable attention.³ The most obvious solution seems to be that he was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, who after his decisive victory at Takkolam in 949 A.C. had led a triumphant march to Rāmēśvaram.⁴ According to the Karhād plates⁵, he was already encamped at Mēlpāḍi, (in North Arcot) in Saka 880 (958 A.C.), after the conclusion of his southern

1. HC., 1/1, pp. 339-340.

2. Cv., LIV. 12-16.

3. CHJ. IV, pp.13-14, 21-22; HC., I/I, pp.340, 347; TAS., III, pp.113-4; SII., III, Intro. pp. 14-5; The Cōlas, pp.154-5; The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, pp.118-9; EZ., V. pp.107-8.

4. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times, pp.118-119; The Early History of the Deccan (Yazdani) pp. 294-5; HC., I pt.I p.340.

5. EI., IV. pp.278-290.

campaign. Here he had held a durbār, distributed gifts to his vassals, and received envoys and gifts from his tributaries such as the king of Ceylon. Another inscription¹ belonging to his reign includes the Sinhalese king among those who bowed down at the feet of Kṛṣṇa. His claim to have subdued the South Indians and the Sinhalese, is also mentioned in a contemporary work, the Yaśastilakā of Somadevasūri.² These claims sound less definite than one would expect of such an achievement, if Kṛṣṇa had really organized an invasion of Ceylon. But on the other hand, if as the Cūlavāṇsa asserts, the raid into Ceylon was halted by the Sinhalese, the superficial nature of this claim could be explained. It is, however, difficult to accept that Kṛṣṇa should have suffered such a humiliation at the hands of the Sinhalese, especially after his resounding successes in South India. It is more likely that it was a raid made by some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces which had come as far as Rāmēśvaram.

The Sinhalese sources³ are also unanimous in their attribution to Mahinda (Kudā Midel) of a brilliant victory, but the enemies are referred to as Tamils, who came from the Coḷa country. It is said that a Tamil king came with a large force

1. EI. XXXII, pt. 11, p.56.

2. Yaśastilakā, ed. Sivadatta, pt.I, (III. 246-7) p.439.

3. Piv., p.104; Rir., p.33; Riv., p.42.

to Ūrātoṭa (Kayts). These two different traditions can be reconciled because it is possible that at the time when these works were written, the authors tried to make it look more intelligible by identifying Vallabha with the Coḷas, who were uppermost in their minds as frequent invaders of Ceylon. The statement that the king himself led the invasion may be an exaggeration.

What complicates matters, however, is the notice of Coḷa activities themselves in Ceylon about this time. A number of scholars among whom especially Nilakanta Sastri, have persistently upheld the view that the Vallabha (i.e. Vaḷava for Coḷa) was Sundara Coḷa Parāntaka (II) (c.956-973).¹ A number of Tamil inscriptions in South India refer to some tragic events which took place in Ceylon in the ninth year of Parāntaka II (c.964).² According to these inscriptions a Koḍumbālūr chief, named Śiṛiyavēḷār, and a Bāṇa (Baḷi)³ chief, along with others, seem to have fallen in battle in Ceylon. Śiṛiyavēḷār appears to be a son-in-law of Parāntaka and also a commander (senāpati) of the Coḷa army, while the Bāṇa chief was a brother-in-law of the Coḷa ruler. Nilakanta

1. The Cōḷas, pp.154-5; H.C., I/I, pp.347; CHJ., IV pp.21-2; Later Coḷas I, p.12.
 2. ARE., 1896, No.116; 1908, No.291; 1913-4, No.10, 11; EI., XII, pp.121-6; SII., III, pp.256-9; V. No.980; XIII, No. 85, 197, 223, 226, 246, 253-4.
 3. For Koḍumbālūr chiefs and the Bāṇas, see EI., XXV. pp. 95 n.I; XXXII/III, p.99; XII, pp.121-6; QJMSoc., XLIII, pp.79-94; JIH., XXIX, pp.153, 277; SII., XII, No.197, Intro. p.iv-vii.

Sastri assumes that Śiṛiyavēḷār had followed up his successful campaign in the Pāṇḍya country with an invasion of the north of Ceylon. According to S.Pandarathar it was a resumption of the old struggle of the Coḷas verses the Pāṇḍyas and the Sinhalese with Mahinda IV, sending aid to his ally Vīra Pāṇḍya¹. There is no evidence, however, for the assumption that Śiṛiyavēḷār led an expedition to the Pāṇḍyan country, or even to Ceylon, except that he was a Coḷa senāpati and that his death and that of others took place in Ceylon. The place in Ceylon where he met his death, or the circumstances in which he and the others came to die in Ceylon, remain unknown. It is, however, possible that he made an abortive invasion into Ceylon. Parāntaka II himself claims only the conquest of Pāṇḍya, but the silence over the attack on Ceylon can be appreciated in view of its apparent failure. The date of the invasion sent by Vallabha is not mentioned in the Cūlavamsa, but according to the inscriptions of Mahinda, these events seem to have occurred in his eighth year (c.964),² which also corresponds to the ninth year of Parāntaka II. The Jētavanārāma (Abhayagiri) slab-inscription of Mahinda³ makes particular mention of the fact that he removed the darkness caused by the Tamil fees. But here the term Tamil (Demeḷ)

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1. ~~See in: above~~ Later Colas I p.72.
 2. HC., I/I, p.340; EZ., I p.30.
 3. EZ. I, p.221.

does not necessarily exclude the Karṇāṭa forces of Kṛṣṇa. It appears, however, from the foregoing discussion that the identification of Vallabha, or the events referred to therein, ^{is} ~~are~~ not as obvious or easy as is generally assumed. It is inconceivable, no doubt, that the Cūlavāṃsa author should have referred to a Coḷa ruler by the name or epithet "Vallabha". Nor could one understand how the Cūlavāṃsa could have missed such an event as a defeat of the Coḷas by the Sinhalese, if there had indeed been such an event. Vallabha was not an exclusive title, but was one which was frequently used by rulers of Western India, such as the Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Even the Cūlavāṃsa author uses this title in all probability with reference to a Cālukya ruler.¹ The Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions² themselves use this title with reference to Kṛṣṇa and many others of the same dynasty. The Coḷas also used it to denote the Cālukyas, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.³ The statement in the Cūlavāṃsa that the Vallabha king was at the head of a number of other rulers is however significant, because as said in the Karḥād plates, Kṛṣṇa invaded the Coḷa country at the head of many feudatory and allied princes. According

1. Cv., XLVII, 15;

2. EI. IV. p.289; VII, p.194; ARE., 1902, No.428; 1913, No.236; EI. XXVI.

3. SII., III, pp.55-6, No.28. (p.231; XXV, pp.234; SII.; IX, No. 59. etc.)

to the date of the same plates (Śaka 880) we may have to date any Rāṣṭrakūṭa interference in Ceylon to some time before S'880 (958-9). But such a date does not seem to agree with the date of the events in the reign of Mahinda as noticed in his inscriptions from his eighth year¹ (964 A.C.)

These difficulties suggest that the fault lies either in the present Sinhalese chronology or in the sources themselves. The Vallabha king in the Cūlavamsa no doubt refers to a ruler other than Coḷa, and presumably to Kṛṣṇa III himself, who may have even made some hostile demonstration against Ceylon, or with whom there was an exchange of envoys and gifts. Each ruler in turn may have treated this as an acknowledgement of one by the other. Thus we have, like the claims of Mahinda, to the wonderful presents offered to him by various kings of Jambudīpa (India).²

On the other hand it can be suggested that, as the Coḷa inscriptions indicate, there was a Coḷa invasion too, which however escaped the notice of the Cūlavamsa, while referred to in the Sinhalese literary and epigraphic sources. The multiplicity of the invasions at the time may have led to some confusion, and its omission in the records, from which the

1. EZ., pp. 29-38, 238.

2. EZ., I, p.225, see also pp.34-5 for a ref. to the riches of the whole of Daṁbadiya which were brought to his feet by means of the valour of his Commander Sena.

Cūlavamsa derived its material. If one considers the disabilities which the monks seem to have suffered after the death of Mahinda, it is not difficult to understand such lapses in the monastic records.

After a reign of sixteen years Mahinda was succeeded by his twelve year old son, Sena V (972-982). The commander Sena, the hero of his father's reign, who continued to serve him for some time, was suspected of misconduct with the queen-mother, and was deposed by Sena. He refused to abide by the decision of the king and marched with his army to the capital. The king fled to Rohaṇa while commander Sena supported by the king's mother and brother, established himself at Polonnaruva. According to the Cūlavamsa¹ senāpati Sena was assisted by Tamil mercenaries, with whose help he later defeated the king. The Sinhalese sources,² on the other hand, refer to the defeat of the senāpati, and the destruction of the Tamils by the king's forces. The senāpati had then gone to India, and brought another 95000 Tamils. The king had fought with them also, but the outcome of that is not mentioned. The Cūlavamsa³ indirectly confirms this account

1. Cv., LIV. 57-64.

2. Piv. p.104; Rjr. p.32; Riv. p.42.

3. Cv., LV. 1-2.

in the Sinhalese sources about the bringing of Indian troops, when it says in the following chapter [Chap. LV] that the splendid Anurādhapura was full of strangers brought hither by Sena. The bringing of these troops is dated in the second year of Sena V (974-5), and it is apparently from this date that the Sinhalese sources¹ assign a period of 96 years for the Tamil occupation of Rājaraṭṭha.

In the meantime, the Tamil troops took the upper hand and began to plunder the country. As a result the two Senas had soon realised who were their real enemies and came to an understanding with the object of curbing the Tamil menace. This truce was sealed with a marriage alliance, and Sena came from Rohaṇa to Polonnaruva. This, however, does not seem to have saved the situation for while Sena sought refuge in intoxicating drinks, with his "low class associates" [hīnaja vallaḥā janā]² conditions deteriorated still further. His reign lasted ten turbulent years, and he was followed by his brother Mahinda V (982-1017), the last and a poor representative of a long and distinguished line of Anurādhapura kings. It was during his reign that Rājaraṭṭha was occupied by the Coḷas.

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1. Pjv., p.105; Rjr., p.33; Rjv. p.42; Nks. p.23; Pārakumbāsīrita, v.25; In some MSS it is given as 86 years, but 96 seems to be the stronger tradition.
 2. Cv., LIV. 70-72; see infra, p. 317-8.

We may briefly note here the history of the Coḷas after their defeat at Takkolam. Parāntaka, who survived the attacks of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, was able to save at least part of his kingdom, but the remaining part of his reign itself was without distinction. He died in his 48th regnal year (956), and was succeeded by his son Gaṅgarāditya. The period which intervenēd between the death of Parāntaka and the accession of Rājarāja I (c.985) is a rather complicated period in Coḷa history. Four rulers occupied the throne during this period, but without much distinction. The death of Kṛṣṇa III which occurred in S'889 (967) gave the Coḷas an opportunity to reassert their position. We have already seen the Coḷa activities in Ceylon in the time of Parāntaka II (956-973), but except for these not very definite events, no other relations with Ceylon can be noticed till the reign of Rājarāja I.

The first phase of the relations between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese ended without any decisive change in the political situation. The portents of danger for Ceylon were not altogether over, and in fact it increased with the rise of Rājarāja I, and his new maritime policy. The decisive factor during the first phase was the Pāṇḍya-Sinhalese alliance which resolved into a three-cornered struggle with the Coḷas. Before long the Pāṇḍyas were swept away from the scene, and the threat of the Coḷas to Ceylon became more imminent. Some of the Sinhalese kings, had acted in a rather provocative

manner by helping the Pāṇḍya king against Parāntaka, making wild threats and offering refuge to the Pāṇḍya king and his regalia.¹ While the Sinhalese, failed to save the Pāṇḍya king, or his kingdom, they managed to keep his treasures till the time of Rājendra I. The Coḷas under Parāntaka also followed a very aggressive policy in South India, and Ceylon was naturally drawn in, to prevent the Coḷas becoming too powerful and a threat to even the security of Ceylon.

1. See supra, p. 82-91.

CHAPTER IV

Second Phase: Conquest of Rājaraṭṭha
by the Coḷas.

This phase extends from the time of the conquest of Rājaraṭṭha by the Coḷas to the period when some effective opposition to them was organized by the Sinhalese under the leadership of Vijayabāhu. This change in the fortunes of the Coḷas roughly coincides with the death of Rājādhirāja I (1054 A.C.). His death also marks a stage in the fortunes of the Coḷas in South India. This phase in the relations between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese was decisive in so far as it led to the establishment of Coḷa dominion over the island, with the exception of the central highlands or Malayadeśa, parts of Dakkhinadeśa, or the south-western part of Ceylon and Rohana. The Sinhalese in these areas were in a state of continuous disunity, and exposed to frequent raids by the Coḷas. In the mean time conquest was followed by the establishment of Coḷa authority over the conquered area, and the whole country was constituted, at least in name, as a province or mandala of the Coḷa empire. The Coḷa activities in Ceylon, along the eastern coast of southern India, as well as in Srīvijaya (S. Sumatra) and some of the smaller islands in the Indian ocean, seem to

suggest that they made a conscious attempt to gain control of the trade in the Bay of Bengal, and other parts of the Indian ocean. In the meantime, the Coḷa empire itself continued to expand territorially and administratively. In Ceylon, the Coḷas not only withstood all attempts by the Sinhalese at dislodging them but kept up the pressure on Rohana and Malayadeśa.

The end of Sinhalese rule in Rājaraṭṭha and the establishment of Tamil rule in its place seem to have deeply moved the Sinhalese chroniclers. This is clearly evident from the importance attached to the reign of Vijayabāhu in their accounts. In fact, Chapter IV of the Cūlavamsa, which deals with the establishment of Coḷa power, is entitled "The Pillage of Laṅkā" (Laṅkāvilopo), the first and the last time a chapter was so titled in any of the chronicles. Not even the ravages of Māgha in the thirteenth century or those of the Portuguese in still later times had moved the chroniclers to resort to such terms. It was indeed a tragic period in the history of Ceylon, a period when politically and culturally Ceylon was overwhelmed by the Coḷas. Ceylon, which had never before been subject to any outside power, was in this period converted, at least in part, into a distant province of

the Coḷa empire.

The last quarter of the tenth century, as revealed in the Ceylonese sources, was one of chaos and confusion brought about by effete rule of the Sinhalese kings, and mutiny among the king's mercenaries.¹ The presence of Tamils in considerable numbers in the country even before the time of Sena V (972-982) is attested by contemporary sources.² At the time of the accession of Mahinda V (982-1017) the last Sinhalese ruler in Anurādhapura the capital itself is said to have been full of foreigners brought there by the commander Sena. They appear to have been mostly Keralas and Karnāṭakas.³

From the very beginning Mahinda had to face the threat of rebellion. Many problems which had cropped up during the preceding reign of Sena still remained unsolved, and it needed a man of greater courage and character than Mahinda to grapple with them. The senāpati who had earlier brought Tamil troops from India is no longer mentioned, and presumably dead by this time, leaving behind a large host of foreigners who had in his own life-time defied him. In the midst of these complications, Mahinda managed however, to

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1. Cv., LIV.64-68; LV.1-7; Pjv., p.104.
 2. See supra, pp. 65-6.
 3. Cv., LV.5,12.

spend his first ten years of kingship in Anuradhāpura. But even during the course of these years, according to the Cūlavamsa, he proved to be of weak character, and neglected his royal duties. As a result his subjects refused to hand over to the treasury the king's customary share of the produce.¹ In theory the people gave a share of their produce to the king in return for his protection, and if this protection was not forthcoming the people were justified in withholding the taxes.² This, however, is the first recorded instance of this development in Ceylon. It could only have followed a conflict between the king and his armies, because the backing of the army was necessary for the enforcement of tax collection from the people.

It is not possible to determine in what year of his reign the people refused to pay the king's share, but in spite of a dwindling treasury, he carried on with the administration. But once the treasury was empty he found himself with a large force of mercenaries and without money to pay their wages. It is possible that they were the same troops who had defied his predecessor, and had

1. Cv., LIII.3.

2. U.N.Goshal, Hindu political theories, pp. 65, 97-101, 118-119, 188, 237-240; B.Prasad, Theory of Government in Ancient India, p. 248.

once again taken service under him. Matters came to a head in the tenth year of Mahinda (993), when these troops, now without pay, surrounded the palace and prepared to hold him as a hostage till they were paid. Their intention to starve him to submission was thwarted by Mahinda who succeeded in making his escape, through a secret passage. Taking with him whatever he could carry, he fled to Rohana. For the next twenty-six years he remained there, having established his capital at a place called Kappagallaka.¹ Meanwhile, it is said that in the rest of the country the Keralas, Sihalas and the Kannatas carried on the government as they pleased, till the news of the conditions that prevailed in Ceylon was conveyed to the Cola ruler. Thereupon the latter sent a strong force to take over the administration of the country. This invading force marched as far as Rohana and captured Mahinda and his queen together with all the royal treasures. This is recorded as having taken place in the thirty-sixth year of Mahinda (1017).²

1. So far this place has not been identified. Cv., LV.4-12.
 2. Cv., IV. 13-20.

These events, as recorded in the Cūlavamsa, do not altogether agree with the information derived from other sources. The chronicle does not mention the names of any of the Coḷa rulers with whom the Sinhalese had relations throughout this long period. Nevertheless the events leading to the capture of Mahinda can be assigned to the reign of Rājendra I (1012-1044). But the inscriptions of his father Rājarāja I also speak of a period of Coḷa domination in Ceylon in his own time. This is not mentioned in the Cūlavamsa, ~~with~~ and its omission may be significant. Although it is not explicitly stated in the Cūlavamsa it is possible, by a closer examination of its material, to visualise an intervening period which ended with the invasion of Rohaṇa and the capture of Mahinda. For instance, the fact that during the twenty-six years of his stay in Rohaṇa, no attempt seems to have been made by Mahinda to restore his authority over Rājarāṭṭha may imply that the northern half of Ceylon was in the hands of a superior power, and not in those of the mercenaries alone. It is also possible that the mercenaries themselves were in the service of the Coḷas. On the whole it is difficult to accept that this motly crowd of Indian and Sinhalese troops could have carried on the government

for twenty-six years without any allegiance to some central authority. The first part of the Cūlavamsa account, which describes the events leading to the arrival of Cola armies in Ceylon, probably refers to the developments in the time of Rājarāja, and it may therefore be suggested that the news conveyed by some horse-dealers¹ would have reached the court of Rājarāja.

According to the Cūlavamsa, it was in his tenth year that Mahinda escaped to Rohana,² and it is significant that this date comes very close to the earliest known date of Rājarāja's claim to the conquest of Ceylon.³ As we have already seen, this period of Ceylonese history in the Cūlavamsa appears to be incomplete and confused. It is possible that after the flight of Mahinda to Rohana, and with the passing of Rājarat̥tha under the sway of the Colas, that area did not evoke as much interest as Rohana did. This becomes glaringly evident as we proceed to the next two chapters (LVI & LVII), which are concerned only with the history of Rohana. And at the time the recording of past events was made, the authors may have

1. Cv., LV.13. See also JIH., XXXII, pp.139-143 for Horse-traders of Maḷai-maṇḍalam. It may be noted however that Rājarāja could not have been ignorant of events in Ceylon even without the information of horse-dealers.
 2. Cv., LV.4-8.
 3. ARE., 1910, No.261- 8th year.

remembered clearly only the invasion of Rohana and the capture of Mahinda, but not so distinctly the earlier events leading to the establishment of Coḷa rule in Rājaraṭṭha soon after the flight of Mahinda. Therefore they may have combined all the events into one connected whole.

Rājarāja I and Ceylon.

Rājarāja I, in whose time Rājaraṭṭha passed under the Coḷas, had ascended the throne in 985 A.C. He was the grandson of Parāntaka I and son of Parāntaka II, both of whom had made themselves felt in Ceylon, but not with the same decisive and shattering effect as Rājarāja would do. He had a long reign of nearly thirty years, and with him starts the real greatness of the Coḷas. Territorial expansion, which characterized the reign of Parāntaka I, was renewed with fresh vigour, and was now supported by administrative organization. At the same time a new factor assumes importance. This was the desire to control the trade in the Indian ocean. It is in the light of this ambition that the much-publicised Coḷa victories at Viḷiṅgam and Kāndalūrśālai, as well as the attempt to exercise control over the whole of Ceylon can be explained.

From the very outset Rājarāja pursued an expansionist policy. His victories and conquests are enumerated in his own inscriptions as well as those of his successors, but unfortunately they are not mentioned in a chronological order.¹ This defect can be rectified at least to some extent by following in order of the new titles he assumed after every victory, and also by taking note of the provenance of his inscriptions in the newly annexed territories.

The Tiruvālaṅgādu plates² of Rājendra which give a long list of Rājarāja's exploits state that when Rājarāja became king he directed his attention to the conquest of the four quarters, commencing with the south by defeating the Pāṇḍya king Amarabhujāṅga. This was followed by the capture of Vilinda (Viḷiṅam), "whose moat was the sea, and whose ramparts were shining aloftetc." Next came the invasion of Ceylon. The Leyden grant³ of Rājarāja's twenty-first year provides an even more comprehensive list, and may be more reliable than the former. The defeat of the Pāṇḍya, Tulu and Kerala kings, the king of Ceylon

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1. The Cōlas, pp. 169-171.
 2. SII., III, pp. 421-422, vv. 72-84.
 3. EI., XXII, pp. 213-266.

and Satyāśraya of Kalyāṇī and others is attributed to him here. Incidentally, an inscription of his twentieth year states that he destroyed the city of Madurai, conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolladeśam, and Koḍungōlūr, and that the kings of the sea waited on him.¹ Whatever was the order of the conquests, the capture of Kāṇḍalūr-śālai takes precedence over his other victories. The lands to the south of the Coḷa country attracted his earliest attention as appears from his own inscriptions which, from his fourth year onwards, give him the title "Mummudi-śōla" which implies that Rājarāja has won (worn) the three crowns of the Coḷas, Keraḷas and the Pāṇḍyas.² The conquest of Keraḷa and its valuable sea-ports would have afforded him access to the sea on the west, while the conquest of Pāṇḍya brought him within easy reach of Ceylon. The occupation of the south may have formed an important stage for a future invasion of Ceylon. Nilakanta Sastri assumes that the Keraḷas, Pāṇḍyas and the Sinhalese were still united against the Coḷas,³ but even if that was so the prevailing conditions in Ceylon would have made it a dead letter.

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1. ARE., 1912, II, para 22; 1911, No. 394.
 2. ARE., 1906, No. 265, 282.
 3. The Coḷas, p. 169.

It has already been noticed that in the Ceylonese chronicles there is no clear reference to the invasion of Ceylon by the forces of Rājarāja, but from about 993 A.C. the inscriptions of Rājarāja claim its conquest.¹ The authenticity of the claim of Rājarāja, on the other hand, is substantiated by inscriptions in the Coḷa country and also in Ceylon.² But the claim to the conquest of the whole of Ceylon itself appears to be more rhetorical than real, because that was not accomplished even by his more powerful son and successor Rājendra. It may however be argued that the conquest of Rājarat̥ṭha provided sufficient justification for the boastful assertion of Rājarāja. But we may have to be more sceptical about the accuracy of the earliest known date of this claim, which is the eighth year. So far only few inscriptions have been found which mention this conquest.³ There is a significant silence for the most part till the seventeenth year, when it is mentioned in almost all the inscriptions.⁴ The longer and fuller accounts of the conquests of Rājarāja which occur in the epigraphs of his

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1. ARE., 1910, No. 261, 8th year; 1921, No. 97 (9th year ?)
 2. See infra, p. 121 n2.
 3. See note 1 above.
 4. ARE., 1910, nos. 273-4; 1926-7 p. 76, No. 333, 337; 1930-I, p. 43; SII., I, pp. 63-5, 95; II, p. 8; III, p. 107; EI., XXII, p. 257, etc.

successors do not give any accurate dates. It is however possible to suggest that the actual conquest of Rājaraṭṭha was not achieved with one expedition nor was it completed before his seventeenth year (1012). It could therefore be suggested that the claims of the eighth year represent only some limited success his forces may have had in Ceylon. This assumption is to some extent confirmed by the Tiruvallam inscription¹ of the eighteenth year of Rājaraṅga, which is considered very important for the dating of his conquests. This epigraph which enumerates his many exploits up to the sixteenth year, includes the destruction of Kāṇḍalūr-śālai, and the conquest of Vengai-nāḍu, Gaṅga-pāḍi, Taḍi-vāli, Nulamba-pāḍi, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollam, Kāliṅgam and lastly the defeat of the Sēliyas (Pāṇḍyas). An inscription from the same place dated in the twentieth year adds Ceylon to the above list.² But, as we have seen, from the seventeenth year onwards Ilamaṇḍalam (Ceylon) figures as one of his glorious conquests.³

The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates⁴ of Rājendra furnish the following eulogistic account of the invasion of Ceylon in

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1. SII., III, pp. 104-6.
 2. Ibid., p. 107.
 3. See supra, p. 113 n4.
 4. SII., III, p. 421, v. 80.

the time of his father: "The Lord of the Rāghavas (i.e. Rāma) constructing a bridge across the water of the ocean with the assistance of able monkeys, killed with great difficulty the king of Laṅka (i.e. Rāvaṇa), with sharp-edged arrows, (but) this terrible general of that king Arumolivarman, (i.e. Rājā^rāja) crossed the ocean by ships and burnt the Lord of Laṅkā. Hence Rāma is (surely) surpassed by this general (daṇḍanātha)".

The Leyden grant¹ of Rājarāja also has a brief notice of the defeat of the king of the Sinhalese. It is however doubtful whether the Coḷa armies had defeated the Sinhalese king; it is more likely that they defeated the leaderless hosts who were administering Rājarāṭṭha at the time. It may also be noted here that Rājarāja's gifts to the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore, up to his twenty-ninth year, consisted mainly of the treasures captured from the Pāṇḍyas and the Keraḷas.² That the treasures of the Sinhalese king had escaped his grasp is also confirmed by their capture in the time of his son Rājendra.

1. EI., XXII, p. 257, v. 31.

2. SII., II, pp. 10, 11, 14, 36-37, 428-436 etc.

There is, however, no specific information about the Coḷa invasion itself, its numerical strength, or its commanders. The place where they first landed and the route or routes taken once on Ceylonese soil also remain unknown. The events leading to the eventual conquest of Rājarat̥ṭha also remain obscure, but what becomes apparent, however, is that before the end of Rājarāja, Coḷa power was already established in Ceylon. It is also reasonable to assume that the area under occupation was soon after constituted into a maṇḍala or province of the Coḷa empire. Significantly enough Ceylon which was earlier referred to as Ṭḷam becomes Ṭḷamaṇḍalam from the time of Rājarāja. Among the most conspicuous landmarks of his control over Rājarat̥ṭha, apart from the monuments, are his grant of revenue and other benefits of five villages in Kōttiyāram in Ceylon to the Tanjore temple,¹ and the Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon belonging to his reign.² The conquest of Ceylon was also a matter of great pride for Rājarāja follows from the statements in his inscriptions. The victory over Ceylon, "which is famed in the eight directions", and, which was the country of the Siṅgalas who possessed rough strength, or

1. SII., II, No. 92. See infra pp. 263-6.

2. ASCAR., 1891, p. 12, Nos. 78-80; 1953, p. 28 No. 18, at Padaviya, but much worn out.

was the country of the warlike Siṅgalas, had made him famous in the eight directions.¹ Further celebration of the event is also witnessed by the grant of the name "Siṅgalāntaka-cātūr-vēdi-maṅgalam" to villages in the Coḷa country itself.²

It was also the invariable policy of the Coḷa kings to impose their names and titles on the countries they conquered. This was done in Ceylon too. The new names did not, however, lead to the complete exclusion of the older names, but were used in association with one another. Thus Ceylon or Ṭṭam became Ṭṭamaṅḍalam alias Mummuḍiśōḷamaṅḍalam.³ Polonnaruva (Pulatthinagara or Pulainari) which became the headquarters of the Coḷas in Ceylon was renamed Jananāthamaṅgalam or Jananāthapuram.⁴ A Śiva temple erected there, probably about this time, was named Vāṇavaṇmādevī-Īśvara-mudaiyar after his chief queen Vāṇavaṇ-māhādevī.⁵ Another similar shrine built at Mahātittṭha (Māntoṭṭam) was called Rājarājeśvara, while the place itself was designated Rājārajapuram.⁶ The eastern coast of Ceylon with the excellent harbour of

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1. SII., I, No. 66; II, No. I, 4, 59, 65-6, 69; III, No. 4, 52.
 2. SII., II, No. 69 p. 321; III, No. 205, p. 427.
 3. ARE., 1912, No. 616; SII., II, No. 92,; IV, nos. 1412.
 4. ASCAR., 1906, p. 27
 5. SII., IV, Nos. 1388, 1390.
 6. SII., IV, No. 1412, 1414.

Gokarna or Trincomalee, appears to have attracted even more attention, probably owing to its importance for Coḷa maritime policy. The villages which formed the subject of Rājarāja's own grant¹ to the Tanjore temple were located not very far from Gokarna. The interest of the Coḷas in this particular area is also evident from the patronage given to an ancient Buddhist temple, named Abagara vehera at Velagama or Velgam vehera, also named Rājarājaperumpaḷḷi.²

The history of Rājaratṭha, from the time of Mahinda's flight to Rohana to the time of Vijayabāhu, remains completely blank. This is specially so for the period of transition from a rebel occupied territory to the position of a Coḷa mandala in the time of Rājarāja I. In fact the entire period of Coḷa rule in Rājaratṭha emerges in only very uncertain form. The inscriptional evidence is also neither comprehensive nor very satisfactory. We have seen, however, the statement in the Cūlavamsa that when the Coḷa monarch was informed of the disorganized state of things in Ceylon, he speedily sent an expedition there. We may have to detach this part

1. See supra, p. 121 n.1.

2. ASCAR., 1953, pp. 9-12, 27-28.

of the account from the rest to find some support for the invasion of Ceylon in the time of Rājarāja. Yet what exactly happened in the eighth year of Rājarāja is difficult to determine, though it is possible that Coḷa power was first established on that date, while the completion of his conquest may have taken place about the seventeenth year. The expedition may have arrived either at Mahātiṭṭha or Gokaṇa, or at both places, and proceeded to Anurādhapura; from there they would have reduced the rest of Rājarāṭṭha, and established their headquarters in Polonnaruva.

The account in the Cūlavamsa of plunder and destruction of religious and secular buildings by the Coḷas is another section which has to be detached from the rest of the account and treated as part of the activities in the time of Rājarāja I. The description of these activities in the Chronicle following the capture of Mahinda V may not be as accurate because by that time the Coḷas had already been in Rājarāṭṭha for some time. On the other hand the plunder of Rohaṇa may have taken place during the successive invasions in the time of Rājendra I and his successors. The Cūlavamsa describes the pillage and plunder in Ceylon in the following terms:

"In the three fraternities and in all Lāṅkā
 (breaking open) the relic-chambers (they
 carried away) many costly images etc., and
 while they violently destroyed here and
 there all the monasteries, like blood-sucking
yakkhas, they took all the treasures of Lāṅkā¹
 for themselves."

This description may be to some extent exaggerated, but
 not necessarily untrue as we shall see later from other
 sources.²

The political conditions in Rājaraṭṭha seem to have
 precluded any serious resistance to the invaders, and
 some of the mercenaries themselves as well as the Tamil
 inhabitants, following the usual pattern, may have gone
 over to the side of the Coḷas. The Sinhalese, who did
 approve of the new rulers would have followed the king to
 Rohaṇa, or even to Malayadeśa, thus leaving the entire
 Rājaraṭṭha an easy prize for the Coḷas. The movements
 of Mahinda, after his flight to Rohaṇa also seem to
 indirectly confirm the present reconstruction of the
 contemporary events. It may be noted that soon after
 he arrived in Rohaṇa he stayed for a while at a place

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- LXVI.
1. Cv., LV.20-1. See also Cv.LX, 56,80;LXXIV.1-14;/103-5.
 2. See infra, p.-----; see also IA.,XVIII,pp.258-265; supra
 p.120 n.2 ; infra,pp.137,158-9,320-I.

called Sīdupabbatagāma,¹ probably expecting to go back to Anuradhāpura, after the rebellion there had petered out. But some time later, he seems to have given up all hopes of returning, and having reconciled to the loss of Rājarat̥ṭha, founded a new capital at Kappagallaka and dwelt there till he was captured by the Coḷas in his thirty-sixth year.² We may assume that his decision to stay so long in Rohaṇa was dictated by the loss of Rājarat̥ṭha to the Coḷas. It is also apparent, however, that in spite of the claims of Rājarāja to have defeated the Sinhalese king, that his military operations in Ceylon do not seem to have gone that far. It may be that owing to the presence of strong enemies on the Indian continent itself, such as the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇī, he had to stop short of an invasion of Rohaṇa. He may have even left the subjugation of the rest of the country to the discretion of his officials in Polloⁿharuva. It is, however, important to note that under Rājarāja Coḷa power had penetrated as far as Polonnaruva, and this conquest of even a part of Ceylon, was of great significance for both the imperialist and maritime policies of the Coḷas. His achievement in Ceylon was also one which echoed the

1. Not identified, JRASCB(NS)VI, p.195.

2. Cv., IV.8-11. Kappagallaka has not been identified, see JRASCB(NS) VI, p.66.

legendary invasion of Laṅkā by Rāma.

The failure of Rājarāja I or his son to complete the subjugation of the whole of Ceylon can be looked at from another angle too. By the time Rājarāja turned his attention to Ceylon, his motive was perhaps not the desire to capture the Pāṇḍya regalia or the wealth of Ceylon, but to get the control over the northern half of Ceylon which was important for the Coḷa maritime policy. If this was so, then there may have been no need to subjugate the remaining areas. As long as Rohaṇa and Malaya were not a threat to the Coḷas in Rājaratṭha, and as long as they acknowledged the supremacy of the Coḷas, it is possible that the Coḷa kings would have left those areas alone. Therefore the failure of the Coḷas to conquer the whole island may be even regarded as part of their policy and not a reflection of their failure in Ceylon. After all if they wished both Rājarāja and Rājendra, or even some of their successors, were powerful enough to make short shrift of those areas which remained in a state of semi-independence of the Coḷas.

Rājendra I and Ceylon.

Rājendra succeeded to the Coḷa throne in 1014 A.C.,

but he had already been associated with his father in the joint rule of the empire a few years earlier, as was the custom in the Coḷa kingdom. Thus his accession is dated in the twenty-ninth year of Rājarāja (1012),¹ when he was formally invested as the co-ruler. Not long after succeeding his father, he associated his eldest son, Rājādhirāja in the administration. This has been calculated to have occurred in 1018 A.C., in the seventh year of Rājendra.² For the next twenty-five years, till the death of the former, the father and son were responsible for the formulation and execution of Coḷa policy.

Rājendra I, who was the most successful of the Coḷa emperors, succeeded to an empire of considerable extent.³ It comprised Coḷa, Pāṇḍya, Keraḷa and Tondaimaṇḍalam in South India and Rājaratṭha in Ceylon. But in many of the lands outside the Coḷa country itself there was sullen opposition to Coḷa rule, which frequently erupted in rebellions, and the emergence of fresh claimants to the

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1. EI., VIII, 260; IX, p. 217.
 2. EI., IX, p. 218.
 3. JIH., II, pp. 317-369.

vacant thrones. Throughout the reigns of Rājendra and his successors, repeated expeditions had to be sent to keep down this opposition. This is clearly borne out by their claims to victories in Pāṇḍya, Keraḷa and Ceylon, even while claiming these lands as integral parts of the Coḷa empire. In the meantime the organisation of the empire on a sound basis was followed with great vigour. The roots of Coḷa administration seem to have gone deeper and wider, even into distant maṇḍalas like Ceylon.

The reconstruction of the history of Rājendra and his son is facilitated by the presence of many elaborate accounts of their more significant achievements in their own inscriptions. These mostly refer to their military achievements. Inscriptions of Rājendra are the most elaborate, starting from about his third year and progressively getting longer and fuller, till they reach their maximum length in his fourteenth year. It may be presumed that after his fourteenth year he concentrated on the administration of the empire, and left territorial acquisition and dealing with internal and external enemies to his sons. The Tanjore inscriptions,¹ Tirukkalur

1. SII., II, No. 20.

copper-plates,¹ Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates² and the Karandai plates,³ all belonging to the later years of Rājendra, are some of the most comprehensive among Coḷa inscriptions. These inscriptions, and those of his son, like the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription,⁴ some of the Tamil literary works and the inscriptions of some of the contemporary kings, provide us with much information for this period of Coḷa history.

The earliest conquests of Rājendra appear to have been in the Kṛṣṇa-Tungabhadra area, and were achieved most probably in the time of his father, because they occur so early in his inscriptions. These were the conquests of Idaturai-nāḍu, Vanavāsi, Koḷḷippakkai and Maṇṇaikkāḍakkam.⁵ The conquest of Ceylon is mentioned immediately afterwards, and may be dated in the year in which it is mentioned for the first time. The fact that this event is not mentioned in all of the inscriptions of his fifth year (1016-1017) but only in some,⁶ suggests that it would have occurred in the latter part of that year.⁷ This year, it

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1. SII., III, No. 207.
 2. SII., III, No. 205, the last part of which ~~(was)~~ is dated in the 21st year of Rājendra.
 3. JOR., XIX, pt. II, pp. 148-151. The Coḷas pp. 15 n. I, 746, n. 59.
 4. SII., III, No. 28.
 5. ARE., 1908, No. 451 (3rd year); 1918, No. 44 (4th year).
 6. ARE., 1903, No. 387; 1907, No. 439; SII., V, No. 1413 as against ARE., 1903, No. 257; 1927-8, No. 52; SII., IV, No. 327; VIII, Nos. 559, 583.
 7. This seems to have occurred between the 230th and 281st day of the fifth year. ARE., 1915, No. 243; 1923, No. 256.

may be noted, also corresponds to the thirty-sixth year of Mahinda V.

For twenty-six years Mahinda had succeeded in eluding the Coḷas, and had resided in Rohana, Rājarāja's involvements in South India, especially against the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī, and in the internal politics in Veṅgi, probably had not given him a chance to settle matters conclusively in Ceylon. It is, however, possible that during the last years of his reign preparations were being made for a more determined bid to capture those elusive Pāṇḍya treasures, as well as those of the Sinhalese king. Thus nearly three years after the death of Rājarāja his son claims the conquest of Ceylon. It may also be noted that, while the inscriptions of his fifth year mention only the mere fact of his conquest, the inscriptions of the following year claim the conquest of the whole of Ceylon (Ilamāṇḍala+muluvadum).¹ The latter inscriptions are also the earliest to refer to his four-fold victories in Ceylon. Perhaps the entire campaign had lasted some time, starting in his fifth year and concluded most probably in the course of the following year. The victories in Ceylon/^{are} thus summarised in his inscriptions:²

1. ARE., 1916, No. 614, SII., II, No. 9; III, No. 205.

2. SII., III, No. 205, Tiruvalangāḍu plates; see supra p. 130 nō-7.

"Rājendra ... conquered with his great and warlike army ... the crown of the king of T̄lam, who came to close quarters in fighting, the exceedingly beautiful crown of the queen of that (country), the crown of Sundara and the pearl necklace of Indra, which the king of the South (i.e. the Pāṇḍya) had previously given up to that (king of T̄lam), and the whole of T̄lamaṇḍalam on the transparent sea".

This account is found in all the elaborate inscriptions of Rājendra, except for the Karandai plates¹ which give a slightly longer and more interesting account of the achievements of Rājendra in Ceylon.

According to Nilakanta Sastri,² who quotes extensively from these unpublished Karandai plates, Rājendra claims there that, he "conquered the king of Ceylon with a fierce army and seized his treasury, his crown, his queen and her crown, his daughter, all his wealth, his transport and the spotless garland of Indra and the crown of the Pāṇḍya left in his charge. After having lost the battle and being shorn of his queen, son and other belongings, the

1. See supra, p.130 n3.

2. The Colas, p.199: HC., I/I, p.350; see also JOR., XIX, pt. II, pp.148-151. See supra, p. n.I above.

king of Ceylon, out of fear, had come and sought the two feet of Rājendra as shelter." This solitary but very useful account goes a long way in explaining the Cūlavamsa account of the events in the last year of Mahinda's rule in Rohana. It also shows a considerable measure of agreement between the Coḷa inscriptions and the Ceylonese chronicles, which hitherto occurred only occasionally.

The Cūlavamsa, which forms the bed-rock on which the medieval history of Ceylon has to be reconstructed, devotes a good part of its fifty-fifth chapter to the activities of the Coḷas in Ceylon. It was part of this account which we detached from the rest¹ to explain Rājarāja's activities in Ceylon mentioned in his inscriptions. The remainder of the account also does not refer to any Coḷa monarch by name, but the events mentioned therein can be established with the help of many of the Coḷa inscriptions.

In the thirty-sixth year of Mahinda, according to the Cūlavamsa, the Coḷas invaded Ceylon and advanced as far as Rohana. This in all probability refers to the

1. See supra., p. 51, pp. 113-124.

invasion in the time of Rājendra, and made nearly twenty-five years after the establishment of their power in Rājaraṭṭha. The course of their advance to Rohaṇa does not figure in the chronicles, but once in Rohaṇa it is recorded that they captured the chief queen (Mahesi) of Mahinda, the jewels, the diadem, that he had inherited, all the royal ornaments, the priceless diamond bracelet, which was a gift of the gods, the unbreakable sword, and the relic of the torn strip of cloth (chinnapattikādhātuka). In the meantime the king had escaped to the jungle but was pursued and captured alive "with the pretence of making a treaty." The captives and the treasures were then sent to the Coḷa capital. It is also stated that the Coḷas after their victory held sway over Rājaraṭṭha as far as Rakkhapāsāṇakanṭha with Pulatthinagara (Ronnaruwa) as their bases.¹

This account in the Ceylonese chronicle finds remarkable confirmation from the Coḷa inscriptions.² As we have

1. Cv., LV.16+23; Rakkhapāsāṇakanṭha to be identified either as the Rakvāna hills in Ratnāpara distr., or a place north of Buttala distr. See JRASCB(NS) VI, p.126. Could it be Hakgala?
2. Kōnerirājapuram ins. ARE., 1909, No.642; see supra, p.132-3. The capture of the king, and the queen, and the kingdom are common to both the Cv., and the Karandai plates. The priceless diamond bracelet in the Cv., and the spotless garland of Indra in Tamil ins., may even mean the same item. The capture of the Pāṇḍya regalia and the son and daughter of Mahinda are mentioned only in the Tamil ins; see also Later Coḷas, I, p. 147.

already seen, the invasion itself seems to have occurred in the fifth year of Rājendra (1017), when his superior forces carried everything before them, and thus brought to a conclusion a development which had started in the time of his great-grandfather Parāntaka I. Rājendra's interest in the affairs of the Pāṇḍya and Keraḷa kingdoms, just before the invasion of Ceylon, may indicate the way in which he was preparing the ground for the latter project. Although the Ceylonese sources do not speak of any severe combat between the Sinhalese and the Coḷas, the inscriptions of the latter, on the other hand, refer to the king of Ceylon who came to close quarters in fighting, and was vanquished by a fierce Coḷa force.¹ The superior strength of the Coḷas is indicated by all the accounts; and the preceding quarter century of Coḷa hegemony in Rājaraṭṭha would have given them more than enough time to plan and prepare for the long-awaited attack on Rohaṇa. Mahinda who survived their attack was able to escape only with his bare life. His subsequent capture, as described in the Cūlavamsa, implies that he was inveigled out of hiding by false promises and then overpowered. And as the Karandai plates boast, he may have been persuaded to appear

1. See supra, pp. 132 ff.

before the Coḷa emperor to be restored to his family and to the throne. Rājendra's success in Ceylon also seems to have inspired such titles like the meaningful one "Ilaṅgeśvara-kula-kāla-tēriṅja" given to a contingent of the Coḷa army.¹

Mahinda, who was taken prisoner to the Coḷa country, had to remain there for the next twelve years, till his death. Although he was separated from his son, and deprived of his freedom and the kingdom, he would at least have had the company of his wife and daughter in his dreary exile. How he was treated by the Coḷa monarch is nowhere mentioned. His failure to win back his freedom and return to Rohaṇa, even as a vassal, is indeed surprising, but at the same time, it suggests the rigourous nature of Coḷa imperialist policy.

The twelve kingless years during which Mahinda lived in India marked the hey-day of Coḷa power in Ceylon.² Their victory in Ceylon was complete, and almost the whole island for a while lay shattered before the invaders. We have

1. ARE., 1927, No. 323.

2. S. Sadasiva Pandarathar goes even further and states that for at least 10 years the whole of Rohaṇa was under Rājendra I., Later Colas, I, p. 170.

seen elsewhere¹ the accounts of pillage and plunder in Ceylon, which seem to have followed the conquest of Rājaraṭṭha by the forces of Rājarāja I. Similarly the plunder of Rohaṇa may have followed the invasion of Rohaṇa and the capture of Mahinda. All these harrowing accounts may be partly exaggerated, but there is other evidence which goes to show that the Coḷas were indeed responsible for much damage and destruction and cruelty as they entered the territories of their enemies.²

Some of the Sinhalese works which refer to the establishment of Coḷa power in Ceylon add that for nearly a century the Tamils were found all over Ceylon, in villages, market towns and the provinces (gam niyamgam rajadhāni).³

It may be interesting, however, to examine the correctness of the statement in the Cūlavamsa that, with Polonnaruva as their base, the Coḷas ruled over Rājaraṭṭha as far as Rakkhapāsāṇakaṇṭha, especially in view of the claims of the Coḷas to have conquered the whole of Ceylon (Ilamandalamuluvaḍum).⁴ The Coḷas had indeed captured not only Rājaraṭṭha but had also invaded

1. See Supra, p.124-5 .

2. See infra, p.157-3, 320-1.

3. Nks., p.23: Saddharma-ratnākara, chap.12, p.311.

4. See supra, p.131 nl.2.

Rohana, and captured alive the entire royal family except Kassapa, a son of Mahinda. The prevalence of Cola rule in Rājarat̥ṭha in the time of Rājendra is confirmed by the inscriptions dated in his regnal years and going back to at least his ninth (?) year.¹ There is, however, no such evidence in Rohana and Malayadesa, which apparently remained outside their direct control. To that extent at least the statement in the Cūlavamsa that the Colas ruled only over Rājarat̥ṭha is substantially correct, but on the other hand, there seems to be enough justification for the sweeping claim of the Colas for the conquest of the whole island because both in name and reality they were the masters of Ceylon at least for a short time. Nominally also those who ruled Rājarat̥ṭha were the overlords of the whole of Ceylon. But for the greater part of their rule in Ceylon, which lasted about three-quarters of a century, the effect of their direct control was felt only in the northern half of Ceylon, while the southern part was subjected to frequent raids but not brought into line with Rājarat̥ṭha. The administration in Rohana and Malayadesa, on the other hand,

1. SII., IV, Nos. 1389, 1394, 1395, 1408, 1414, 1415 (9th year ?), ASCAR., 1953, p.28, No.22; CJSc., II, p.199 No.597- 12th year.

remained in the hands of Sinhalese chiefs, who were an important factor in the politics of the time. According to the Cūlavamsa, when Vijayabāhu's armies set out to expel the Coḷas, they encountered them both in the heart of Dakkhinadeśa, at Muhunnaru in the west,¹ and in the east as far south as Caggama, located near present Gal-oya in the Eastern province.² This may roughly demarcate the boundaries between areas occupied by the Coḷa and Sinhalese, with Caggama in the east, Rakkhapāsāna in the middle, and Muhunnaru in the west. This however would mean that Coḷa power extended to the northern parts of Dakkhinadeśa, Malayadeśa and Rohana too.

Rājendra's preoccupation with the campaigns in the south, including Ceylon, seems to have led to an outbreak of hostilities in the north. As far back as the time of Rājarāja, war had been waged with the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī, and there, too, the Coḷas appear to have been the aggressors. Jayasimha II who succeeded to the Cālukya throne about 1015 A.C. had been fighting the Coḷas even before his accession,³ and once more had taken up arms, probably to

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1. Muhunnaru: (Cv., LVIII.42-44) has been located near Hettipola, where at Nuvarakāle an ins., belonging to Kassapa V has been found. This refers to the place as Muhunnaru, EI., IV, pp.180-2. Codrington is inclined to identify it further south, even rejecting the evidence of the above ins., but without giving reasons for his own identification. CHJ., IV, p.131.
 2. Caggama: (Cv., LVIII.45-46) identified by Codrington with Sakāma, lying to the west of Tirukkōvil in the Batticoloa distr., CJA., IV, pp.131,144; Nicholas also accepts this identification, HC., I/I, pp.426,469; JRASCB, (NS) VI, p.30.
 3. IA., V, pp.15-17. Belgamve ins.

retrieve what had been lost in the time of his elder brother, Vikramāditya V. These wars between the Coḷas and the Cālukyas, however, do not seem to have led to any decisive result and neither party was the master of the situation, though it is possible to assume that the Coḷas were in a stronger position than their rivals.

In the meantime, Rājendra had involved himself in the question of the succession to the throne of Veṅgī, and this had taken his armies there. After settling the affairs in Veṅgī, they had then marched to Kāliṅga, on the eastern coast, and then proceeded still northwards, up to the banks of the Ganges.¹ This campaign seems to have been *not* an impressive military display rather than one intended for territorial acquisition. The Coḷa inscriptions exultantly describe the lands through which their armies marched, and the kings encountered on the way. The return of the armies after their successful digvijaya was celebrated with the founding of a new capital named Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram. The glory of this northern expedition was matched by even more daring naval enterprise against the distant Srīvijaya in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, where Rājendra sent many ships and defeated

1. JOR., VII, pp. 199-218; IHQ., XIII, pp. 149-152; JRAS., 1935 pp. 655-666.

Saṅgrāma-vijayottuṅga-varman.¹ The earliest reference to these events occurs in the inscriptions of his fourteenth year² (c.1026). This invasion provides a striking testimony to the efficiency and the strength of the Cola navy, and also forms an important landmark in the rather assertive maritime policy of the Colas.

Rājādhirāja I and the rulers of Rohana.

As we have already seen, Rājendra had during his own life time entrusted the more exacting tasks of running the affairs of the empire to his sons, the eldest of whom was Rājādhirāja I (1018-1054). The latter had been engaged in the administration as early as the seventh year of his father's reign, and, after his death in 1044, succeeded to the throne, and associated his brother Rājendra II in the administration. At the time of the death of Rājendra I, the Colas still occupied the paramount position in South India but they had some difficulties such as opposition to their rule in regions such as the Pāṇḍya, Veṅgī and Ceylon.

1. The Colas, pp.211-220; JIH., II, pp.347-357; JRAS., 1897, pp. 551-577; 1905, pp.485-511; 1913, pp.689-690; JMBRAS., XIII, no.2 pp. 70-108; XIV, no.3, pp. 10-67, 782-3; XV, no.3, pp.64-122; XXII no.II, pp. 1-30; XXIII, no.I, pp.1-36; BEFEO., XVIII, no.6, pp. 1-36; XL, pp.239-313; P.Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese, pp. 199; EI., IX, p.231; SII., II, no.105-6; O.W.Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce and the Origin of Srīvijaya, Ph.D., Thesis, London, 1962; Artibus Asiae, XXIV, 3/4, pp. 333-342.
2. ARE., 1911, no. 213; It has been pointed out by R.C.Rajandar that there was also an earlier attack on Kadāram by Rājendra I, Suvarnadīpa, pt.I, p.171; Artibus Asiae, XXIV, 3/4, pp. 333-342.

Meanwhile the Coḷa-Cālukya conflict also continued undiminished. The activities of Rājādhiraḷja, which had for some time spelled disaster and humiliation for the Cālukyas, failed to dampen their ardour, and under the leadership of Someśvara I (1042-1068) they restored their influence in Veṅgī and Kāliṅga, and then set out to avenge their earlier defeats. This led to a reneweal of the conflict on an intensive scale, with the Coḷas marching in to enemy territory. But they were halted by the Cālukyas, and were dealt a crushing blow at Koppam (1053-4), where Rājādhiraḷja himself fell mortally wounded. The Coḷas were not disconcerted by this disaster, but rallied round Rājendra (II), who not only saved the situation but also repulsed the Cālukyas inflicting heavy losses on them.

In Ceylon, during the period between the capture of Mahinda (1017) and the rise of Vijayabāhu as Yuvarāja of Rohaṇa (1055-6), the main object of the Sinhalese was to keep the Coḷas away from those parts of Rohaṇa and Malayadeśa which still remained in their hands. Even after the accession of Vijayabāhu they continued for some time to make raids into these areas. In the meantime, while Mahinda was being kept a prisoner in the Coḷa country, "the people in the kingdom (i.e. Rohaṇa) brought

up the young prince Kassapa, the son of Mahinda".
 Eventually knowledge of his existence came to the notice
 of the Colas, and it is said that, when the Cola king
 heard that Kassapa had reached the age of twelve, he
 sent high officials with a large force to seize him.¹

It is generally assumed that this army sent to capture
 Kassapa came soon after Mahinda's death in India, when
 Kassapa was only twelve years old.² This would imply
 that Kassapa was born about the time when his parents
 were captured by the Colas. But according to the
Cūlavamsa, it appears that he was born not long after
 Mahinda's flight to Rohana in his tenth year. He was
 captured twentysix years after this event. Therefore if
 Kassapa was born while Mahinda was still in Rohana, then
 he should have been more than twelve years of age by 1017
 A.C. The number twelve in the Cūlavamsa seems to be
 rather an arbitrary number, with three consecutive events
 during this period lasting the same duration. The captivity

1. Cv.,IV.23-26. Kassapa in the IVth chap. of the Cv., is
 stated to be the son of Mahina V, but there seems to have
 been another Kassapa, the son of Sena V, who was the elder
 brother of Mahinda. (Cv., LIV,70). Kassapa, the son of
 Sena should have succeeded to the throne after the death
 of Mahina V, and the turn of the other Kassapa was there-
 after. But according to the Cv., he does not seem to have
 ascended the throne. This Kassapa and his uncle Udaya
 (Cv..LIV.58,63) are two of those people who had been badly
 neglected in the Cv.,.

2. HC.,I/II, p.417; see infra, p.144-5 .

of Mahinda, the age of Kassapa at the time of the next Cola invasion and the length of his subsequent reign in Rohana, are ^{each}~~both~~ attributed to ~~the same~~^a number of twelve years.¹ We have, however, no other evidence to ascertain the accuracy of these numbers except the Sinhalese works,² which only confirm the duration of the last event. As regards the age of Kassapa at the time of the next Cola invasion, we have only the evidence of the Cūlavamsa which places it in his twelfth year. As we have seen this does not seem correct.

The inscriptions of Rājendra do not mention a second invasion of Ceylon. This is, of course, understandable if it was, as the Cūlavamsa asserts,³ a failure. On the other hand, the important inscriptions of Rājādhirāja,⁴ from his twenty-ninth year (C.1046) acclaim the defeat of Vikkamabāhu (Kassapa). This, however, does not help us very much in our inquiries, because these inscriptions refer not only to the defeat of Vikkamabāhu, but also to three others, who had followed him on the throne of Rohana. The fact that he is referred to as Vikkamabāhu, however, is significant, because that was the name Kassapa assumed after the death of his father.⁵ This would suggest, as

1. Cv., LV.33,24; LVI, 6.

2. Pjv., p.104; Rjv., p.42.

3. Cv., LV.26-30.

4. SII., III, No.28; IV, No.529; V, No.520.

5. Cv., LVI.I.

S.Pandarāthar also assumes, that the armies of Rājādhirāja¹ defeated him when he was the ruler of Rohaṇa.

According to the Cūlavamsa, at the time the Coḷas sought to capture Kassapa, he was still a prince (kumāro), and had not ascended to the throne. As long as his father was alive, even as a prisoner, he may not have entertained thoughts of kingship. The invasion sent to capture Kassapa is mentioned after the capture of Mahinda, but before the reference to the latter's death twelve years² later. Thus there seems to be some confusion about the invasions of Ceylon at this time, and the invasion mentioned in the Cūlavamsa may represent one which had occurred when Mahinda was still alive and Kassapa still in hiding. The other, referred to in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja, on the other hand, could be an invasion which may have taken place when Kassapa was ruling in Rohaṇa as Vikkamabāhu. It is also^{asserted} in these inscriptions that he (Rājādhirāja) captured the crown of Vikkamabāhu, the king of Laṅkā, but it may be pointed out that according to the Cūlavamsa Vikkamabāhu had deferred his consecration till after the expulsion of the Coḷas.³

1. Later Coḷas, pt.I, pp. 189-90.

2. See Cv., LV.23-32 for this invasion, and LV.33-34, for the death of Mahinda V.

3. Cv., LVI.3-5.

The Coḷas who had come in full strength to capture Kassapa were commanded by leading Coḷa officials (mahāmacca), who had under their command a force of ninety-five thousand men.¹ Once in Rohaṇa they^{had} attacked and destroyed everything in every direction, till they were contained by two Sinhalese chiefs, Kittī and Buddha. The latter especially had taken up fortified positions in Paluṭṭhagiri,² perhaps on the borders of Rohaṇa, and fought the Coḷas from there^{for} six months. During this time they had killed many Tamils, and those who escaped withdrew to Polonnaruva. These events find even a louder echo in the Sinhalese works,³ which claim that Vikkamabāhu chased the Tamils who had come during his father's reign, into the sea, and ruled for twelve years. There is no other reference in any of the Ceylonese sources to another Coḷa invasion in the time of Vikkamabāhu, and one which could confirm the boastful claims of Rājādhirāja. The Cūlavamsa describes how Vikkamabāhu resolved to expel the Tamils from Rājaraṭṭha, and for which he collected money and a powerful force of 100,000 men. But before he could embark on his campaign he died of vāta-rōga (rheumatism).⁴ The Coḷa inscriptions, on

1. Cv., IV.24-5.

2. Paluṭṭhagiri has been identified with Palatupāna in Rohaṇa, JRASCB. (NS) VI, p.64, but Geiger is inclined to locate it to the west of Rohaṇa on the borders of Dakkhinadeśa (Cv., pt. I, p.203, n.2).

3. PJV. p.104; Rjv. p.42.

4. Cv., LVI.1-6.

the contrary, aver that he died in battle with their armies.¹ It must be admitted here, that the real circumstances of his death cannot be easily ascertained, because as much as the accounts of the Coḷa inscriptions are at variance with the Cūlavamsa, it is equally difficult to believe that vāta-rōga itself could have been fatal, though it depends on the precise meaning of the word vāta-rōga.

The period which followed the death of Vikkamabāhu till the emergence of Vijayabāhu is a rather complicated period in the history of Ceylon, because, in spite of the considerable amount of material, the reconstruction of the history of this period remains quite difficult. The Coḷa inscriptions, for the first time, depart from their usually vague and sweeping statements concerning Ceylon, and provide a useful list of names of the princes who were killed or defeated by the Coḷas. But the advantage derived from this new material is partly offset by the fact that the identity of some of these princes cannot be satisfactorily established. All these names and their dates are not supported by the Ceylonese sources and present Ceylonese chronology.

1. Cv., LVI.6; CCMT., p.13 Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Vol.VI. (The shrine of Upulvan at Devundara), pp.1-5; for an account of the death of Vikkamabāhu while he was visiting Dewanagara (Devundara); see supra, p.143 n2.

As far as the Cūlavamsa is concerned this period of the history of Ceylon seems to have been confined to the history of Rohaṇa, where the Sinhalese carried on a very unequal struggle against the Coḷas. Rājaratṭha was lost to the Tamils, and as a result it no longer attracted the attention of the chroniclers. In fact Geiger¹ feels strongly that this part of the Cūlavamsa was taken from a lost "Rohana chronicle". The Mahāvamsa² also seems to have undergone similar grafting in the account of the early life of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. Even in the Cūlavamsa³ there is a similar account on the genealogy of Māhavamma. What is important to note here is the failure of the Cūlavamsa to shed any light whatsoever on the state of Rājaratṭha under its Coḷa governors. Even for Rohaṇa and Malaya, where the Sinhalese carried on a very unequal struggle against the Coḷas, we have only the barest details till we come to the time of Vijayabāhu. From the point of view of the Coḷas, Ceylon was a part of their empire, and firmly held under Coḷa rule. Yet they still had to contend with many problems, as is clearly implied by their repeated claims to have captured the crowns of, and defeated in battle, the kings of Ceylon. The only period when there

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1. Cv., pt. I, p. 192 n. 3. See also ^{Cv.} p. 92 n. 3.
 2. Mv., chaps. XXII-XXV.
 3. Cv., XLV. 37-82.

was apparently no king in Rohana was the twelve years of Mahinda's captivity, but thereafter there was no dearth of people aspiring to the position of overlord of Rohana and Malayadesa.

With the death of Vikkamabahu the direct line of Manavamma comes to an end.¹ Thereafter, there were many aspirants to the throne, drawn from the ranks of Sinhalese officials, and some foreign princes. Though the inscriptions of Rajadhiraja, and his younger brother Rajendra (II), loudly proclaim the defeat of the kings and the capture of valuable booty in Ceylon, we have to bear in mind that Ceylon was not the most important and vital theatre of war during this period in Cola history. A more vital and decisive struggle was that with the Calukyas of Kalyani over the possession of Krishna-Tungabhadra delta, as well as the supremacy over the Calukyas of Vengi. It was probably when the situation in these parts allowed them to do so that the Cola kings turned their attention to the affairs in Ceylon. We may assume, on the other hand, that it was the responsibility of the Cola governors in Polonnaruva to conduct their own affairs and wage wars against the remaining pockets of Sinhalese opposition.

1. Pjv., p.104; see infra, pp. 172.

In the absence of other royal successors after Vikkamabāhu, the control of Rohaṇa was assumed by the commander of the Sinhalese army, named Kittī.¹ But eight days after his assumption of office he was killed by another Kittī, called Mahālāna Kittī.² It may be interesting to note that there were three Kittīs during this period of the Rohaṇa kingdom, with the greatest of them all following a few years later. All that is known of Mahālāna Kittī is that he was defeated by the Coḷas in his third year, and that in his despair he killed himself.³ The inscriptions of Rājādhiraṇja which acclaim the defeat of Vikkamabāhu and three others, who apparently followed him, do not mention a Kittī. The name that follows Vikkamabāhu is Vikkamapaṇḍu, which could be none other than the name of the successor of Mahālāna Kittī in the Cūlavamsa. Thus in spite of the assertion in the Cūlavamsa that Kittī was defeated by the Coḷas, it finds no confirmation from the Coḷa sources themselves.

We are told in the Cūlavamsa that after the death of Mahālāna Kittī, the Coḷas seized the important treasures

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1. Cv., LVI.7. Though it is not stated he may have been the same as Kittī of Makkhakudrūsa who had earlier fought the Coḷas, and won the esteem of Kassapa (Cv., LV.26-32).
 2. Mahālāna: the chief secretary or scribe. HC., I pt.11, pp. 540-1.
 3. Cv., LVI.8+10.

and sent them to the Cola monarch. At that time there was a prince named Vikkamapaṇḍu, sojourning in Dulu country, having gone there to escape his enemies.¹ When he heard of the developments in Ceylon, probably its kingless state, he came to Rohaṇa. He did not, however, rule in Rohaṇa, but ruled for one year from Kālatiṭṭha, identified with Kalutara on the south-western coast.² S. Pandarathar has suggested³ that Vikkamapaṇḍu was the son of Mahālāna Kitti and a Pāṇḍya princess, but this finds no confirmation from any of our sources. There is no reference in the Cūlavamsa as to his defeat by the Colas as mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājādhiraṇja. His stay in Kālatiṭṭha, however, is significant, and may suggest that Rohaṇa itself was either in the hands of the Colas, or another Sinhalese prince, perhaps Kitti himself.

The activities of Rājendra in South India, and the Muslims in North India, may have led to an exodus of Indian princes in different directions. Some of them seem to have found their way to Ceylon. Thus Vikkamapaṇḍa was followed by another Indian prince named Jagatīpāla of Ayojjhapura (Ayodhya), a son of a king who belonged to the legendary line of Rāma.

1. Cv., LVI.11-12. See also HC., I/II, p.418, n.4. He has not been identified more clearly, but his name suggests that he was a Pāṇḍya. Dulu country has not been identified. Prob. the same as Tulu country. See supra, p. III6. The Rjv., also refers to a Doluvararaṭa (p.3).
2. HC., I/II, p.418.
3. Later Colas I. pp.191-2.

According to the Cūlavamsa he killed Vikkamapaṇḍa, and ruled in Rohaṇa for four years. He was in turn killed by the Coḷas, and his queen, their daughter and all the treasures were seized and sent to the Coḷa king.¹ The next ruler in Rohaṇa was Parakkama, "the son of the Pāṇḍya king",² presumably Vikkamapaṇḍu. He too was killed by the Coḷas two years later. The Sinhalese sources add that in his time 95000 Tamils invaded Ceylon and devastated the country and destroyed the religion.³

The nature of opposition of the kings of Rohaṇa to Coḷa rule in Rājaraṭṭha can be regarded as a good reflection of the conditions that prevailed in Rohaṇa during this time. Except for a few occasions, the greater parts of Rohaṇa and Malaya had been outside the direct control of Anurādhapura. They had enjoyed a certain amount of independence with regard to politics and the Coḷa occupation of Rājaraṭṭha seems to have brought no change in this situation, at least for some time. Politically, Rohaṇa was not composed of a single large principality, but was governed by a number of petty rulers from different places. This is clearly implied in the number of capitals known to have existed in various parts of Rohaṇa. Some of these

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1. Cv., LVI.13-15; The Coḷas, p.251; see infra, pp. ^{157-9.} ~~85-87.~~
 2. Cv., LVI.16.
 3. Pjv., p.104; Rjv., p.42.

rulers were drawn from collateral branches of the Anurādhapura line, and were often matrimonially connected with the main royal family. It was when things were in this state that Mahinda V fled to Rohaṇa, and it would have caused some political re-adjustment there. Owing to his position as the king of Ceylon he would have been acknowledged by the other petty rulers. Nevertheless, politically Rohaṇa remained divided for over another half a century. As a result, the opposition in Rohaṇa to the Coḷas was not a united opposition, and failed to create any impression on the Coḷas. Owing to the same reason Coḷa attacks on Rohaṇa failed to remove all opposition with one crushing blow. The Coḷas had to keep a sharp eye on the developments in Rohaṇa, and at the earliest signs of any preparations for war by the Sinhalese, the Coḷas made swift raids and disrupted all their plans. The earliest improvement in this situation came with the emergence of Vijayabāhu who was able to unite the whole of Rohaṇa and turn back the tide of Coḷa attacks on Rohaṇa.

Soon after the death of Parakkama^{-pandu}/an army leader named Loka (Lokeśvara-senevi) gathered together the scattered remains of Sinhalese resistance. He is favourably considered in the Cūlavamsa,¹ being called "trustworthy and determined,

1. Cv.,LVIII.1-2. Pjv., (p.105) adds that he ^{became the ruler of Rohana} ~~exercised~~ in the absence of kings in Ceylon. See also Rjv.,p.33.

and capable of breaking the arrogance of the Coḷas." He had won over the people to his side and set up his capital at Kājaragāma, and was probably making preparations to invade Rājaraṭṭha when his position was assailed by another Sinhalese. The assailant was Kittī,¹ son of Moggallāna, and claimed to be a scion of the old Sinhalese royal family. To start with, he had the support of an army commander named Buddharāja, and with his assistance gradually brought Malayadeśa under his authority. Soon he found support in Rohaṇa too, which made him a serious threat to Loka. Loka tried hard to contain Kittī but all his attempts to put down Kittī ended in failure, and he himself died broken-hearted in the sixth year of his rule at Kājaragāma in Rohaṇa. But before Kittī could bring Rohaṇa under his control, another chief named (Kesadhātu-nāyaka) Kassapa² appeared on the scene, and stood solidly in the way of Kittī. In the meantime Kassapa had to face an attack by the Coḷas, which he weathered successfully, and having placed guards along the frontiers (i.e. Rakkhapāsāṇa[kaṇṭha]), he returned triumphantly to his capital at Kājaragāma.³ These developments would have disappointed Kittī, when he might have wished to see Kassapa defeated by

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1. For more details on the genealogy of Kittī, see infra, pp. 168-173.
 2. Cv., LVII.65. Kesadhātu-nāyaka, see infra, p. 130.
 3. Cv., LVII.66-69.

the Coḷas. Therefore, before the latter could take full advantage of his enhanced prestige, Kittī unleashed an attack on him. According to the Cūlavamsa¹ the people of Rohaṇa do not seem to have shown any interest in the cause of Kassapa, and as a result he had to abandon Kājaragāma and occupy another stronghold. If the Cūlavamsa is correct, it is indeed surprising why the people in Rohaṇa were reluctant to back their hero, unless of course they also had a premonition of the great destiny of young Kittī. A little later Kassapa made an attempt to recapture Kājaragāma, but was defeated and captured by Kittī. His rule in Rohaṇa had lasted only six months. Kittī, who was only seventeen years of age, then became the ruler of Rohaṇa, known by the title of Yuvarāja,² and also assumed the name of Vijayabāhu.

This is the history of Ceylon - or rather of Rohaṇa and Malayadeśa as far as it can be reconstructed on the basis of the Ceylonese chronicles, particularly the Cūlavamsa. Between the death of Vikkamabāhu and the accession of Vijayabāhu as Yuvarāja of Rohaṇa seven princes had ruled over the areas still free of the Coḷas. During this period four Coḷa attacks on Rohaṇa are referred to. They took place during the reigns of Mahālāna Kittī, Jagatīpāla,

1. Cv., LVII.72-73.

2. Cv., LVIII.1. see infra, pp. 130.

Parakkama and Kassapa.¹ No inscriptions attributable to any of these rulers have been found so far. The Sinhalese sources which seem unanimous as far as the names of five of these kings are concerned are not as unanimous regarding the lengths of their reigns. To recapitulate the information available in the Ceylonese sources regarding the names of kings and their regnal years we have first of all the Cūlavamsa,² which furnishes the following information: the successor of Vikkamabāhu was Kittī (8 days) followed by Mahālāna Kittī (died in the third year), Vikkamapaṇḍu (one year), Jagatīpāla (4 years), Parakkama (2 years), Loka (6 years), and Kassapa (six months). These regnal years may add up to a total of about sixteen years, or a little more. The Pūjāvaliya,³ on the other hand, does not refer to the first Kittī or Kassapa, but mentions the following: Mahālāna Kittī (3 years), Vikkamapaṇḍu (3 years), Jagatpāla (4 years), Parakkamapaṇḍi (1 year) and Lokeśvara (6 years). The Rājāvaliya⁴ also knows the same number of rulers as the Pūjāvaliya but refers only to the regnal years of Mahālāna Kittī (3 years), Vikkamapaṇḍu (3 years) Jagatpāla (1 year), and Parakkamapaṇḍu (6 years). The Rājaratnākavya⁵ refers only to the six year reign of

1. Cv., LVI. 8-9, 15-17; LVII. 66-68.
 2. Cv., LVI. 7-17; LVII. I, 64-75.
 3. Pjv., p. 104.
 4. Rjv., p. 42.
 5. Rjr., p. 33.

Lokeśvara.

The foregoing details reveal a significant lack of consistency between the different Ceylonese traditions. It is therefore difficult to determine the accuracy of the regnal details in the Cūlavamsa; and as a result, the regnal years in the Cūlavamsa can only be accepted as a working hypothesis. Incidentally, the Pūjāvaliya is the only Sinhalese work from which a total length of the period can be calculated. It furnishes a total of seventeen years, which comes very close to the total according to the Cūlavamsa.

The remaining source of information for this confused period are the Coḷa epigraphs from the twenty-ninth year of Rājādhiraḷa (c.1046) to the time of Vīrarājendra (1063-9). These inscriptions proudly mention the kings of Ceylon who were defeated or killed by the Coḷas. By the twentieth year of Rājādhiraḷa [c.1046] he claims to have dealt with four kings of Ceylon. They were Vikkramabāhu, Vikkirima-pāṇḍiyan, Vīra Salāmegāṇ and Śrīvallavaṇ-Madanarājaṇ.¹ The first was the son of Mahinda V, and his history, as gleaned from both the Sinhalese and the Coḷa sources, has been already discussed.² The next ruler can be easily

1. SII., III, No. 28. Maṇimaṅgalam ins.

2. see supra, pp. 142-7.

identified with Vikkamapaṇḍu in the Cūlavamsa.¹ According to the Coḷa inscriptions he had entered Ceylon after he had lost the whole of the southern Tamil country, which had previously belonged to him. His crown of large jewels is also claimed to have fallen into the hands of the Coḷas.² We may note here that the two Kittis in the Cūlavamsa who preceded Vikkamapaṇḍu are not mentioned in the Coḷa inscriptions, even when the second Kitti is reported to have been ~~was~~ ^{defeated} by the Coḷas.³ At the same time, while the Cūlavamsa attributes the death of Vikkamapaṇḍu to Jagatīpāla, the Coḷas claim it themselves. We may, however, note that the claims of the Coḷas are for the most part rhetorical rather than real.

The account of the defeat of Vikkamapaṇḍu is followed by a description of a protracted war against another ruler of Lankā, named Vīra Salāmegāṇ. It is said that Rājādhirāja,

"took the beautiful golden crown of the king of Sinhala, Vīra Salāmegāṇ, who, believing that Tīlam (surrounded by) the ocean was superior to the beautiful Kaṇṇakuccha (Kanauj) which belonged to him, had entered (the island) with his relatives and

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1. See supra, pp. 151-2. .
 2. See supra, p. 157 nL. .
 3. See supra, p. 150. .

(those of) his countrymen who were willing (to go with him), and had put on the brilliant crown; who having being defeated in the battle-field, and having lost his black elephant had fled ignominiously; and who, when (the Coḷa king) seized his elder sister, along with his wife, and cut off the nose of his mother, had returned in order to remove the disgrace (caused) thereby, and having fought hard with the sword, had perished in a hot battle."¹

There is no mention of a Vīra Salāmegāṇ in the Ceylonese sources, but his association with Kānyakubjā (Kanauj) is a strong argument for his identification with Jagatīpāla of Ayojjhapura in the Cūlavamsa. As A.L. Basham explains,² the two names could be two different birudas (epithets) of one and the same person, or rather, the name and a part of the well-known Sinhalese royal title Abhā Salamevan. There are a few other ^{points} ~~possibilities~~ which support the identification of these two as the same person. The king's death at the hands of the Coḷas, and their capture of his chief queen and the daughter, as well as the royal treasures, are common to both traditions. But the real identity of Jagatīpāla or

1. See n.2. previous page.

2. CHJ., IV, p.16 n.II; see also HC., I/II, pp.419-420: Later Coḷas, I, p. 193.

Vīra Salāmegāṇ does not emerge from any of these sources. The suffix "pāla" at the end of his name and his associations with Ayodhya, or even more so with Kanauj, may suggest that he was a Pratihāra prince,¹ most probably driven by the Muslim invaders to seek his fortune in Ceylon. The account in the Coḷa inscriptions particularly suggests that he and his people had been victims of some terrible calamity.

The only serious obstacle to this identification of Jagatīpāla with Vīra Salāmegāṇ is the discrepancy in the dates assignable to them according to the respective traditions. According to the Sinhalese chronology, Jagatīpāla has to be assigned to the period between 1043-44 and 1047-8 A.C., but, on the other hand, the date of the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription has been calculated to be December 1046 which seems too early for Jagatīpāla. Nilakanta Sastri and S. Parānavitana are inclined to consider that the new dates assigned to Vijayabāhu in the EZ., vol.V, pt.I, pp.5-19, make the date of Jagatīpāla consistent with the Coḷa dates.² It must however be admitted that although the new dates have greatly reduced the earlier discrepancies, yet there still remains some disagreement between the two dates.

1. CHJ., IV, p.16, n.II.

2. HC., I/II, pp.419-420, 422-3, 848.

The last ruler of Ceylon claimed to have been defeated by Rājādhirāja was Śrīvallavaṇ-Madanarājaṇ, "who had come to Kaṇṇaraṇ and taken up his abode with him." On account of his title Śrīvallavaṇ he is assumed to be a Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince. His name is also not known to any of the Ceylonese sources, nor does it have any resemblance to the name of the successor of Jagatīpāla in the Cūlavamsa, who was Parakkama, the son of the Paṇḍu king. Their foreign extraction is the only thing that is obviously common to them. Their dates are also not consistent. These factors, according to Nilakanta Sastri,¹ do not suggest that Parakkama and Śrīvallavaṇ are the same person. D.C.Sircar,² who interprets this part of the inscriptions slightly differently, is inclined to assume that Śrīvallavaṇ was a Pāṇḍyan prince, and not a Rāṣṭrakūṭa, and that he was the same as Parakkama in the Cūlavamsa. This suggestion, barring the chronological difficulties, seems quite plausible, especially in the light of the statements in the inscriptions of Vīrarājendra (1063-9) that he violently exterminated the son of Śrīvallaṇ of the South (i.e. Pāṇḍya).³

1. HC., I/II, p.420.

2. HCIP., IV, [Age of Imperial Kanauj], p.172; see also supra, p. 160 n2.

3. ~~C. I. I. V. 9-10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27-28-29-30-31-32-33-34-35-36-37-38-39-40-41-42-43-44-45-46-47-48-49-50-51-52-53-54-55-56-57-58-59-60-61-62-63-64-65-66-67-68-69-70-71-72-73-74-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-94-95-96-97-98-99-100-101-102-103-104-105-106-107-108-109-110-111-112-113-114-115-116-117-118-119-120-121-122-123-124-125-126-127-128-129-130-131-132-133-134-135-136-137-138-139-140-141-142-143-144-145-146-147-148-149-150-151-152-153-154-155-156-157-158-159-160-161-162-163-164-165-166-167-168-169-170-171-172-173-174-175-176-177-178-179-180-181-182-183-184-185-186-187-188-189-190-191-192-193-194-195-196-197-198-199-200-201-202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209-210-211-212-213-214-215-216-217-218-219-220-221-222-223-224-225-226-227-228-229-230-231-232-233-234-235-236-237-238-239-240-241-242-243-244-245-246-247-248-249-250-251-252-253-254-255-256-257-258-259-260-261-262-263-264-265-266-267-268-269-270-271-272-273-274-275-276-277-278-279-280-281-282-283-284-285-286-287-288-289-290-291-292-293-294-295-296-297-298-299-300-301-302-303-304-305-306-307-308-309-310-311-312-313-314-315-316-317-318-319-320-321-322-323-324-325-326-327-328-329-330-331-332-333-334-335-336-337-338-339-340-341-342-343-344-345-346-347-348-349-350-351-352-353-354-355-356-357-358-359-360-361-362-363-364-365-366-367-368-369-370-371-372-373-374-375-376-377-378-379-380-381-382-383-384-385-386-387-388-389-390-391-392-393-394-395-396-397-398-399-400-401-402-403-404-405-406-407-408-409-410-411-412-413-414-415-416-417-418-419-420-421-422-423-424-425-426-427-428-429-430-431-432-433-434-435-436-437-438-439-440-441-442-443-444-445-446-447-448-449-450-451-452-453-454-455-456-457-458-459-460-461-462-463-464-465-466-467-468-469-470-471-472-473-474-475-476-477-478-479-480-481-482-483-484-485-486-487-488-489-490-491-492-493-494-495-496-497-498-499-500-501-502-503-504-505-506-507-508-509-510-511-512-513-514-515-516-517-518-519-520-521-522-523-524-525-526-527-528-529-530-531-532-533-534-535-536-537-538-539-540-541-542-543-544-545-546-547-548-549-550-551-552-553-554-555-556-557-558-559-560-561-562-563-564-565-566-567-568-569-570-571-572-573-574-575-576-577-578-579-580-581-582-583-584-585-586-587-588-589-590-591-592-593-594-595-596-597-598-599-600-601-602-603-604-605-606-607-608-609-610-611-612-613-614-615-616-617-618-619-620-621-622-623-624-625-626-627-628-629-630-631-632-633-634-635-636-637-638-639-640-641-642-643-644-645-646-647-648-649-650-651-652-653-654-655-656-657-658-659-660-661-662-663-664-665-666-667-668-669-670-671-672-673-674-675-676-677-678-679-680-681-682-683-684-685-686-687-688-689-690-691-692-693-694-695-696-697-698-699-700-701-702-703-704-705-706-707-708-709-710-711-712-713-714-715-716-717-718-719-720-721-722-723-724-725-726-727-728-729-730-731-732-733-734-735-736-737-738-739-740-741-742-743-744-745-746-747-748-749-750-751-752-753-754-755-756-757-758-759-760-761-762-763-764-765-766-767-768-769-770-771-772-773-774-775-776-777-778-779-780-781-782-783-784-785-786-787-788-789-790-791-792-793-794-795-796-797-798-799-800-801-802-803-804-805-806-807-808-809-810-811-812-813-814-815-816-817-818-819-820-821-822-823-824-825-826-827-828-829-830-831-832-833-834-835-836-837-838-839-840-841-842-843-844-845-846-847-848-849-850-851-852-853-854-855-856-857-858-859-860-861-862-863-864-865-866-867-868-869-870-871-872-873-874-875-876-877-878-879-880-881-882-883-884-885-886-887-888-889-890-891-892-893-894-895-896-897-898-899-900-901-902-903-904-905-906-907-908-909-910-911-912-913-914-915-916-917-918-919-920-921-922-923-924-925-926-927-928-929-930-931-932-933-934-935-936-937-938-939-940-941-942-943-944-945-946-947-948-949-950-951-952-953-954-955-956-957-958-959-960-961-962-963-964-965-966-967-968-969-970-971-972-973-974-975-976-977-978-979-980-981-982-983-984-985-986-987-988-989-990-991-992-993-994-995-996-997-998-999-1000~~
SII., III, no. 20, p. 37-Karuvur Ins.

Another inscription from Mañimaṅgala¹, but dated in the fourth year of Rājendra II (c.1056) adds two more names to this already baffling list. According to the ~~latter~~^{is} inscriptions Rājendra had despatched an army to Ceylon which captured,

"Vīra Salāmegāṇ, the king of the Kāliṅgas, who had a powerful army, with his elephants (which resembled) the ocean, and caused to be cut off (his head which were) a brilliant crown; and captured on the battlefield the two sons of Mānābarāṇaṇ, the king of the people of Laṅkā".

It seems obvious that this Vīra Salāmegāṇ is different from the former because it is specifically said that he was the king of the Kāliṅgas, and the former could not have lost his head a second time. There is, of course, the other possibility that this was only a garbled echo of the activities in the time of Rājādhiraṅga, the elder brother of Rājendra II. It may also be suggested that these Kāliṅga connections could make him a scion of the Sinhalese royal family, which is said to have been matrimonially connected with the Kāliṅgas from the time of Mahinda IV (956-972).² If he was altogether a different person from

1. SII., III, No. 29.

2. Cv., LIV. 9-10. See supra, p. 97.

his namesake he may have to be assigned to the period between the 29th year of Rājādhirāja (c.1046) and the 4th year of Rājendra (c.1056). It is presumably to the latter part of the same period that we have to assign Mānābarāṇa, the other ruler of Ceylon whose sons were captured by the Coḷas. Incidentally an inscription dated in the 27th year of Rājādhirāja¹ also refers to a Mānābarāṇa, a king of the South, whose head was cut off on the battlefield. We may note, however, that neither Vīra Salāmegāṇ of Kāliṅga nor Mānābarāṇa and his sons seem to be known to the Cūlavamsa, or the Sinhalese chronicles. It also seems futile to try to identify them with the remaining names in the Ceylonese sources, like Loka and Kassapa or even Mahālāna Kittī, all of whom were similarly unfamiliar to the Coḷa inscriptions.

The problems created by some of these unidentifiable names and the many inconsistent regnal dates could be solved, only if we could fit all of them into a broader chronological and political framework than the one furnished by the Cūlavamsa. The Cūlavamsa gives us the impression that all these rulers from senāpati Kittī to Vijayabāhu occupied some throne of Rohāna one after the other. It seems more likely that there were some other chiefs too, who

1. SII., III p. 59; HC., I/II, pp. 422-3.

were not necessarily of royal stock and drawn from India, in addition to those mentioned in the Ceylonese sources. This is suggested by the Cola inscriptions. At the same time one is inclined to doubt whether there was a number of consecutive rulers between Vikkamabāhu and Vijayabāhu, all of whom acceded to the throne of Rohana. It is possible to read between the lines of the Cūlavamsa that this was not the case. There are, for instance, statements in Chapters LVI and LVII suggesting that there was concurrent rule in a number of different places in Rohana and Malayadesa. When Mahālāna Kittī was ruling in Rohana, Vikkamapaṇḍu had established himself at Kālatiṭṭha.¹ Similarly when Loka was ruling at Kājaragāma,² Buddharāja had brought part of Malaya under his authority. Even during the twenty-six years of Mahinda's stay in Rohana he had his capital in more than one place,³ whereas he did not even once reside at Kājaragāma, the traditional capital of Rohana. In fact, nothing is told about the political condition of Rohana at the *same* time of the flight of Mahinda there and we are left to assume that he automatically became its ruler. We may also note that his son Vikkamabāhu died

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1. Cv., LVI.10-12.
 2. Cv., LVII.45-47.
 3. Cv., LV.8.11.

at Devanagara (Devundara),¹ a place to the south-west of Kājaragāma. What we may infer from all these references, as D.M.de Z.Wickremasinghe also suggests,² is that there could have been a number of Sinhalese chiefs and dispossessed princes from India who had established themselves in different parts of Rohana and Malayadesa. We may also assume that all the Coḷa incursions into Rohana mentioned in the Cūlavamsa may not necessarily have been referred to in the Coḷa inscriptions as well. Some of these campaigns may have been sent from Polonnaruwa, while only the major operations would have been directed from the Coḷa capital and conducted by the Coḷa imperial forces. As a result they would have been mentioned in the Coḷa praśastis. It is also possible that during some of these campaigns they had defeated more than one prince or chief, and some of these unidentifiable names may belong to such persons.

What stands out in sharp relief during the second phase of the conflict between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese is the confusion and disunity among the ranks of the Sinhalese on one side, and on the other, the confident claims of the Coḷas to their successes in Ceylon. The Coḷa power established in

1. HC., I/II, p.418; see supra, p.147 n1. .

2. EZ., II, pp.208-9; see also Later Coḷas, I, p.193.

Rājarat̥ṭha for the first time in the reign of Rājarāja I and consolidated during the reign of his successor, appears to have remained unshaken and unruffled by any opposition in Rājarat̥ṭha itself throughout this period. Meanwhile the remaining parts were subjected to repeated punitive invasions. For nearly half a century Rohana was harried by the Coḷas, and even the feeble attempts to organize effective resistance against the enemies were frustrated by well-timed Coḷa raids. There seems to have been much apathy among the Sinhalese in the areas occupied by the Coḷas, and much frustration in the rest of the country. This was the state of the country at the time Vijayabāhu (Kitti) emerged into prominence, and provided a new purpose and fresh encouragement to the Sinhalese in their struggle against the Coḷas.

CHAPTER V.

Last Phase: Decline and End of Cola Rule
in Ceylon.

The third and the last phase of the relations between the Colas and the Sinhalese starts with the emergence of Vijayabāhu as the ruler of a unified Rohana and Malayadeśa. This event is dated about 1055-6 A.C.¹ This date certainly constitutes an important land-mark in the long struggle between the Sinhalese and the Colas. The first fifteen years of Vijayabāhu's Yuvarāja-ship of Rohana was the most vital stage of this struggle, at the end of which Ceylon was completely rid of Cola rule. The date of Vijayabāhu's accession also approximates to an equally significant date in the history of the Colas. In 1054 A.C., the Cola king Rājādhirāja I met his death while fighting the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī. His successor was swift in preventing a serious crisis following this tragic event. Yet it gave a nasty shock to the Cola empire, and gave new hope to the subject peoples who were striving relentlessly to throw off the Cola yoke.

At the time of the accession of Vijayabāhu as Yuvarāja of Rohana the Colas were still in firm control of Rājarat̥tha and the northern parts of Rohana, Malayadeśa and Dakkhinadeśa.

1. EZ., V. pp. 5-18; HC., I, pt. II, p. 848.

Perhaps they were expecting to stay much longer in Ceylon. Threat of Cola invasion also hung heavily over the remaining parts of Ceylon which were under the control of the Sinhalese. But with the emergence of Vijayabāhu as the rallying point of Sinhalese opposition, the Cola-Sinhalese struggle assumed a different shape. For the first time since the conquest of Rājaraṭṭha by the Colas war was carried to Cola-occupied territory. Their provincial capital at Polonnaruva was invested by Vijayabāhu's forces and was wrested from their hands at least for a short time, before it was finally captured a few years later.

Emergence of Vijayabāhu.

The early career of Vijayabāhu has been only briefly mentioned in the preceding Chapter.¹ All the information we have about the tribulations and privations of his early life still remain to be examined. The fact that he played a decisive rôle in the expulsion of the Colas from Ceylon enhances the need to trace his history as far as possible. It would also be interesting to look back on what had already been achieved by his seventeenth year when he became

1. See supra, pp. 154-155 .

Yuvarāja of Rohana. There are two comparatively long accounts of Vijayabāhu's early life, namely chapters LVII and LVIII of the Cūlavamsa and the Panākaḍuva copper-plate charter, dated in the twenty-seventh regnal year of Vijayābahu.¹ Especially the latter is a remarkable document, and is the earliest copper-plate charter so far discovered in Ceylon. The reign of Vijayabāhu itself was of such national significance that a summary of all his achievements has been preserved in all the Sinhalese chronicles and other literary works.² These accounts are in turn confirmed by similar notices in the contemporary Sinhalese and Tamil inscriptions.³

The Cūlavamsa, which gives an elaborate account of the genealogy of Vijayabāhu, seems to be at some pains to connect him with the Sinhalese dynasty established by Mānavamma in the seventh century. But as pointed out by Geiger, in doing so it has given rise to many inconsistencies with the earlier parts of the same chronicle.⁴ The Cūlavamsa traces the genealogy of Vijayabāhu back to Kassapa II (650-659), the father of Mānavamma. The description of

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1. ASCAR., 1949, pp. 28-32; EZ., V, pp. 1-27; JRAS., 1956, pp. 337-339; 1957, pp. 213-4; 1958, pp. 51-2.
 2. Piv., p. 104; Rjr., pp. 33-34; Rjv., p. 42; Nks., p. 23; Daladāpā-javaliya p. 59; Saddharmaratnakaraya, p. 311.
 3. Ez., II, pp. 202-18, 242-255.
 4. Cv., Tr. Pt. I, W. Geiger, p. 193, n. 3.

Mānavamma, is, however, full of contradictions, and significant omissions. It appears to be a late version. The recounting of the history of Mānavamma itself may be a conscious attempt to give greater respectability and legitimacy to Vijayabāhu, who, after all was the grand-father of Parakkamabāhu I, the hero of the Cūlavamsa. Immediately after the reference to Mānavamma, a Mahinda is mentioned, presumably the last ruler of that name.¹ It is with him that the genealogy of Vijayabāhu in the Cūlavamsa really starts. According to this account, Mahinda had two cousins, who were the daughters of his mother's brother (duve mātuladhītarō). They were Devalā and Lokitā, and to the latter was born two sons by prince Kassapa, who was the son of her mother's brother. It has been assumed that Kassapa mentioned here is the son of Mahinda V by that name.² It is also possible that the author of the Cūlavamsa

1. Cv., LVII.27.

2. Mahīpassa Mahindassa duve mātuladhītarō
Devalā Lokitā cāti nāmato vissutā subhā
Etāsu dvīsu dhītāsu Lokitā mātulattajam
Paṭicca rājatanayam subham Kassapanāmakam
Sā Moggallānam ca Lokavhe putte dve labhi sobhane,

Cv., LVII.27-9.

Geiger (Cv., Tr., Pt. I, p.195) translates the above passage as follows. "The monarch Mahindā had two (cousins) daughters of his mother's brother. These fair (maidens) were known by the names Devalā and Lokitā. Of these two daughters; Lokitā conceived by the son of her father's sister the handsome prince Kassapa by name, two sons called Moggallāna and Loka." Later Geiger explains in a footnote

wants to convey this impression because it would give continuity to the Sinhalese royal line. On the other hand, it does not necessarily follow that this Kassapa was the son of Mahinda V, for the Cūlavamsa does not state this. The two sons of Kassapa and Lokitā, however, were called Moggallāna and Loka. Moggallāna, who was the elder, and was "versed in all the ways of the

continued from previous page ...

(p.195,n.3) that he was inclined to take the second "mātula" in the sense of father's sister because it would take us back to the family tree as John Still had drawn it up in the Index to the Mahāvamsa. And according to this assumption Kassapa, the husband of Lokitā would then be the son of Mahinda V, who later became king as Vikkamabāhu. There is no evidence from literature that the term "mātula" has ever been used to denote anyone else other than a brother of the mother, and Geiger's interpretation of "mātula" also as father's sister seems to be completely arbitrary. Moreover, it does not serve the purpose for which it is used here, because the son of Lokitā's father's sister could be even Mahinda or some one else of his generation, and not his son Kassapa, who is the son of the son of her father's sister. We have earlier noticed another Kassapa, a son of Sena V (supra, p.143n1), who is not mentioned again in the Cūlavamsa. It was the mother of this Kassapa who later became the queen of Mahinda V (Cv.,LV.9), the younger brother of Sena V. After her death Mahinda married her daughter (Cv.,LV.10). The son born to her was also named Kassapa, and it was he who later assumed the name of Vikkamabāhu. It may be to one of these two Kassapas that the Cv., refers in the present instance, but exactly to whom cannot be ascertained owing to the absence of any clear and positive evidence. See also HC.,I,pt.II,pp.854-856.

world and the Order (i.e. Buddhism), and was known by the title Mahāsāmi (Great Lord), and was zealous in the service of the Bhikkhu community", had taken up his residence in Rohaṇa.¹ The wife of Moggallāna was Lokitā, the daughter of Bodhi and Buddhā, both claimed to be of royal lineage.² Moggallāna and Lokitā had four children, Kitti, Mittā, Mahinda and Rakkhitā; and the eldest, Kitti was the later Vijayabāhu.

It has been suggested that Vijayabāhu belonged to a collateral branch of the Sinhalese royal line established in Rohaṇa, and that the attempt of the Cūlavamsa author to make him a direct descendant of the Mānavamma line could be an afterthought.³ Contemporary inscriptions affirm that he was the ruler of Lan̄kā by the right of descent (Lak-div-polo-parapu-ren-himi).⁴ But this is only part of the stereotyped introductions found in the Sinhalese inscriptions of this period. One of the Sinhalese texts incidentally, states that at the death of Parakkamapaṇḍu, in the absence of any kings of Ceylon, general Lokeśvara ruled from Rohaṇa for six years.⁵ There is also no reference in the Cūlavamsa account of Vikkamabāhu to any children of his, and nor is

1. Cv., LVII.29-30.

2. Cv., LVII.40-41.

3. EZ., II, p.204; V, p.5; ASCAR., 1949, p.31; JRASC(BNS)IV pt. I, p.46.

4. EZ., V, p.21 A ll.2-3; II, p.213, ll.8-9.

5. Pjv., p.104. "...Lakdiva rajun nāttēn...".

there any mention of Moggallāna, the father of Vijaya-
bāhu, ever wielding authority in any part of Rohana. The
Coḷa inscriptions also do not refer to a Moggallāna.

S. Paranavitana, who argues that the claim of Vijayabāhu
was through his father, and not on his own right of
conquest, nevertheless seems to reject the Cūlavamsa
account of his direct legal right to the throne.¹

Critical analysis of the account of the Pali chronicle as
well as other independent evidence seem to justify some
scepticism in the accuracy of the Cūlavamsa here.

There is nothing in the inscriptions of Vijayabāhu
which could help us in identifying him or his father beyond
their names and titles. Even as regards the name of his
father there is no agreement between the two epigraphs
ascribed to Vijayabāhu himself. For instance, the
Panākaḍuva copper-plate charter² calls his father Mugalan
(Moggallāna), which agrees fully with the name in the
Cūlavamsa. The other (Aṃbagamuva rock-ins.)³ calls him
Abhā Salamevan, which is only a throne title and not a
personal name. At the same time his mother is referred to

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1. EZ., V, pp. 4-5.
 2. EZ., V, p. 25.
 3. EZ., II, p. 215.

as Dev-Gon-Bisoy in the latter, while in the Cūlavamsa¹ she was called Lokitā. In the Panākaḍuva inscription Moggallāna is referred to as Mahasāmiya Rajapā-vahanse which partly confirms the Cūlavamsa,² but in the other he is given full royal titles. In fact, if Moggallāna was the grandson of Mahinda V who held the title of Sirisaṅgbo he also should have held the same title and not that of Abhā Salamevan³ unless, of course at the time when he assumed the title allowance was made for all the kings of Rohaṇa who ruled between Vikkamabāhu and Kesadhātu-nāyaka Kassapa. The title mahāsāmi⁴ was probably borne by the rulers of Rohaṇa, including the father of Vijayabāhu, not as independent kings but as subordinate rulers. Their position may have remained unchanged even after the Coḷas conquered Rājaratṭha, and the Sinhalese kings moved to Rohaṇa. Therefore the hereditary right of Vijayabāhu may have been that to the position of Mahāsāmi of Rohaṇa, and not to the title of King of Lan̄kā.

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1. See supra, p.172.
 2. See ~~note 1 above~~ p.173 n.2.
 3. For the alternate use of Abā Salamevan and Sirisaṅgabō, see EZ., II, pp.9-10.
 4. The earliest mention of this title is found with reference to Dappula I (c.659) when he was ruler of Rohaṇa, Cv., XLV.50.

It is, however, possible that if Moggallāna was the son of Kassapa or Vikkamabāhu he would have decided to remain concealed, fearing capture by the Coḷas, and lead a quiet life with his family in the jungles of central Ceylon. This is in fact strongly suggested by the account of the Panākaḍuva charter. Love for his life and for those of his wife and children would have been a strong reason to forsake even the crown of Ceylon. The ruthlessness of the Coḷas would have made his choice of a secluded existence all the easier. This discussion of the genealogy and the identification of Vijayabāhu and his father, however, makes it evident that, while it is possible to be sceptical about the direct descent of Vijayabāhu from the line of Mānavamma, it is nevertheless difficult with our present knowledge to establish what exactly his relationship to the old Sinhalese royal line was.

The circumstances in which Mahāsāmi Moggallāna and his family seem to have found themselves, as described in the Panākaḍuva copper-plate charter, make it quite apparent that even if he had a claim to the throne he was far away from making it a reality. The above document eloquently

1. Cy., LVII.62; LVIII.1; LIX.8-9.

2. According to the Cy., (XLVII.3-4) Mānavamma also lived in retirement in Uttaradeśa, when Tamil mercenaries were in virtual control of the affairs in Anurādhapura.

describes the hardships and the dangers to which the entire royal family was exposed.¹ In the Cūlavamsa we meet the young Kitti for the first time when in his thirteenth year he was pondering over his one determination of ridding Rājarat̥tha of the Coḷas. Even at that age he is said to have been extremely skilled in the use of bow and arrows. His residence at the time was at Mūlasālā.² In the meantime one of the associates of Loka, the ruler of Rohaṇa, quarrelled with him and left him to live at Cuṇṇasālā in Malayadeśa.³ His name was Buddharāja, and he is identified with Budal-nāvan of Sitnarubim, and the dandanāyaka⁴ of Rohaṇa referred to in the Panākaḍuva copper-plate charter. The Cūlavamsa account of the relationship between Kitti and Buddha does not even give the slightest hint to the adverse times through which Kitti and his parents had passed in the company of Buddha. Perhaps in the opinion of the author of the Cūlavamsa those details would not have been flattering to a royal personage, especially the grand-father of Parakkamabāhu. The Panākaḍuva charter, on the other hand, does not conceal

1. EZ., V, pp. 24-5.

2. Mūlasālā has not been identified so far, JRASCB(NS), VI, p. 195.

3. Located in the Ratnapura district, HC., I/II, p. 421; JRASCB(NS), VI, p. 126.

4. Dandanāyaka: the name of an office which appears to have had civil as well as military functions, see EZ., III, p. 86; V, p. 25, n. 3; Cv., I, Intro. p. xxvi.; SIP., pp. 118-119.

any thing and proudly refers to the privations which they suffered. Further, the Cūlavamsa also brings an element of mystery and leaves the potentialities of Kitti to be discovered and revealed to Buddharāja by an astrologer. The impression one gets from this account is that till that time Buddharāja was completely unaware of Kitti's position, and the latter was subject to the former, all of which seem very unlikely.¹

According to the Panākaḍuva copper-plate charter the association of Kitti with Budal had begun much earlier. But how Moggallāna and his family came to enjoy the loyal protection of Budal itself remains unknown. Parānavitana² has suggested that the find-spot of this charter could have been the ancient site of Budal's residence. The presence of the Aṃbagamuva rock-inscription in the same area may roughly indicate the area which was under the control of Budal. This may also have been the scene of Kitti's boyhood. According to the Panākaḍuva charter which seems to give Vijayabāhu's own account, it would appear that the safety and the sustenance of Moggallāna and his family depended on the chief Budal: "At the time we

1. Cv., LVII.45-51.

2. EZ., V. p.4.

were remaining concealed in the mountainous wilderness, having been deprived of our kingdom in consequence of the calamity caused by the Solī (i.e., Cola) Tamils, Lord Budal of Sitnaru-bim, constable of Ruhuna, with the aid of his retinue, protected 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 green herbs from the jungle; he concealed us from the enemies who were prowling about seeking us wherever we went; engaging himself in battle in (this) place and (that) place, he secured, once again, the territory of Ruhuna, took us out of the mountainous wilderness and established us in our kingdom."¹ This account shows that it was not by Kittī's arms alone that a foot-hold was established in Malayadesa, but even the conquest of Rohana was achieved with the guiding hand and the initiative of Budal. Thus the contribution of Budal towards the achievements of Vijayabāhu seems to have been decisive.

The way the Cūlavamsa follows up the career of Kittī is substantially different from the above account. For instance, we are told that Kittī, after being told by an astrologer of his future greatness, left home without the

1. EZ., V, pp. 24-25.

knowledge of his parents and set out in pursuit of his ambitious plans. His first stop was Sārivaggapiṭṭhi,¹ and while staying there he brought the district of Bodhivāla² under his control. This enraged Loka, the ruler of Rohana, who sent a force to chastise Kitti. Kitti defeated the army of Loka, but went back to Cuṇṇasālā and turned his attention to the more immediate need of bringing the whole of Malayadeśa under his control.³ Why he decided to go back to Cuṇṇasālā instead of following up his victory over the armies of Loka is puzzling, unless he had realised that it was still premature to challenge the position of Loka.

Before long the tide of the struggle turned in favour of Kitti, and his youthful zest and the royal connections would have stood him in good stead. By his fifteenth year he was bold enough to demand that he should be recognised as the Ādipāda or heir-apparent.⁴ In the meantime he had set up his camp on the Remunu rock in Hiraññamalaya,⁵ which suggests that he was following a

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1. Sārivaggapiṭṭhi also in Ratnapura dist., identified with present Hiripitiya, near Hunuvala, JRASCB.(NS)., VI, p.126.
 2. Bodhivāla, identified with Bovalā near Kirama, op.cit., p.69.
 3. Cv., LVII.54-58.
 4. Cv., LVII.59-62. For ādipāda see HC., I.pt.I, p.366.
 5. Identified with Ranmalakanda, north of Kirama, JRASCB(NS)., VI, p.69.

policy of gradual reduction of Rohana, working himself southwards from the Ratnapura area. It was while he was still encamped there that Loka passed away. He was then succeeded by another chief named Kesadhātu-nāyaka Kassapa.¹ Kassapa was even less fortunate than Loka and had to fight on two fronts, against the Colas and against Kitti. He had some success against the former, but suffered a total defeat against the other. He lost Kājaragāma to Kitti and in any attempt to recover it, ^{he} ~~it~~ was captured by the forces of Kitti.² Thus Kitti became the ruler of Rohana under the name of Vijayabāhu. It may be remembered here that he assumed only the title of Muvarāja or the Heir-to-the-throne while the full royal titles were assumed ³ seventeen years later.

Vijayabāhu and his Wars with the Colas.

Shortly before the date of the accession of Vijayabāhu as Yuvarāja momentous events had taken place in South India. We have already seen ⁴ how the Colas withstood the shock of the death of Rājādhirāja at the battle of Koppam, and turned

1. Kesadhātu-nāyaka, Geiger and, following him, others have assumed that this was only an honorary title by this time, and that it may have originated with the members of the Order entrusted with the care of the Hair-relic. Cv., pt. I., Intro. p. xxx, 199 n.1; The Age of Parākramabāhu pp. 403-4; HC., I, pt. II p. 542.
 2. Cv., LVII.65-75.
 3. Cv., LVIII.1; LXIX, 7-10.
 4. See supra, pp. 141-142 .

imminent disaster into a brilliant victory. Rājendradeva, who succeeded his elder brother Rājādhirāja, did not enjoy a very long reign (1052-1064), and his last known year is the twelfth from his accession. It becomes increasingly evident that the Coḷas were not having everything to their satisfaction; they seem to have lost much of that dynamism which characterised the reigns of Rājarāja and Rājendra I.¹ The immediate successors of Rājādhirāja had comparatively short reigns, and that also undermined the stability of the empire. But still they managed to keep it together, if not extend it further.

We have already had the occasion to refer to the relations between Rājendra II and Ceylon, where he claims to have captured the head of Vīra Salāmegana, the king of Kāliṅga, and captured the two sons of Mānābarana, the king of Ceylon.² None of these persons can be identified with any degree of certainty. During the greater part of his reign he and his sons and brothers were engaged in wars with the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī, who continuously fought the Coḷas, undeterred by terrible losses.³ After the death of Rājendra II in 1064 his younger brother Vīrarājendra

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1. In the Kanyākumāri ins. Vīrarājendra himself claims that his (elder) brothers had neglected the possession of Veṅgi and Kāliṅga, and allowed them to be occupied by enemies, and were recovered by him. EI., XVIII, p. 54x.75-81.
 2. See supra, pp. 162-3.
 3. The Early History of the Deccan, pts. I-VI, pp. 340-344.

(1062-1069) succeeded to the throne. Not long after there was ~~saw~~ a fresh eruption of the struggle between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese, and in such intensity that it even attracted the attention of the Coḷa emperor himself.

With the accession of Vijayabāhu as Yuvarāja the prospects of Sinhalese resistance against the Coḷas received a great boost and began to gather increasing momentum. Once again the loose ends of Sinhalese opposition were ^{drawn} together by the leader of the Sinhalese, who patiently prepared for a final show-down with the Coḷas. To start with, he began to consolidate his position in Rohana by appointing his own trusted men to the important posts in the kingdom. At the same time he refrained from any direct hostilities against the Coḷas but tried to ferment internal difficulties by employing the traditional four-fold means (catura upāya).¹ His interference in the internal affairs of Rājaratṭha soon became known to the Coḷas, and at once they decided to put him in his place. According to the Cūlavamsa, when the Coḷa king was informed of the secret activities of Vijayabāhu, he ordered his senāpati in Polonnaruva to take immediate measures to bring him to book.² The Coḷa army

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1. Geiger explains the four means as enunciated in the ancient Indian Sastras as follows; bheda or creating disunity in the enemy ranks, danda or open war, sama or feign friendship and dānam or gifts and bribes (Cv., Pt. I, p. 201 n. 2).
 2. Cv., LVIII. 4-5. His Coḷa contemporary at this time may have been Rājendra II [c. 1052-64], see also, EI., XXI, p. 227.

which set out from Polonnaruva went as far as Kājaragāma, but found it abandoned by the Sinhalese who had fled to the hills. The Coḷas did not pursue Vijayabāhu and, not wishing to penetrate the treacherous hilly country, sacked Kājaragāma and returned to Polonnaruva. As Nilakanta Sastri explains,¹ it would appear that Vijayabāhu was too hasty in his moves, and was evidently unprepared to meet a retaliatory attack by the Coḷas. This account of their hostilities in the Cūlavamsa² is not confirmed by any other source.

After the Coḷas had withdrawn to Rājaratṭha, Vijayabāhu came back to Rohaṇa, and appeared before Sippatthalaka³ and laid siege to it. Sippatthalaka has not been satisfactorily identified. If it was located in Rohaṇa, as suggested by C.W. Nicholas,⁴ its mention in this context implies that, contrary to the Cūlavamsa, not all Coḷa troops had withdrawn from Rohaṇa. There is, however, no mention of the outcome of the siege of Sippatthalaka in the Cūlavamsa, where the mention of its siege is followed by an account of the despatch of envoys and gifts by Vijayabāhu to the ruler of Rāmañña⁵ (~~lower~~ Burma).

1. JRASCB(NS) IV, pt. I, p. 48.

2. Cv., LVIII. 3-7.

3. Nicholas locates it between Ambalantota and Kataragama, JRASCB(NS) VI p. 67.

4. see p.n. 1 above.

5. Cv., LVIII. 8-9.

The purpose and the result of this mission to Burma cannot be ascertained from the Cūlavamsa account, and the only other fact mentioned in addition to the mission is that in response to it many ships laden with various commodities such as camphor, sand^lewood and other goods (vicittavatthakappūracandanādhīhivatthūhi), arrived in the harbour. What is recorded immediately after the above account may be examined here. It is stated that by all kinds of valuable gifts Vijayabāhu inclined the soldiers to him, and encamped with a great force at Tambalagāma.¹ This may suggest that the siege of Sippatthalaka had not been a success, and his great promise as a leader had lost its magic, and he had to distribute gifts to restore their allegiance to him. On the other hand, it is also possible that the internal rivalry for the throne was not yet over, and Vijayabāhu may have wished to win friends and obtain recognition from other Buddhist kings, like that of Burma. The name of the Burmese ruler is not mentioned here, but he was probably Anuruddha (Anōratha c.1044-1077), with whose assistance Vijayabāhu later obtained monks for the revival of Ordination.² Anuruddha (also Aniruddha) was one of the

1. Cv.,LVIII.10; In the vicinity of Talāva, about 15 miles north-west of Ambalantota, JRASCB(NS),VI,p.69. Geiger locates it, on the border between Rohana and Dakkhinadesa. Cv., I.p.202.n.5. See also CHJ,IV.p.138 n6, 146.
 2. Cv.,LX.5.

greatest among the early Burmese kings.¹ His contacts with Ceylon, but not exactly as recorded in the Cūlavamsa,² are referred to in the Glass Palace chronicle of Burma, and the Sāsanavamsa.³ The former seems to confuse the name of the Sinhalese ruler who was in relation with Anōratha with that of Dhātusena, while it is also said that there was a tradition that it was Sirisaṅghabodhi. But as we know, Vijaya/^{bāhu} was one of the medieval Sinhalese kings who was/^{well} known by this throne-title of Sirisaṅghabodhi. A Sinhalese poem named Mānāvulu Sandēsaya assigned to the Polonnaruva period also seems to echo the contacts between Ceylon and Burma. This poem is in the form of a despatch from Mahānāgahula, one of the ancient capitals of Rohaṇa, to Arimaddanapura (Pagan) in Burma.⁴ Apart from these indirect notices nothing of a positive nature about this mission itself is forthcoming from these sources.

In the meantime, while Vijayabāhu was still at Tambalagāma, the people of Rājaraṭṭha began to be restive under the yoke of the Colas. With or without the support of Vijayabāhu there was a revolt in the occupied territory.

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1. Hall, D.G.E. A History of South-East Asia, pp. 123-7.; see also
 1. Cobede's Les états hindouïses d'Indochine et d'Indonésie, p. 252.
 2. The Glass Palace chronicle, Tr. U. Pe Maung Tin & Luce, pp. 88-91
 3. Sasanavamsa, (P.T.S) ed. B.C. Law. See infra, p. 332-333.
 4. D.B. Jayatilleke, Sinhala Sāhitya Lepi, p. 34; CJHSS, III/I, pp. 41-43; See also JRASCBS (NS) IV, pt. I, p. 49.

According to the Cūlavamsa,¹

"All the inhabitants of Rājarat̥ṭha grew hostile to one another, and paid no more tribute. The adversaries of the Coḷa king, full of audacity, left his commands unheeded, ill-treated the appointed officials and did what they pleased."

This, significantly, is the first time after the flight of Mahinda V to Rohaṇa, nearly seventy-five years earlier, that the affairs in Rājarat̥ṭha drew the attention of the Cūlavamsa author. Presumably it was also the first time that the struggle against the Coḷas became widespread. The Sinhalese in the area occupied by the Coḷas would have been equally desirous of liberating themselves, which would have been too dangerous to try under the circumstances. This would have been the first time they felt strong enough to demonstrate their solidarity with the Sinhalese in the other areas.

According to the Cūlavamsa, as soon as the Coḷa king was informed of the developments in Ceylon he was furious with rage, and sent one of his men with a large army. The latter landed at Mahāt̥iṭṭha, and first reduced Rājarat̥ṭha

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1. Cv.,LVIII.11-12.
 2. Cv.,LVIII.13-19.

into subjection, and then proceeded to Rohana." Like the ocean which had burst its bounds", the Colas overran the whole of Rohana. To add to the confusion and consternation among the Sinhalese, two leading supporters of Vijayabāhu, named Ravideva and Cala, foresook the Sinhalese cause and went over to the side of the Colas, taking their retinues with them. The Colas were jubilant and expected to make a speedy conclusion of the campaign by subduing the whole of Rohana.¹ In the meantime, Vijayabāhu had abandoned Tambalagāma, and withdrawn to an even safer place at Paluṭthagiri,² probably to the west, on the border between Dakkhinadesa and Rohana. The strategic value of this position would have been another consideration, for his withdrawal there as it had demonstrated in a previous successful engagement between the two sides there.³ It looks as if history was repeated there. In their determination to capture Vijayabāhu, who was the source of all the annoyance, the Colas had followed him to the more uneven and wooded part of the country. There, probably unaware of the

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1. Geiger's translation of the account here (LVIII.13-17) gives the impression that the Cv. abruptly terminates its account here, and keeps us guessing about the outcome of the invasion. On the other hand, as Nilakanta Sastri assumes, (JRASCB(NS) IV,pt.I,p.50, the subsequent events have a direct bearing on the statement in the Cv., that the desertion of the Sinhalese chiefs made the Cola general feel that Rohana would soon be in his hands (LVIII.17).
 2. Supra, p. 146 n2 .
 3. See supra, p.146. p

dangers that lurked on all sides, they settled down to a siege of Paluṭṭhagiri. In the ensuing battle the Coḷas were repulsed by the defenders, and were probably surrounded by other Sinhalese who were hiding in the jungle. As the battle raged the Coḷas had to suffer increasing losses, and were forced to make a hasty retreat. The ineffective nature of the Coḷa armies when faced with guerrilla war in difficult terrain was once again made very apparent in this campaign. In the meantime, like the Kandyans who made havoc among the Portuguese in similar situations in more recent times, the followers of Vijayabāhu also chased after the fleeing Coḷas, and at Tambaviṭṭhi,¹ located near Buttala on the way to Polonnaruva, caught up with the Coḷas and even captured the head of the Coḷa general.²

The battle of Paluṭṭhagiri is dated in the eleventh year of Vijayabāhu (1066). This would place the immediately preceding events either during the same or the previous year (10th). The Coḷa inscriptions do not seem to confirm these events in Ceylon, especially the despatch of a Coḷa army to subdue the rebellious Rājaratṭha. The reference to the sending of an army by Virarājendra in his fifth

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1. HC., I/II p.425.
 2. Cv., LVIII.19-21.

year (c.1066-7), recorded in one of his epigraphs,¹ presumably refers to the events which took place later in the eleventh year of Vijayabāhu. If the Cūlavamsa account is correct about the tragic failure of the earlier invasion, then we can appreciate the absence/^{of} any reference to the same in the Coḷa inscriptions.

The Sinhalese forces who pursued the Coḷas had reached the border of Rājaraṭṭha, and being flushed with their success, wished to pursue them still further. The large booty which had fallen into their hands was sent to Vijayabāhu, and at the same time overtures were made as to the desirability of continuing the fight against the Tamils. The king was apparently persuaded without much difficulty, and a large force then set out to capture Polonnaruva.² At the same time this unexpected turn of events had been conveyed to the Coḷa ruler and,

"he was overcome with rage, he (vīro) went in all haste to the harbour on the sea-coast and sent a still larger army to the sea-coast."³

1. See infra, p. 192-3.

2. Cv., LVIII.21-23.

3. Pavattim etam sakalam sutvā Coḷa-narissaro tibhakopavasam yāto bhūpālagahanatthiko sāmam khippam samāgamma vīro sāgarapaṭṭanam bhīyo pi mahatim senam Laṅkāḍīpam apesayi.

The term "vīro" here has so far been taken to qualify the Coḷa king, and literally translated as "hero", while literally it could also mean "warrior".¹ In addition, the use of this term could well be an allusion to the name of the contemporary Coḷa ruler, Vīrarājendra (1062-1069). If the Cūlavamsa author was thinking in terms of a "hero" it could hardly have been the Coḷa monarch, and the use of this term here may not be in the same complimentary sense as he had used it elsewhere.²

This new information will also provide us with a remarkable confirmation of the assertions of Vīrarājendra in his inscriptions about his victories in Ceylon.

While the Coḷa king was busy with his Ceylon campaign, the Sinhalese themselves had marched into Rājaratṭha, and occupied Polonnaruva. It may also have been the intention of the Sinhalese to intercept the Coḷas who had by this time landed at Mahātiṭṭha, but they could only go as far as Anurādhapura, where the two armies met in a severe combat. It was a terrible and a decisive engagement, and the Sinhalese suffered very heavy losses, both in killed and captured.³ The decisive nature of the battle

1. Cv., Tr. Pt. I, p. 204, v. 25.

2. Cv., [Ed. Geiger, vol. I.] LVII.45, 52, 54, 68.

3. Cv., LVIII.26-29.

is evident from all the sources, and once again the Sinhalese were in retreat. After their victory, the Coḷas advanced to Polonnaruva to capture Vijayabāhu, who had arrived there following its occupation by his men a short while ago. But before the Coḷas could lay their hands on him, he fled to the district of Villikābā¹. The flight of Vijayabāhu to the west, into Dakkhinadesa, and not back to Rohaṇa, either confirms the claim of the Tirumukkūdal inscription that he fled even without knowing his directions,² or it may be that it was only a temporary withdrawal to a place not far from the seat of Coḷa power in Ceylon. There he made a few quick changes like removing the two officials he had earlier placed in charge of that district, and assumed personal charge of its administration.³ This, done ostensibly to secure a better hold on the area, may even have had other reasons too, like the question of their loyalty to him. Vijayabāhu, however, had only a brief respite here and, as he was regrouping his shattered forces, the Coḷas appeared before his stronghold. Once again he had to make a hasty withdrawal, this time to the

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1. Vāudaviḥ Hatpattu in Kurunēgala Dist., JRASCB(NS) VI, p.106.
 2. See *infra*, p.192 ; *Cv.*, Tr. pt. I, p.204, n.2.
 3. *Cv.*, LVIII.30-31.

south, into Malayadeśa. Here taking shelter behind the hills, he hastily put up fortifications at Vātagiri (Vākirigala)¹ and firmly placing himself against his adversaries, kept them at bay for three months. The Coḷas may have found that it was not an advantageous position to fight the Sinhalese, and failing to break down the will of the defenders, abandoned the siege and withdrew to Polonnaruva.²

A good part of this account in the Uḷavaṃsa is readily confirmed by the Tirumukkūdal inscription, of the fifth year of Vīrarājendra (c.1066-67),³ which in very elaborate terms describes the whole episode. It states that Vīrarājendra,

"putting forth a number of ships (laden with) excessively large forces on the ever swelling and highly protected sea, and without attempting to ford it, began to wage a war in Ceylon which cast a gloom on that army of the Sinhalas wherein Kurukūḷattaraiyaṅ who wore the golden anklet, and another feudatory (sāmāntamum) whose anger in war

1. In Galboda Korale, Kegalla Dist., JRASCB(NS) VI, p.123.
2. Cv., LVIII.31-2.
3. EI., XXI, pp.220-250. A more approximate date for this event is suggested by the Manimaṅgalam Ins. of the fifth year of Vīrarājendra, which stops short of mentioning Ceylon. This would perhaps indicate that the Ceylon campaign was in the latter part of the same year.

was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (the charge of the Coḷas), with the result that Vijayabāhu, the king (of the island) took to flight without even knowing the directions, and (the Coḷa king) took his queens captive, conquered carried away immeasurably large family gems along with the fine crowns and made Laṅkā with its impregnable walls his own."

Other inscriptions from about the seventh year of Vīrarājendra also briefly mention his subjugation of Ceylon.¹ The victory in Ceylon also appears from the title "Siṅgaḷāntaka-mūvenduvēḷān"² borne by one of his officials. But in spite of the many references in South Indian inscriptions to his success in Ceylon, not a single record belonging to his reign has been found in Ceylon. The above account however, furnishes us with a considerable amount of new material for the understanding of contemporary events. According to the Cūlavamsa, it was an un-named Senāpati of Vijayabāhu who advanced to Anurādhapura with a part of the Sinhalese army. The

1. EI.,XXV, pp. 250, 265; SII.,III,p.203.
 2. EI.,XXI, p.245.

Coḷa inscription furnishes us with one of the two names of the chiefs who were probably in command of the forces of Vajayabāhu. This was Kurukukattaraiyaṇ,¹ perhaps the commander of the South Indian mercenary forces in the service of Vijayabāhu. The other commander is referred to as a Sāmanta.² According to recent studies Kurukulattars seem to have been associated with Sinhalese rulers from an unknown date till about the sixteenth century, and to have served them with remarkable loyalty.³ The death of these two officers on the battlefield, and the capture of the queen and treasures of Vijayabāhu asserted in the present epigraph, however, find no confirmation from any of the Sinhalese sources.

During Vijayabāhu's absence from Rohaṇa internal forces hostile to his rule had become restive, and raised the standard of rebellion. They were led by a younger brother of Kesadhātu-nāyaka Kassapa,⁴ who occupied Gutṭhasāla (Buttala) with his followers. Fortunately for Vijayabāhu, the Coḷas had withdrawn by that time; he

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1. Incidentally there was an official of Rājendra I at Mahātittṭha named Sirikulatturudaiyaṇ, SII., IV no.1414B. See also Karava of Ceylon, Raghavan, pp. 9-10.
 2. See supra, p.192 ; Samanta: mentioned side by side with mandalika, as a governor of a district, but the chief duty of the former was more military than civil. CCMT., p.146,153. See also Cv., LVIII.20-Mahācōlasāmanta; and infra, p. 250.
 3. M.D.Raghavan, Karava of Ceylon. pp.5-10.
 4. See supra, p.130.

therefore left Vātagiri, appeared personally in Roḥaṇa,
 and encamped at Macchuṭṭhala¹ to the west of Kājaragāma.
 In the meantime the rebels had moved up to Khadirangani,
 which had also been a refuge of Kassapa.² Vijayabāhu
 defeated the rebels there, and then they moved to
 Kabūlagalla, also in the Buttala area.³ But being
 defeated once again the rebel leader left his wife and
 child and all his supporters in the lurch and fled to
 Rājaratṭha.⁴

Last and decisive fight with the Colas.

Soon after he had subdued the rebellious elements
 Vijayabāhu set out for Tambalagāma, where he set up his
 capital once again. First he extended its fortifications,
 and from there started making his preparations for a show-
 down with the Colas. Next he made a journey to the south,
 to Mahānāgahula on the lower Valavē Gaṅga, where he spent
 some time, probably in military exercises and getting his
 troops in readiness for battle.⁵ This apparently was
 also the starting point for one line of attack from the
 south-east along the coast. Next he turned his attention

1. JRASCB(NS), VI, p. 52.

2. Cv. LVII. 73; To the north-west of Kataragama, see
 n. 4 above.

3. JRASCB.(NS) VI, p. 53; HC., I/II, p. 425.

4. Cv., LVIII. 33-38.

5. Cv., LVIII. 39.

to the area to the north-west of Rohāna, where the wooded Dakkhinadesa separated his kingdom from the area occupied by the Coḷas. To make sure that his forces would have an easy and safe access through Dakkhinadesa,¹ he sent two of his chiefs with sufficient troops there. The need for this move may suggest that probably the greater part of Dakkhinadesa was virtually independent of both the Coḷas and Vijayabāhu. It may have been under the control of some Sinhalese chiefs whose loyalty was not to be taken for granted. By this time the other column which was poised for moving also had set out along the "coastal high-road" (velamahāpathe).² It was also commanded by two resolute men. The route taken by this army may be traced through the whole length of Rohāna along the south-eastern coast and skirting the central highlands. It turned sharply westwards near the present Gal-oya, and reached Māghāmtōṭa, where it crossed the Mahavāli-gāṅga,³ and proceeded north to Polonnaruva.

Vijayabāhu's plan of campaign apparently was to attack the Coḷas from two sides and at the same time to

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1. Cv., LVIII. 40.
 2. Cv., LVIII. 40-42. The recent reconstruction of the route of the campaign of Dutthagamaṇi may suggest that this route also lay through Malaya, entering Dakkhinadesa somewhere near Muhunnaru itself. Vidyālaṅkāra Aitiḥāsika Lēkhana Saṅgrahaya, vol. II, 1962, pp. 1-88.
 3. Cv., Tr. Pt. I, p. 205-6, n. 6; HC., I/II, p. 426.

intercept any reinforcements coming from South India to Mahātiṭṭha. The approach of one column from the north-west was probably intended to block the most likely line of retreat by the Colas. In the earlier abortive campaign he had tried to take Polonnaruva and then march to Anunādhapura, and finally to Mahātiṭṭha. But it failed in its objective when Cola reinforcements arrived in Ceylon before he could conclude his campaign. In the present campaign, apparently he was not taking any more chances, nor was he permitting himself to be stampeded into any action for which he was not adequately prepared and given sufficient thought. It is clear that this time he was probably keeping himself informed of developments in India, which could make his task easier by distracting the attention of the Colas in India to events nearer home.

The Sinhalese force which had set out to reduce Dakkhinadesa had annexed a number of strongholds on their way, starting with Muhunnaru, located not far from Maha-¹oya, which even in the present day forms the boundary between the North-Western and Western provinces. Although

1. Cv., LVIII.42; CHJ., IV, p.131, n.3; JRASC(BNS), V I, pp.103, 184: Nicholas identifies Muhunnara with a village near Hettipola, to the north-west of Kurunāgala. But the location furnished by Codrington (CHJ., IV) seems more acceptable, being south of Vāpinagara and Badalatthala, two other places occupied by the Sinhalese after Muhunnaru.

this identification of Muhunnaru may be tentative, the more definite location of the other places which lay on the way of the advance party, makes it quite evident that Cola power in Ceylon was spread over a wider area than the confines of Rājarat̥ṭha. It may, however, be noted that the Cūlavamsa does not positively state that all these positions were captured from the Colas, but, as we have already seen, the Colas had repeatedly invaded the heart of Rohana, and in the immediately preceding encounter had appeared in Dakkhinadesa and even entered Malayadesa; we may therefore infer that these strongholds were captured from the Colas. And it is possible that after the Colas raised the siege of Vātagiri they withdrew behind Maha-oya, and placed guards along the river.

After taking Muhunnaru the Sinhalese marched to Badalatthala,¹ and from there to Vāpinagara,² taking both places in their stride. From there onwards they seem to have split up into a number of smaller groups and attacked the enemy pockets in many parts of north-central Ceylon. Attacks were made in the direction of Nālanda, and towards the coast in the opposite direction, while still another column forged ahead towards Anurādhapura. The fall of Vāpinagara itself was followed by that of Buddhagāma, located

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1. Present Batalagoda in the Kurunāgala dist., JRASCB(NS) VI, p.102; EZ., IV, p.77.
 2. Near Kurunāgala, JRASCB(NS), VI, pp.105-106.

not far from Nālanda.¹ Tilagulla,² Mahāgalla³ and Maṇḍagalla⁴ were also captured in quick succession. In reconstructing the campaigns of Viṣṇubāhu we are considerably handicapped by the lack of detailed and precise information. What we read in the Cūlavamsa is not altogether satisfactory and by no means adequate. There are also the sweeping statements of the Sinhalese works⁵ which record that at this time the Colas were found scattered all over Ceylon in the villages, market-towns and the districts. These statements are not very helpful either. Thus, owing to the paucity of material the campaign does not present itself to us in its proper perspective. Especially regarding the capture of Mahātiṭṭha and Anurādhapura, and the advance to Polonnaruva along the "coastal highroad" we have very few details, so that we may get the impression that it was all so easily accomplished. The actual intensity of the struggle, the numbers involved on either side, their respective losses, the duration of each offensive and, last but not least, the attitude and the response of the population of the areas which were the scene of these events are unfortunately wanting.

1. Ibid., p.111.

2. North-east of Mahāgalla, ibid., p.97.

3. On the Deduru-oya, near Nikavāratiya, ibid., p.94; EZ, III, p.30.

4. Present Mahamadagala, JRASCBS(NS), VI, p.99.

5. See supra, p.137. .

After the capture of the above places, the Sinhalese forces seem to have regrouped together to make a concerted attack on Anurādhapura. Unfortunately, only the plain fact that the ancient capital was captured by the Sinhalese is mentioned in our sources. It is, however, possible that it was not yielded without a fight. Its fall would have had a profound psychological effect on both parties, and would have marked an important stage in the struggle. The capture of Anurādhapura was followed by the reduction of the outlying areas and, having made their position secure, the Sinhalese pushed on to Mahātiṭṭha,¹ which would have been the most important military objective for them. It was the main link in the life-line of Coḷa communications, and would have ranked only next to Polonnaruva. It would have been one of the most strongly guarded positions of the Coḷas in Ceylon,² in keeping with its importance for the defence of the Coḷa possessions in Ceylon, and their maritime policy. We may also assume that it had a large Tamil population. We have no details whatsoever of the fight for its possession, both inside and outside its walls, and about its eventual capitulation. With the fall of Mahātiṭṭha, however, the Sinhalese would have been in virtual control of all the major approaches to

1. Cy., LVIII.42-44.

2. For the remains of its defences, see ASCAR., 1950, p.15.

Rājarat̥ṭha from the north and the north-west. Nothing is heard about the reduction of the extreme north and the north-eastern parts of Ceylon, which would also have been occupied by many Tamils, and had a few serviceable ports like Jaṁbukola and Gokaṇṇa. We may, however, infer from the statement in the Cūlavamsa,¹ that Tamils from here and there flocked to Polonnaruva, as the former Coḷa-occupied areas were brought under the control of the Sinhalese, that Tamils were found scattered in many parts of Rājarat̥ṭha.

In the meantime, the other Sinhalese force, sent along the south-eastern coast, also had carried everything before it. It had met with Coḷa resistance as far south as Caggāma, near the mouth of the present Cal-oya.² After overcoming the Coḷas there, the Sinhalese sacked the town, and went on to do the same with the other outposts of the Coḷas in that area. Once again we are faced with a blank wall in trying to reconstruct the course and the progress of their march from Caggāma to Polonnaruva. The Cūlavamsa summarizes this part of the campaign with the following words:

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1. See infra, p. 255 .
 2. See supra, p. 139. .

"The two generals sent out to the coastal highroad, plundered Caggāma and other armed camps here and there, and when they got near to Pulatthinagara, they sent messengers to the King that he should speedily come hither."¹

We may once again assume that the reduction of these areas lying immediately between Rājarat̥ṭha and Rohaṇa, would have taken considerable time and effort for the Sinhalese.

Once they had successfully breached the Coḷa defences at the more strategic points like Caggāma and Mahāgam̥toṭa, where the Mahavāli-gaṅga is forded to enter Rājarat̥ṭha, the rest would have been easier, especially with the numerical strength of the Sinhalese. In the meantime, flushed with their success, they marched boldly to the outskirts of Polonnaruva. There they fixed their camp and awaited the arrival of Vijayabāhu. What was still left to be done was the coup de grace, and the Sinhalese would have wished to have their leader with them at that long and eagerly awaited moment. From Mahātiṭṭha also had come heartening news, and probably informed of the chaotic state of affairs in the Coḷa capital following the death of

1. Cv., LVIII.45-46.

Vīrarājendra, and knowing the remote possibility of reinforcements arriving once again to frustrate his plans, Vijayabāhu equipped his forces and set out to cheer his victorious forces. This account of his remaining behind in Rohana also suggests the way he had deployed his army, without throwing in all his forces in one big offensive, as he seems to have done in the previous campaign.

While the position of the Coḷas in Ceylon was being threatened by mounting opposition, developments of a very disturbing nature had taken place in the Coḷa country itself. These developments shook the very foundations of the Coḷa empire, and their consequences were as, or even more, serious than those of the battle of Takkolam (c.949 A.C.). The very existence of the Coḷa empire was in the balance. But their fortunes were almost miraculously retrieved by the Coḷa-Eastern Cālukya prince Rājendra, better known as Kulottuṅga I. All this took place following the death of Vīrarājendra, who during his lifetime seems to have sown the seeds for these subsequent developments.

Vīrarājendra (1062-1069), who had held together the far-flung empire created by his illustrious predecessors,

was a very vigorous ruler. In spite of the strong challenges put up by his adversaries and the unwilling subject people, he succeeded in keeping the empire intact. His wars with the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī figure prominently in his inscriptions. But it is possible that at least some of them were fought in the time of his father and the elder brothers. At the same time the Cālukya ruler Someśvara I, who had a very long reign, and had carried on the war with the Coḷas with unflagging determination, being stricken with an incurable disease, had sought release from pain in religious suicide.¹ His eldest son by the same name succeeded him in 1068 A.C., but very soon his position was undermined by the disagreements arising between him and his younger brothers. This destroyed the political integrity of the Cālukya kingdom, and also provided Vīrarājendra with an opportunity to drive a permanent wedge between the brothers. He did this very diplomatically by offering one of his daughters to one of the grieved parties. Thus Vikramāditya became the son-in-law of Vīrarājendra. This most extraordinary turn of events portended many unforeseen changes in the future relations between Coḷas and the Cālukyas, but a palace revolution in the Coḷa capital

1. The Coḷas pp. 268-9.

following the death of Vīrarājendra, once again restored the old division, and prevented any real improvement in the political situation.

The whole impact of the preceding events was felt with the sudden death of Vīrarājendra in the eighth year of his reign. His son Adhirājendra,¹ who had been the co-ruler for nearly three years, then succeeded to the throne. His rule does not appear to have lasted more than a few weeks, but the circumstances of his death are not clearly mentioned. As a result there is much speculation about it.² The anarchy and confusion that prevailed in the Coḷa capital at the time is referred to in contemporary literary works and hinted at in the inscriptions.³ But whether it was the accession of Adhirājendra, or his untimely death under unknown circumstances that was the cause of this rumpus in the Coḷa capital cannot be ascertained from these sources. These developments, however, brought both Vikramāditya and the

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1. An ins. dated in the third year of his reign has been found at Polonnaruva. This also is the latest known Coḷa ins. in Ceylon. SII., IV, No. 1388; there is another ins. at the same place with the date missing, SII., IV, No. 1392.
 2. The Coḷas, pp. 284-298; SII., II, p. 229-232; III, pp. 125-131, 196. S.K. Ayengar, Ancient India, pp. 125, 129; The Early History of the Deccan, pts. I-VI, pp. 350-1; History of the Later Coḷas, pt. I, pp. 139-142; IA., XLI, pp. 217-9.
 3. Vikramānkadevacrita, Sarga IV, v. 20; VI, vv. 6-25; Kālingattuparāni, Et., X, vv. 26-32; Vikramasolan-ula, vv. 44-45. SII., III, No. 69, 70-76 etc.; II, No. 58; TAS., VI, p. 17.

Coḷa-Eastern Cālukya prince Rājendra into the scene.

It is not possible to determine from our present sources, whether Rājendra himself was responsible for the debacle which engulfed Adhirājendra; but as far as the Coḷas were concerned it was he who resisted the intervention of Vikramāditya, and saved the Coḷa empire from complete disintegration. Rājendra is better known as Kulottāṅga I. The beginning of his rule as Coḷa emperor can be dated in the middle of 1070 A.C.¹

During the short period of confusion and uncertainty, in the Coḷa capital, followed by the first few critical years of Kulottāṅga's reign, there were a number of rebellions in various parts of the Coḷa empire. This state of affairs proved most opportune for the Sinhalese in their attempt to expel the Coḷas from Ceylon, and to take measures against a restoration of their power. The increasing hostility to Coḷa rule in South India would have provided a very effective cover for the plans of Vijayabāhu. It is possible that the entire campaign of liberation of Rājaraṭṭha from the Coḷas was carried out during this critical period of Coḷa history. Even if Kulottāṅga was aware of the developments in Ceylon, the more immediate and

1. EI., VII, p.7, n.1,5.

pressing dangers from the Cālukyas, Keraḷas and the Pāṇdyas would have compelled him to turn a blind eye to Ceylon. It took him quite some time to contain the Cālukyas and to subdue the Pāṇdyas and the Keraḷas.¹ By this time Ceylon was perhaps completely lost to the Coḷas, and its reconquest itself would have appeared too great a risk, at least for the time being.

In the meantime the Sinhalese had succeeded in making a clean sweep of much of Rājaraṭṭha, and made the Coḷas flee before them to the safety of Polonnaruva. Polonnaruva, perhaps, was the most strongly guarded position of the Coḷas, and there they prepared to defy the Sinhalese, and, if possible, to keep them at bay till they could be rescued by reinforcements from India. While the Coḷas took up fortified positions in Polonnaruva, Vijayabāhu was on his way to join his forces. He followed the traditional route from Rohana through Gutthasāla and Mahiyaṅgaṇa, and at the latter place he stopped for a while, and "when he was aware of the opportunity" proceeded to Polonnaruva.² It is possible that he hesitated because he was still not certain of victory, or was waiting for news from India. Then,

1. According to the inscriptions of Kulottuṅga it was only in his eleventh year that he was able to celebrate the subjugation of the Pāṇdyas and Keraḷas, and the setting up of "the boundaries of the South." SII, I, pp. 168-9; II, no. 58; III, no. 69-71, 73; EI, XXVI, p. 274; IA, XXI, pp. 283-7; TAS., VI, pp. 14-8; EI., V, pp. 103-4.

2. Cv., LVIII, 49-50.

without further delay he joined his forces, and set about the task of reducing the last stronghold of the Coḷas. Here we wish we had more information about the defences of Polonnaruva, and the numbers sheltered behind its walls. What effect the exodus of Coḷas from the other parts of Ceylon had on its position, especially its reserves of provisions needed in the event of a protracted siege, is another moot point. We are not told that there was panic or despair there, nor do the Tamils seem to have considered the possibility of yielding without a fight.

The resolution of the Coḷas to face the overwhelmingly strong forces of the Sinhalese seems to have even won the admiration of the author of the Cūlavamsa, who calls them "the warlike or valiant Coḷas (sūrā Cōḷā)"¹ They even tried for a moment to steal the thunder from the Sinhalese by rushing out and making a sudden attack on them. Perhaps they intended to take them unawares and scatter them before they could put all their plans into execution. But the attempt of the Coḷas proved abortive, and being beaten back by the Sinhalese they retired behind the walls. Then they secured the entrances to the city and prepared to face the inevitable siege. The Sinhalese took up positions round the city and carried on a siege for one and a half months.²

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1. Cv., LVIII.51.
 2. Cv., LVIII.52-55.

All the time there were sporadic skirmishes between the defenders and the attackers. The Colas, from their vantage positions on bastions and towers, and sheltered behind the walls, harried the Sinhalese who dared to get too close to their defences. The Sinhalese also threw themselves time after time against the unyielding walls to bring an end to the terrible fight. After one and a half months the position seems to have remained unaltered, and there would have been anxiety on both sides. By this time the Colas were perhaps not unaware of the slender chance of relief ever reaching them, and may have resigned themselves to a fight to the last. They may also have thought that a surrender now would be of no avail, and would not save their lives from the wrath of the Sinhalese.

As the siege dragged on day after day ^{with} the increasing losses and the mounting tempers among the Sinhalese ^{it} would also have made them equally apprehensive of the grave dangers that lurked behind this state of affairs. Having come so far they would not have wished to be put off by the eventuality of Cola reinforcements reaching Ceylon just at this critical time. Determined to conclude the matter without further ado, and out of sheer exasperation, the Sinhalese then threw themselves once again against the walls of the fortified

city. Led by two Sinhalese generals, Raviḍeva and Cala, they finally succeeded in overcoming the defenders perched on the ramparts, and after scaling the walls, entered the city.¹ They were soon followed by the others, and they made short shrift of the Tamils who were there. The Cūlavamsa itself sums up what followed as the "extermination of all the Tamils root and branch."² The two Sinhalese generals who made the successful breach of the almost impregnable Coḷa defences were presumably the same generals who had previously betrayed Vijayabāhu, and gone over to the side of the Coḷas.³ Perhaps being regretful of their treacherous action, they may have re-joined the Sinhalese side, and to vindicate their honour they may have hurled themselves into the fray even heedless of their lives.

The fall of Polonnaruva marked the end of Coḷa power in Ceylon, which had lasted for about three quarters of a century. Vijayabāhu celebrated the event by proclaiming his dominion over Rājaraṭṭha and over the whole of Ceylon.⁴

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1. Cv., LVIII.55-56.
 2. Cv., LVIII.56-57, "mulaghaccham aghāṭayum".
 3. See Supra, p. 137.
 4. Cv., LVIII.57-59.

Period of Reconstruction and Consolidation.

When the Coḷas were vanquished and his authority was established in Rājaraṭṭha, Vijayabāhu may have wished to see his victory not only real but also symbolic. Therefore, to make his victory complete in all respects he marched to Anurādhapura, ^{from where the} Sinhalese kings from time immemorial had exercised their sway, to be inaugurated as the ruler of Laṅkā. He gave orders to make the necessary preparations for the great occasion and went back to Polonnaruva. In the meantime he busied himself with the bestowal of favours, and in the reorganisation of the administration. The more repugnant vestiges of Coḷa rule, like their names given to places in Ceylon, seem to have been removed, probably at the initiative of the king himself, as suggested by such names like Vijayarājapura, Vijayarājacāturvedimaṅgalam and Vijayarājaśvaram.¹ It is, however, puzzling why the inauguration of Vijayābahu at Anurādhapura did not take place for nearly three years after his capture of Polonnaruva and the march to Anurādhapura. It may of course be suggested following the ² Cūlavamsa that it was the condition of ruin and neglect in

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1. EZ., II, pp. 254, ; IV, pp. 191-196; ARE., 1911, p. 972. For a different view, see JRASCB(NS), IV, pt. I, p. 65, where Nilakanta Sastri suggests that these places were named after the name Vijayarājaraṅendra borne by Rājādhirāja I.
 2. Cv., LIX. 2-3. It is said that for this purpose a pāsāda and other buildings were erected in Anurādhapura. The unpretentious nature of the palace of Vijayabāhu at the ancient capital can be judged from its remains today. See ASCAR, 1950, p. 12.

Anurādhapura, which had to be at least partially restored in accordance with the significance of the occasion. We may ask ourselves whether there were other reasons too for this postponement, because after his thirty years of toil, it is inconceivable that he would wait another three years to be elevated to the most exalted position in the country. It is possible either owing to the state of the country at the time, recovering after the long spell of foreign occupation, or to some internal opposition to his accession, that he had to delay his formal consecration. For whatever reason, however, his inauguration was not solemnised till his eighteenth year of ¹
Muvarājaship.

In the meantime Vijayabāhu continued to devise ways and means of combatting all external dangers, and for this purpose his most trusted and able followers were entrusted with the protection of the coast. He also strengthened his position by contracting matrimonial alliances with the Kālingas and the Pāṇdyas, who were equally hostile to the Colas. Envoys were also sent to the court of the king of Rāmañña (Burma), perhaps to revive the old friendship and also to obtain ordained monks. It is also on record that
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1. Cv., LIX.8-10.

he was on very intimate terms with the Karnāṭaka ruler, who is identified with Vikramāditya VI, the greatest rival of Kulottuṅga Coḷa. The alliance with the Karnāṭakas would have been very much resented by the Coḷa ruler, and would have resulted in his continued hostility towards the Sinhalese.¹

An important result of Coḷa rule in Ceylon was the establishment of Polonnaruva as the capital of Rājaraṭṭha. Following the expulsion of the Coḷas, it was adopted by Vijayabāhu as his capital. During the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries there had been a few instances when some of the Sinhalese kings had occupied Polonnaruva for a while,² when Anurādhapura was considered not safe; but they had ^{shown} no intention to make it the permanent capital of Rājaraṭṭha. The strategic position of Polonnaruva lying midway between Rohaṇa and Anurādhapura, and not far from safety of the Malayadeśa, enhanced its value as a temporary capital from where they could subdue Rohaṇa and Malaya, or withdraw to the safety of Rohaṇa or Malaya when internal or external dangers cropped up in the north. The rise of Coḷa power in Rājaraṭṭha, and their adoption of

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1. Cv.,LIX; ~~see supra pp.~~ ; Cv.,LX.24-44; see infra, p. 213-224.
 2. Cv.,XLVI.34; XLVIII.74; L.85; LIV,64-65,69; see also JRASCB(NS)VI, pp.174-176.

Polonnaruva, as the centre of their authority, led to the neglect of Anurādhapura from which it never completely recovered. They organised their administration from Polonnaruva, and made Polonnaruva a well fortified city. As a result of these changes, with the end of their rule, Vijayabāhu would have had to make a decision which was of great significance. The relative advantages of Polonnaruva, perhaps not much damaged by the attack of the Sinhalese forces, its strong defences and the remains of the administrative organization and its strategic value, would have been some of the most important considerations in the choice of his capital. But there may have been other considerations too, such as the shift of a part of the population to the south following the Coḷa occupation, the presence of Tamils in the north and even any lingering fears of a resumption of Coḷa hostilities. In spite of this change, Anurādhapura was not altogether forgotten. Culturally it retained its importance and remained a source of sentimental attachment. In fact, soon after the defeat of the Coḷas, Vijayabāhu had proceeded straight to Anurādhapura to pay his respects to the places of worship there, and to be inaugurated as the ruler of Laṅkā.¹ But after those duties and ceremonies

1. Cv., LIX.2-3,8-9.

he returned to Polonnaruva.

The long reign of fifty-five years (c.1055-c.1110-11) enjoyed by Vijayabāhu, which began with his accession as the ruler of Rohaṇa, can be considered a fitting reward for the part he played in freeing Ceylon from the Coḷas. His long and active reign prevented the country from drifting towards disruption. His rule prevented any restoration of Coḷa rule over any part of Ceylon. His greatness was perhaps well known and acknowledged by his equally great contemporaries like Kulottuṅga Coḷa (1070-1120) and Cālukya Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127). The long and to a great extent contemporaneous reigns of these rulers are not only an interesting feature of the time, but also would have had a moderating effect on their policies and their mutual relations. The most important reason for the resignation of the Coḷas to the loss of Rājaraṭṭha was perhaps the declining power of the Coḷas. By this time a number of their earstwhile subjects were in open revolt, and the empire was greatly reduced in size. If the Cūlavamsa account is to be believed, the desire of the Coḷa ruler to marry a sister of Vijayabāhu was presumably motivated by the need to find new allies and to forget the old enmity in view of their declining power

and influence in South India.¹

The establishment of the authority of Vijayabāhu over the whole of Ceylon was followed by a few rebellions, which, though not very formidable, were nevertheless important in the context of the times. To what extent they were incited or helped by interested parties in South India cannot be ascertained from the existing sources, but some of the rebels had sympathisers in India, as is suggested by their flight to India before actually starting to incite rebellion in Ceylon.² Soon after the return of Vijayabāhu to Polonnaruva from Anurādhapura, a general named Ādimalaya raised a revolt against his rule. What provoked this sudden revolt is not mentioned, but before it could gather much momentum it was crushed by Vijayabāhu on the outskirts of Polonnaruva.³ A few years later a more serious revolt shook the tranquility of the country when, in the nineteenth year of Vijayabāhu - only four years after his capture of Polonnaruva, and one year after his formal inauguration, three brothers, who were occupying distinguished and responsible positions in the realm, organised a fresh challenge

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1. See Ancient India (Bul. of Arch. Survey of India) VI, p. 56, for the friendly relations that existed between the Colas and the Cālukyas towards the end of the 11th century.
 2. Cv., LIX. 17.
 3. Cv., LIX. 4-6.

to the position of Vijayabāhu. These brothers who are referred to as the Cattagāhakanātha, Dhammagehakanāyaka and the Setṭhinātha,¹ for some reason or other fell out with the king and fled to India. To what part of India they went is not revealed, but they would have found a ready welcome, if they had gone to the Coḷa country. Within a short time they returned to Ceylon and raised an uprising in Rohaṇa, Malaya and Dakkhinadesa. Vijayabāhu was quick to meet the challenge, and marched to Rohaṇa and Malaya and, having pacified the recalcitrant elements there, placed the area under his own officials. The need to do so suggests that since his departure to Polonnaruva his authority had been lax in these areas, and also perhaps denuded of trusted and experienced officials, who may have joined him in Polonnaruva in order to re-organise the administration in Rājaraṭṭha. The reduction of Dakkhinadesa was taken up last, and was done by one of his officials. The latter engaged the rebels in a terrible fight and having captured them impaled them as a grim lesson to others who would be similarly inclined.²

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1. Cv., LIX. 16-17, the Chief of the Umbrella-bearers (a ceremonial post attached to the king's person), the High Dignitary in charge of the king's library or religious books, and the head of the merchantile or banking corporation respectively. HC., I/II, pp. 541-543; see also Cv., Tr. Pt. I, p. 210.
 2. Cv., LIX. 15-22.

The relations between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese continued to be hostile throughout the reign of Vijayabāhu. These were intensified by Vijayabāhu's relations with the Kāliṅgas, Pāṇḍyas and the Karnāṭakas. There was, however, some polite exchange of envoys,¹ while there were also many provocations from both sides. At this time a princess who had been a captive of the Coḷas escaped to Ceylon, and was promptly accepted as the chief queen of Vijayabāhu. According to the Cūlavamsa she was the daughter of Jagatīpāla, whose queen and the daughter were taken prisoner by the Coḷas some time earlier.² Soon after he brought another princess, named Tilokasundarī, from the Kāliṅga country, who replaced the former as the chief queen.³ Kāliṅga was one of the kingdoms which had refused to submit to Kulottuṅga, and was subjugated after a devastating invasion led by the Coḷa dandanātha Karuṇākara. It was this campaign that was immortalised by Jayangondār in his Tamil poem, Kāliṅgattup-parani.⁴ According to the Cūlavamsa⁵ three kinsmen of Tilokasundarī had joined her in Ceylon, and were well provided for by Vijayabāhu. Perhaps their arrival in Ceylon was not unconnected with the above invasion. At the same time it is also on record that

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1. Cv., LX.24-25.
 2. Cv., LIX.23-26; see supra, p. 152, 158-9.
 3. Cv., LIX.29-30.
 4. See supra, p. 30 n3.
 5. Cv., LIX.46-48.

the Coḷa king sent envoys to Vijayabāhu seeking the hand of his sister, but he refused to entertain the offer, "being proud of his family".¹ She was later given in marriage to a Pāṇḍyan prince² of whom nothing else is known.

The Cūlavamsa also records that the Karṇāṭakas and the Coḷas were vying with each other to win the favour of Vijayabāhu's friendship. Shortly before his thirtieth year (c.1085) the Coḷa and the Karṇāṭaka kings had sent envoys to him with rich presents. They appear to have come about the same time, and the Sinhalese king, who was more favourably disposed towards the Karṇāṭakas, received them first, and sent them away with equally fitting presents. There is no evidence from the Cālukya sources to substantiate this account, while even the few references to Ceylon in the Vikramāṅkadevacarita are at complete variance with the Cūlavamsa version. According to this eulogistic poem by Bilhana, the court poet of Vikramāditya VI, the latter repeatedly boasts of his defeat and humiliation of the king of the Sinhalese (Siṃhalādhīpati).³ These accounts may be completely rhetorical, and without any historical

1. "kulābhīmānī", Cv., LIX.40-41.

2. Cv., LIX.41-42.

3. Vikramāṅkadevacarita, ed. Buhler, Sarga III, v.77, Sarga IV, vv.20, 44-68.

foundation, and claimed to enhance his prestige by equating him with the legendary Rāma, who defeated Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅkā.

To go back to the Ceylonese account, after dismissing the Karṇāṭaka envoys, Vijayabāhu attended to the Coḷa envoys, who were also treated in a friendly manner. But the delay in dealing with his envoys, and the partiality towards the Karṇāṭaka envoys, had angered the Coḷa king, who would have rightly interpreted it as a deliberate slight on the part of Vijayabāhu. While the Coḷa envoys were still in Polonnaruva, the Sinhalese envoys passed through the Coḷa country, on their way to the Karṇāṭaka court to reciprocate their visit to Ceylon. They may have expected a safe passage through the Coḷa country, and therefore would have taken the overland route. At the same time the presence of the Sinhalese in his territory provided an opportunity to the Coḷa king to demonstrate his indignation at the action of Vijayabāhu. Therefore the Sinhalese envoys were seized forthwith, and after their faces had been maimed, were made to return to Ceylon. When they appeared before the Sinhalese king, there was no need to report their sufferings and humiliations. In spite of his bursting anger, Vijayabāhu seems to have acted with restraint and, having summoned the Coḷa envoys, delivered a message in

strong and unmistakable terms to be taken to their king. The envoys themselves were sent in women's clothes. His challenge to the Coḷa king bears some resemblance to the challenge sent to Vīrarājendra by the Cālukya ruler Satyāśraya I.¹ Vijayabāhu followed up the challenge with preparations for war, and to show that he meant business, went with his army as far as Anurādhapura. He also sent ahead two officials to Mahātitt̥ha and Mattikāvāṭatitt̥ha² on the coast to make preparations to invade India. While they were getting together the ships and the provisions for this purpose, the Vēḷaikkāra³ forces of Vijayabāhu created a serious crisis by starting a mutiny. This is the first time in the Cūlavamsa the South Indian mercenaries are referred to by this distinctive name, while formerly all foreign troops were referred to as Tamils or Keraḷas and Karṇāṭakas. These Vēḷaikkāras, however, refused to fight in India, and turning on the two Sinhalese officials put them to death and ravaged the country round Polonnaruva. They took a sister of Vijayabāhu and her three sons hostage, attacked the king's

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1. "Beyond ear-shot, on a lonely island in the midst of the ocean shall a trial of strength of our arms take place in single combat, or, after arming the whole forces of thy kingdom and of mine, a battle shall be fought at a spot to be determined by thee; exactly in the manner I have said it, shall ye report to your master." Cv., LX.30-32.; see The Cōlas, pp.268-269.
 2. Unidentified place on the north-west or northern coast, JRASCB(NS), VI, p.81.
 3. For Vēḷaikkāras see CHJ., IV pp. 19-20; JRASCB(NS), IV, pt. I, pp. 67-71; S. Wickramasinghe, The Age of Parākramabāhu, pp.447-452; SIP., pp.258-261; The Karāva of Ceylon, Raghavan, pp.3-5.

palace and burnt it down. At this sudden turn of events Vijayabāhu fled with his treasures to Vātagiri, which once before also had saved him from his enemies.¹ But their success was short-lived, and they were soon over-powered by the troops still loyal to Vijayabāhu. The ring leaders themselves were captured and burnt alive.²

The Cūlavāṃsa reminds us that in spite of these setbacks Vijayabāhu did not lose sight of his determination to fight the Coḷas, and once again prepared for war. But why he wished to do so with such persistence remains unknown. According to the Cūlavāṃsa however fifteen years had elapsed before he recovered his belligerent mood, and this undue delay may suggest the damaging effect of the mutiny of the Vēḷaikkāras. It is said that in his forty-fifth year (1100) he set out again, and marched as far as the sea coast, and stayed there for sometime expecting the arrival of the Coḷa ruler. When the latter failed to put in an appearance, he dismissed the Coḷa envoys who had gone with him to Mahāṭiṭṭha and returned to his capital.³ There is no confirmation of these altercations between the two kings from any other source and even if the Cūlavāṃsa account is true, one may wonder whether he was taken seriously by the Coḷas.

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1. Cv., LX.24-40; LVIII.31-32.
 2. Cv., LX.40-44.
 3. Cv., LX.45-47.

The few references to this period in the Coḷa sources are far too general and far-fetched to make any definite conclusions possible, except that they confirm the hostile attitude of the Coḷas towards Ceylon. There is, for instance, an inscription dated in the forty-second year (1105) of Kulottuṅga¹ which refers to the increase of his fame by two successful campaigns in Ceylon. Nothing else is known of these two campaigns, while it is significant that in spite of these victories he does not claim the conquest of Ceylon, as was done by his great predecessors. In fact his inscriptions are more emphatic about the capture of Kanyākumārī (Cape Comorin) which formed the boundary of the South, the capture of the pearl fisheries, which were in the Gulf of Mannar and the reduction of Keraḷa and Pāṇḍya.² It may, however, be suggested that the visit of Vijayabāhu with his armies to the sea-coast may not have been unconnected with the activities of the Coḷas in the Ceylon waters, off Mahātitt̥ha. Incidentally there is also a reference in the Kāliṅgattup-parani³ to the king of the Sinhalese, who was waiting with many others, outside the

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1. Tirukkālukkunṇam Ins. IA. XXI, pp. 283-287. This date is on the assumption that it was the 42nd year from the date of his accession to the throne of Veṅgi ibid. p. 283.
 2. See supra, p. 207 nI; see also The Ceylon Pearl Oyster Fisheries, Spolia Zeylanica, VIII, pp. 195-204.
 3. Canto. XI, sl. 18-26, pp. 187-2.

palace gates to pay tribute and loudly acclaim the greatness of Kulottuṅga. Perhaps here the poet has exaggerated the arrival of Sinhalese envoys in the court of Kulottuṅga. During the remaining ten years of his reign we have no mention in the Cūlavamsa of any relations between Vijayabāhu and his Coḷa contemporary. But there seems to have been a significant thaw, perhaps after his death, as is suggested by two Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon.¹ The contents of these two short inscriptions have been interpreted as evidence of a marriage between the daughter of Kulottuṅga Coḷa and a Ceylonese prince, referred to here as a Pāṇḍyan. The identification of this prince is by no means certain. Ceylonese literary sources also do not record such an alliance between the two royal families. Towards the latter part of his reign Kulottuṅga seems to have had a rather uneasy time, and already there were signs that the Coḷa empire was cracking up. Under those circumstances he may have wished to avoid unnecessary entanglements such as a war with Ceylon, and the mutual hostile attitude may have even mellowed to a vanishing point. With that any likelihood, or the possibility of a restoration of Coḷa power in Ceylon receded to the background.

1. CJSc., II, p.105, 116, Nos. 473-474; see The Coḷas, p.316; HC., I/II, p.441.

As we have seen, the emergence of Vijayabāhu in the political scene of Rohāna formed a turning-point in the Coḷa occupation of Rājarat̥tha, and their relations with Rohāna. At the time of his accession as the Mivarāja of Rohāna the position of the Coḷas seemed still unassailable. In Rājarat̥tha the Coḷas were in firm control. In Rohāna and Malayadesa the Sinhalese were divided among themselves and lacked able and effective leadership. Rohāna also suffered from the devastating effects of repeated Coḷa invasions. The hardships of the people in Rohāna and Malayadesa are perhaps reflected in the privations of Vijayabāhu's parents in the jungles of Malaya.¹ The Sinhalese in Rājarat̥tha appeared resigned to the rule of the Coḷas. Frustration and despondency were rampant among the Sinhalese in Rohāna and Malayadesa. The emergence of Vijayabāhu brought a complete change in this situation. The people of Rohāna and Malayadesa flocked round him as their liberator. Response from the people of Rājarat̥tha was also evident with their courageous defiance of the Coḷas.²

Vijayabāhu was full of determination and bold plans for the expulsion of the Coḷas from Ceylon. And to achieve this objective he realised that the first requisite was the

1. See supra, p. 175-177.

2. See supra, pp. 165-6.

unification of Rohana and Malaya, and the organization of their military and economic potential. This was to be followed by the incitement of opposition to the Colas in Rājarat̥tha itself. Finally there was to be a well planned attack on the Cola possessions in Ceylon from many sides. But everything did not go off as planned, and his plans were for sometime disrupted by the alertness of the Colas. He was unperturbed by these set-backs, and resumed his preparations to challenge the Colas. While he was engaged in these preparations fortuitous circumstances heralded the day for action. The death of the Cola ruler Vīrarājendra in 1070 A.C, and the political crisis which engulfed the Cola capital following this event distracted the attention of the Colas from their colonies. Taking advantage of this situation Vijayabāhu launched his attack on the Colas in Ceylon. The entire campaign appears to have been concluded before the Colas could send help from India. Thus within fifteen years of his assumption of control of Rohana he was able to achieve complete success and crown himself as the king of Lan̄kā. He certainly played the most decisive role in the expulsion of the Colas from Rājarat̥tha. His success also brought an end to the sufferings of the Saṅgha and neglect of Buddhism, and led to a revival of the Saṅgha and the Sāsana. His fame also

radiated outside Ceylon and brought him into closer contact with Rāmañña (Burma), Karnāṭakas (Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī) and the Pāṇḍyas.

Epilogue.

The triumph of Vijayabāhu ending with the expulsion of the Coḷas from Ceylon marked a turning-point in the over-a-century old conflict between the Sinhalese and the Coḷas. But the termination of Coḷa rule in Rājarat̥tha did not mark the end of their mutual hostility, and for a long time afterwards it continued to simmer with even occasional eruptions of a disquieting nature. We have already seen the tension which underlined the relations between Vijayabāhu and Kulottuṅga, at one stage bringing them almost to the brink of armed conflict. Fortunately it stopped short of an actual clash of arms, and eventually settled down to a less overtly hostile pattern. The reign of Kulottuṅga saw the gradual decline and the break-up of the Coḷa empire, and at the time of his death their power was confined mainly to the Coḷa country. In a way this spared the immediate successors of Vijayabāhu from interference by the Coḷas. The period which followed the death of Vijayabāhu in 1110-11, A.C saw the country returning to a state of civil war, leading to a division of the country

into three independent kingdoms which lasted for nearly half a century. But by the middle of the twelfth century Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) had succeeded in unifying the whole country under his authority, and in the wake of his success dragged Ceylon once again into war with the Coḷas.

With the decline of the power of the Coḷas their erstwhile subjects like the Pāṇdyas and the Keraḷas had asserted their independence, and organized kingdoms according to the old political and territorial divisions. In spite of their loss of authority, the Coḷas seem to have still continued to interfere in the affairs of their neighbours, and tried to have at least a superficial control over their affairs. When things were in this condition the Pāṇdya king Parāntaka Paṇḍu passed away, and then there was a tussle between the rightful heir Parākrama Pāṇḍya and another prince named Kulasekhara, for the possession of the vacant throne. Parākrama however succeeded to the throne, but he was ousted by his rival, who invested Madura, and made the former and his family his prisoners. Parākrama then sent an urgent appeal to the Sinhalese king Parakkamabāhu to save him from his enemies. In the meantime Kulasekhara had asked the Coḷas to stand by in case the Sinhalese would decide to come to the aid of Parākrama. It was the sixteenth year of Parakkamabāhu (1169), when these developments offered him with an opportunity to interfere in South Indian politics.

It may have been a chance to assert his own greatness and that of Ceylon, and also to challenge the Colas and to wipe out thereby all traces of the humiliations Ceylon had suffered because of them during the preceding century. Therefore with the least possible delay he despatched an army to the aid of his Pāṇḍyan ally. But the Sinhalese were too late and failed to rescue the lives of Parākrama and many of the members of his family. Unperturbed by this calamity they proceeded to Madura and attacked Kulasekhara. The war between the Sinhalese and the forces of Kulasekhara, now reinforced with a large force sent by the Coḷa king Rājarāja II (1146-1173), dragged on for some time, and eventually resolved into a resumption of the long-smouldering conflict between the Sinhalese and the Colas. After a period of initial success which included the capture of Madura and the installing of Vīra Pāṇḍya, a son of Parākrama, the Sinhalese were forced to fall back and finally yield all the advantages gained by them. Madura was recaptured by the Colas and the throne was restored to Kulasekhara. The leaders of the Sinhalese army were also captured, and their heads were cut off and nailed to the gates of Madura by order of the Coḷa kings. While this war was being waged in South India the Colas also seemed to have tried, but without any permanent success, to create difficulties

for the Sinhalese king ~~in Ceylon~~ by sending an expedition to the Island, led by a Sinhalese prince named Srivallabha.

The victory of the Colas and the restoration of Kulasekhara temporarily ended the war with the Sinhalese, but not the problems for the Colas, because Kulasekhara was soon found to be secretly in league with Parakkamabahu. The Colas then drove out Kulasekhara and brought back Vira Pandya, but the latter also proved false to them. The overriding consideration of the Pandya kings, even if they were Coladproteges themselves, appears to be their distrust of the Colas, and as a result, they were found to be always in league with the long-standing enemies of the Colas, like the Sinhalese and the Keralas. The struggle between the Colas and the Sinhalese to control the destinies of the Pandyas had, however, an adverse effect on the Colas and only helped the speedy recovery of the Pandyas, who before long became a menace to all their neighbours, including the Sinhalese and the Colas. The Colas themselves had to wage these costly wars at a time when they could hardly afford it and were certainly not strong enough to do so. And for the Sinhalese also they were equally disastrous, coming not long after all the depredations of the long period of internal wars and wars with the Colas; and had a devastating effect on

the already over-strained economy of the country.¹

The death of Parakkamabāhu in 1186 was followed by a long period of political confusion in Ceylon, leading to the shift of the capital to the south and the abandonment of Rājarat̥ṭha by the Sinhalese. It was also the period of the so-called Kāliṅga dynasty,² which ended with the notorious reign of Māgha in 1235.A.C. The immediate successor of Parakkamabāhu I was Vijayabāhu II (1186-7), and there is much uncertainty about his identity, which in a way is a sad reflection of the times. He was killed after one year of rule, and his successor Mahinda VI lasted only five days on the throne. The throne then passed to Nissankamalla (1187-1196), who was quite an able ruler. Like his great predecessor Parakkamabāhu I, he was equally vain-glorious, and in pursuit of this he also seems to have undertaken a digvijaya to the Pāṇḍyan coast. An inscription which belongs to his reign had been found at Rāmeśvaram on the Pāṇḍyan coast.³ At the same time the inscriptions of

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1. For detailed examination of Parākkamabāhu's wars with the Colas and Pāṇdyas, see The Age of Parākkamabāhu, pp. 221-275; HC., I/II, pp. 475-486, 495-506; CHJ., IV, pp. 33-51.
 2. The general view is that these Kāliṅgas came from one or more of the small kingdoms which flourished in the Orissa area in Eastern India. According to S. Paranavitana, however, the identification of Kāliṅga in Ceylon underwent a change in the medieval period, and after about the tenth century A.C. by Kāliṅga was meant some part of Malayasia. JRASCB(NS), VII, pt. I pp. 1-42; VII, pt. II, pp. 174-225.
 3. CJSc., II, p. 105 ff; ARE., 1905, No. 90; HC., I/II, pp. 521-4.

Kulottaṅga III (1178-1216) claim the capture of Iḷam (Ceylon).¹ These conflicting claims may suggest that the Coḷa-Sinhalese conflict resumed in the time of Parakkama-bāhu had not really ended with the death of Parakkamabāhu or the Coḷa king Rājarāja II or even his co-ruler Rājādhiraḷa II. The death of Niṣṣaṅkamalla in 1196, and the weakness of his successors, would have proved opportune for the Coḷas to attack Ceylon, and in the very next year following his death the Coḷas appear to have attacked Ceylon on three successive occasions.² The Sinhalese and the Coḷas make conflicting claims to victory over each other, and it is difficult to ascertain the veracity of these statements, except that they may be assumed to reflect the indecisive nature of the struggle. In the meantime, the Coḷas seem to have resorted to other means too, like diplomacy and sponsoring rival claimants to the throne of Ceylon. This can be inferred from the hospitality they offered to Sāhasamalla (1200-1202) when he was threatened with civil war, and from the aid they gave to Anikaṅga (1203), one of those very short-lived rulers in Polonnaruva.³ The last

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1. ARE., 1907, No. 289, 380-5; 1922, No. 505 etc., SII., III, No. 86., 23, 24, 36.
 2. HC., I/II, p. 524.
 3. HC. I/II, p. 524; Cv., LXXX. 43-45.

recorded Cola attempt to interfere in Ceylon was in the reign of Lokeśvara (1210-1211), where he claims to have repulsed the attack of the Colas.¹ With that the conflict between the Colas and the Sinhalese, which can be traced as far back as the reigns of Parāntaka I (907-958) and Kassapa V (914-923) respectively, came to an end with the complete disappearance of the power of the Colas from South India in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

1. EZ., IV, p.88.

CHAPTER VI

Administrative and Economic Conditions in Ceylon
under the Coḷas

For over three quarters of a century the Coḷas were in occupation of Rājaraṭṭha and the northern parts of Rohaṇa and Dakkhinadesa¹. During this period their power was felt in the military, political, administrative and cultural spheres. With regard to their administration in Ceylon, we do not have as much information as we have for the reconstruction of their political history. As we have already seen, the Cūlavamsa leaves the areas occupied by the Coḷas in complete oblivion until the time when the activities of Vijayabāhu in Rohaṇa were felt there. This took place during the last five years of Coḷa rule in Rājaraṭṭha. In the Cūlavamsa there are a few incidental references to Coḷa officials in Ceylon, but these are for the most part military officials. There is much less information about those engaged in the administration of the country. Even the few officials who have been mentioned have their ranks and titles rather confused with other similar titles². In dealing with the end of Coḷa power in Ceylon the Cūlavamsa makes a few vague statements to the effect that Vijayabāhu placed the whole of Rājaraṭṭha on a firm foundation³, and that after appointing his own officials instructed

1 see supra, pp. 139.

2 Cv., LVIII.13,16,17,20; see infra, p. 249-250.

3 Cv., LVIII.59, "susādhu thapitākhilarājarattho".

them to collect the taxes in the kingdom in fitting manner. As to the administration of justice which had been neglected, he is said to have restored it to its former position¹.

The Sinhalese literary sources are also devoid of useful information, and the same can be said of the Sinhalese inscriptions of the time. In fact after the time of Mahinda V no inscriptions of the Sinhalese are found till we come to the time of Vijayabāhu. The Cola inscriptions, which form a mine of information for the study of their administration in South India, have little direct bearing on Ceylon. There is however no evidence to suggest that all that prevailed in South India was introduced to Ceylon, setting aside the old administrative organisation in Rājarat̥ṭha either. While the great mass of South Indian inscriptions fail to make any direct contribution to our present study, the few Cola inscriptions in Ceylon furnish an inadequate but useful guide to the elucidation of the administrative and economic conditions in Rājarat̥ṭha in the eleventh century. The names and titles of an official nature referred to in these inscriptions, the types of grants mentioned, the details of revenue, and the allusions to coins, weights and measures - all these assist us in reconstructing a fairly coherent picture of the administration in Rājarat̥ṭha. We may, however, have to bear in mind the danger of arriving at hasty and vague generalisations in the

1 Cy., LIX.13-14.

absence of more specific information regarding some of the aspects of our study.

The period immediately preceding the Cola occupation of Ceylon appears to have witnessed a general break-down of the administration in Rājarat̥ṭha. According to the Cūlavamsa, the reign of Sena V (972-982), and the first ten years of Mahinda V (982-992) in Anurādhapura, were marked by lawlessness and a gradual surrender of the administrative machinery to the hands of unruly elements¹. The Tamil mercenaries had plundered the country and made life difficult for the people, and all the time nothing appears to have been done by these two effete rulers to halt the deterioration and prevent the collapse of the economy and the administration of the island. Conditions became so chaotic and unbearable that as the king's authority became ineffective, the people refused to pay their taxes to the king². At this turn of events Mahinda V abandoned Rājarat̥ṭha and fled to Rohaṇa. As a result, the control of Rājarat̥ṭha then passed into the hands of the Kerala, Sinhalese and the Karnāṭaka mercenaries, who were in revolt against Mahinda. It is remarked that they carried on the government in Rājarat̥ṭha "as they pleased" (yathākāmaṃ ādhipaccam pavattayum)³; but perhaps before long they were

1 Cv., LIV.57-67; LV.1-7,12.

2 see supra, pp. III.

3 see supra, p. II2.

replaced by the Colas who invaded Ceylon. To some extent at least, whatever the adverse effects in general, the establishment of Cola power would have provided a measure of protection to the cultivators who were harassed by bands of lawless elements.

Rājarat̥ṭha as a Cola maṇḍala.

As we have already seen the conquest of Rājarat̥ṭha by the Colas had taken place about the beginning of the eleventh century, but we have no evidence to determine when they began to lay the foundations of their administration of Rājarat̥ṭha. In the beginning they may have even enlisted the services of the South Indian and the Sinhalese mercenaries to establish their own control over the newly conquered territory. They may also have enlisted the help and the experience of those who had been formerly employed by the Sinhalese kings to restore and reorganise the administration. It must be admitted however, that these conclusions do not emerge from the sources. It is also inconceivable that the Colas would have deliberately neglected their territories, and allowed the economy or the administration to deteriorate, as that would have been detrimental to their own interests.

Here we may examine the general trend of Cola colonial policy in South India and in Ceylon, and also try to determine what the Colas expected to achieve by controlling all these

wide areas. In fact, at its height the Cola empire extended over the whole of South India south of the Kṛṣṇa river and spread across the sea into the northern half of Ceylon. The countries in South India conquered by the Colas were brought directly under Cola control. The kings and princes of many of these areas were removed from their offices and in their place Cola princes were appointed as governors. The Colas did not stop there, and went on to bring those areas into closer administrative and economic integration. This was facilitated by factors like common institutions, common religion and common language in the greater part of South India. In South India they appear to have constituted all the conquered territories into mandalas with the whole area forming one large Cola-nād¹.

In Ceylon, on the other hand, a number of impediments stood in their way of closer integration of Ceylon with the rest of the Cola empire. Though Ceylon was considered as one of the Cola mandalas it was the only one outside the sub-continent of India. The geographical position of Ceylon and its institutions, religion and language, all of which were different from those of South India, would have impeded any immediate or thorough reorganisation of the administration. As a result of these peculiar conditions the Colas were perhaps

1 See EC.III, Sr.140; ARE.1895 no.5. This record dated in the 28th year of Rājādhirāja I refers to his conquests in Gaṅgavādi, Malenādi, Nolamba, Andhra, Koṅgu, Kāliṅga and Pāṇḍya, all becoming the Cola-nād.

compelled to depend on the services of those formerly employed in the administration of Rājarat̥tha. Although the Colas also tried with some success to remove all vestiges of Sinhalese rule from Ceylon, they do not appear to have tried a complete conquest of Ceylon, or a thorough reorganisation of its administration. Their motive in occupying the northern half of Ceylon was presumably dictated by commercial and strategic considerations. As a result, they may have intended to keep the country under control without disrupting its administration. Therefore their policy towards Ceylon can be summed up in the following words, "We may presume that, subject to the payment of an annual tribute and the meeting of particular demands for supplies and services from the centre, the local government of Ceylon was allowed to continue much in the old way."¹

With regard to the payment of taxes (irai) by the Sinhalese to the Cola kings we have indeed a number of references². But it is difficult to be absolutely certain that these taxes had come from the Cola mandalam in Ceylon or from the rulers of Rohana, or both. We have, however, many references to the payment of tribute to the Colas by their vassal kings and the conquered peoples³. The tribute itself seems to have been of two kinds, one as indemnity paid after defeat by the Colas, and the other regularly paid by the subject kings, whenever

1 HC., I, pt. II, p. 413.
 2 EC., IX. Dev. T., 75, pp. 83-4; Klgp., Canto. xi, st. 17. p. 130ff.
 3 SII., III, no. 30, p. 68; no. 84 p. 203; IV, no. 641; See n. 2 above.

they were allowed to continue as vassals¹.

The few sweeping remarks in the Cūlavamsa regarding the establishment of Cola rule in Rājarat̥ṭha give the impression that the Colas were oppressive. The statements in the Cūlavamsa may be correct, but there is no other evidence available as far as Ceylon is concerned. It should however be emphasized that there is good evidence to show that wanton cruelty was a striking feature of Cola campaigns in the Deccan². The Cola inscriptions themselves refer to the cruel treatment of the rulers of Rohana and their families³. The Cūlavamsa also states that when the Colas advanced through Rājarat̥ṭha into Rohana they oppressed the mass of the inhabitants (viṭhantam bahū jane)⁴. This of course may have occurred when they were still engaged in subduing the country. When they invaded Rohana for a second time, it is recorded that they pillaged the whole of Rohana in every direction (Rohanam desam samkhobhesum ito tato)⁵. Again when describing the measures adopted by Vijayabāhu so as to create dissension in Rājarat̥ṭha, it is remarked that he followed that policy in order to destroy

1 S.K. Aiyengar explains that according to the Kural three general items of royal revenue were collected, namely that which came to the king from those lands which had no owners, by means of tolls and customs duties, and by way of fines levied on the subjects and the tribute extracted from enemies. Hindu Adm. Institutions in South India, p.180.

2 see supra, infra, pp.320-1.

3 see supra, pp.153-9.

4 Cy., IV.15.

5 Cy., IV.25.

the Colas who were living like overlords there

(Rājarat̥ṭhād̥hivāsinam)¹. It was at that time that the people in Rājarat̥ṭha defied the Cola officials and refused to pay their taxes². Lastly, after the expulsion of the Colas, it is expressly stated that Vijayabāhu placed Rājarat̥ṭha on a firm foundation³. Perhaps towards the end of Cola rule the administration and the economy would have been in a disorganized state after the Cola officials had abandoned their posts and taken refuge in Polonnaruva.

Before the Cola conquest of Rājarat̥ṭha in the time of Rājarāja Ceylon was only referred to as Īlam or Śīngalam, but thereafter, and still later following the capture of Mahinda V, it became the practice to refer to Ceylon as Īlamandālam or Mummudiśōla-mandālam. This is the clearest evidence of the change that took place at the time. The whole of Ceylon, at least in name, was considered a Cola mandāla, and the remaining pockets of Sinhalese resistance in Rohaṇa and Malayadesa were perhaps treated as only local rebellions. Probably to make this position appear as real as possible even the Sinhalese king, who was taken captive to the Cola country, had to spend the rest of his life as a prisoner of the Colas. But their authority over the whole of Ceylon was more nominal than real,

1. Cv., LVIII.3. Geiger translates this passage as "the Colas who were ravaging the Rājarat̥ṭha" (p.201), which to us seems not very accurate.
2 see supra, p. 225a.2.
3 see supra, p. 234.

as is implied by their own claims to have captured the crowns or the heads of the kings of Ceylon almost throughout their period of rule over Rājarat̥ṭha. In Rājarat̥ṭha their power was secure, and remained unchallenged by the Sinhalese for nearly seventy-five years. On the other hand, opposition to their rule continued almost without a break in Rohaṇa and Malayadesa, and the Coḷas had to accept the realities of the situation, and be content with occasional raids into those areas. Thus only the northern half of Ceylon actually experienced the effects of the administration of the Coḷas, while the other areas of Ceylon were only nominally parts of a maṇḍala of the Coḷa empire.

According to the available information the Coḷa empire, including Ceylon, appears to have been divided into eight provinces or maṇḍalas. They were the Cōḷamaṇḍala, Pāṇḍyamaṇḍala, Koṅgumaṇḍala, Malaināḍu or -maṇḍala, Gaṅgavādi or maṇḍala, Nūlambapādi, Toṇḍaimaṇḍalaṃ and Īlamaṇḍalaṃ. The capital of the Coḷa empire for a long time was Tanjore, and then shifted to Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśoḷapuram after the celebrated northern campaign of Rājendra I. The maṇḍalas also had their administrative capitals like Madurai, Kāñcī or Polonnaruva. These larger divisions or maṇḍalas were further divided into smaller divisions which went by the general term of "Kōṭṭam" in some parts of the Coḷa empire, while in the Coḷa and Pāṇḍya countries

and even partly in Kerala, as Valanādu. Eight such valanādus are mentioned in the Cōlamāṇḍalam itself. The use of the term kōttam has not been found in Ceylon. The term valanādu occurring frequently in the Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon also does not seem to correspond to its connotation in the Cola country and elsewhere. The valanādu in Ceylon seems to denote only a small group of villages, perhaps corresponding to the unit of ten villages (dasa-gam) known in Ceylon in the immediately preceding period¹. The kōttams and valanādus constituted not only administrative, but also military, divisions. These broad divisions were followed by Kūrṅam in all those areas. In Ceylon again the valanādu was followed by the nādu, and the term kūrṅam has not been noticed.

Cola Government in Rājaratṭha.

The governors of these important maṇḍalas seem to have been members of the Cola royal family, including the sons and heirs to the throne. The appointment of these royal princes as governors or viceroys figures in the more important inscriptions; and some of the inscriptions in the provinces are dated in the reigns of these royal viceroys². The

1 ALTRC., p.23; SMC., p.120.

2 EI., XI, pp.292-8; TAS., IV, pp.134-5; V, p.106; VI, pp.6-7; SII., II, No.76; III, Intro. p.18; The Cōlas, p.203; ARE., 1896, No.34-45; 1916, No.615-620 etc.

Manimangalam inscription of the 29th year of Rājādhirāja (1046) for the first time refers to the grant of the title "Ilaṅgaiyarkiraivan" (the King of the people of Laṅkā), as well as the dominion over Ceylon to a member of his family, presumably to one of his sons¹. In this praśasti both his sons and brothers figure among those who were granted such titles and dominions. But since there are no names mentioned it is difficult to ascertain who were the recipients of particular areas. But if the order in which these honours are mentioned is taken into consideration, it can be suggested that it was one of his sons who received the dominion of Ceylon. Later, in the time of Vīrarājendra, a similar grant of titles and dominions is alluded to, but that statement is of such a sweeping nature that one is left with only the vague suggestion that Ceylon also may have been included among those unspecified largesses². None of the inscriptions of Rājarāja I or of his son Rājendra I which often refer to the appointment of their sons as the rulers of Pāṇḍya and Keraḷa allude to any such appointment over Ceylon. The absence of such direct references is made more significant by the absence of any Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon dated in the reign of a Cola viceroy either.

1 SII., III, No. 28. The following titles were bestowed on this occasion: Vāhavan (Cera king), Vallavan (king of the Cālukyas), Mīnavan (Pāṇḍya); Gaṅgan and Pallavan, and the one above. See also EC.; IX., Dev T. 75.

2 SII., III, No. 20 - 3rd year of Vīrarājendra. This ins. refers to the appointment of his son Gaṅgaikonda-śōlan with the title Śōla-Pāṇḍyan over Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. Similarly Mudikonda-śōlan was titled Sundara-śōlan and "thus he granted to each of his

[cont. on next page]

It is possible to assume from these facts that the entrusting of the dominion of Laṅkā to one of the Coḷa princes may have been rather titular than real, and the prince concerned may not have been himself resident in Ceylon. In fact the practice of granting such titles was known in Ceylon too, as may be inferred from the references to Coḷarāja and Paṇḍirad in the Cūlavamsa and in the Sinhalese inscriptions¹. Nevertheless the exact position of such titular Coḷa princes in relation to the Coḷa government in Rājaraṭṭha cannot be determined. The distance and difficulties of communications would have in any case made any such arrangement nearly impracticable. There may, however, have been some tangible benefit from these imperial assignments, such as the right to at least part of revenue sent from these distant territories to the Coḷa treasury. As regards the actual responsibility for the administration of Ceylon, however, we have no positive evidence to conclude that Rājaraṭṭha was ruled by a Coḷa prince. On the other hand, this responsibility may have devolved upon one of the Coḷa dandanāthas², who combined in himself all the military and civil powers.

[footnote continued from previous page] numerous relations suitable great riches." See also SII.,V, No.976.

1 Cy.,LII.34; EZ.,I,p.159 A.11.8-9; II,p.8,33-4; III,No.5, p.105.

2 Dandanātha or Dandanāyaka: see supra, p. 176n4, infra, p. 251f.

According to the Cola inscriptions in Ceylon we have references to the following officials: a senapati Jayamurinādālvān in the reign of Rājendra II, a Cola-pallavaraiyan in the time of Rājendra (II?) and Adhārajendra and a perundanattu panimagan belonging to the reign of Rājendra I¹. The other reference to another nādālvān and a mūvendavēlān may also be assigned to the same period². None of these officials can be definitely identified as the highest Cola authority in Ceylon, although some of them were undoubtedly of very high rank. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription of Rājendra³, on the other hand, mentions the exploits of an

1 SII., IV, No. 1408, 1414, 1388.

2 Before we can positively accept that these official titles and their bearers belonged to the Cola period in Rājarat̥tha we may have to establish the date of these short records. (SII., IV, No. 139, 3A-D). These records are found on the four pillars of the Śiva Dēvālē No. 5, which adjoins the Śiva Dēvālē No. 2. The latter is unanimously assigned to the Cola period, while some of the scholars have left the date of the other still open (see *infra*, p. 335). Gravelly and Ramachandran (Bul. of the Madras Govt. Museum, vol. I, pt. II, p. 46) who studied the Polonnaruva bronze images in detail are inclined to accept that the images found at Śiva Dēvālē No. 5 are the only ones which can be classified as belonging to the Cola type. They also assume that the Śiva Dēvālē No. 5 may be considered representative of the early Cola style. The names on the four pillars of this shrine are generally assumed to be those of the donors of the pillars.

3 SII., III, No. 205, p. 421, v. 80.

un-named Cola dandanātha who invaded Ceylon during the reign of his father. Similarly another dandanātha is credited with the invasion of Kerala and Pāṇḍya. One of the best known dandanāthas was Tondaimān Karuṇākara, who invaded Kāliṅga in the reign of Kulottuṅga I. These dandanāthas probably acted as temporary governors till the newly conquered territories were constituted into proper divisions and entrusted to princely viceroys. Some of them continued to govern such areas for long periods, and we may presume that this may have happened in Rājarat̥tha too¹. After all in the early periods there was no clear distinction between the civil and military arms of the administration, as the kings, princes and their officials were all at the same time army leaders and engaged in civil duties.

During the reign of Rājarāja I the Colas had succeeded in establishing themselves only in parts of Rājarat̥tha, while the Sinhalese king Mahinda continued to rule in Rohaṇa. During the reign of Rājendra, however, Mahinda was captured alive and taken to India, but no serious attempt seems to have been made to annexe Rohaṇa and Malayadesa. The people in these areas also kept the Colas continuously occupied with their

1 EI., V, pp. 205-208, Mindigal ins. of Rājādhirāja refers to the dandanāyaka Appimayya alias Rājendra-śōḷa Brahmamahārāya..... who was governing Marjavādi 7000.
EC., III, Sr. 140, mentions a grant by senāpati Pañcavan-Mārāya, the mahādandanāyaka of Veṅgī and Gaṅga maṇḍala.

sullen opposition. This may have had an important effect on Cola administration and general policy in Ceylon. As a result we may expect them to have a chain of military outposts along the frontiers with those areas still in the hands of the Sinhalese. This is confirmed by the Cūlavamsa which refers to the strongholds captured by the forces of Vijayabāhu, when they invaded Rājarat̥ṭha¹. There was opposition in Rājarat̥ṭha too, and its continued submission would have depended on strong garrisons stationed in strategic places. Under these circumstances we may expect that the civil government in Rājarat̥ṭha was well co-ordinated with the military occupation. We have in fact considerable evidence of this taking place elsewhere in the Cola empire². Not only military officers, but armies too seem to have played a vital role in the civil administration and religious life of the time. This can be seen from the numerous inscriptions which refer to their civic duties, protecting and attending to duties at temples, engaging in the deliberations of sabhās and receiving money on interest³.

1 see supra, pp. 197-9, 200 n2.

2 ARE., 1915, p. 98, for instances of senāpatis who were heads of their quarters being sent to inspect and check the accounts of temples, sabhās, etc. We may also cite the case of senāpati Jayamurinādālvān mentioned in Ceylon in the reign of Rājendra II, and occupying an important position in the civil adm. elsewhere in the reign of his successor, Vīrarājendra. SII., III.No. 20; IV., No. 1408. see also, The Chola Administration (Madras Review) S.K. Aiyengar, pp. 5-6; South Indian Polity, T.V. Mahalingam p. 120.

3 Q J My Soc., XXXII, pp. 401-402.

The Ceylonese sources, too, give some information on the Cola official hierarchy in Ceylon. The Cūlavamsa, which mentions a few titles and offices, is however inconsistent in its references to titles and ranks, so that it is difficult to estimate their precise value. It is possible that the Cūlavamsa author confused the terms with others with which he would have been more familiar. The earliest of the Cola officials mentioned there, however, are those who had come to Ceylon in command of the expedition sent to capture Kassapa, the son of Mahinda V. They are called mahāmacchas¹. The next reference is in connection with the Cola officer who brought an army to fight Vijayabāhu. He is ^{perhaps} rightly referred to as a senāpati, while the alternate title seninda is also used in the same place for the same person². Again, the officer sent by Vīrarājendra to chastise Vijayabāhu is in the first instance called saciva and soon after referred to ^{as} seninda and camūpati, and before he lost his life at the hands of the Sinhalese, he received his last official designation of mahācōla-sāmanta from the Cūlavamsa author³. Lastly, we have the Cola general (camūpati) who led a lightning attack on the Sinhalese, and chased them as far as Vātagiri⁴. Why the author

1 Cv., LV.24.

2 Cv., LVIII.4-6.

3 Cv., LVIII.13,16,17,20. The Sinhalese officials of this period are also referred to in the same or similar terms in the Cv., see e.g. LIII.14,18; LIV.49,60; LV.26,30; LVII.1; LVIII.26-27,30,41,42; LX.34,37,42.

4 Cv., LVIII.31.

of the Cūlavamsa resorted to this jugglery of titles may be explained as owing either to his desire to display his literary skill or to the confusion in the sources from which he derived his information. In addition to these bits of information we also have a solitary reference in the Cūlavamsa to some of the Tamil civil officials in Rājaraṭṭha designated as āyuttakas¹. Any one of them could have been a Coḷa governor of Rājaraṭṭha because the Coḷa governors themselves were designated Sāmantas, Nāyakas, Dandanāyakas, Maṇḍaleśvaras, Rājas, Mahārāyas etc.²

Commenting on the Coḷa administrative organisation in Polonnaruva, Nilakanta Sastri assumes that it would have been a replica of the government in Tanjore³. But just as we have no positive evidence to establish the names and the ranks of the Coḷa governors of Ceylon, we have also no evidence to determine the applicability of this assumption. Even if we assume that it was so, it is still not possible with our present sources to reconstruct a coherent picture of administrative machinery that was functioning in Polonnaruva. We may however assume that the Coḷa government in Polonnaruva, whether civil or military, or both, had a number of important Coḷa officials who were associated with the governor. The governor himself may have had complete authority over those

1 Cv., LVIII.12; see supra, p.135-6.

2 SIP., p.318; see also JIH., XX, pp.93-4.

3 HC., I/II, p.413; see also JBHS., V, p.107.

matters which did not require consultation with or permission from his overlords in the Cola capital¹. His relations with the other subordinate divisions may have been conducted through liaison officers, as it was also the practice in South India. We have however no evidence as to the position of the Cola governor of Ceylon in relation to the Cola central government, or about his tenure of office and what remuneration he derived for his services. It is unfortunate indeed that we cannot obtain an authentic picture of the actual working of the Cola government in Rājarat̥tha.

Owing to the absence of sufficient information, many of the members of the intermediate and lower ranks of the Cola officialdom in Ceylon are also as elusive as those of the highest rank. We have already seen some of the official designations preserved in the Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon², but a more comprehensive list will include a few others, too.

1 T.V. Mahalingam makes the following comments on the position of such provincial governors or Dandanāyakas: "These governors held their own courts, appointed their own officers, maintained their own armies and enjoyed a good measure of autonomy within their jurisdiction without interference from the central government so long as they were regular in the discharge of their obligations to it." SIP., p.317.

2 see supra, p. 246.

Thus altogether we may have the following titles: senāpati¹, mūvendavēlān² perudanattu paṇimagan³, nādālvān⁴, kilavan⁵, pañcanedivānan⁶ and adhikaranan⁷. We may also assume that there were many officers whose names and titles are not

1 see supra, p. 246.

2 SII., IV, No. 1393B; see supra, p. 246n.2. The inscriptional term mūvendavēlān which often followed the name refers, according to Arokiaswami (JIH., XXXIV, pp. 191-193), to a class of people who were considered adhikāris fit for high administrative duties. The many refs. to mūvendavēlān and their adm. positions are supposed to indicate their importance, and their varied positions of responsibility. As adhikārin, see SII., II, p. 92; ARE., 1912, No. 103, 1921/79, 1922/239, 1928-9B/237, 278; as tirumandiravōlai or royal secretary, ARE., 1923/175, 1926/73, HAISI., p. 330; as settlement officers, ARE., 1912/103, 146; see also South Indian Polity, T.V. Mahalingam, p. 137.

3 SII., IV, No. 1414B, perudanam was the official designation of a high dignitary in the Cola administration. HAISI., p. 273; South Indian Polity, pp. 133-4; see also C. Minakshi, Adm. and Social Life under the Pallavas, p. 63.

4 SII., IV, No. 1393C, 1408, 1388; nādālvān(r), a subordinate official, HAISI., p. 273; a high official title, SIP., p. 137. The latter view seems more tenable as we could infer from the refs. to senāpati Jayamurinādālvān (SII., IV, No. 1408) and the temple trustee (Devakarmin) Rājādhirāja-mudakkarai-nādālvān (SII., IV, No. 1388). See also, ARE., 1922/95, 1933/232-3; QJMySoc., XXXII, p. 303.

5 SII., IV, No. 1412; Kilavan as a divisional head or chief Brahmadeyakkilavan, SII., VIII, No. 623, 692. See also QJMySoc., XXXII, p. 296.

6 SII., IV, No. 1393 D. See infra p. 253n.1.

7 SII., IV, No. 1398. The date of this short record is not absolutely certain.

available to us today¹. To what extent and with what success the Colas enlisted the services of the Sinhalese also remains unknown. But owing to the difficulties of language and the unfamiliarity with the institutions in Ceylon, the Colas could not have managed on their own without some co-operation from the Sinhalese; and for the most part the subordinate positions would have been occupied by the Sinhalese.

The capital of the Cola-maṇḍalam in Ceylon was Polonnaruva, and from there their authority would have radiated to the districts. But according to our sources how their authority reached the smaller administrative divisions ~~by the Cola-governors~~ cannot be satisfactorily

1 Some of the foregoing titles are mentioned along with the names of those whose signatures are found on four pillars of a Siva temple in Polonnaruva (supra, p. 246n.2). Two of these names Sri Tillaikkarasu Tyāgacintāmani mūvendavēlān and Sri Mukari nādālvān are easily recognisable as officials (supra, p. 252 n.2,4). The other two names, Sri Moganurudaiyan Tiruppuvanadevan and Sri Nallurudaiyan Pañcanedivānan also may have belonged to some official rank. The name Arangan Irāmesan in another Tamil ins. (SII., IV, No. 1411) also has such possibilities, when we consider the use of the prefix "Arangan" by many important Cola officials, see e.g., madhyastan Tiru Arangan Nārāyan, SII., V, No. 635; senāpati Tiru Arangan Rāman, ARE., 1939-40/225; see also, ARE., 1929-30/414B, 1932-3/210B.

determined. In the absence of this particular information we may have to fall back on what we know of the earlier practice under the Sinhalese kings, when the whole country was divided into manageable areas for the purpose of efficient administration. It was the practice of the Sinhalese kings, while residing in the capital and controlling directly the immediate area, to divide the rest of the country into a number of divisions called desas or passas. These divisions were according to the four cardinal directions, and named accordingly. These large areas were assigned to members of the royal family or entrusted to very high officials. The passas were in turn divided into smaller units called rat, which were placed under rat-ladu (laddan)¹. We have however no clear evidence to show that the Colas followed these divisions, nor have we any evidence to the contrary, suggesting a re-organization of these divisions. What we may expect is a change of the terminology more than a change of the divisions themselves. The successful continuation of this system would, however, have depended on the co-operation of the Sinhalese chiefs, which is another

1 HC., I/I, pp. 372-3; see also UCR., IX, pp. 20-26.
SMC., pp. 37-42.

aspect for which information is wanting in our sources.

During periods of foreign rule in Rājaraṭṭha with a provisional government of the Sinhalese in Rohana, many of the Sinhalese chiefs also invariably followed the king to Rohana¹. The same thing may have happened with the coming of the Colas. The Colas may not, however, have found it impossible to get other Sinhalese who were willing to serve them to fill such vacant posts. This would have been politically expedient, too. The difficulties of language and culture, and also any peculiarities in the administrative machinery, would have made it imperative to obtain the assistance of the Sinhalese, at least for a transitional period. Under these conditions, it is possible that, while continuing the same divisions and the same revenue arrangements, the Colas would have exercised their authority by having their own men in all the positions of responsibility. The references in the Cūlavamsa² to the Coḷa officials with delegated authority (āyuttake), and the Tamils who were found here and there on the eve of the attack on Polonnaruva by Vijayabāhu, suggest that as well as at the centre, in the provinces, too, there were many Tamils, presumably engaged in administrative duties.

1 Cy., XXXVIII.12-13.

2 Cy., LVIII.12, 51.

Military Organization

One of the most important and well organized sections of the Cola government in Rājarat̥tha would have been the military organization. The army and the navy were in fact two of the most efficiently organized arms of the Cola empire¹. The Tamil and Telugu inscriptions, and the Cūlavamsa furnish considerable material which bears out the accuracy of this observation. The political conditions in Ceylon would have made it necessary to have a large and an efficient army, under experienced commanders. We have already seen the references to Cola senāpatis, camūpatis, dandanāthas and sāmantas² in the Cūlavamsa and in the Tamil inscriptions. The other officials whom we have noticed would also have had military duties in addition to their other official functions. Both in Polonnaruva and in the other parts of Rājarat̥tha especially along the coast and along the frontiers there would have been permanent garrisons of troops. Such garrisons in South India were called Nilppādai, and these formed the back-bone of the Cola defensive system³. The Cola armies were composed of regular troops, and those

1 Studies of the Cola army, see HAISI., pp.305-313; JBHS., V, pp.101-117; QJMSoc., XXXII, pp.127-145, 293-303, 399-407; Jl. of the Ganganātha Jhā Res. Inst., I, p.374; SIP., pp.257-261; SII., II Intro.p.9.

2 see supra, p.246-7, 249.

3 TAS., VI, p.3; JBHS., V, p.III.

drawn from corporate commercial organisations like the Valañjiyars and Kaikkolars, and forming the famous Vēḷaikkāra regiments¹. To what extent the Sinhalese had taken service in the Coḷa armies is not known. But it is not impossible that some of them would have done so. The Sinhalese prisoners captured in war² would have served for transport and other sections of the Coḷa armies. The accounts of the campaigns of Vijayabāhu against the Coḷas make it quite apparent that there were many Coḷa garrisons in places scattered along the south-eastern coast and in Dakkhinadesa³.

The numerical strength of the Coḷa armies that came to Ceylon on special missions is recorded in the Ceylon sources, but how accurate those figures are difficult to ascertain. On the other hand, the size of their armies which may have been permanently stationed in Ceylon is completely unknown. It is, however, recorded that a large force (mahābale) of 95000 Tamils invaded Ceylon to capture Kassapa, and a similar force had invaded Ceylon in the time of Parakkamapaṇḍi⁴.

1 see supra, p.22I n.3; ARE., 1920/557; 1921, p.96; 1922/389, 472; 1923/320; 1926/106; 1927/282; 1930-1/pp.43-44; 1934-5 B/136-149, 152-160; SII., II, Intro.p.9., and pp. 95-105, 299.

2 Cy., LVIII.28-9.

3 see supra p.197-9, 201-2.

4 Cy., LV.24-5; Pjv., p.104. Acc. to the Hōṭṭūr ins., 900,000 Coḷas had invaded the Cālukya country under the command of Rājendra I, EI., XVI.pp.74-5.

The Cūlavamsa states that Vikkamabāhu collected an army of 100000 men to fight the Coḷas¹. But these figures seem fantastic rather than real. Whatever their numerical strength, the way they were remunerated may deserve our attention. Some of the armies of the Sinhalese kings were paid in cash is suggested by the mutiny of the Sīhala, Keraḷa and Karṇāṭaka troops of Mahinda V. The reference to īlakkāśu or kāśu in the Tamil inscriptions may also have some bearing on this matter. But the surprising absence of such coins, except in the records, may suggest that payment in cash was not the general rule. On the other hand, remuneration may have been in kind, and in the form of grants of land-revenue², as it was also the general practice in Ceylon³.

Revenue Administration and Economic Conditions.

The revenue administration of the Coḷa empire was one of its remarkable features⁴. The thoroughness with which the Coḷa rulers conducted land surveys in the Coḷa country shows the importance attached to the efficiency and the

1 Cv.,LVI.5.

2. HAI SI.,pp.251-277; SIP.,pp.135-136.

3 See ARE., 1926 no.69; ALTRC.,p.18.

4 According to an inscription in South India the seriousness in which the taxes were collected seems to have even led to the use of coercion. ARE.,1912B/202; HAI SI.,pp.273-274.

organisation of the revenue administration. Land revenue was the most vital source of revenue for the royal treasury. Collection of revenue had to be prompt and thorough, and the need to maintain this aspect of the administration was readily acknowledged by the Colas. In fact, the most minute details of the revenue administration in South India are available to us from the Coḷa inscriptions. But on the other hand, with what success and with what thoroughness they applied their revenue/^{policies} in Rājaraṭṭha ~~policies~~ is not known. There are, however, a few instances of their application in Ceylon in the Tamil records, and these will be discussed in detail in the sequel.

During the two centuries prior to the arrival of the Colas in Ceylon there appears to have been a marked economic prosperity in the country. This is clearly indicated by the busy irrigational and religious activity of the times. But the period which intervened between the death of Mahinda IV and the establishment of Coḷa power in Rājaraṭṭha had seen a large degree of laxity in the administration, which led to an almost complete collapse of the revenue administration in Rājaraṭṭha. The lawlessness of the period and the change to a new power would have further impaired what still remained of the administrative machinery. With all these developments it would have taken some time before the Colas could take up

the loose ends and restore the normal administration as far as possible. After all the dust thrown up by pillage and plunder had settled down and Rājarat̥ṭha had come under effective Coḷa control the need to get the revenue administration back on its feet would have been the chief concern of the new rulers. Their wide experience in such matters would have been of great advantage to them. The consolidation of their authority in Rājarat̥ṭha may even have had some beneficial effect on the population which had suffered much during the period of anarchy that had preceded the Coḷa invasions. It is however not impossible that the Coḷas would have tried to meet their expenses in Ceylon with revenue resources derived from this country itself. Their expenses were undoubtedly quite substantial, for they had a large army and a host of administrative officials all of whom had to be remunerated with either grants of revenue or payments in kind and in cash. What effect these considerations had on the revenue administration in Ceylon cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty.

Among the mass of Coḷa inscriptions, the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I provide the most useful information regarding the revenue administration of the Coḷa empire. These epigraphs and also some of the later ones refer to the

tribute collected from the conquered lands¹. In the Coḷa country the revenue payable to the king was mostly in kind, while outside the Coḷa country it was given both in the form of produce as well as money, which was at least partly in gold. Such payment of taxes in gold is also mentioned for Ceylon in the tenth century². The difficulties of transporting produce over great distances, and sometimes across the sea, would have made money preferable to produce. The produce collected in provincial centres could also have been converted into money by being sold to commercial organizations.

The proportion of the produce taken by Coḷa kings is referred to in a number of inscriptions. It seems to have varied in different periods. The share which was traditionally given, and recommended in the ancient law books (Dharmaśāstras) was one-sixth³. An inscription of Rājādhirāja I proudly states that the revenue collected by his treasury was only a sixth share of the produce of the earth, and that it had earned him comparison with Manu⁴. Adhirājendra also claims that he

1 see supra, p.239-240.

2 EZ., III, No.32.

3 In the Dharmaśāstra of Manu the king is advised to take a 6th share, if not the 8th or the 12th part. SBE., XXV, pp.236-7.

4 EC., IX, Dev.T.75-6; SII., V, No. 641.

"continually increased his great fame by following the laws of Manu"¹. According to these statements we may conclude that some of the other Coḷa rulers would have set aside this ancient custom². But it may also be pointed out that even the ancient Sāstras were not completely opposed to modifications to meet special needs. The political conditions at the time, especially the continual Wars, would have been a constant and heavy drain on the royal treasury of the Coḷas. This may at times have resulted in periodical increases in taxation. The much publicised abolition of sukam [śulka-skāt] or tolls by Kulottuṅga I³, and the fame earned by the others in following the laws of Manu, however, imply that there had indeed been times of increased and vexatious taxation in the Coḷa country. Burnell⁴ also accepts that the share paid by the people to the Coḷa kings would sometimes have been as much as half of the produce. If such were the conditions prevailing in the Coḷa country itself, we can expect a similar, if not a worse, state of affairs in the conquered territories. The position of Rājaratṭha in

1 SII., III, p.117; IV, No. 1388,1.1.

2 See IA., XL, pp.265-9.

3 Sungandavirtacōla-the Coḷa who abolished the tolls, SII., III, pp. 131, 181, 191.

4 South Indian Palaeography, (2nd ed.), p.119.

this context may be inferred from the statement in the Cūlavamsa that after expelling the Colas Vijayabāhu I appointed his own officials with the expressed orders to collect the taxes in the kingdom in fitting manner¹.

A considerable amount of information about the incidence of the land-tax and the payment of produce as revenue to the Cola king is given in the contemporary Tamil inscriptions. We have for instance, a Tamil inscription, now in the Colombo Museum but originally come from Mannar (Mahātiṭṭha), which refers to a tax-free grant (irai-ili) of land to the Rājarājeśvaram temple at Mātottam (Mahātiṭṭha)². From this text it may be inferred that land was subjected to a tax, the enjoyment of which of course could be transferred by royal decree to the grantee. Similarly an inscription from Tanjore³ records the grant of the revenue of five villages in Kōttiyāram, on the east coast of Ceylon, to the Rājarājeśvaram Temple in Tanjore by Rājarāja I. This grant forms only a part of similar grants of revenue from villages from various parts of the Cola empire (puramaṇḍalaṅgal), like Tonḍaimaṇḍalam,

1 see supra p. 234-5.

2 SII., IV, No.1412.

3 SII., II, No. 93, pp. 424-428. None of these villages can be positively identified today. Sampur in the Kottiyar Pattu (E.P.) however, seems to resemble Māppisumbu-Kōttiyārum in the inscription.

Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam, Gaṅgapāḍi and Nulambapāḍi. The absence of the usual details with regard to the grant in Ceylon is a significant feature, and it is in sharp contrast to the profusion of such details in similar grants in the Cola country itself.

Out of the five villages the revenue of which was granted, three belonged to Māppisumbu-Kottiyāram alias Rājarājavalanāḍu. The remaining land was in Māsār in Kaṇakkan-Kōttiyāram alias Vikkiramāsōḷa-valanāḍu. These villages were expected to pay to the temple authorities the land revenue paid as tax (kāṇikkādan) including "pāvumanaittum pāyappāgādi tarāṇḍu vachchāl" in paddy and money (kāśu). In addition to these, quantities of iluppaipāl¹ (oil of the seeds of Mī (Sinh) or Bassia Longifolia) had to be supplied. Further payment had to be made in specified sums of money (kāśu). Both paddy and oil were to be paid in kalam, tūni, kuruni and nāri, and to be accepted according to the royal measure of marakkāl called Ādavallān², which is said to be equal in capacity to

1 The Mī tree seems to have been of special interest because of the oil obtained from its seeds, and used in the devotional lamps. This tree enjoyed immunity from destruction in the 10th century inscriptions in Ceylon. E2., I, No.7, p.107n-2; ALTRC., p.54ff.

2 The specific amounts due were as follows: The land in Māppisumbu-Kottiyāram alias Rājarāja-valanāḍu had to pay as tax including pāvumanaittum pāyappāgādi tarāṇḍuvachchāl, one hundred and seventeen kalam, two tūni, three kuruni and two nāri of paddy; twenty-two kāśu, and three kalam, one kuruni and four nāri of oil. SII., II, pp. 427-8.

the measure Rājakeśarī. We may inquire here on what basis the royal officers who executed this grant arrived at these quantities of paddy, oil and kāśu. In the absence of any direct information, it may be suggested that they had either made their own land and revenue surveys and determined these figures, or were guided by previous data, according to which such revenues were paid to the Sinhalese kings.

It is unfortunate that in the present grant the sections which deal with the extent of the villages concerned have not been well preserved, and in the only instance where the measurements can be read the amount paid as tax is obliterated. Otherwise it would have been possible to determine on what rate the taxes were paid (e.g. number of kalam of paddy per vēli) to the Cola officials. It may also be noticed, however, that the amount of revenue due from each village or group of villages also seem to differ from each other, perhaps owing to either differences in extent/^{OR} to the differences in the grading of the respective lands¹. The corresponding figures of the taxes paid on the fertile lands in Tanjore and Tiruchirapalli (Trichinopoli) districts are estimated to have been one hundred kalams per vēli by the Ādavallān

1 see SII., III, pp. 154-5; ALTRC., p.30.

measure¹. Incidentally the Tamil inscription in the Colombo Museum which is partly a grant of land, has the boundaries and the extent of the land well preserved, but not the amount paid as tax². The manner in which these grants outside the Coḷa country were executed, and their revenue collected, also have escaped notice in the records. The Coḷa inscriptions in South India and the Sinhalese inscriptions before and after the eleventh century furnish such details for local grants³. What we may assume in this connection is that it may have been the sabhā or the local assembly of each of these villages that was held responsible for the collection of these taxes, which were then handed over to the administrative officials to be transported to Tanjore. It may also have been convenient to realise the value of the produce in kāśu and remit the money to the temple authorities. The revenue terms "pāvumanaittum pāyappāgādi tarāṇdu vachchāl" which seems to be peculiar to Ceylon, also have defied interpretation to this day. In addition to these details we can form some idea of the revenue administration in the towns,

1 S.K. Aiyengar, Chola Administration (Madras Review), pp. 14-15.

2 see supra, p. 263 n.2.

3 SII., III, No.142, 151, 205; HAISI., pp.262-6; EZ., II, No. I, 37; III, No.32.

as furnished by the Mātoṭṭam record in the Colombo Museum¹. According to its contents, tolls or taxes (vattam)² appears to have been collected from spinners and weavers and traders along the highways of the town³.

While the tax on land was the most important source of revenue, there may have been many other subsidiary sources too. In the cities and the market-towns taxes could have been levied on industries, shops and markets, and even on houses⁴. Some form of revenue could have been obtained from garden produce too, such as ^{betel}leaves, areca-nut, coconut, plantain and even vegetable plots⁵. Some form of levy may have been made on cattle and other livestock, and their produce. Cattle and sheep are often referred to in the Tamil and Sinhalese inscriptions. Fishing was another occupation which would have been subjected to some form of customary levy. Sukam (Skr. Sulka) or tolls on commodities

1 see supra, p. 263 n.2.
2 see vat or vaṭu in Ceylon for tax or due (ALTRC., p.9, n.1.) EZ.; III, No. 40 11.12-3.
3 see infra p. 277-3.
4 SII., III, No. 90; IV No.1412.
5 SII., IV, No.1411-1412; for taxes on garden produce in 10th century Ceylon see EZ., I, No.7,8. A very suggestive term in SII., IV, No.1412 is Iruppanavarril kutuppān, which may even lend itself to the interpretation as a tax on toddy-tappers. See Minakshi, p.72; see also EZ., III, p.79, 11. 19-26.

was an important source of revenue in the Coḷa country, and their abolition by Kulottuṅga I appears to have been a very commendable act. Owing to the geographical position of Ceylon with its harbours there would have been many vessels using the ports with much merchandise. As a result the revenue derived from custom duties and levies on ships using the ports may also have been substantial. The capture of elephants and the exploitation of the pearl beds off the coast of Mahātiṭṭha would have been two other lucrative sources of revenue. Collection of tribute in the form of elephants by the Coḷas is often alluded to in their records¹. And the possession of the pearl fisheries between India and Ceylon was a matter of great pride for Kulottuṅga I².

Currency

Further evidence of the imposition of Coḷa rule in Ceylon is furnished by the frequent mention of the units of currency, weights and measures which were in use among the Coḷas.

Kalañju (kalanda-Sinh.), mañjādi, Kahāpana and akas were some of the units of currency which were in circulation in Ceylon, both before and for some time after the period of Coḷa

1 see supra, p.239 n3; I.A., XXI, pp.286-7.

2 see supra, p.223 n2; I.A., XXI, p.287.

occupation¹. Many inscriptions belong^{ing} to the reigns of Parāntaka I and Parāntaka II refer to ilakkāśas², assumed to have been the standard coin of Ceylon. This may also be another name for the Ceylonese kahāpanas. In the Coḷa country itself the best known and standard unit of currency was the kāśu, sometimes referred to as Rājarājan-kāśu or Rājendra-kāśu³. The period when this standard kāśu was introduced into the Coḷa currency has been a topic of keen controversy. Codrington⁴ holds the view that it was copied from Ceylon after the conquest of Rājaratṭha by Rājarāja. On the other hand, Nilakanta Saṭri⁵ is inclined to take the view that it was in the time of one of the predecessors or Rājarāja, either Parāntaka I or II, that the Coḷas became

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1. EZ., III, No.18, p.190, No.32, pp. 301-2; I, pp.57, 107; ASCAR, 1950. p.
 2. SII., III, p.239, 241, 256, 258, 259; XIII, No.7, 85, 106, 108, 223, 226, 253, 254; ARE., 1920, No.554; 1926, No.113.
 3. ARE., 1908/421; One of the Coḷa ins. (ARE., 1916, C, No.157) states that 37 kāśa was the equivalent of 10 kalañju and 9 mañjādi of gold whose fineness was equal to that of Madhurāntakadevan-mādai. In ARE., 1916B/252, Madhurāntaka-mādai is stated to be the standard fineness and purity in gold, and īlam or īlakkāśu is stated to be of the same fineness. ARE., 1916, p.118.
 4. Ceylon Coins and Currency, p.7; HC., I, pt.11, p.551; JRASCB vol. XXIV, no. 68, p.177.
 5. The Coḷas, pp. 617-8.

familiar with the Ceylon kāśu and adopted its weight.

Īlakkāśu or the Ceylon kāśu seems to have been very familiar in the Coḷa, Pāṇḍya and Keraḷa countries during the decades which immediately preceded the conquest of Rājarat̥ṭha. Perhaps they had been taken there by merchants and the Tamil mercenaries who had served in Ceylon. There was a further influx with the invasions of Ceylon in the time of Parāntake I and II, when hoards of money would have been taken as booty to South India. From the time of Rājarāja I, however, Īlakkāśu is very rarely mentioned, and in its place the Coḷa kāśu seems to have been introduced for circulation. This may be implied by the frequent reference to kāśu only in the Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon¹. It is rather surprising however that in spite of these notices of kāśu, very few coins belonging to the Coḷas have been so far found in Ceylon².

Weights and Measures.

The weights and measures with which lands, grains and liquids were calculated during the period of Coḷa occupation of Rājarat̥ṭha also show the introduction of a few innovations by the new rulers. Before they established their rule in

1 SII., IV, No.1388, 1403-4, 1408, 1414B.

2 ASCAR., 1950, p.23; 1951, pp.17, 34; JRASCB., XXIV, No.68, p.177; JRASCB (NS), III, pt. I, p.86.

Ceylon, it had been the age-old practice to measure land according to its sowing capacity. But the Colas departed from this method and replaced it by lineal measurements which they had perfected in South India. The most important unit of this system was the vēli¹, and the land grants in the Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon are also in vēli or kōl,² one of the lower units of measurement in South India. The existence of regional differences with regard to units of measurement was one of the important characteristics of the Cola system, and it was therefore necessary to indicate the correct extent implied by the specific name of the particular unit of measurement³. Thus we have in Ceylon in the Vitaṅga.....naipperum-kōl⁴ one such unit of measurement used there. The Tanjore inscription of Rājarāja⁵ also refers to the extent of land in Kōttiyāram in terms of mā, which was

1 vēli: 6.74 acres. TL., VI, p.3838; Minakshi., p.86.

2 SII., IV, No.1406, 1411, 1412; kōl: rod of 8 cubits or 12 feet in length, TL., II, p. 1194; ALTRC., p.54.

3 SIP., p.156, Mahalingam refers to three different names of kōl; see also p. 159ff.
See also, Minakshi., p.86, for the same practice in the Pallava country.

4 SII., IV, No. 1412.

5 SII., II, No.92, pp. 424-428; see also SIP., p. 152.

another subsidiary unit of measurement known at the time.

The units of measurement of grains and oil also reveal the application of new standards, and also indicate the regional differences distinguished by their different names. We have for example the grant of oil from some villages in Ceylon to the Rājarājeśvaram temple, to be paid in Kalam, tūni, kuruni and nāri, and to be received according to the marakkāl called Adavallān, which was the equivalent to the royal measure Rājakeśarī. In addition to the measures of oil, which were also used to measure paddy and other grains,¹ reference is also made to two other measures of liquid called ulakku and ālakku.²

Some of these coins, weights and measures introduced by the Colas to Rājarattha were also adopted by the Sinhalese, and were used for some time after the Colas had withdrawn from Ceylon³. But the practice did not last very long. The Sinhalese seem to have reverted to the exclusive use of those standards with which they were more familiar. Owing to the

1 see n. 5 on previous page.

2 SII., IV, NO. 1388, 1395; ASCAR., 1909, p.27. Ulakku: 2 ulakku equal to quarter measure, TL, I, p.466.

3 For e.g. vēli in the Tamil inscriptions dated in the regnal years of Jayabāhu, the successor of Vijayabāha I, EZ., II, p. 255; SII., IV, No.1406; see also ALTRC., P.33, 54; ASCAR., 1909, p.27; UCR., XVIII, pts.1-2, pp.46-49; EZ., IV, pp.195-6.

fact that the whole of Ceylon did not come under the authority and the influence of the Colas, the Sinhalese coins and weights and measures had continued to be used in the areas still in their hands. In the Cola country too some of the standards used by the imperial Colas were given up after the decline of the Cola empire.

Rural and Town Organization.

The system of village organization and rural self-government was one of the remarkable features in South India at this time¹. The village assemblies which controlled many aspects of rural life have been noticed from very early times in this part of the Indian sub-continent. They occupied a prominent place under the Pallavas, and reached the highest stage of their development under the Colas. It is possible that at the time the Colas invaded Ceylon village assemblies were known in Ceylon too.² Perhaps they were not so well developed or occupying such an important place in the country as they did in South India. According to the tenth century Sinhalese

1 For village organizations in South India see S.E. Aiyengar, Chola Adm. (Madras Review) pp. 1-9; D.R. Bhandarkar Comm. Vol. pp. 58-61; HAISI., pp. 130-245; EI., XXII, pp. 145-150; SIP., pp. 333-393; The Colas, pp. 486-519; QJMy Soc., XXXI, 134-144; XXXIX, p.17; LXII, p.102.

2 HC., I, pt.I, p.373.

inscriptions there were councils of villagers, called "gam-vāsiya"¹, but how they were constituted or who were eligible for inclusion in these councils remain unknown. One of the important functions of these village councils was the administration of justice. Some village assemblies also seem to have been constituted into committees for specific functions. We have comparatively more information with regard to the corporate commercial organizations which were found in the market-towns (niyam-gam-nigama) ⁱⁿ ~~or~~ ancient and medieval Ceylon². We have, however, no evidence to ascertain in what way the rural administration or organization in Ceylon was affected by the establishment of Cola rule in Rājaraṭṭha. But we may assume that the immediate authority of the Colas was not felt very much in the rural areas, which would have continued in the same old way.

The terminology of the rural divisions at this time is also interesting. The village, which was the smallest unit of administration, was known as grāma or gāma in Ceylon. In South India the village was not generally known by the same term, and was called ūr, kūrṅam, or kōṭṭam. Nāḍu and vaḷanāḍu denoted a complex of villages, with the

1 EZ., I, no.8; III, no.4; IV no.4; ALTRC., p.3.

2 EZ., III, pp. 71-100, 172-188; HC., I pt.I, pp.225-6, 373.

latter specially used to describe a larger unit¹. Ur or kūrram do^{es} not appear to have been used in Ceylon, but there are frequent references to nāḍu and vaḷanāḍu in the Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon². These divisions are most widely known in the northern parts of Ceylon, while they were not unknown in Polonnaruva, the centre of Cola power in Ceylon, too³. The nāḍu in these Ceylon records seems to correspond to a village and vaḷanāḍu to the next larger division. The latter term (vaḷanāḍu) may have corresponded to the Sinhalese division of dasagam or ten villages⁴. The use of these new terms in Ceylon probably started with the Colas, as implied by the Cola names which are always associated with those terms⁵. But in some of the localities where the Tamils have been settled for some time such terms may already have been in use.

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- 1 Colamaṇḍalam itself seems to have been divided into 8 or 9 vaḷanāḍus, SIP., p.303-7; The ref. to vaḷanāḍu in Ceylon suggests a different connotation, e.g. Kōttiyāram in the east coast of Ceylon was divided into at least 2 vaḷanāḍus, each of which was further divided into nāḍus, SII., II, no. 92. At Māntoṭṭam, on the other hand, vaḷanāḍu was only an alternative term for nāḍu itself, SII., IV, No.1412.
 - 2 SII., IV, NO.1405, 1412; ASCAR., 1909, p.27; 1906, p.27; 1953, p.27, No.II.
 - 3 ASCAR., 1906, p.27; 1909, p.27.
 - 4 see supra, p.----- n.I above; ALERC., p.323; supra, p.243. n.I.
 - 5 e.g. Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu alias Māppiśumbu-Kōttiyāram or Kanakkaṅ-Kōttiyāram alias Vikkirimaśōlavaḷanāḍu, SII., II, No.92.

The administration of the important towns of the Cola mandala in Ceylon also deserves investigation. Polonnaruva, which became the headquarters of the Colas in Rājarattha perhaps had a large concentration of Tamils. The names of Tamils recorded in the inscriptions in its vicinity indicate not only the presence of Tamils drawn from various social and official ranks, but also their places of origin in South India¹. Polonnaruva seems to have been a well-fortified city, but its limits may have extended outside its walls, as suggested by the reference to its divisions into nādus and valanādus². The nature and the scope of the administrative organization of Polonnaruva itself are not known, but they may have in many ways resembled such aspects in the important Cola cities.

The organization of the other towns, with the exception of Mahātiṭṭha, is not better known. The state of Anurādhapura emerges faintly from the later references in the Cūlavamsa³ as a place of both strategic and cultural importance. In spite of its being neglected as the political

1 ARE., 1910, p.9.

2 see supra, p.275 n. 3.

3 LVIII.27, 44, 59 Cv., LIX.8; LX.57, 62-4; LXXIV.1-14, etc.

centre, it still continued to attract the pious attention of the Sinhalese kings. Along the north-eastern and the north-western coasts of Ceylon there were a few towns and sea-ports where Tamils have been settled for a long time. Mahātitt̥ha (Mātott̥am or Māntott̥am) is one such town, occupying an important position strategically, commercially and culturally. For the Colas in Ceylon it occupied a vital position, and seems to have been well-guarded¹. The little evidence available to us suggests that it was a busy port producing its own wares for sale. The presence of a Cola official of very high rank (perundanattapanimagan) appears from the inscriptions². There is also an allusion to a palace or mansion³ (māligai), probably occupied by the provincial governor or the leader of the commercial organizations there. Owing to its commercial importance, it would have been a centre of Valañjiyars, Nānādesīs and other such commercial interests. The town itself may have been administered by a civil as well as military authority. At least there is one reference to a committee which was probably responsible

1. ASCAR, 1950, p.15.

2. SII., IV, No.1414B.

3. SII., IV, No.1412.

for the collection of various customary duties (pidi-likai-vāriyum)¹ from the marts and industries along its highways. There is also an interesting allusion to traders in betel and plantains (verrilai vāniyar and vālaikkai vāniyar) in Mātottan, who also acted as petty bankers with whom small amounts of money were deposited to carry out certain temple services².

Economic Organisations.

An important aspect of urban and rural life was the existence of corporations known to both South India and Ceylon.³ Commercial corporations ~~of Tanila~~ had flourished in Ceylon from very early times, as proved by the Tōnigala rock-inscription of the fourth century A.C.⁴ While the local or indigenous organizations continued to hold their own, foreign, mainly South Indian commercial organizations also had found their way to Ceylon. The best known among these

1 A committee by this name is not known in village sabhās in South India, and it may be a special committee in towns or nagarams. The only term which has some resemblance to this is taḍivali-vāriyam, the committee which exercised supervision over construction and repair of roads and streets. D.R. Bhandarkar Comm. Vol., pp.58-61; HAISI., pp. 133-135; SII., III, No.156. For vāriyam and its working, see SIP., pp. 344-356.

2 SII., IV, No.1414B.

3 SIP., pp.380-394; ARE., 1913, pp.99-102; EC., VII, Sk., 94, 118, 119; ARE., 1915, p.102; CJSc, ii, p.194; ARE., 1937-8, pp. 84-5; see also JMBRAS., XXII/I, pp. 25-30; JOR., VI., pp. 299-310.

4 EZ., III, pp.172-188; HC., I/I, p.373; see also EZ., III, p.78, 192, n.I.

were the Valañjiyars, Kaikkolars and the Nānādēsis. These organizations have been noticed in many parts of South India, Ceylon and parts of South East Asia. Such corporations mostly of South Indian origin seem to have continued to flourish under the Sinhalese kings and the Cola governors in Ceylon without prejudice to their interests¹. The Valañjiyar and the Kaikkolar communities in particular played an important part in providing contingents of loyal and well-trained troops to both the Cola and the Sinhalese kings². Other such organizations mentioned in the contemporary inscriptions are the nagarattars and the ganattars³. The services of these organizations as bankers and money lenders were often engaged by those making grants to the Buddhist and Hindu shrines. Money and grain were deposited with them, and it was with the interest accruing from such investments that the expenses for stipulated duties were to be met⁴. There are also instances of the Vēlaikkarav regiments of the Kaikkolar and Valañjiyar communities being appointed as the custodians of Buddhist and Hindu shrines⁵.

1 HC., I/II, pp. 536, 550, 562, 622; ASCAR., 1953, p.27, No. 16; EZ., II, pp. 242-255; EZ., I, p.181; ARE., 1922, No. 505; CJSc., II, No. 566.

2 EZ., II, pp. 242-255; IV, pp. 191-6; see supra, p.237 n.1; JBHS., V, pp. 104-5.

3 EZ., II, pp. 242-255; SII., IV, No. 1403, 1404.

4 SII., IV, No. 1388, 1403-4, 1408, 1411-2.

5 see infra, p. 339-340.

Administration of Justice¹.

The manner in which the Colas administered justice in Rājarat̥tha is not known from any of our sources. A solitary statement in the Cūlavamsa however suggests that the sense of justice of the Colas differed from that of the Sinhalese. This may be exaggerated, but is still worthy of notice as it is the only light shed on this aspect of life. It is said here that after Vijayabāhu had defeated the Colas and established his own rule in Rājarat̥tha, he had found the administration of justice neglected since a long time, and therefore restored it and personally administered justice in keeping to the ancient laws². A Tamil inscription from Polonnaruva³, however, the date of which is not absolutely certain, refers to an adhikaranan Sāranan who appears to be a Vēlaikkāran. According to his titles he may be assumed to be a military and a high judicial officer. Mūvendavēlān was another official who performed judicial functions in South India⁴. In the time of the Sinhalese kings, justice

1 For administration of justice in the Cola country, see HAISI., pp. 202-211; The Colas, pp. 473-481; SIP., pp. 213-240.

2 Cv., LIX.14: Cirassan parihīnaṃ so dayāvāso mahīpati pavattesi yathādhammaṃ thitadhammo vinicchayaṃ.

3 SII., IV, no. 1398.

4 For Mūvendavēlān in Ceylon see SII., IV, 1393B.

had been administered by the king and by magisterial officials, and by the villagers (qamvāsiyo). According to the numerous Sinhalese inscriptions which belong to the centuries immediately preceding the Cola occupation of Rājarat̥tha the king's officers seem to have enjoyed the right to enter the villages, to bring to book criminals of a dangerous nature, and those who had committed treason against the state. We would have very much wished to know more about the effect of the establishment of Cola power on the system of judicial administration prevailing in Rājarat̥tha at the time. It is, however, possible that at least the officials of the higher rungs of the judicial service may have been Tamils, while the others would have been Sinhalese who continued in their posts.

Language.

The establishment of the authority of the Colas in Rājarat̥tha is also reflected in the use of Tamil for all their transactions. But how far Tamil was used by the Sinhalese for transactions with the Tamils and among themselves cannot be ascertained. Owing to the presence in Ceylon of Tamils since many centuries, Tamil may not have been unknown to many Sinhalese. We may note, however, that not a single inscription in Sinhalese assignable to the Colas has been found. All their inscriptions are in Tamil, including even

those which deal with grants to Buddhist shrines¹. The use of Tamil in the inscriptions was given up after the expulsion of the Colas, and once again Sinhalese was used by Vijayabāhu I². But after the death of Vijayabāhu, his immediate successors, some of whom were perhaps inclined towards Hinduism, resumed the use of Tamil in some of their inscriptions,³ while the contemporary Tamil commercial and military organizations were always attached to the use of Tamil⁴.

Effects of Cola administration.

It is quite apparent from the foregoing discussion of Cola administration of Rājarattha that it may have been the policy of the Colas in Ceylon to continue with the administration existing at the time when they conquered the northern half of Ceylon. We can also assume that the Colas did not resort to any radical changes in the system of administration or introduce any significant innovations into the administrative system already there. On the other hand, what they may have

1 ASCAR., 1953, pp.9-12, 27-28; CJSc., II, p.199, No. 596-7; SII., IV, No. 1402.

2 EZ., II, pp. 208-218; V, pp. 1-27; ASCAR., 1953, p.28, no. 20; CJSc., II, pp.185, 196, no. 579.

3 EZ., II, pp. 242-255; III, pp. 302-312; SII., IV, no.1397, 1406, 1410.

4 EZ., IV, pp.191-6; CJSc., II, p. 122; ASCAR., 1953, p.27, no.16; 1954, p.38, no.36.

done was to restore the administrative machinery which at the time of their conquest was in complete disarray. They made, however, some changes too, such as in the names of places and in the official titles, and also ^{would have} appointed their own men to the important positions in the administration. To that extent the Cola occupation of Rājarattha would not have led to any major changes in the administration except in the replacement of the Sinhalese official hierarchy by Cola personnel.

One of the conspicuous changes which followed the Cola occupation was the substitution of Cola standards of currency and weights and measures for those known to the Sinhalese. This was done perhaps for their own convenience in running the revenue administration in Rājarattha. At the same time there were some official designations and administrative offices and institutions like mē-kappar (bodyguards) melātsi and immunity grants¹ which were familiar to both the Colas and the Sinhalese. It is likely that there were also other elements of administration which were known on

1 me-kappar: SII., III, p.239; HC., I, pt. I, p.371; melātsi (miyātschi) IA., XXII, p.74 no89; The Pāndyan Kingdom, pp. 88-9; TAS., I, p.19; IV, p.130; EC., X, Kolar.T. 112a, p.42; ALTRC., p.31; immunity grants, EC., IX, ChT.129, 130-2; HC., I pt.I, p.374.

both sides of the Palk Straits. But yet the difference between Cola and Sinhalese practice were perhaps too great and were still further complicated by the differences in religion, language and social customs. This would most probably have stood in the way of a complete overhaul of the earlier administrative machinery in Ceylon and the imposition of the Cola system without creating serious disorganization. As a result, the Colas would not only have stopped short of radical changes but would have continued with the older system and the employment of Sinhalese in subordinate positions. Thus at the end of their rule in Rājarat̥ṭha the administration remained basically unchanged. This is in fact confirmed by the records of Vijayabāhu I and Parakkamabāhu I which refer to the same old administrative terms and institutions which were known before the time of the Cola occupation.

One of the important sections of the administration which experienced the immediate effect of the Cola occupation was the military organization. Following Cola practice the army of the Sinhalese kings, including that of Vijayabāhu, had many Vēlaikkāra regiments. These Vēlaikkāra regiments played an important role in the political and religious life of the country during the first few centuries which followed the period of Cola conquest. It is also

possible to suggest that the Cola occupation would have had some influence on the economic and rural organizations in Ceylon.

Before we conclude the present discussion of the administrative and economic conditions in Rājarat̥tha under the Colas a few general remarks may not be irrelevant. According to the Cūlavamsa immediately after the expulsion of the Colas, Vijayabāhu placed Rājarat̥tha on a sure foundation¹. It also states that Vijayabāhu ordered his officials to collect the taxes in his kingdom in a fitting manner (rajjeyat̥thānāyaṃ karaṃ yogesi ganhituṃ), and that he revived the administration of justice². These few remarks may suggest that Cola rule was severe and vexatious, and one may wonder whether it would have made the Sinhalese in Rājarat̥tha abandon their homes and fields and take refuge in those parts which still remained in the hands of the Sinhalese. If we compare more recent developments we may ask ourselves whether the imposition of Cola rule itself would have forced the people to move out of Rājarat̥tha. For instance, during Portuguese rule in the maritime provinces of Ceylon,

1 Cv., LVIII.59.

2 Cv., LIX.13-14.

there was much oppression, but even that could not drive all the people to desert their ancestral homes, and go to the Kandyan provinces. At this time, too, the conditions may not have been very different, so that it would have been difficult to choose between the protection provided by the weak Sinhalese kings of the time and the rule of the Colas. There have of course been times when many of the Sinhalese chiefs are supposed to have followed their kings to Rohana, when Rājarattha was occupied by foreigners¹, but this may not have affected the mass of the people. The reference in the Cūlavamsa² to a revolt by the people against the authority of the Colas also suggests that all the people had not followed Mahinda V to Rohana but had continued to live under the new masters. There is on the other hand some indirect evidence which may suggest that there really had been a noticeable dislocation of the population of Rājarattha. The Aṃbagamuva³ and the Panākaduva⁴ records indirectly suggest that parts of Malayadesa, which may not have been tickly

1 Cv., XXXVIII.12

2 see supra, pp. 105-6.

3 see supra, p. 36 n7.

4 see supra, p. 36 n6.

inhabited in earlier times were now under cultivation. The increasing importance of Malayadesa, once referred to in the Cūlavamsa¹ as a forested area, from this period onwards may also suggest a general drift of population from the north to the south. The very few references to the Anurādhapura area in the campaigns of Parakkamabāhu I² also suggest the decrease in importance of this part of the country. The need for extensive irrigational works in Dakkhinadesa and in the Polonnaruva area during this period may also lend support to this conjecture. If, however, this was the case, this situation may have created serious economic and administrative problems for the Colas, left with the whole of Rājarattha without sufficient experienced manpower to run its administration. But according to the available sources we cannot go further than these tentative assumptions.

One of the most vital factors in the economy of Ceylon at this time was the irrigational net-work, which had to be maintained with the highest possible efficiency. To what extent the Colas could have succeeded in maintaining its efficiency deserves serious attention. That irrigation

1 Cv., LI.114.

2 See Map illustrating Internal wars, S. Wickramasinghe, The Age of Parākramabāhu I.

was an important field of activity of the Colas in South India is well known but it seems to have been limited to some areas and organized on a smaller scale. The irrigational system in Ceylon on the other hand was extensive and complicated and required much attention to keep it functioning smoothly.

The large number of breached reservoirs stated to have been repaired by Vijayabāhu I and later by Parakkamabāhu I¹ may suggest that the Colas had not been able to pay much attention to this aspect of the economy. All this may suggest that the eroding effect of the Cola occupation was not confined to the wilful damage they did to the buildings and other things, and the devastation caused by their frequent invasions of Rohana and Malayadesa, but may have also resulted in the neglect of the vital section of the economy of the country, thereby leaving the whole country in a state of impoverishment at the end of their rule in Rājarattha.

1 Cv., LX.48-54; LXXIX.31-40, 58-60, 68-69.

CHAPTER VII

Social and Religious Conditions in Ceylon under
the Colas

Social Conditions.

Social conditions in the parts of Ceylon occupied by the Colas have attracted little attention in the contemporary accounts. As a matter of fact, the Cūlavamsa pays no attention to the conditions of the people in Rājarat̃ṭha under their foreign rulers. We have already called attention to the few general remarks in the Cūlavamsa about the state of the judicial administration and the excesses in the revenue collection under the Colas.¹ The inscriptions, too, have preserved very little relevant information. It is within these limitations that some attempt is made here to understand to what extent and in what way the Sinhalese and the Tamils influenced one another. Attention may also be drawn here to a reference to an attempt by the Colas at disturbing the existing order of society in the Kōngu area. There is a document which purports to be a copy of an old copper-plate, found in Kāncī, which describes the manner in which several castes such as the Vellālas, Kaikkolars and the Chettis were brought into this region,

1. See supra, p. 234-235 .

and settled under the supervision of a Co^la king who has been identified as Kulottunga III.

The reconstruction of the society of early and medieval Ceylon in general is not hampered by a lack of sources. We also have many indirect and direct notices of the cultural relations between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. These relations were not confined to this period alone. It was a process which had started long before the eleventh century and which has continued to this day. This makes it difficult to attribute any significant influences to any period in particular, unless the evidence is perfectly clear. The conditions in which the power of the Co^las came to be established in Rājaraṭṭha, however, would not have been the most conducive to easy assimilation of their culture by the Sinhalese. The Sinhalese were often resentful of foreign political power and, as a result, the activities of the Co^las in Ceylon did not find much favour with their subjects. The attitude of the Sinhalese towards the Tamils was not always hostile except when they were affected by external political pressure from South India. The position was made more serious and complicated by the presence of so many Tamils just a few miles away on the Indian mainland itself.

1. JTH., XXXII, pp. 5-10; see also HC., I/II, pp. 692-3. for an account of the settlement of Vēḷḷāla families in Jaffna a few centuries later.

It is however possible, that the commercial interests of the Tamils in Ceylon, even at that time, were uppermost in their relations with the Sinhalese, as much as it is today. The knowledge or the awareness that the Colas and other Tamils belonged to the Dravidian stock may not have been so important, if the matrimonial relations between the Pāṇḍyas and the Sinhalese royal families are to be any guide in this matter.

There are a number of instances of Tamil princesses being married to the Sinhalese kings, and even vice versa. Many Sinhalese princes fled to South India when they were faced with political unrest in Ceylon.¹ As regards the Tamils themselves, by this time they were found in large numbers in Ceylon, and formed part of the permanent population. Many of these were engaged in military and commercial activities. There was a certain amount of contact between the Buddhists of South India and Ceylon and, whenever famines or religious and political disturbances took place in Ceylon, some of the Sinhalese monks seem to have gone over to South India. Thus, there was no real aversion towards the Tamils, although it cannot be denied that there was a certain amount of distrust of the Tamils in

1. Mv., VII.69-73; XXXIII.54; XXXIV.19,24; XXXV.26-27,48; XXXVI,45; Cv., XXXIX.20; XLIV.94,125,152, etc.,; HC., I/I, p.176.

general and the Colas in particular. This tendency is seen in the attempt during some periods to keep the Sinhalese language free of Tamil words¹ or in the injunction that official positions and Sinhalese maidens should not be given to Tamils.² But such instances are rare, and these strictures could not completely prevent the employment of Tamils in various administrative duties, or the influence of Tamil language, grammar and literature on Sinhalese.³

The Sinhalese society was of a very composite nature, with elements derived from many parts of India. This can be seen from the earliest times.⁴ According to the Mahāvamsa Vijaya and his followers had got down maidens⁵ from Dakkhina Madhurā, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas. This would have ushered in South Indian social and cultural elements into the midst of the early Indian settlers in Ceylon. This was only the beginning of this process. These early beginnings were followed by the influx of Tamils and elements of South Indian culture. It may however be noted that South Indian culture also had been profoundly influenced by Āryan elements from North India. The Sinhalese

1. CCMT., p.21.
 2. EZ., III, p.77, "Demeḷanta ratṇā tan daru avā no denu isā", (10th century).
 3. A.S.Kulasuriya, Sinhala Sāhitya, pp.66, 229-230; SMC., p.24; HC., I/I, pp.44-5; Jataka Atuva Gātapadaya, ed.D.B.Jayatilleke, p.iii.
 4. CHJ., I, No.3, pp.163-171.
 5. See supra, p.43.

themselves claim to be of Āryan origin, and have succeeded in preserving many aspects of Āryan culture. This has been achieved in spite of the partial isolation of the Sinhalese from other Āryan peoples in India owing to the human barrier of Tamilnad in South India.¹ This can also be said of the social and cultural impact of the Colas on Ceylon during the period of their occupation of Rājaraṭṭha.

The numerical strength of the Tamils in Ceylon at this time and their political power over Rājaraṭṭha, however, would have been important factors on whatever influence they had on the existing Sinhalese society. The rise of Tamil power in Rājaraṭṭha would probably have resulted in a further increase in the number of Tamils in Ceylon. This also could have strengthened the position of the Tamil community, and given greater strength to their social organization. The position of the Tamils in Ceylon as mercenaries, traders and perhaps as labourers was another factor for consideration. The Sinhalese society, was broadly divided into a landed gentry (kulīnas) and a class of peasant workers dependent on them (hīna-jāti).² Land ownership carried high social prestige, and the occupations such as trade, manual work and military occupations, in which many of the

1. CCMT., p.21.

2. Cv. XXXVIII.12; ELIX.35; LX.I,78; etc., see, SMC., p.284.

Tamils were perhaps engaged, would not have enjoyed the same social prestige. The low prestige attached to such occupations perhaps resulted in the absorption of the Tamils into the ranks of those professions. The difference in religion between the Sinhalese and the Tamils also tended to keep them apart. The Sinhalese were predominantly Buddhists, and the Tamils were mostly adherents of the Saiva faith. By language also they remained wide apart. These differences perhaps acted as barriers against greater social interaction and contact between the two communities.

The basis of Sinhalese society was its division into certain classes or castes.¹ Over and above those class or caste divisions were two broad classes, the kulīnas or members of the higher castes, and the hīna-jāti or the lower castes. Still lower in the social ladder may have been the 'adhama-jāti' referred to in the Añbagamuva Inscription. This is perhaps implied by the reference to the construction of two differences tiers or terraces at Samanoḷa (Adam's Peak) for the kulīnas and the adhama-jāti.² This is the first recorded instance of such a distinction regarding worship in Ceylon. Such discrimination is a more common place occurrence in South India, and may even

1. For caste in Ceylon, see SMC., pp.284-299; A.K. Coomaraswamy, Medieval Sinhalese Art, pp. 21-22; B. Ryan, Caste in Modern Ceylon; CHJ. II, No.3 & 4, pp.295-347; Aspects of caste in South India, Ceylon & N.W. Pakistan, ed. E.R. Leach; HC., I, pt. II, pp.560-2.
 2. EZ., II, p.217.

have been imitated from the Hindu Tamils. As regards the caste divisions among the Sinhalese themselves, references to well-known Indian castes such as the Brāhmanas, Kśatriyas and Vaiśyas can be found in the Ceylonese literary and epigraphic sources; but the position occupied by these castes in the Sinhalese society at this time seems to have been different from that in Indian society. For instance, the Brāhmanas in Ceylon at this time ^{were few in number and} ~~formed rather an~~ ^{much less influential than in India.} ~~insignificant group, and did not enjoy any privileges~~ ~~in society.~~ At the same time the kings and other members of the royal families claimed to be Kśatriyas, also claiming descent from the ¹Ikṣvākus. The Vaiśyas also do not appear to be a distinct caste as such. All these castes have been noticed in Ceylon from very early times, and seem to have occupied positions corresponding to those in Indian society only in the earlier periods of the history of Ceylon. The social system that was prevailing in Ceylon at this time was a division of the society into many groups, based on occupations and forming a graded system with the position and the duties and the obligations of each group perhaps established by this time. Leaving out the members of the royal families and the Brāhmanas engaged in religious and social functions, the

1. Cv., LIV. 910 refers to a race of nobles in Ceylon (Khattiyānam); XLIX. 38; LIII. 8; EZ., I, p. 34, 98, 118, 188, 225; II, p. 32, 43 etc.

rest of the community came within these divisions of Sinhalese social groups. In this hierarchy of Sinhalese classes the highest position seems to have been occupied by the Govi-kula, which incidentally corresponded to the Vellala caste in South India.¹ Two groups of people who are mentioned along with the Govi-kula are the Velaṅḍa-kula or the commercial class and the Vanni chiefs.² The members of the Govi-kula formed the landed gentry in Ceylon, and enjoyed a higher social position. Some of its members even aspired to kingship, as is implied by the statements in one of the inscriptions of Niṣṣankamalla.³ The rest of the community was divided into various classes according to their particular occupations. The people who owned the land were also socially distinguished from these who worked on the land. The former were the kulīnas or kāmīyan,⁴ and the latter the kudins. Lowest down in social scale were the Caṅḍālas.

What effect the Cola occupation of Rājaraṭṭha had on these already existing social distinctions remains an indeterminate factor.⁵ G.C.Mendis and Raghavan assume

1. SMC., p.290-292.
 2. Parakumbā sirita, v.28.
 3. EZ., II, pp.121-164; see SMC., p.285.
 4. HC., I/I, p.375; I/11, pp.560-1, 715-6.
 5. Early History of Ceylon, p.85; The Karāva of Ceylon, Raghavan, p.10.

that it led to a greater observance of caste rules in Ceylon, though there seems to be no direct evidence which bears this out. It is also the contention of Bryce Ryan that the Tamil invasions would have even¹ disturbed the pattern of caste already known in Ceylon. It has also been pointed out that some of Ceylon castes represent immigrant groups with Indian caste associations, and subsequently "Sinhalesed" as bodies rather than individuals.² This assumption is to some extent substantiated by the contents of an inscription in Ceylon. This record dated in the regnal years of Jayabāhu, the son of Vijayabāhu I, lays down in Tamil the relative status of certain occupational groups. It states, that,

"having inquired into former custom and having seen reason for blacksmiths to receive 'kottacalu', foot-clothes (pāvāda) and clothes for covering the faces of the dead, sent for the washermen and made them perform (the said services).³

The increasing references to Brāhmins⁴ from this period is another significant feature. Their position in society also seems to have undergone a certain transformation, and their services were being increasingly engaged in the Sinhalese royal circles. Their numbers had probably

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1. Caste in Modern Ceylon, p.10.
 2. Ibid., pp.11-12.
 3. EZ., III, p.307.
 4. CV., LXII.33, 45-54; LXIV.15-17; LXXIII.32.

increased with the coming of the Coḷas, and the rise of Hindu shrines in Rājaraṭṭha. That the Brāhmaṇas as a class had come out unscathed of the Coḷa-Sinhalese struggle is also suggested by the treatment accorded to them by Vijayabāhu.¹ It is possible that the services of Brāhmaṇas as astrologers, teachers and performers of domestic ritual were always sought by the Sinhalese.

The Veḷḷālas were one of the most important castes in South India at this time. Though it may be that the Veḷḷālas would correspond to the Vaiśya caste in the traditional Brahmanical social structure, their position in the Coḷa country suggests that it was certainly more important than that of the Vaiśyas.² The Veḷḷālas filled the higher posts in the Coḷa administration, and occupied a respected place in society. Few of the Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon datable in this period refer to the Veḷḷālas, Māṇikkams and Seṭṭhis some of whom had perhaps come from the Coḷa country.³ But what effect their presence in Ceylon had on any corresponding caste among the Sinhalese and what may have been their social relations does not appear from any of our sources.

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1. Cy., LX.77-78.
 2. Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan, pp.9, 61-67; see also B.Ryan, Caste in Modern Ceylon, p.17.
 3. SI., IV, No. 1388ff; 1403; ASCAR., 1953, p.28, No.20.

Marriage is one of the most important social institutions through which a certain amount of social integration can take place. In Ceylon marriage on the whole has been limited to members of the same caste, but whether this was strictly so throughout the ancient and medieval times cannot be ascertained. The presence of the Coḷas, however, could not have interfered with the institution of marriage. The Cūlavamsa distinctly states that Māgha "disregarded caste and created a social upheaval, and the "women of higher social orders were made to lose their caste (jāti-sambheda)".¹ Similarly the Cūlavamsa laments that during the rule of the immediate successors of Vijayabāhu men of lower castes (hīna-jāti) were placed in high positions, and thereby subverted the established order.² The Hoṭṭūr inscription³ of Satyāśraya finds the Coḷas also guilty of social upheaval, of the killing of Brāhmanas and destroying the caste of girls. There is however no reference to such practices by the Coḷas in Ceylon. But this need not necessarily mean that such practices did not occur. There is also no notice of any marriages between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese. In fact, according to the Cūlavamsa, one of the Coḷa rulers

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1. Cv., LXXX.75-6.
 2. Cv., LXI.50-1.
 3. EI., XVI, p.74.

had sought the hand of the sister of Vijayabāhu I, but was refused on the grounds of family pride (kulābhimānī). She was instead given in marriage to a Pāṇḍya prince.¹ Matrimonial relations between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese were, however, not unknown, as appears from one of the contemporary inscriptions from Ceylon.²

According to epigraphic evidence the Coḷa rulers seem to have paid much attention, and given assistance to, educational institutions and those institutions engaged in relieving the sufferings of the sick and the disabled in the Coḷa country.³ References to such institutions in Ceylon are also plentiful, both for the periods before and after the Coḷa occupation of Rājaraṭṭha.⁴ Unfortunately no evidence is available for the period under discussion here. The presence of Brāhmanas, however, as noted in the Cūlavamsa, and the references to Cātūr-
vēdimāṅgalams⁵ may suggest that there were Brāhmanas imparting knowledge to the young. The rise of Coḷa power in Rājaraṭṭha would also have led to the founding of

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1. See supra, p.219.
 2. See supra, p.224.
 3. HAISI., pp.288-303; QJMySoc., XLIX, No. I, pp.31-34.
 4. Cv., LXXIII.23-33; EZ., I, p.228; III, p.276; IV, p.44; CHJ., III/2, p.123; (see also - Cv., XXXVII.182, 212; XLI.28; XLIX.19; LII.26-27; LIV.31, 53, etc; Rāhula, pp.287-302.
 5. See supra, p.-----; EZ., IV, p.195; ASCAR., 1954, pp.9, 38; ~~infra~~ supra, pp.295-3, 297-3; infra, pp.314-5.

educational institutions to cater ~~for~~ the needs of the Tamils in Ceylon.

Slavery, mostly of a domestic type, was another institution known in Ceylon.¹ From about the ninth century we have frequent references to the grants of slaves to monasteries, and to the possession of slaves by people of wealth and power. Prisoners captured during war seem to have been degraded into the position of slaves.² Such prisoners were also engaged in the restoration of religious buildings.³ The fate of the Sinhalese captured by the Colas is not mentioned, though it may not be unlikely that at least some of them were transported to South India.⁴

With regard to many other details such as dress, ornaments, food and food habits, dance and music,⁵ domestic ritual and funeral customs there is a blanket of obscurity.⁶ The influence of Tamil customs like the observance of the New Year by the Sinhalese may be mentioned as an example of Tamil customs which had been adopted by the Sinhalese society. It is, however, difficult to determine when and how they came to be accepted or adopted.

1. EZ., II, p.126, 140; IV, pp.210-211; IV, pp.35-65; IV, pp.132-3; UCR., X, pp.103-120.
2. Cv., XLIV.70-73; LI.43; LVIII.28-9; LXXVIII.76.
3. Cv., LXXVII.102-3; LXXVIII.76-78.
4. M.Banks refers to an origin myth which alleges that Koriyars of Jaffna are the descendants of captured Sinhalese Goigamas ~~wh~~^{wh} were enslaved by the Vellālas, p.66, Aspects of Caste in S. India, Ceylon & N.W. Pakistan.
5. See Cv., LXVI.133 for a description of Tamils dressed as dancers, musicians, etc, employed by Parakkamabahu I in his espionage work.
6. See EZ., III, p.307.

by the Sinhalese. This period on the whole had witnessed violent political changes in Ceylon and, as a result, the country would have suffered a certain amount of social dislocation too. The influx of Tamils from South India would also have created some social tension. The need for Virabāhu, one of the successors of Vijayabāhu, to lay down the social position of the blacksmiths (kammala-lārkkū¹) may indicate that the society was perhaps still in the process of adjusting itself to new social forces. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that the kammalārs in the Coḷa country were also active in estab-²lishing their rights and social position. The very severe conditions under which the family of Moggallāna, the father of Vijayābahu, seems to have lived during the Coḷa occupation of Rājaraṭṭha³ gives an insight into the great strain on the people at this time. Under such exacting conditions it may not have been all too easy for the society to prevent it from being shaken up and even showing a few cracks.

Religious Conditions.

For century after century following the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon in the third century B.C., it

1. See supra, p.297.

2. JIH., XXXII, pp.7-9.

3. See supra, pp.277-8.

flourished in great splendour in Rājaraṭṭha. Rājaraṭṭha became one of the most fertile grounds for the spread and sustained existence of Buddhism. Anurādhapura the capital of Rājaraṭṭha, came to be considered sacred ground by the ancient chroniclers. Traditions aver that many places in Anurādhapura were sanctified by the visits of the Buddha to Ceylon.¹ Anurādhapura was also the seat of the Mahāvihāra fraternity which claimed to be the custodians of Theravāda Buddhism.² Not second in importance in religious and literary matters was the Abhayagiri fraternity, which was more or less a rival of the Mahāvihāra. There was still another sect at Jetavanārāma, though much less influential than the two former institutions. These three formed the three Nikāyas or Sects.³ Each of these had their headquarters or mūlasthānas in Anurādhapura, with many other vihāras in and around the capital owing allegiance to each of them. Their authority was recognized by the monastic establishments in all parts of the island. The Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri were well

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1. Mv., I, 79p83.
 2. W. Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon, pp. 303-5.
 3. Nikāyas: The term "nikaya" was used in the beginning to denote collections of Buddhists texts, e.g., Dighanikāya, Majjhimanikāya etc.; later this term came to be used in the sense of Sects, with each Sect called after the particular Vihāras. In the inscriptions the term "naka" is used to denote the same.
 4. W. Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon, pp. 194-7; E. W. Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, pp. 88, 90-2; CHJ., IV, pp. 116; see also Cv., LXXII.12; LXXVIII, 18-22.

known in foreign lands too, as suggested by the visits paid to their headquarters by visitors from India, Tibet, China, Kashmir and South-east Asia.

Anurādhapura and its vicinity appear to have been crowded with monastic buildings such as vihāras, stūpas, parivenas and many others (bodhigharas, dhātugharas, ārāmas, tapovanas etc.). Some of the best known among the buildings there were the Ratnamālī-Cetiya (Ruvan-vāli-sāya), Thūpārāma, Abhayagiri, Jetavanārāma, Lohapāsāda, Dakkhiṇagiri, Maricchavaṭṭi Issarasamaṇa, and the Tooth Relic and the Mahā-bodhi temples. There were also some magnificent stūpas and vihāras at Mihintalē, at a few miles distance from the capital. In addition to these sites there were thousands of others in and around the capital and in the outlying areas. The other parts of Ceylon such as Rohana, Malaya and Dakkhiṇadesa also had many sites hallowed by traditions and considered sacred by the Buddhists. The total numerical strength of the bhikkhus in all these numerous places is nowhere mentioned, but they may have numbered many thousands. For the earlier periods we have the notices of Fa-hsien and Huang-Tsang,

1. Travels of Fa-hsien, tr. Giles, p.70, 72; Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, p.247.

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and of the Cūlavamsa, which refer to the many thousands of monks who belonged to the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri. The number of monks living in Ceylon on the eve of the Coḷa invasions may also have been about the same or more. In addition to all this information we have also the references to the many benefactions made by the kings, queens, princes and the chiefs and the people at large for the maintenance and the upkeep of these institutions and their incumbents. This in general was the state of Buddhism in Ceylon during the centuries prior to the Coḷa occupation of Rājaraṭṭha. There is also no reason to assume that things were very different in Rājaraṭṭha on the very eve of the Coḷa invasions. If there was any change at all, it was brought about by their activities, and in that sense, the establishment of their power in Rājaraṭṭha forms an important but tragic landmark in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon.

According to the Ceylonese Chronicles the places of Buddhist worship in Rājaraṭṭha were desecrated and plundered by the Coḷas. ² Rājāvaliya even adds that all the monks were put to death by them. ³ The religion itself lost its un-

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1. Cv., XLIII.20-1: Aggabodhi I (571-604) is recorded to have given the three garments to 36000 monks at the dedication festival of Lohapāsāda.
 2. Cv., LV.20-22; LX.56; 80; LXII.4; LXVIII.96-108; LXXIV.1-14; LXXVI.102; LXXVIII.96; Pjv., pp.104-5; Rjr., p.33.
 3. Rjv., p.42.

challenged position in Rājaraṭṭha, and was denied the protection and the patronage of the state. In the remaining parts of the country such as Rohana and Malaya, Buddhism suffered from neglect and from the prevailing state of incessant war with the Coḷas. At the end of Coḷa rule in Rājaraṭṭha, we are told in the Chronicles, that the country was completely drained of its spiritual resources in the form of ordained monks and the sacred scriptures.¹ The land itself revealed a spectre of destruction and desolation being literally littered with the ruins of the damaged buildings. These accounts coming from the Buddhist authors themselves may be suspected of a certain amount of exaggeration, and the position itself may have been more complicated than that. The revival of the Ordination (Upasampadā) with the help of monks brought from Burma,² and the restoration of religious buildings carried out by Vijayabāhu I and Parakkamabāhu I,³ however, suggest the position of the Saṅgha at the time, and the extent of the desolation and decay of Anurādhapura and the outlying areas. The archaeological remains at some of these places, which have since been restored, also show the extent of the damage, as part of the materials for

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1. Cv., LX.4-9; Pjv., p.105; Nks., p.23.
 2. See infra, pp.329-332 ; EZ., II, pp.253-4.
 3. Cv., LX.56-64, see n.2 overleaf.

the restorations themselves seem to have come from other
ruined buildings.¹

With the restoration of Sinhalese power under Vijayabāhu I, the mūlasthānas of the three Nikāyas appear to have been established in Polonnaruva, the new capital. Anurādhapura remained neglected as a political centre but continued to be a centre of religious interest. Some of the ruined buildings there were restored by Vijayabāhu, but many others seem to have remained in a ruined state, littered with débris and being preyed upon by the ravages of nature, till further restoration was taken in hand by Parakkamabāhu I.

²
The Cūlavamsa gives the following account:

"Now in order to rebuild the vihāras in Anurādhapura formerly destroyed by the Tamils, and which many kings had not restored because it was so difficult, he sent an official and completed the three thūpas aforetime destroyed by the Damilas, the Ratnavāluka-thūpa ..., the Jetavana-thūpa ..., the Abhayagiri-thūpa ..., as well as the great Maricavaṭṭi-thūpa... These were (all) overgrown with great trees, bears and panthers dwelt there, and the ground of the jungle scarce offered a foothold by reason of the

1. ASCAR., pp.11-12, ~~1950~~¹⁹⁴⁹; 1950, p.12.
2. Cv., LXXVIII.96-101; LXXIV.1-14; LXXVI.104.

heaps of bricks and earth. After having the forest hewn down and the thūpas built in proper fashion and faced with stucco,

he also cleared the courtyard of the cetiya."

The position ^{seems to have been} ~~was~~ the same at Lohapāsāda and at many other sites there.

The desecration and destruction of religious buildings in Rājarat̥ṭha does not appear to have been due to the Colas alone, though their destructive activities may have been the most disastrous at the time. There are instances of wanton destruction of religious buildings and discrimination against the Saṅgha by some of the Sinhalese kings and princes themselves. Other foreigners such as the Keralas and the Pāṇḍyas had also destroyed many institutions, both before and after the period of Coḷa rule in Ceylon. Natural factors like famines, drought and plagues have also had an adverse effect on the religion, and had led to neglect and ruin of many religious buildings. As some of the fellow Sinhalese kings and the foreigners wrought destruction and caused neglect, many other Sinhalese kings exerted themselves in repairing the damage and making the religion shine ever so brightly. They made good the material losses

1. Cv., LXXVIII. 107-108.
2. Mv., XXXVII. 1-39; Cv., XXXIX. 34-36; XLIV. 131-5, 138-142; XLV. 29-35; XLVI. 8-9; LI. 120.
3. Cv., XXXVIII. 37-38; L. 33-36; LI. 22-25; LII. 45; XLIV. 134-5.
4. Sammohavinodanī (PTS), pp. 445-6; HC., I/I, pp. 244-5; Cv., XLI. 7579.

suffered by the Saṅgha by even greater benefactions.

It is however interesting to note that soon after the Pāṇḍya invasion of Ceylon in the ninth century, Sena II (853-887) interfered personally in the conduct of the Saṅgha, and brought the three Nikāyas back to the path of correct religious observances.¹

For the next hundred years following the invasion of the Pāṇḍyas Buddhism continued to flourish unruffled by the changes at the capital or rebellion in the provinces. Then in the reign of Udaya IV (946-954) Coḷas of the Vijayālaya line invaded Ceylon and occupied Anurādhapura for some time. It is recorded that they sacked many of the religious and secular buildings, and carried away whatever treasures came into their possession. Among the religious buildings said to have suffered damage by looting and fire were the Maṇipāsāda and the Cetiya at Pādalañcana.² Much of the booty carried away seems to have been subsequently recovered,³ and during the succeeding reigns much of the damage was repaired and the religion was once again placed on a sound footing. The contribution of Mahinda IV (956-972) towards this recovery was most significant, and is also

1. Nks., P.21; Saddharmaratnākara, p.311.

2. Cv., LIII.51; LIV.44.

3. Cv., LIII.47-48.

confirmed by the contemporary inscriptions.¹ The reign of Mahinda IV was also the last bright period of Buddhism and ^{of} Sinhalese rule in Anurādhapura. A few years after his death the country was plunged into a terrible turmoil, and Rājarat̥ṭha became the prey of lawless bands, who ravaged the land and tormented its inhabitants. They were eventually brought under control, but before the country was brought back on the road to recovery the mutinous troops of Mahina V forced him to abandon Anurādhapura and seek refuge in Rohaṇa.² These troops then took over the control of Rājarat̥ṭha, but before long the Colas invaded Ceylon and wrested the power ^{from} ~~into~~ their hands.³ Thereafter during the first three quarters of the eleventh century they held sway over Rājarat̥ṭha. After many unsuccessful attempts they were finally expelled by Vijayabāhu I around 1070 A.C.⁴

The Saṅgha or the Community of Buddhist monks has always enjoyed a highly privileged position in Ceylon. It enjoyed almost a monopoly of the patronage of the Sinhalese kings, queens and other dignitaries, and of the people at large. They pampered and endowed the religion)

1. EZ., I, pp. 29-39, 75-120, 230-241; HC., I/I, p. 341.

2. See supra, p. III 2 .

3. See supra, pp. III 2-5 .

4. See supra, Chap. V. .

with their special attention and with lavish and costly gifts. From the time of the establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon in the time of Dēvānāmpiyatissa (3rd century B.C.) all the kings but for a few exceptions, had been its loyal patrons. The hold of religion on the society was so great that even some of the Tamil kings, Tamil officials and Tamil mercenaries had to reckon with this factor and show their consideration and generosity to the Saṅgha and to the Buddhist institutions.¹ Almost every page of the Mahāvamsa and the Cūlavamsa, and many of the Sinhalese literary works and the great many epigraphs bear eloquent testimony to the position occupied by Buddhism in Ceylon.

The kings, queens, and chiefs built vihāras, stūpas, parivenas and many other religious buildings for the Saṅgha. They gave the revenues of whole villages and tanks for the upkeep of the monasteries and their residents. They made regular grants of food, clothing, medicine and other requisites, and conducted regular religious festivals and processions. The vihāras in and around Anurādhapura received the special attention of the kings, and were often presented with precious gifts. Gold and silver coverings for the stūpas and golden door-frames sometimes figure among such gifts.² Costly jewellery including the personal

1. Mv., XXI.21-6; Cv., XXXVIII.31; XLVI.19-25.
 2. Cv., XLIX.74; LII.12; XLVII.140-1.

jewellery of the kings and queens often formed part of such endowments.¹ Gold and gilt images, silver pedestals, gold strips, gold or gilt bricks and tiles, sapphires, diamonds and other such brilliant gifts were also added to the already fabulous collections in some of the vihāras.² In addition many thousands of kahāpanas were spent on new buildings and for the repair of the old ones.³ These benefactions were not confined to the capital city alone and were extended to other places of worship as well, such as Mahātiṭṭha, Polonnaruva, Rohana and Nāgadīpa. This, in very brief outline, is one important aspect of Buddhism in Ceylon in relation to the kings, chiefs and the people.

The increasing wealth of some of the monasteries sometimes aroused the envy of some of the Sinhalese kings. We have on record a few instances when kings had appropriated to themselves the wealth of the Buddhist institutions.⁴ As a result of such activities royal enactments had to be made against interference with the priestly possessions.⁵ The grants themselves carried references to the indignities and to the sufferings which would befall those guilty of

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1. Cv., XLVI.17; XLVIII.135-9; LI.87.
 2. Cv., XXIX.53-54; XLII.31-4; XLIV.68-9; XLIX.77; LII.13, 49, 65; LIV.5, 42-4; LIII.49; XLVIII.136-140.
 3. Cv., XLIV.102; XLV.17; XLVIII.7-8, 135-7.
 4. Cv., XLIV.131-4, 137-42.
 5. Cv., LIV.28, see also LX.67.

violating the donations.¹ The influence of the Saṅgha in the country was considerable, and this required them to be kept in good humour by the kings and the chiefs.² Thus not only spiritual but also temporal considerations moulded their mutual attitudes. There have been instances, however, when their interests were in conflict, and led even to serious complications.³ But such developments were few and far between. At the other extreme, while the Saṅgha succeeded in sustaining all the external attacks it continued to be racked by internal disharmony and decline.⁴ From about the first century B.C., owing to various doctrinal differences the Saṅgha had remained divided into two Nikāyas.⁴ A few centuries later another schism led to the rise of another sect.⁵ There were also a number of other smaller splinter groups.⁶ These differences were accentuated by the partiality shown by some of the Sinhalese kings to particular Sects and vihāras,⁷ while neglecting or openly discriminating against the others. At the same time the various sects openly haggled over special privileges and the gains of royal patronage. ~~There~~

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1. EZ., I, p.207; II, pp.5, 235, 255; III, pp.133 (no. I) 192 (No.120); IV, pp.90.
 2. For a study of the Saṅgha and the state see Rahula, pp.62-77.
 3. Cv., XLV.31; LII.14-27.
 4. Mv., XXXIII.95-98; Rahula, pp.84-5; Adikaram, p.90.
 5. Rahula, p.92; Adikaram, p.91.
 6. Adikaram, pp.95-97.
 7. Mv., chap.XXXVII; Cv., XLIV.74-80 etc.

There were even demonstrations of one against the others, and canvassing of the support of the rulers against their rivals.¹ All this would not have been very edifying in the eyes of the people, and would have only disappointed many of their supporters. But owing to their own accomodating spirit, and the intervention of the kings, however, the monks succeeded in maintaining a certain amount of decorum and restraint in their rivalries.

According to the Ceylonese chronicles it appears quite clearly that Buddhism was not the only religion known in Ceylon. Especially the Brahmanical form of Hinduism was known from the earliest times.² In the beginning the Brāhmanas formed an important, and influential section of the population. With the spread of Buddhism they lost much of their influence and some of them even accepted the new religion. But as late as the ninth century we have references to as many as a thousand Brāhmanas enjoying the generosity of one of the Sinhalese kings.³ Brāhmanical influence, especially in court ceremonies had been strong, and seems to have only become stronger with the passage of time. From very early times

1. See note 7 on previous page.

2. JRASCB, XXXI, No. 82, pp. 321-3; UCR, VIII, pp. 259-263; HC, I/I, pp. 255-6, 386-7; CHJ, IV, pp. 117; Rahula, pp. 43-7; Adikaram, pp. 43-44.

3. Cv, LI. 66.

there had been a few Hindu shrines on the north-western¹ and north-eastern coasts of Ceylon. The fame of these had even reached India, and hymns were sung in praise of them.² Among these the Śaiva shrine at Mahātiṭṭha or Tirukkētiśvaram was of particular interest to the Tamils. It was a pādal-perratalam or a shrine sanctified by the praises of Nāyaṇmār, one of the greatest Śaiva saints. With the rise of Tamil power in Ceylon Śaivism seems to have got a shot in the arm, and spread into the other parts of Rājaraṭṭha too. But the worship of Śiva seems to have been closely associated with the Tamils and failed to make a deep impression upon the Sinhalese. The influence of Śaivism on the Sinhalese became, however, marked after the invasion of Māgha in the thirteenth century. Among the other Indian gods who were worshipped in Ceylon were Viṣṇu, Indra or Sakka and Varuṇa.³ They were not worshipped as supreme gods as such, but protectors of Ceylon and godly suppliants of the Buddha. Among the other references to Hinduism or Hindu institutions are the mention of tulābhāras, brahmadeyas (bamadeya), and the gifts of images of gods, and

1. GHJ., I/2, p.111; EZ., III, p.135.

2. UCR., VI, p.218; SII., IV, No.1412, 1414B.

3. Adikaram, pp.145-154; HC., I/1, p.135; Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Vol.VI.

the erection and the repair of Hindu shrines or dēvālayas.¹
 All this information shows the position occupied by
 Hinduism in its various forms in the religious life of
 the country. Its position was neither as privileged nor
 as popular as that of Buddhism. The first significant
 change in this religious atmosphere in Ceylon came with
 the Cola occupation of Rājaraṭṭha in the tenth century.

The death of Mahinda IV in 972 A.C. is an important
 dividing line in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon.

During the hundred years which followed this event there
 is hardly anything on record to have been done to assist
 Buddhism in Ceylon.² This neglect was felt both in
 Rājaraṭṭha and in the remaining parts of the country.

What in fact is the unanimous verdict of all the Ceylonese
 sources is that Buddhism was in a sorry plight during the
 ninety-six years which preceded the accession of Vijayabāhu
 I as the ruler of Lankā. They also unanimously attribute
 the revival of the Saṅgha and the restoration of the
 Sāsana, both of which were destroyed by the Colas, to
 Vijayabāhu I.³ At the time of the conquest of Rājaraṭṭha
 by the Colas, conditions there do not appear to have been

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1. Cv., XLIX.63, 79; LIV.27; LX.21; XLVIII.143; L.5., etc. EZ., III, pp.191-2, n.12; IV, p.67 n.5; HC., I/1, pp.386-7.
 2. The only exception known so far is a grant to a vihāra by Mahinda V, EZ., IV, pp.59-67, see also CHJ., II/3-4, pp.233, n.10, 235, n.25.
 3. Cv., LX.1-23; Piv., p.105; Rjr., p.33-34; Nks., p.23; EZ., II, pp.202-218; V, pp.1-27; Saddharmaratnākara, p.311 etc.

altogether favourable for the existence of Buddhism. During the reign of Sena V (972-982) the Tamil mercenaries had done much damage in Rājaraṭṭha.¹ Conditions deteriorated still further with the accession of his successor, Mahinda V when the hostile activities of the mercenaries, and the inefficiency of the king himself led to a complete breakdown of the government and the economy of Rājaraṭṭha.² All these disturbing factors did not spare these two kings, even if they were so inclined, to devote any time or resources to help the Saṅgha, and to protect the Sāsana. By and large the neglect of religion had already set in, and before long it was going to be denied even the nominal protection which was provided by these effete rulers. It may also be suggested that some of the last rulers in Anurādhapura, such as Udaya IV, Sena V and Mahinda V, were perhaps inclined towards the base forms of Tantric worship. This could be inferred from their strong attachment to alcohol and other sensuous pleasures. In fact the Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya refers to an earlier ruler, named Kumāradāsa (508-516 ?), who had been attached to some corrupt monks in blue robes who preached that the three incomparable boons were the

1. See supra, p. 105 .

2. See supra, p. 110-112 .

indulgence in vice, women and drinks.¹

The Colas who occupied Rājarāṭṭha were predominantly worshippers of Śiva. The Śaiva traditions themselves speak of a time when there was strife and disharmony between the Śaivites and the Buddhists and the Jains in South India.² A few centuries before the rise of the Colas of the Vijayālaya line Buddhism and Jainism had counted many adherents in South India, and as a result they had to face many verbal attacks of the Śaivas. The Buddhist and the Jain monks had engaged in hair-splitting disputes with the Śaivas, and the literary works of the latter claim the defeat and humiliation of the former. One of the chief aims of the Śaiva challengers had been to sway the goodwill and the patronage of the South Indian kings from the Buddhists and the Jains to themselves. And they seem to have succeeded in their efforts. One of the leading Śaiva saints for instance, is reported to have even converted an unnamed king of Ceylon.³ This, however, is not confirmed by any other source. But in spite of their being able to sway the allegiance of the

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1. Nks., p.21-22; Cv., LIII.40-1; LIV.70-72; LV.3; CHJ., IV, pp.115-6.
 2. V.G.R.Aiyer, Economy of the South Indian Temple, pp.45-7; IA., XXV., pp 113-6; K.A.Nilakanta Sastri explains that the harmony which had existed between various religious groups in South India in the very early times had deteriorated later, and, as a result, passages and accounts were included in the literary works taking back the disputes prevalent at the time of the Tamil saints Mānikkavāṣagar and Tiruṅṅānasambandar. The Pāndyan Kingdom, pp.18-19.
 3. Tiruvāṣagam, ed.G.U.Pope, pp.lxxvii-lxxxi.

kings in South India the kings themselves do not appear to have departed from their traditional policy of religious tolerance.

By the middle of the tenth century when the Colas rose into prominence in South India, probably no such open religious rivalry between the Saivas and the others darkened the scene. The rivalry would have been a matter of the past and the Saivas themselves had become the most powerful and influential religious community in South India.¹ Therefore at the time when the Colas invaded Ceylon, they would not have been motivated by any religious animosity to seek the destruction of Buddhism and the Buddhist establishments. What apparently guided their activities in Ceylon was not religious bigotry or fanaticism, but the desire for material gain in the form of plunder and booty from the Buddhist monastic and other buildings.

The Cola kings were undoubtedly among the greatest patrons of Saivism in South India. Their benefactions to the Saiva shrines, and the stupendous religious buildings made Saivism flourish in great splendour in South India.

1. For the state of Buddhism and Jainism in South India, see SII., III, Intro. pp. 1-5; Journal of the Greater India Society, XI, pp. 17-26; IA., XL, pp. 209-218; ARE., 1936-7, pp. 60-1; EI., XXII, pp. 213-281; Bull. of the Madras Govt. Museum, VII, pt. I.; Geographical Essays, vol. I, B.C. Law, pp. 52-63.

Before them the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas had also lavished their favours on the Saivas. The notable exception among the South Indian dynasties were the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi who continued to favour Jainism. The Buddhists, on the other hand, failed to win the exclusive patronage of any South Indian power. The position of the Vaiṣṇavas was not much different, having suffered considerable neglect under the Co₁las.

Respect for recluses and for religious buildings even during wars had been a feature in ancient India, but this principle does not seem to have been observed by the Co₂las. Both in South India and in Ceylon they have been accused of much cruelty and wanton damage to the Buddhists and the Jains, and even to Brāhmaṇas. In this respect the Co₁las seem to be exceptional compared with other Indian dynasties indeed. The Hōṭṭūr and the Gawarwad inscriptions of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi accuse the Co₁las of persecuting Brāhmaṇas, and defiling and destroying Jain temples.² The Tiruvālaṅgāḍa plates also describe how

1. The only grants to Visnu shrines so far noticed are as follows: SII., II, No. 52; ARE., 1919 p. 94; No. 187(C); 1920, No. 498.

2. See infra p.

2. "...When the base Cola, failing in his position, deserting the religious practices of his own race, set foot upon the foot of Belvala, and burnt down a multitude of temples..., that deadly sinner the Tivula (i.e. Tamil) styled the Pāṇḍya Cola, when he had polluted these temples of the supreme Jinas erected by the best Parmānadi..." The Gawarwad ins. EI., XV, pp. 345-6; see also EI., XVI, pp. 74-5.

Rājendra I wished to glorify the Śaiva faith with the heaps of money acquired by his own arm, and set out on his digvijaya.¹ The account in the Kālingattup-Paranī of the battle between the Kālinga king and the Coḷa dandanātha Karuṇākara, on the other hand, contains a few sidelights on the respect paid by the Coḷas to those who had disguised themselves as Jain and Buddhist recluses.² It is not possible, however, to conclude that it was a conscious policy of the Coḷas to persecute adherents of other religions, but it is quite apparent that the Coḷa kings did not disapprove of such activities. Their hand of destruction also does not appear to have made any distinction between religions other than Śaivism. The Coḷas were indeed exceptional in their ruthlessness and the passionate desire to possess the wealth of their enemies, even if it came from the centres of religious worship.

Another aspect of their attitude towards the Buddhists, Jains and the Vaiṣṇavas is apparent from their own epigraphs.³ These not only indicate their friendly attitude to them, especially in South India, but also absolve them from being accused of religious fanaticism or intolerance. There is

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1. SII., III, p. 422, v. 89. pp. 250-1.
 2. Klgp., canto. XII, st. 63-5; IA., XIX, p. 336.
 3. See supra, p. 320.

also a solitary example forthcoming from Ceylon which confirms that their activities were not motivated by any religious animosity as such. The classic examples of their official position with regard to Buddhism in South India and Ceylon are their benefactions and patronage to the Cūlāmanivarma-vihāra at Negapatam¹ and to the Velgam-vehera near Kantalai in Ceylon.²

The Coḷa activities in Ceylon, especially with regard to wanton destruction of secular and religious buildings and images, in their pursuit of easy wealth may appear true to the pattern of such activities in parts of South India, too. They were undoubtedly motivated by the desire for wealth, but at the same time their attacks on the monasteries may also have been dictated by political expediency. The Saṅgha in Ceylon has not only been a strong spiritual force but also a potent nationalist and a political power. The monks have always been very jealous of the political freedom and culture of the island and, in course of time, have assumed the position of passionate custodians of the country, and its people and culture. The attitude of the Saṅgha to

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1. EI., XXII, pp. 213-283; Journal of the Greater India Society, XI, pp. 17-26; see also Nilakanta Sastri, Historical Method in relation to problems of South Indian History, p. 36.
 2. ASCAR., 1953, pp. 9-39. CJSc., II, p. 199, No. 596-7.

many things mundane has been comparatively militant and specially so when we compare it with that of the Saṅgha in some of the other Buddhist countries of Asia. Political and cultural activities of foreigners have been a persistent challenge to its position, and the Saṅgha in Ceylon has not been slow to take the initiative in defending and safeguarding its rights and privileges, and also championing the protection of the country. The Sinhalese kings had also to reckon with the influence and the power of the Saṅgha, so that the great majority of the kings did all in their power to maintain cordial and healthy relations with the Saṅgha. In addition to the Saṅgha, even some of the Buddhist relics, such as the Tooth relic, have become national symbols. This special position of the Saṅgha in Ceylon and some of the Buddhist institutions themselves, and the intimate relations they had with the temporal powers in the country may have been some of the important reasons why they also became targets of the attacks of the Coḷas.

The effect of the Coḷa occupation of Rājaraṭṭha was felt very strongly and most adversely by the Saṅgha and the Sāsana. As we have already seen,¹ the flight of Mahinda V

1. See supra, p.112

to Rohana had meant the loss of protection and patronage of the royal family, and before Sinhalese rule was re-established in Anurādhapura Rājarat̃ṭha had been overrun by the Coḷas. With that the very existence of the Saṅgha and the Sāsana became threatened, and the monks were perhaps compelled to abandon the vihāras in their thousands and flee to safe areas. The wealth which had been accumulated in some of the vihāras and the precious objects suspected of being enshrined in the stūpas and images were the obvious targets of the marauding invaders. As a result of all these activities the religious buildings lost their custodians and remained ruined and neglected till the authority of the Sinhalese was restored in Rājarat̃ṭha.

According to the Ceylonese Chronicles the Coḷas sacked the country like blood-sucking yakkhas. They seized, for instance, the relic of the torn strip of cloth (chinnapattikādhāta), and in the three fraternities and in all Lankā (breaking open) the relic chambers (they carried away) many costly images of gold, and violently destroyed all the monasteries everywhere. We have, however, only the statements in the Cūlavamsa, and the sweeping remarks in the Sinhalese Chronicles about these destructive activities

1. Cv., LV.17-18, 20-21; Pjv., p.104; Rjv., p.42; Rjr., p.32-3.

of the Colas. The Colas themselves do not refer to any attacks on the religious establishments in Ceylon, but their epigraphs are sprinkled with their own accounts of cruelties in Ceylon and elsewhere.¹ The archaeological evidence which reveal the damage wantonly done at the Buddhist sites also do not lend any direct support to the Cūlavamsa account. There is, on the other hand, the possibility that the Cūlavamsa may have partially exaggerated the hostile activities of the Colas. This is suggested by one of its remarks, and the archaeological remains at Nātanār kōvil or Velgam-vehera in the Eastern province of Ceylon. After Vijayabāhu defeated the Colas and proceeded to Anurādhapura one of the first things he is reported to have done was to pay reverence to the various places worthy of honour.² This account, of course, does not necessarily contradict the earlier statements in the Cūlavamsa, because these places could have been in a completely ruined and neglected state but still worthy of worship. The other evidence of the attitude of the Colas to Buddhism in Ceylon is suggested by the archaeological remains at Velgam-vehera. The architectural details of this ruined Buddhist vihāra, the Tamil inscriptions

1. See supra, pp. 125.

2. Cv., LIX.3.

recording grants to it and its Tamil name Rājarājaperumballi,¹ all go to explain that it had enjoyed the patronage of the Colas in Rājarat̥ṭha. We may wonder, however, whether this was an exception to their attitude to Buddhism in Ceylon as it is the only place in Ceylon where such evidence remains to this day. It may also be noted that in the Cūlavamsa the descriptions of foreign attacks on Buddhism in Ceylon all follow a similar pattern,² and it is not impossible that the opportunity was not missed to exaggerate the sufferings of the Saṅgha and the Sāsana to arouse the emotions of the readers of the Chronicle.

The accounts in the Cūlavamsa³ of the subsequent repairs carried out by Vijayabāhu I and Parakkamabāhu I in Anurādhapura, the unanimous accounts of all the Ceylonese sources of the restoration of the Saṅgha and Sāsana by the former following the expulsion of the Colas⁴ and lastly the indirect archaeological evidences of damage and subsequent repair,⁵ may however, suggest that Buddhism had indeed suffered much damage at the hands of the Colas. The prevalence of their rule for over seventy-five years had the further effect of exposing even any remaining places of worship to a long period of neglect and disrepair, which would have claimed as heavy a toll as wanton destruction.

1. ASCAR., 1953, pp. 9-39.

2. Cv., L. 36; LIV. 66-67.

3. Cv., LX. 56-65; LXXIV. 1-14; LXXVI. 104, LXXVIII. 96, 108.

4. See Supra p. 316.

5. ASCAR., 1898, p. 3; 1946, p. 15; 1950, p. 12; 1951, p. 17 etc.

The materials with which the restoration was effected at some of the ruined places, as well as the very abandonment of Anurādhapura as the political and religious capital of Ceylon following the expulsion of the Colas reveal the extent to which Anurādhapura had declined. In fact, they only suggest that Anurādhapura and its vicinity had reached a stage beyond complete repair and restoration.

While the Colas held Rājaraṭṭha, Malayadesa and Rohana were still in the hands of the Sinhalese. When Mahinda V and his chiefs fled to Rohana it is possible that some of the monks also followed them there. But conditions there were not better with the Colas making frequent raids into Rohana. According to the Cūlavamsa the destruction of Rohana followed that of Rājaraṭṭha and, the veracity of this statement is partly confirmed by the archaeological remains at Mahiyāṅga¹. The absence of any inscriptions or any other evidence regarding any grants to the Saṅgha or any aspect of the religious conditions in Rohana and Malayadesa during the first three quarters of the eleventh century suggest that hardly anything was done to compensate the losses of the Saṅgha in the areas occupied by the Colas. The political uncertainty at the

1. Cv., LV.25-6; LVIII.6; LX.56; ASCAR., 1951, pp.17-18; 1950, p.25; "The remains of the dagāba (at Mahiyāṅga) give an indication that it had been wilfully broken down and the restoration thereafter had been done by keeping the brick work to the old by stone wedges built in to bind the new work to the old...."

time and the need to maintain a constant vigilance against Cola attacks would not have spared much time or resources to be diverted for the needs of the monks. The very fact that even Vijayabāhu did not turn his attention to spiritual matters before his final victory over the Colas seems to confirm this assumption. At a time when even the members of royal families had to subsist on roots and leaves, as disclosed by the Panākaḍuva copper plate charter,¹ it would have been hardly possible for the people to either protect or feed the Saṅgha in addition to their own selves. A casual remark in the Cūlavamsa also raises the possibility that some of the monks had forfeited the good-will of some of the Sinhalese chiefs by their selfish actions. This is the conclusion that may be drawn from the statement that the official Kittī requested Prince Kassapa to deliver to him the revenues of the paravenigam² or service lands which the Saṅgha had appropriated. The cumulative effect of all these factors would have made the life of the monks very difficult indeed, and would have forced many to leave the country, if that was possible under those conditions or even to desert their sacred vocation.

1. See supra, p. 177-3.
 2. Cv., IV.31,32.

It is not inconceivable that some of the monks who fled to Rohana made their way to South India or even South East Asia, as others had done both before and after the period of Cola occupation of Rājarat̥tha.¹ In the Cola country itself there were havens like Negapatam and Kāncī, which were popular among the monks of Ceylon.² It has also been suggested that some of the Sinhalese monks would have gone to Rāmaṇṇa or Burma where Vijayabāhu is reported to have had a close friend in the ruler.³ Thus Buddhism continued to suffer from discrimination in Rājarat̥tha and was neglected in Rohana and Malayadesa for over seventy-five years. At the end of this long spell of precarious existence it is stated in the Ceylonese sources that the country was devoid of even five properly ordained monks,⁴ the minimum number required for the ordination of others.

The tradition that not even five ordained monks were left in the country following the Cola occupation is not necessarily incredible, but yet deserves closer examination. There was a similar state of affairs in Ceylon in the eighteenth century following the long spell of Portuguese and Dutch rule in the maritime provinces of Ceylon and their

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1. Adikaram, pp. 77, 83, 91, 112; Cv., LX. 19; LXXXI. 20-23; Rahula, p. 81.
 2. HC., I/II, pp. 563-4.
 3. Cv., LVIII. 8; LX. 5-7.
 4. Cv., LX. 4; Nks. p. 23; Pjv., p. 105; Rjv., p. 42; Saddharmaratnā-karaya, p. 311.

incessant attacks on the Kandyan provinces. It was with the assistance of the Dutch that eventually monks were obtained from Siam and Buddhism was revived in the country by the Kandyan kings. There is however a difference between the two periods. The Cola period lasted less than a hundred years, while the Portuguese alone were in Ceylon for nearly a hundred and fifty years. The Colas, unlike the Portuguese and the Dutch, had no missionary intentions either, so that we could expect that the organization of the Saṅgha in the eleventh century could not have disappeared altogether.

The Saṅgha in Ceylon has always been a fairly viable community and quite capable of existing even under the most exacting conditions. The revival of the three Nikāyas following the restoration of Ordination by Vijaya-bāhu suggests that there were monks in Ceylon, perhaps unordained or no longer keeping the vows of ordained monks. It is, however, possible that the impossibility of finding even five Sinhalese monks was a result of the flight of some and the passing away of the others leaving no one to continue the ordination ceremony. The stresses of life at the time could have driven others to revert to lay life, creating a complete vacuum in the monastic circles. This to us appears rather an extreme position. On the other

hand, it is possible that there were not only Sāmanēras or unordained monks, but even a few ordained ones, who may not have been considered fit enough to be the preceptors of a revived Order. This assumption is in fact confirmed by the Nikāyaśāṅgrahaya, and the Rājāvalya, which state that Vijayabāhu was thoroughly disheartened in failing to find even five pious or well-conducted monks in the whole country. Under these circumstances Vijayabāhu would have been inclined to make a fresh start by getting down monks from Burma. All this would suggest that as much as external pressure internal decay also had undermined the organization of the Saṅgha.

According to the Ceylonese sources, after the expulsion of the Colas Vijayabāhu sent envoys with "lakhs of precious stones" to the court of Aniruddha (Anowratha) the ruler of Burma (Rāmañña), imploring him to send spiritual aid to revive ordination in Ceylon. The Cūlavamsa states that in response to this request monks who had thoroughly studied the three Pitakas and, who were the fount of moral discipline and other virtues and acknowledged as Theras were sent to Ceylon. The Sinhalese sources are even more definite and explain that twenty monks and the Buddhist texts were despatched to Ceylon. Following their arrival several Ordination ceremonies appear to have been performed and, as

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1. Nks., p.23; Rjv., p.42; Rjr., p.33. The Polonnaruva ins. of the Velaikkaras also states that Vijayabāhu effected the purification of the Buddhist Order of the three Nikāyas with the aid of monks obtained from Burma, EZ, II, pp.253-4.
 2. Cv., LX.6-8.
 3. See supra, pp.316 n3.

a result, before long there were thousands of monks in the country.¹ It is assumed that some of the monks who came from Burma were those who had left the country in search of safety from the attacks of the Colas.² There is no definite evidence to confirm this assumption, but the revival of the three Nikāyas following the revival of the Saṅgha in Ceylon may lend some support to this conjecture.³ This tradition of intimate contact between Vijayabāhu and Aniruddha is partly confirmed by the Burmese sources and the re-organization of the Ceylonese Saṅghas with the aid of Burmese monks is specifically recorded in the Burmese chronicles.⁴

In the meantime Vijayabāhu attended to the restoration of Anurādhapura and the other places destroyed by the Colas.⁵ He erected a number of splendid new buildings in Polonnaruva among which were the Daḷadāmāligāva (Aṭṭadāge)⁶ and the mūlasthānas of the three Nikāyas. One of the ancient sites of worship which assumed great popularity during the Cola occupation of Rājaraṭṭha was the Samanōla mountain (Adam's Peak). Perhaps the damage to the other more easily accessible sites made this place a refuge for

1. EZ., II, p. 217; Cv., LX. 8; Pjv., p. 105; Nks., p. 23.

2. HC., I/II, p. 564.

3. Cv., LX. 10-11; see supra, p. ----- n. --- ; see also Cv., LX. 19.

4. See supra, p. . Harvey, History of Burma, pp. 32-33; Sasanavamsa (PTS) p. 30: "But later a long time after the religion had declined owing to the danger in the Island of Sihala of the false views that had arisen, since there was no order of monks even for the completion of a quorum, an order (of monks) was brought from the Rāmanna country in the time... continued overleaf....

Buddhists. During this period the foot-print on the top of Samanola became a cardinal place of Buddhist worship. The meritorious work done there by Vijayabāhu is described both in the Cūlavamsa and in the Aṃbagamuva rock-inscription.¹

With the neglect of Buddhism in Rājaraṭṭha, Saivism would have made some progress there. Saivism had not been unfamiliar to Ceylon even long before the Coḷa occupation of Rājaraṭṭha.² The establishment of their rule, on the other hand, would have been a great impetus for its spread in the northern half of Ceylon. The Coḷa officials in Rājaraṭṭha would even have tried to fill the vacuum created by the neglect of Buddhism and flight of the Saṅgha with Saivism and Brāhmanas. The remains of Saiva shrines are found in and around Polonnaruva, at Mahātiṭṭha (Mātoṭṭam) and in Saṅgīlikanadarāva.³ We may presume that there were shrines in other places in Rājaraṭṭha as well, although all these have since decayed and disappeared. What fate overtook the numerous grants of land and other/revenues to

continued from previous page...

4. of King Vijayabāhu, the great, and he established the religion." See also pp.45-52,70-72,90-97,107.

5. See supra.

6. Cv., LX.16-17; EZ., II, p.246; Daladāpūjāvaliya, p.59; CJSc, 11, p.162.

1. EZ., II, pp.202-218; Cv., LX.65-67; Artibus Asiae, vol.xviii, suppl. pp.11-22; HC., I/II, pp.574-5; Adikaram, p.114.

2. See supra, p. 214-5.

3. ASCAR., 1908 pp.2-11; 1910-1 p.39; 1906 pp.17-22; 1950 pp.13-15.

Buddhist vihāras as a result of the Coḷa occupation is unknown. But by no means can we be so categorical as to

state that all such grants were annulled by the Coḷas.¹

According to Tamil usage, however, whatever land or other property was without owners was considered the property of the kings.² According to the Mahāvamsa this principle

was also applied by Mahāsena in the third century in

Ceylon.³ It is possible that the lands which were abandoned by the people and the monks were appropriated by the Coḷas. We may however note the reference in the

Cūlavamsa that Vijayabāhu restored many vihāras which were decayed and granted villages to every single one of them.⁴

The remains of the Hindu shrines and the references to those no longer extant indicate the places where the Tamils were highly concentrated and their influence was strongest. But whether Śaivism ever attracted the serious attention of the Sinhalese subjects of the Coḷas cannot be satisfactorily determined with the existing sources. Śiva or Śiva worship has never been popular with the Buddhists of Ceylon and it has often been confined to the Tamils.⁵ The best known land-marks of the prevalence of Hinduism in eleventh century

1. HC., I/II, p. 589.

2. See supra, p. 240 nI.

3. MV., XXXVII. 9.

4. CV., LX. 63+64.

5. See also ASCAR., 1954, p. 38.

Ceylon are the architectural and sculptural remains belonging to the Colas. The earliest of these shrines reveal the influence of early Coḷa architecture while the others follow more advanced styles. Only one of the Śaiva shrines (Śiva Dēvālē No.2) in Polonnaruva can be positively assigned to the Coḷa period,¹ while two others (Śiva Dēvālē No.3 & No.5) have also been assigned to the same period by some of the scholars.² As far as the others are concerned the scholars are inclined to date them to a slightly later period.³

The Hindu shrines in Ceylon are very modest structures, but may, in their own way, be considered good representatives of Coḷa architecture. S.Paranavitana observes that

"the fane (i.e., Śiva Dēvālē No.2) which the Colas raised to the glory of Śiva at Polonnaruva, not long after they had settled there, is worthy of the great architectural traditions to which they were heirs, and must be reckoned among the notable historical monuments of this island."⁴

The Śiva Dēvālē No. 2 or Vanavan-Mādevī-Īśvara-mudeiyār, as it was then called, is an impressive monument. It is built

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1. HC., I/II, pp.589-590; see supra p.246.2; The Colas, p.173; GHJ., IV, pp.81-82; Later Colas, I, p.107.
 2. Bul. of the Madras Govt. Museum, I, pt. II, p.45.
 3. See supra, -----; see n.1 and n.2 above; infra, p./^{p.}337 n2. ASCAR, 1907, p.23.
 4. HC., I/II, p.589.

entirely of stone, and is composed of a garbhagrha,
antarāla, ardhamandapa and mandapa, with its vimānas
 rising in four storeys.¹ Among the rubble nearby were
 found the stone linga and the Nandi which belonged to the
 same sanctuary. Niches for Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya in the
 same shrine form another feature.² Adjacent to this shrine
 are two equally old Vaiṣṇava shrines named Paḷḷikkōṇḍār
 and Aḷagiyamaṇavālar.³ According to a Tamil inscription
 there had been another famous shrine at Māntoṭṭam (Mahātiṭṭha),
 built by an official of the Coḷa king Rājendra I, and named
 Rājarāja-Īśvara-Mahādēva.⁴ An eleventh century Tamil
 inscription on a guard stone now standing at the entrance
 to a modern image house at Atākāḍa in the North-central
 Province records benefactions to a now non-extant Śiva
 temple named Uttama-Coḷa-Īśvara-Mudaiya-Mahādēva.⁵ There
 may have been other such shrines, neither the names nor
 remains of which are found today.

Among the many remains of these Hindu shrines there
 are stone and bronze images of Tamil workmanship. The
 great majority of these artistic remains are found at
 Polonnaruva. There are images of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Gaṇeśa,

1. See also ASCAR., 1906, p.18; and n.4 on previous page.
 2. ASCAR., 1906, p.21.
 3. ASCAR., 1906, pp.22, 27; SII., IV, No.1390-1.
 4. Also called Tiruvirāmiśvara-mudaiya-Mahādēva, SII., IV, No.1412,
 1414B; ASCAR., 1950, pp.13-15.
 5. CJSc., II, p. III, No.446.

Kārttikeya, Pārvatī, Caṇḍīśvara, Bālakṛṣṇa, Hanumān, Sūrya and Saiva saints.¹ Śiva is often represented in the form of Naṭarāja and the Liṅga. Iconographically all the images are of South Indian origin, belonging to Coḷa, Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagara styles. When they were brought to Ceylon and by whom cannot be determined today. Those assignable to Coḷa workmanship may have been brought during the Coḷa occupation. An important point to note here is that the number of images of Coḷa origin is much smaller than was assumed at the time when these images were discovered in Polonnaruva.² While images of Coḷa workmanship found their way to Ceylon, bronze lamps, lampstands and spittoons of Ceylonese origin had found their way to the Coḷa country. The references in Ceylon and in South India to Ilavilakku and the gifts of lamps and spittoons of Ceylonese design (Ila-pariśu)³ show the mutual influences at the time. As far as influence of Coḷa art, architecture and sculpture on Sinhalese forms are concerned it is regarded to have been almost negligible. In fact S. Paranavitana is quite emphatic that the Sinhalese were not influenced by the Tamils and continued to follow the earlier forms which had been developed

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1. ASCAR., 1908, pp. 17-18; 1950, p. 32; CJSc., II, p. 156. For studies of the bronzes in Ceylon, JRASCB, XXIV, No. 68, pp. 189-222; Memoirs of the Colombo Museum, Series A, No. I (Bronzes from Ceylon, A.K. Coomaraswami); HC., I/II, p. 609; Bul. of the Madras Govt. Museum, I, pt. II, pp. 43-7, 109-112, 132; B. Rowland, The Art and Architecture of India, p. 221; JRASCB (NS), VIII, pp. 239-254; Spolia Zeylanica, VI, pp. 64-70.
 2. Bul. of the Madras Govt. Museum, I, pt. II, pp. 43-6, 109-112, 132.
 3. SI., II, p. 150; XVII, No. 106; EI., VII, pp. 133-4, 145; ARE., 1912/184.

in Anurādhapura.¹

The state of Saivism in Ceylon in the eleventh century is furnished by the contemporary inscriptions. They refer to gifts of money, land-revenues, cows, oil, ghee, coconut palms and images to the shrines.² These benefactions were intended for the upkeep of the shrines and for the performance of temple services. The benefactors themselves appear to be Tamils and mostly from the Cola country, but residing in Ceylon at the time. The names of the temple authorities or trustees, the officiating Brāhmanas and temple servants are also mentioned in some of these epigraphs.³ The maintenance of perpetual and evening lamps (Nīlavilakku and Sandhyāvilakku)⁴ was one of the frequently mentioned services at these shrines. The conducting of processions of the images was another important function.⁵ Except for these references to the incomes of the temples in the form of grants, nothing else is known of the economic position of these shrines.⁶

Saivism did not disappear from Ceylon with the termination of Cola rule in Ceylon, but continued to exist though

1. CHJ., IV, pp. 73-79; HC., I/II, pp. 591, 593, 606.
2. SII., IV, No. 1388, 1391-2, 1395, 1408, 1411-2, 1414B; ASCAR., 1906, p. 22.
3. SII., IV, No. 1388, 1412, 1414B; see also ASCAR., 1906, p. 27.
4. SII., IV, 1388, 1395, 1392, 1408, 1411, 1414.
5. SII., IV, No. 1412, see also No. 1391.
6. For a study of the economic organization of South Indian Temples see V.G.R. Aiyer, Economy of the South Indian Temples; JAS., VIII, pp. 121-2; JAS., XIX, pt. 2, pp. 163-177.

under less favourable conditions. The references to Brāhmaṇas and the Brāhmaṇa villages in the Cūlavamsa and in the Ceylonese inscriptions suggest that Hinduism had not suffered from its Cola associations. In fact there is no record of the destruction of any of the Hindu shrines built during the Cola occupation of Rājaraṭṭha. On the other hand they appear to have enjoyed the good-will of the Sinhalese kings, including Vijayabāhu himself who made it publicly known that Dēvālayas should continue without any hindrance.¹ Similarly Tamils acted as the patrons and protectors of some of the Buddhist shrines.²

The impact of the Cola occupation of Rājaraṭṭha was not only destructive but also resulted in some significant changes in the religious atmosphere of the country.

The relationship between the Vēlaikkāras in the service of the Sinhalese kings and Buddhism is an important development of the time. This was probably copied from the Cola practice of entrusting the protection and the administration of shrines in South India to military contingents.³

Accordingly the Temple of the Tooth in Polonnaruva and a few other shrines in Ceylon came under the special protection

1. CV., LX.77-78; see also JRASCB(NS), IV, pt. I, p.65.
 2. UCR., XVIII, pt.1-2, pp.46-9; GJSc., II, p.199, No.596; ASCAR., 1953, pp.27-8; EI., XVIII, pp.330-338.
 3. QJMySoc., XXXII, pp.144-5; see also GHJ., IV, pp.19-20; ASCAR., 1953, p.28n.19.

of the Vēlaikkāras.¹ The progress made by Hinduism in Rājarat̥ṭha during the occupation of the Coḷas would have led to closer contact with Buddhism after its revival in the time of Vijayabāhu I. Later there came a period of neighbourly co-existence as illustrated by developments later in the Polonnaruva period, when Hindu shrines came to be built adjacent to the Buddhist shrines. Earlier traces of this influence can be seen at Mahiyaṅgaṇa where pictures of Śiva and Viṣṇu are found on the walls of the relic chamber of the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-thūpa.²

1. EZ., II, p. 254, IV, p. 1191; EI., XVIII, pp. 338.

2. ASCAR., 1951, p. 18.

Conclusion.

From the foregoing study it may be concluded that the Coḷa occupation of Rājaraṭṭha in the eleventh century was a period of great historical and political significance for Ceylon. It created a lasting impression upon the minds of the Sinhalese and especially upon those of the medieval Sinhalese chroniclers. As a result of this development even some of the earlier invasions of Ceylon by South Indian adventurers of uncertain identity have been attributed to the Coḷas by the compilers of the Sinhalese chronicles. This stands in contrast with the evidence of the Mahāvamsa which has recorded only one invasion of Ceylon from the Coḷa country, viz: the usurpation of the throne of Anurādhāpura by Elāra in the second century B.C. There is, however, more evidence to suggest that till about the tenth century Ceylon had more contact with the Pāṇḍyas than with the Coḷas. For many centuries following the Saṅgam period the Coḷas were a very insignificant political factor in South India. The earlier references to the Coḷas also seem to have had rather a geographical than a dynastic connotation.

During the latter half of the ninth century the Coḷas began to emerge into prominence. They replaced the Pallavas and began to challenge the Pāṇḍyas. In their

adversity the Pāṇdyas relied more and more on the support of the Sinhalese. But before this turn of events the Sinhalese had suffered from the attacks of the Pāṇdyas on a number of occasions. The alliance between the Pāṇdyas and the Sinhalese failed, however, to stop the Coḷas from over-running the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. It only earned the Sinhalese the bitter enmity of the Coḷas. The attempts of Parāntaka I to conquer Ceylon and capture the Pāṇḍya regalia left behind by a fugitive Pāṇḍya king were frustrated by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of the Coḷa country. About the same time a Rāṣṭrakūṭa force seems to have made a raid into one of the islands off the northern coast of Ceylon. A few years later there appears to have been another abortive raid into the same area by a Coḷa Senāpati. The last mentioned events do not emerge very clearly from the Cūlavam̐sa account. We have therefore discussed the identity of "Vallabha" in the Cūlavam̐sa at some length. This may help us in solving the problem of his identity as well as in reconciling the remaining evidence for a Coḷa incursion about the same time. An objective study of the attitude of Parāntaka I towards Ceylon also suggests that Ceylon was not necessarily the victim of naked Coḷa aggression, but rather of her own policy of alliance with the Pāṇdyas,

and a rather provocative attitude towards the Coḷas.

With the accession of Rājarāja I to the Coḷa throne the desire to conquer Ceylon seems to have found a new incentive with the increasing attention of the Coḷas to maritime trade. As a result the capture of at least the northern half of Ceylon became an important part of their policy. The part played by these considerations in moulding Coḷa policy towards Ceylon and South east Asia has been discussed in the Introduction. The available evidence also seems to suggest that Rājarāja's success in Ceylon was not achieved in one single campaign, but was completed in at least two stages. The confused political conditions in Ceylon provided the Coḷas with an opportunity of occupying the northern half of Ceylon. And for over three quarters of the eleventh century this area remained securely under the control of Coḷas. The absence of any great determination on the part of the Coḷas to annex the remaining parts of Ceylon can be interpreted as a part of their policy and not a reflection of their weakness or failure in Ceylon.

The names of many of the Coḷa rulers who exerted their authority over Rājarāṭṭha are found in the contemporary Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon and South India. The Cūlavamsa records however no names of Coḷa rulers except

for a casual reference to Vīrarājendra (1062-1069), which curiously enough, has hitherto escaped the notice of the scholars. We have also tried to separate the rather confusing account of the Coḷa conquest of Rājarāṭṭha in the Cūlavamsa, thereby tracing some of the Coḷa activities in Ceylon in the time of Rājarāja I and his son Rājendra. Some plausible explanations have been adduced to show how this confusion may have arisen. There is, however, an appreciable amount of broad agreement between the accounts in the Coḷa epigraphs and the Cūlavamsa with regard to the relations between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese during this period.

The Coḷas appear to have considered the whole of Ceylon as a part of their empire, but in actual fact in the southern and central parts of Ceylon their power was nominal than real. But at the same time in these regions the opposition to the Coḷas was neither very effective nor united. The political conditions which prevailed in Rohana only reveal the disunity among the Sinhalese themselves. It is our contention that while the Coḷas ruled over the northern half of Ceylon a number of petty chiefs were exercising their authority in different parts of southern and central parts of Ceylon. This may be contrary to the impression one obtains from the account

in the Gūlavamsa, according to which, these chiefs seem to have had consecutive reigns in Rohaṇa. The identification of at least a few of these chiefs still remains uncertain.

The first noticeable change or improvement in the long drawn-out conflict between the Coḷas and the Sinhalese appeared with the emergence of Vijāyabāhu (1055-6 A.C.). Vijāyabāhu's place in the genealogical table of Ceylonese kings is by no means completely certain. There is some reason to doubt as to his hereditary right to the Sinhalese throne. He secured his place with his own valour and by the absence of heirs in the direct line of succession. It has been pointed out how he had to seek his acceptance by his rival forces at every important stage of his political career. Vijāyabāhu, however, played a decisive rôle in the defeat and the expulsion of the Coḷas from Ceylon. He was also helped by internal difficulties in the Coḷa capital which for some time distracted the attention of the Coḷas from their colonies.

The conduct of the Coḷas appears to have been quite exceptional, especially in times of war. Their attacks on enemy countries were often accompanied by extensive damage to both person and property. On their own admission and according to the testimony of their enemies, they

perpetrated much wanton destruction of and inhumanly treatment on, even the innocent sections of the populations. Their rapacious activities sometimes compare with those of the Muslims in India about the same time. In Ceylon, too, the Colas are blamed for the misery and the destruction caused to the people and their worldly and spiritual possessions.

In the administrative sphere the whole of Ceylon was nominally regarded as a mandala (province) of the Cola empire, but Cola rule was felt mainly in Rājarat̥tha which was governed from Polonnaruva. The Colas presumably filled all the important positions in the administration, while they would also have had the assistance of some of the Sinhalese. The difference in language, and in social and religious habits, would have prevented the Colas from introducing any important changes into the Cola territories in Ceylon. Therefore it would seem that no important change in the administrative organization was made while the old Sinhalese administrative system was continued by the Colas. Thus we find that their rule over Rājarat̥tha failed to exert any lasting influence on the administrative organization of the Sinhalese, and not long after their expulsion even such vestiges of their rule such as the Cola units of currency, weights and measures were given up by the Sinhalese.

In the social sphere whatever effect was felt by the Sinhalese social organization as a result of the Cola occupation remains scarcely known. In the religious sphere the Colas had at first destroyed the religious buildings of the Buddhists and neglected whatever had escaped their ravages. Buddhism was denied official protection and patronage, and as a result it suffered not only from wilful damage and neglect but also from internal decay. The effects of internal decay which we have stressed with some emphasis may shift some of the responsibility for the decline of Buddhism in Ceylon in the eleventh century away from the Colas. It is also an hypothesis which may require further investigation. A few notable exceptions to the Cola attitude towards Buddhism are available from Ceylon and South India, but on the whole their activities were detrimental to the religions other than Saivism. With the establishment of Cola rule in Rājaraṭṭha Saivism seems to have made some progress, but evidently it failed to win the allegiance of the Sinhalese and was confined mainly to the Tamils. The establishment of Cola power and the importance attached to Saivism as a result, however, would have been a challenge to the Buddhists of Ceylon and helped to stimulate a revival later.

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