

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF KÖṬṬĒ

(c. A.D.1400-1521)

BY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is offered as a contribution to the study of the medieval history of Ceylon. In this study an attempt is made to examine the historical developments mainly political in the principal kingdom of Ceylon in the fifteenth century and in the early part of the sixteenth century. The first chapter surveys the original sources which could be utilized for the study of this period. Major part of this chapter is devoted to make an assessment of the historical value of the Rājāvaliya. The second chapter deals mainly with the origin of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē. The activities of the Alakēśvaras and the building of the fortress of Kōṭṭē are studied in it. In the same chapter the Chinese invasion and its repercussions on the development of the kingdom are studied. The third and fourth chapters are on the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. While an attempt has been made to trace the ancestry of this king the political events that took place in his reign are discussed in detail. The fifth chapter discusses the historical developments that took place in the kingdom of Kōṭṭē after the death of Parākramabāhu VI up to the partition of the kingdom in 1521 as a result of the Vijayabā-kollaya. The sixth chapter deals mainly with the foundation of the kingdom of Uḍaraṭa. The last chapter deals with the Portuguese activities in the Island during the earliest part of their stay in the Island.

ABBREVIATIONS.

- AIC.....Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, E. Muller.
- ARE.....Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Calcutta
- ASCAR.....Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report.
- ASCM.....Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.
- BEFEO,.....Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi
- CA.....Ceylon Antiquary, Colombo.
- GALR.....Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Colombo.
- CHI.....Cambridge History of India, Cambridge.
- CLR.....Ceylon Literary Register, Colombo.
- CLR(TS).....Ceylon Literary Register, Third Series, Colombo.
- Ch.R......China Review; or Notes and Querries on the Far East, Hong-Kong.
- CHJ.....Ceylon Historical Journal, Colombo.
- CJSG.....Ceylon Journal of Science Section G--Archaeology, Ethnology, etc., Colombo.
- CJHSS.....The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, Colombo.
- Concise History..
- .....A Concise History of Ceylon. From the earliest times to the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505, by C.W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana, Colombo, 1961.
- Cv.....Cūlavamsa. ed W. Geiger 2 vols., P.T.S. London 1923, 1927.
- Cv.tr.....Cūlavamsa, translation. tr W. Geiger, translated from German into English by C. Mable Rickmers, 2 parts. Colombo, 1953.
- EHC.....The Early History of Ceylon, G.C. Mendis, Calcutta, 1954
- EB.....Epigraphia Birmanica, London.
- EI.....Epigraphia Indica, Delhi.

EZ.....Epigraphia Zeylanica, London and Colombo.

IA.....Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

IHQ.....Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

JRAS.....Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, London.

JRAS(CB).....Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Colombo.

JRAS(CB)NS...Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)  
New Series, Colombo.

J(Ch.B)RAS...Journal of the Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society,  
later Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic  
Society, Shanghai.

JRAS(MB).....The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Malayan Branch),  
Singapore.

JSEAH.....Journal of South-East Asian History, Singapore.

MV.....Mahāvamsa. English translation by W. Geiger assisted by  
M. H. Bode, reprinted, Colombo 1950; first published 1912.

PTS.....Pali Text Society, London.

Queyroz.....The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon  
by Fr. Fernão de Queyroz, tr. by Fr. S. G. Perera.  
Colombo, 1930

RKD.....Report on the Kegalle District of the Province of  
Sabaragamuva, Colombo.

Rjt.....Rājaratnākara, ed. by P.N. Tisera, Colombo.

Rājāvaliya(G)....Rājāvaliya, ed. by B. Gunasekara, Colombo.

Rj.tr.....Rājāvaliya, translated by B. Gunasekara, Colombo.

SHC.....A Short History of Ceylon, H.W. Codrington, London, 1947

SII.....South Indian Inscriptions, Madras.

TP.....T'oung Pao. Archives concernant l'histoire, les langues,  
la géographie, l'ethnographie et les arts de l'Asie  
orientale. Leiden.

- TVB.....Tudugala Vidāgama Pāvati Bandāravaliya, Colombo  
Museum MS. No. X9
- UCR.....University of Ceylon Review, Colombo.
- UHC.....University of Ceylon History of Ceylon edited by  
H.C. Ray and S. Paranavitana.
- Valentijn.....Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën, F. Valentijn, Amsterdam,  
1726, vol.v.
- VKAWA.....Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen  
te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde (Amsterdam).
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CHAPTER 1

THE SOURCES

The study of the history of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē is greatly assisted by many chronicles, inscriptions and official documents which have been preserved through the centuries. Thanks to these sources, supplemented by quasi-historical writings of contemporary literary men, and accounts of foreign writers such as the Chinese and the Portuguese, it is possible to procure sufficient material to write the political history of the period under consideration in a manner very different from that in which the earlier periods of Ceylon history could be written. It is, however, to be regretted that the original Ceylonese official documents relating to the Kōṭṭē, Sītāvaka, Kandy and Jaffna kingdoms are not available to us today. Even the Portuguese archives in Goa and in Lisbon do not possess many documents that can be attributed to the period prior to the latter part of the sixteenth century.

The Mahāvamsa, along with its continuation known as the Cūlavamsa, is regarded as the primary source for the study of the early and medieval periods of Ceylon history. The Cūlavamsa was apparently written in three different parts by different authors. The first section deals with the history up to the reign of Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1153-1186). The second part contains the history of the Island up to the reign of Parākramabāhu IV (A.D.1302-1326)<sup>1.</sup>

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1. Wilhelm Geiger, 'The Trustworthyness of the Mahāvamsa', IHQ, vi, (1930), pp.205-228.

From the evidence available from the chronicle itself it is evident that the third part of the Cūlavamsa was written during the reign of Kīrti Śrī Rājasīṅha (A.D.1747-1782), and at the request of this monarch.<sup>2</sup> Geiger, who made a detailed study of the Pali chronicles of Ceylon, concluded that this part of the Cūlavamsa was written by a thera called Tibbotuvave Buddharakkhita.<sup>3</sup> This part of the Cūlavamsa professes to deal with the history of the Island from the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu III (A.D.1326-1335; Cv.90:v.5) to the reign of Kīrti Śrī Rājasīṅha (A.D.1747-1782; Cv.100:v.292). The great name Cūlavamsa is no guarantee for the historical exactitude of the chronicle, as this third part of the text is deficient in information about many events that occurred during this period. The Chinese invasion is completely passed over by the chronicler;<sup>4</sup> the arrival of the Portuguese, the most important event of this period, is nowhere mentioned.<sup>5</sup> The name 'Parāṅgi' appears for the first time in the reign of Senarat (A.D.1605-1635) more than a century after their arrival in the Island.<sup>6</sup>

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2. Cv.99:75-80.

3. Cv.tr.p.263, foot note 1.

See also Saṅgharāja Sādhucariyāva, ed. by Henpitagedara Piyananda, Colombo, 1954, p.20.

4. Cv.91:14; Cv. tr., ii, p.214, foot note, 2.

5. Cv.tr., ii, p.224

6. Cv.95:5

11

The activities of such eminent personalities as <sup>the</sup> Alagakkōnāra Prabhurāja I, Parākramabāhu VI and Māyādunnē have not been given due consideration. The Vijayabākollaya is not known to the author.<sup>7</sup> Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D.1489-1513) has been omitted from the list of the kings of the Island.<sup>8</sup> The chronicler pays much attention to the Kandyan court and the festivals connected with the Tooth Relic, but shows no interest in the contemporary political problems. The third part of the Cūlavamsa thus suffers from serious defects for the study of the history of this period.

Analysis of the chronicle shows that it is heavily dependent on the Rājaratnākaraya as far as the history of Ceylon prior to the reign of Vimaladharmasūriya I (A.D.1594-1604) is concerned.<sup>9</sup> The errors that are to be found in the latter work have crept into the Cūlavamsa as well. In fact, the Cūlavamsa possesses no independent value as far as this period is concerned for the above reason.

The Rājāvaliyas:-

There is no single work by the name of Rājāvaliya, although the published version under the editorship of Gunasekara, which ends with the reign of Vimaladharmasūriya II (A.D.1687-1707), has been referred to in this monograph by this name for the sake of convenience.<sup>10</sup>

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7. Cv.92:4-5.

8. Cv.92:3;Cv, tr, ii, p.219, foot note, 1.

9. CLR, (MS), ii, 1932, p.292

10. Rājāvaliya, ed. by B. Gunasekara, 1926; Rājāvaliya, tr. by B. Gunasekara, Colombo, 1900.

The Sinhalese edition will hereafter be referred to as Rājāvaliya (G).

The Rājāvaliyas exist in many recensions and versions written in various periods by different writers.<sup>11</sup> The word Rājāvaliya literally means 'line of kings', and these writings profess to deal with the reigns of the kings of Ceylon from the very beginnings of her known history. Even in the main Rājāvaliya version the various recensions differ among themselves in detail. In spite of the differences these recensions show considerable unity. All the recensions of the chronicle written up to the reign of Vimaladharmasūriya II thus fall into one category.<sup>12</sup> The others, though also called Rājāvaliyas, fall into another category.

All these recensions begin with a description of the universe, and go on to deal with the origin of kingship, which is supposed to begin with the election by the people of King Mahāsamsata.<sup>13</sup> From this account up to the end of the reign of Parākramabāhu II (A.D.1236-1270) the Rājāvaliyas agree in the main with the other Sinhalese historical narratives such as the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya and the Pūjāvaliya, and perhaps the two latter works have drawn largely on the Mahāvamsa and the Cūlavamsa.<sup>13a</sup> The Rājāvaliya, however, stands on its own feet after this period, and gives in the main a trustworthy account in spite of the fact that there are some obvious errors in the narrative.

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11. C.E. Godakumbura, 'Historical writings in Sinhalese', Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, ed. by C.H. Philips, London, 1962.

12. Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, p.76.

13. Rājāvaliya, tr, pp.1-13; Rājāvaliya(G), pp.1-8.

13a. Concise History, p.13

These errors can be of some use to us for they may assist us in ascertaining the nature of the source material utilized by the chroniclers. The first and foremost among these errors is the hiatus of more than a hundred years from the end of the reign of Parākramabāhu II (A.D.1236-1270). This hiatus begins soon after the statement that Parākramabāhu II kissed his five sons and his son-in-law, and, having requested them to swear that they would not bear ill will against one another, entrusted the burden of kingship to his eldest son Vijayabāhu IV and then departed this life. The next sentence of the chronicle abruptly refers to an invasion of Ceylon by a king called Dos-raja from Great China (Mahā-Cīna). In the same sentence the chronicler mentions the capture of Vijayabāhu, probably Vijayabāhu IV (A.D.1270-1272). When this Vijayabāhu was thus taken captive to China, there was no king in the Island.<sup>14</sup> But having mentioned this, the chronicle states that <sup>the</sup> Alakēśvara Mantri dwelt at Rayigama; that the bānā (nephew) of Parākramabāhu, possibly the fifth of that name, remained at Gampala, and the Āryacakravarti resided at Yāpāpaṭuna. Then we find a description of the foundation of the fortress known as Jayavardhanapura Kōṭṭē by the Alakēśvara Mantri.<sup>15</sup>

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14. There is no evidence for a Chinese invasion of Ceylon during the reign of Vijayabāhu IV (A.D.1270-1272). According to contemporary sources Vijayabāhu IV was assassinated by his general named Mitta in the second year of his reign. The only Chinese invasion known to us took place in A.D.1411.
15. An exact date for the building of the fortress cannot be given. But it is fair to assume that it was built some time between A.D.1357 and 1374 during the reign of Vikramabāhu III (A.D.1357-1374).

Following it the invasion of Gampala and Kōṭṭē, undertaken by the Āryacakravarti, is mentioned.<sup>16</sup> According to the chronicle Bhuvanekabāhu V fled from Gampala to Rayigama when this invasion was launched upon the territories of Kanda-uda-rata. When the fear of the invasion was over Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D.1372-1408) returned to Gampala. The subsequent account is devoted to the tradition concerning the early life of Parākramabāhu VI. The chronicle then goes on to mention that when Vijayabāhu was taken captive to China, his queen Sunetrā-devī accompanied her child to the temple of Vīdāgama to seek refuge in B.E.1958 (A.D.1414/1415). The Vīdāgama Mahāthera, foreseeing that this prince would one day become the king of Lanka, offered protection to the family. Then there follows an account regarding the manner in which Vīra Alakēśvara attempted to destroy this family. Lastly the chronicle records that Prince Parākramabāhu ascended the throne in B.E.1944 when he attained the age of sixteen years.<sup>17</sup>

In the above mentioned account, in addition to the errors in the sequence of events and the manner in which the facts are represented, we find that the kings who reigned at Yāpahuva and Kurunāgala are entirely ignored.<sup>18</sup>

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16. This invasion is believed to have taken place in 1391. But Codrington surmises that the invasion of the Sinhalese territories was undertaken by the Āryacakravarti during the reign of Vikramabāhu III (A.D.1357-1374) and that of Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D.1371-1408). JRAS(CB)xxxii, pp.286 ff.
17. Rājāvaliya, tr. pp.66-68.
18. Concise History, pp.287-290.

The Gampala and Dādigama monarchs also have been passed over by the chronicler apart from the vague mention of Parākramabāhu V (A.D.1344-1359) and Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D.1372-1408).<sup>19</sup> The Pāṇḍya invasion and the capture of the Tooth Relic during the reign of Parākramabāhu IV (A.D.1302-1326) are apparently not known to him.<sup>20</sup>

The above mentioned Chinese king called Dos-*raja* is not known to the Rājāvaliya version called the Alakēśvarayuddhaya.<sup>21</sup> According to the Rājāvaliya version utilized by the Dutch historian Valentijn of the eighteenth century, this Dos-*raja* captured power after the reign of 'Acboraja' possibly meaning Agbō II (A.D.608-618), and the invaders according to him were Malabars and not Chinese.<sup>22</sup> The Rājāvaliya version translated by Upham says: "...in the reign of Wijaya Bāhu, a Malabar king, named Maha Dese Rajah, with an army of the nation called Siganam, landed in Ceylon, pretending that he was bringing tribute, and carried away the king as a prisoner to the country of Maha China".<sup>23</sup> Simon<sup>de</sup> Silva informs us about one version of the Rājāvaliya according to which Dos-*raja* retreated to Jaffna (Yāpapaṭuna) after taking the king captive.<sup>24</sup> The Vanni-Rājāvaliya informs us that the king was taken captive to India, while according to the Vijitavāllē Rājāvaliya he was taken to Goa.<sup>25</sup>

19. Concise History, pp.291-304.

20. Concise History, p.293.

21. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.19.

22. Valentijn, p.71.

23. Upham, Edward, The Mahavansi, The Rajaratnakari, and the Rajavali, vol.ii, London, 1833, p.263 (hereafter: Upham, volume ii).

24. JRAS (CB) xxii, p.320; Add.19, 866.

25. Vijitavāllē-Rājāvaliya, Or.6606-73, fol.83; Vanni-Rājāvaliya Colombo, Museum, MS. no.AR.18, fol.75.

These works are in equal disagreement concerning the name of the king who was taken captive. The printed editions name him Vijayabāhu. The Alakēśvarayuddhaya, however, does not mention the name of the king who was captured by the Chinese.<sup>26</sup> As we noticed earlier the account of Valentijn records that the name of the king was 'Acboraja' (Agbō).<sup>27</sup> According to Couto he was 'Dambadine Pandar Pracuramabago', possibly meaning Parākramabāhu II (A.D.1236-1270) of Daṃbadeniya.<sup>28</sup> According to one recension the captured king was known as Vīrabāhu while according to another, his name was Gajabāhu.<sup>29</sup> It is interesting to note that none of the Rājāvaliyas gives the correct name of the ruler who was taken captive to China. Although we know from the evidence of the Saddharmaratnākaraya that the captive was Vīra Alakēśvara the Rājāvaliyas do not even mention that he was a member of the Alakēśvara family.<sup>30</sup>

The hiatus begins at various points in different Rājāvaliyas. As we notice in the greater number of recensions of the chronicle this appears after the reign of Parākramabāhu II (A.D.1236-1270) halfway in the reign of his son Vijayabāhu IV (A.D.1270-1272).<sup>31</sup>

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26. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.19.

27. Valentijn, p.71

28. JRAS (CB) xx, p.65.

29. JRAS (CB) xxii, p.324; Purāvṛtta, p.94.

30. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.19

31. Rājāvaliya (G), p.46; Rājāvaliya, tr .p.66; SOAS, 41972, fol.62d. Or.6606-73, fol.83; Or.8219, fol.44; Vanni Rājāvaliya, Col.Mus. no.AR. 18, p.75. RAS (London) Library, No.4. Case 12, top drawer, fol.28. Copenhagen-MS.olim.13 Collect Rask, fol.62.



In a number of Rājāvaliya recensions this hiatus begins during the reign of a king named Parākramabāhu, the son of Sulu Vijayabāhu.<sup>32</sup> Judging from the manner in which the rest of the chronicle goes, it appears that Parākramabāhu II, the son of Vijayabāhu III (A.D.1232-1236) was meant. There are other recensions where a hiatus is found after the invasion of Māgha (A.D.1215-1236), and yet others in which one occurs after the reign of Makalantissa (B.C.41-19).<sup>33</sup>

Certain scholars who were not aware of the presence of a hiatus in the chronicle unknowingly interpreted the history of the Island erroneously.<sup>34</sup> Codrington, who made a great contribution to the better understanding of the medieval history of the Island, pointed out that two, if not three, independent stories have been incorporated in the account of the Rājāvaliya.<sup>35</sup> One, according to him, related the revolt against the Āryacakravarti, led by the Algakkōnāra Prabhurāja I. Another, places an account of the capture of the Sinhalese ruler by the Chinese before, instead of after the war with Jaffna. The third one relates the adventures of the young prince, later Parākramabāhu VI, and his mother Sunetrā-devī. Yet this argument does not fully account for the confusion of events in the chronicle. A closer examination of the account would show that there is something more than the incorporation of two or three independent stories.

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32. Or.4971, fol.1; Or.6606-91, fol.1.

33. Or.6606-78, fol.28; Or.2568, fol.38.

34. Bell, in RKD, pp.5, and 81; E.W. Perera in JRAS(CB)xxii, pp. 12 ff.

35. Codrington in JRAS(CB)xxxii, p.288.

An objection against Codrington's assumption may be raised owing to the fact that the name of the captive king is wrongly recorded. If these were separate stories it is hard to understand why the name of this king is wrongly recorded at two places. In addition, the name of the father of Parākramabāhu VI is also given erroneously owing to a confusion with the name of the captive king.<sup>36</sup>

A careful examination of the ola manuscripts available may help us to understand the manner in which these errors crept into the Rājāvaliya versions. There are many ola manuscripts in which leaves are missing, or are not kept in their correct order. In some such manuscripts one may find the missing leaves in a different place in the same manuscript.<sup>37</sup> In one manuscript of the Rājāvaliya the leaves from the middle of the reign of Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu VIIĪ (A.D.1478) to the time of the Uḍaraṭa rebellion during the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D.1489-1513) are missing at the proper place.<sup>38</sup> Geiger informs us that such manuscripts are not rare among the ola copies of the Mahāvamsa as well.<sup>39</sup> We cannot, however, say definitely whether this was the reason behind the hiatus in the story of the Rājāvaliya, although this may be suggested as a possibility.

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36. Rājāvaliya, tr. pp. 66-67.

37. Or. 6606-73, fol. 88.

38. Or. 5707, fol. 49.

39. W. Geiger, Mahāvamsa, PTS, London, 1908, Introduction.

Some scholars are of the opinion that the hiatus existed already in the source of the Rājāvaliyas.<sup>40</sup> An argument in favour of this view is the fact that the earliest Rājāvaliya known to us, which is found in the account of Diogo do Couto, written in 1597, also has the same defect.<sup>41</sup> The view has also been expressed that the mistake crept into the chronicle when the story of the Island was put together with the aid of separate traditions.<sup>42</sup> Scholars believe that the first part of the Rājāvaliya continued from the beginning of the history of the Island to the reign of Parākramabāhu II (A.D.1236-1270) and the other part from the beginning of the fourteenth century up to the time of Vimaladharmasūriya II (A.D.1687-1706), while there is a hiatus between the reigns of Parākramabāhu II (A.D.1236-1270) and Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466).<sup>43</sup> Whatever the cause of this hiatus may be, the copyists of the chronicle were not aware of it until the error had passed the stage when it could not be rectified. As mentioned earlier, even the earliest version of the Rājāvaliya that we know of, the copy that was utilized by Couto, has this hiatus. One copyist of the Rājāvaliya had made an attempt to fill the gap of history with the help of the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya and the Saddharmaratnākara at a much later time.<sup>44</sup>

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40. Historians of India Pakistan and Ceylon, p.75.

41. JRAS(CB)xx, pp.66-67.

42. Codrington in JRAS(CB)xxxii, pp.286-291

43. Suravira, A.V. An Examination of the Historical Documents in Sinhalese Literature, (Sinhalese), Nugegoda, 1966, pp.28-29.

44. Rājāvaliya, ed. by Vatuvatte Pemananda Thera, Colombo, 1959, pp.73-75 (hereafter Vatuvattē Rājāvaliya)

The hiatus in the Rājāvaliya account has been the primary cause of many misunderstandings of the history of the Island after the fall of the Daṁbadeṇiya kingdom. In fact, it is regrettable that such eminent scholars as H.C.P. Bell, who were aware of the brief outline of the course of events after the reign of Parākramabāhu II (A.D.1236-1270), were misled by the errors in the account of the Rājāvaliya.<sup>45</sup> Mudaliyar Rasanayagam, without knowing that the account of the Rājāvaliya was erroneous, concluded that the Malabar invasion mentioned by Upham in his Rājāvaliya translation in place of the Chinese invasion, took place in the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Having thus complicated the historical events, he added further errors by stating that Jōtiya-Siṭṭāṇa, who was the provincial ruler in Uḍaraṭa some time before the end of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, was installed as the ruler of Uḍaraṭa by the above mentioned Malabar invaders. Anyone who is acquainted with the inscriptional evidence and the contemporary historical developments in the political field can see that such a view is erroneous.<sup>47</sup> Nilakanta Sastri has brought forward a South Indian point of view and uses this story as evidence to support his view regarding an invasion undertaken by a Pāṇḍya ruler in the middle part of the fifteenth century.<sup>48</sup>

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45. RKD, pp. 5 and 81.

46. Rasanayagam, Mudaliyar, C., Ancient Jaffna, Madras, 1926, pp.365-368.

47. Madavala Rock Inscription of Parakramabahu VI, EZ, iii, pp.235-240.

48. UHC.p.689.

He assumes that this invasion is referred to in the 'History of Ceylon' by Philalethes as having taken place in A.D.1451.<sup>49</sup> This work of Philalethes should not be regarded as an original source book, for we learn from the author's own statements that he depended on the account of Valentijn in the writing of the history of Ceylon prior to the seventeenth century.<sup>50</sup> In fact, as we shall notice later, on in this chapter, Valentijn's account of the history of Ceylon before the reign of Dharmapāla of Kōṭṭē (A.D.1551-1597) has been based on one version of the Rājāvaliya.<sup>51</sup> Thus, Philalethes, who heavily depended on the account of Valentijn, made more errors than those we find in the original Rājāvaliya version. Nilakanta Sastri, who trusted the work of Philalethes, thus unwittingly repeated the errors found in the Rājāvaliya.

As we have already noted, the Rājāvaliya refers to Parākramabāhu VI's father as a king named Vijayabāhu.<sup>52</sup> With the help of this evidence, coupled with the fact that the contemporary Sanskrit work called Vṛttaratnākarapañjikā according to which the father of this king was a mahīpati, some scholars have attempted to prove that the father of this monarch was a ruling king known as Vijayabāhu who, according to them, was the sixth of that name.<sup>53</sup>

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49. Ibid.

50. Philalethes, A.M. History of Ceylon, p.37.

51. See below pp. 41-46

52. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.67.

53. Vṛttaratnākarapañjikā, ed. by C.A. Seelakhandha Mahasthavira, Bombay, 1908, p.20; E.W. Perera in JRAS(CB)xxii, p.12; H.C.P. Bell in RKD, p.81.

Recently also one scholar, K.D.P. Wikremasinha, in his Kōṭṭē-yugayē-Siṃhala-sāhityaya, 1965, pp.35-36, expressed the view that the father of Parākramabāhu VI, must at least have been a local ruler.

According to the view of these scholars this king was the person who was taken captive to China by Cheng-Ho. From the Chinese accounts and the contemporary Saddharmaratnākaraya we learn that the ruler who was taken captive to China was Vira Alakesvara, not Vijayabāhu.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, we learn from the contemporary sources that the name of Parākramabāhu VI's father was Jayamahālāna, and his mother was Sunetrā-devī.<sup>55</sup> Mudaliyar Simon de Silva, in his paper entitled 'Vijayabāhu VI', contributed to the Royal Asiatic Society Journal (Ceylon Branch), conclusively proved that there was no king by the name of Vijayabāhu before the accession of Parākramabāhu VI and after the death of Bhuvanekabāhu V.<sup>56</sup> He established that Vijayabāhu VI did not live before the accession of Parākramabāhu VI, for this king reigned after Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D.1489-1513) in the sixteenth century. He was not Vijayabāhu VII as some scholars wrongly assumed but was the sixth of that name.<sup>57</sup>

Apart from these major errors there are some other unreliable statements found in the account of the Rājāvaliyas. In spite of the generally excellent manner in which the chronicle handled the chronological order of events, there are a number of inaccurate dates.

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54. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p. 317.

55. See below pp. 147-151

56. De Silva, Simon, 'Vijayabāhu VI', JRAS(CB)xxii, no. 65, 1912, pp. 312-

57. EZ, v, pp. 447-448; See also below, pp. 21-22

The date of the arrival of the Portuguese to the Island is given according to the Christian Era; this is rather remarkable in a presumably medieval Sinhalese text. The date assigned to the event in many Rājāvaliya recensions is A.D.1322.<sup>58</sup> The editors of the printed texts, however, have changed it to A.D.1522 in an attempt to rectify the error.<sup>59</sup> According to Valentijn it was A.D.1530.<sup>60</sup> One manuscript mentions the date as A.D.1302.<sup>61</sup> According to some manuscripts this date was 1522 of the Buddhist Era.<sup>62</sup> This was undoubtedly an attempt to eliminate the date given according to the Christian Era. One manuscript gives this date in Tamil numerals but with the same error.<sup>63</sup> We can be almost certain that the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon in A.D.1505.<sup>64</sup> In any case we are certain that they were in the Island in the next year.<sup>65</sup> The Portuguese historian Diogo do Couto mentions that this event took place in A.D.1505.<sup>66</sup> In view of the fact that this is the earliest version of the Rājāvaliya available to us one might assume that the original Rājāvaliya versions gave the correct date.

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58. Add. 20, 012, fol. 32; Or. 5307, fol. 50; Copenhagen MS. no 13 of Collect Rask; RAS (London) library MS. no 41 case<sup>12</sup> top drawer.

59. Rājāvaliya (G), p. 51; Rājāvaliya tr. p. 73; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya

60. p. 80  
Valentijn, p. 75.

Valentijn, however, records the correct date, A.D. 1505, in a different place. This information possibly has been taken by Valentijn from a Portuguese document. (Valentijn, p. 73)

61. Or. 2702, fol. 95

62. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p. 80, foot note 1.

63. Or. 6606-74, fol. 73.

64. See below pp. 409-415

65. For further information see: Donald Ferguson, 'The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506', JRAS (CB) xix, no. 59, 1907, pp. 284-385.

66. Couto in JRAS (CB) xx, no. 60, 1908, p. 71; Valentijn, p. 73.

As, however, the event with which we are concerned here is very closely connected with the Portuguese, Couto must have been in a better position to correct the untrustworthy date found in the Sinhalese chronicle even though he made use of it in order to write the history of the Island. For this reason we cannot precisely say whether the original Rājāvaliya recorded the correct date or not.<sup>67</sup>

There is also the same sort of confusion regarding the year in which Parākramabāhu VI ascended the throne. As we have noticed earlier, the date assigned to this event is B.E.1944.<sup>68</sup> The chronicle mentions that the event took place when this prince was sixteen years old.<sup>69</sup> The same chronicle on an earlier occasion states that princess Sunetrā-devī, the mother of Parākramabāhu VI, took her infant son to the Vidāgama Temple in B.E.1958.<sup>70</sup> Obviously, there is an error here. Some manuscripts, perhaps owing to the fact that the copyist noticed the error, mention B.E.1973 as the year of accession of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>71</sup> Upham's version makes it B.E.1984.<sup>72</sup> One modern writer has made an attempt to establish that the correct date should be B.E.1858 and not 1958.<sup>73</sup>

67. Certain manuscripts of the Rājāvaliya do not mention the date at all. Add.19,866, fol.49; Or.4971, fol.II; SOAS 41,972, fol.42; Or.6606-91, fol.10; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.28.

68. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.68

69. Rajavaliya, tr.p.67

70. Ibid.

71. Or.6606-73, fol.85; Rājāvaliya, tr.p.v.; RAS(London)Library.MSS. No.4 case, 12, Top drawer, fol.28-29.

72. Upham, vol.ii, p.268.

73. C.E.Correa, 'The Capture of King Vijayabāhu' (in Sinhalese) Vidyodaya, vol.i, 1906, no.6, pp. 237-241.



It is, however, not hard to determine the correct date which, according to many contemporary inscriptions and literary writings, is B.E.1958.<sup>74</sup> If we assume that the chronicle has confused the year of Parākramabāhu's accession with that of Sunetrā-devī's flight, which coincides with the death of her husband, we may not be far wrong in assuming that B.E.1944 was the year in which the latter event took place.<sup>75</sup> Further support for this assumption will be mentioned later on in this study.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to these errors we come across many minor factual misstatements. The outcome of the first skirmish with the king of Jaffna by Prince Sapumal has been overlooked.<sup>77</sup> In dealing with the war in Jaffna the chronicler mentions that the Āryacakravarti was killed by Prince Sapumal while the contemporary sources mention that the ruler of Jaffna fled to South India.<sup>78</sup> In the same manner it is stated that the chief who attacked the Sinhalese ships in South India was killed by the Sinhalese army and that Jōtiya-Ṣitāṇa was also killed by the Āmbulugala-Raja after the suppression of the revolt in Uḍaraṭa.<sup>79</sup> Contemporary writers do not say that they were killed but assert that the chiefs fled for their lives.<sup>80</sup>

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74. This was the year in which the king celebrated his formal coronation. For further information see: below pp.

75. See Codrington in JRAS(CB)xxxii,p.289

76. See below,pp.114-115

77. Rājāvaliya, tr.68

78. Rājāvaliya, tr.69

79. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.69

80. Pārakumbāsirita, v.48

However, we should remember that the Rājāvaliya version known as the Alakēśvarayuddhaya is free from these errors.<sup>81</sup> Again the name of the leader of Uḍaraṭa who revolted against Parākramabāhu VI is mentioned as Sōjāta-siṭu-raja, while the correct name according to the contemporary inscriptions was Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa.<sup>82</sup> In view of the fact this name appears in all the Rājāvaliya versions with the exception of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya, we may conclude that the error crept into the chronicle some time after the early stage of the tradition.

From the above discussion it may be concluded that most of the errors could have been avoided if the copyists had been a little more conscientious. But we cannot expect the chronicle to be free from such errors during a long period of copying as it is written in Sinhalese prose. Considering the fact that the language is colloquial Sinhalese we can hardly expect the work to maintain its original form to the same extent as the Mahāvamsa, has its, which is written in Pali stanzas.<sup>83</sup>

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81. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, ed. by A.V. Suravira, Colombo, 1965
82. Rājāvaliya, tr., p.69; Vatuvalatte Rājāvaliya, p.76; Upham, vol.ii pp.270-271.
83. See JRAS(CB)NS, vol.vii, p.204. foot note 140 where Paranavitana explains one cruel act attributed to Alagakkōṇāra I by the copyists of the Rājāvaliya. In the Rājāvaliya (G), we are informed of the hanging of the Tamil tax collectors by order of Alagakkōṇāra I. But the Alakēśvarayuddhaya mentions that the tax collectors were chased away. Compare, Rājāvaliya, p.46 'Badu valaṭa siṭiyavun ellā dāmiya (tax collectors were hanged) and Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.20 badu ganta āvit siṭiyavun ekvūha (tax gatherers were chased away); Copenhagen MS, Olim 13 Donat RASK, fol.62.

On some occasions we cannot find out the truth even if we have several versions of the Rājāvaliya recording the same event. For instance, on one occasion the Rājāvaliya dealing with the Muslim attack on the pearl fishery at Salāvata (Chilaw) mentions that the king's army captured 89 people (asū navayak), but in some manuscripts this is recorded as 9 horses (asun navayak).<sup>84</sup> Many a time the copyist, having been unable to read the words found in the original copy, left a lacuna in the manuscript.<sup>85</sup> This also seems to have led to errors; errors which were magnified by the negligence of later copyists.

When all the recensions and versions of the Rājāvaliya are taken together we can notice several distinct parts of the chronicle. The first part that stands out from the rest of the chronicle runs from the beginning to the reign of Vijayabāhu IV (A.D. 1270-1272); in some versions it ends earlier than this, but at most it runs up to the beginning of the hiatus. We are in possession of some versions of the Rājāvaliya that end at the reign of Vijayabāhu IV (A.D. 1270-1272).<sup>86</sup> It is argued that this part of the chronicle adheres to the shorter form of the Pūjāvaliya.<sup>87</sup>

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84. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.79; Rājāvaliya, tnp.72; Upham, ii, p.275

85. Upham, ii, p.267

86. Or.6606-185.

87. JRAS(CB)xxxii, p.287.

But it is noticeable in the manner in which the story is put across that the author of the Rājāvaliya does not labour to describe the religious works of the kings unlike the author of the Pūjāvaliya. Various events that are recorded in the Rājāvaliya are not found in the latter work. On the other hand, the Rājāvaliya makes no reference to kings who ruled from Amandagāmaṇi (A.D.22-31) to Vasabha (A.D.65-109) although they are mentioned in the Pūjāvaliya.<sup>88</sup> In addition, the story found in the Pūjāvaliya ends in the sixteenth year of the reign of Parākramabāhu II (A.D.1236-1270) while the first portion of the Rājāvaliya goes beyond this limit.<sup>89</sup> With regard to the reign of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (B.C.161-137) the Rājāvaliya resembles the Thūpavaṃsa.<sup>90</sup> It is likely that the latter work was the source book of the Rājāvaliya in regard to this particular reign.

It is hardly possible to say whether this portion of the Rājāvaliya abruptly ended at the reign of Vijayabāhu IV (A.D.1270-1272) or was continued even later. Godakumbura is of the opinion that the writing down of the Rājāvaliyas began as early as the fourteenth century.<sup>91</sup> He explains that the existing Rājāvaliyas are very much similar to the Vittipotās (Books of incidents) and to the Kadayimpotās (Books of boundaries), both of which he considers the source of the Rājāvaliyas.<sup>92</sup>

88. Historians of India Pakistan and Ceylon, p.77; Rājāvaliya, tr. introduction, p.iv and pp. 32-34; Pūjāvaliya, ed. by K. Nanavimala Thera, Colombo, 1965, Ch. 34, pp. 768-808.

89. Pūjāvaliya, p.807.

90. Thūpavaṃsaya, ed. by D.J.B. Vijayasekhara, Colombo, 1915.

91. Historians of India Pakistan and Ceylon, p.77.

92. Ibid.

His view that some Vittipotās (Books of incidents) are called Rājāvaliyas and therefore the works that are usually put in the category of the Maharājāvaliya originally began as a Vittipotā is perhaps based on facts although the existing Vittipotās that are called Rājāvaliyas came to be known by this name because they obtained facts from the Maharājāvaliyas and because the latter work was honoured by the later writers.<sup>93</sup> The fact that there were traditions regarding the royal family among the Sinhalese is proved by the account of Couto. We cannot, however, dispute the view of C.W. Nicholas that the Rājāvaliya draws largely on the Mahāvamsa and the Cūlavamsa since there are similarities in the two accounts.<sup>94</sup> But it is also likely that the authors of the Rājāvaliyas utilized such other works as the Pūjāvaliya and the Thūpavamsaya as well.

The next portion of the chronicle is quite distinct from the rest of it. In fact this is the part that deals with the period under review and is the most important portion of the chronicle. This part is independently available in a work called Alakēśvarayuddhaya.<sup>95</sup>

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93. See below.p. 48

94. Concise History, p.13.

95. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, ed by A.V. Suravira, Colombo, 1965; British Museum, Or.4971; Or.6606-91. Colombo Museum, MSS, no.AP.4; AF.15

One manuscript of this version of the Rājāvaliya was published in instalments in the Jñānādarsaya, vol.10, 1909. 1910, 1911.

As there are quite a number of copies of this portion of the chronicle we may take this part as distinct from the rest of the Rājāvaliyas. The Alakēśvarayuddhaya contains the story from the hiatus up to the end of the reign of Rājasiṅha I (A.D.1581-1593) and the fall of the Sītāvaka kingdom.

This version of the Rājāvaliya differs from that of the same period covered by the version of the Rājāvaliya edited by Gunasekara. Although this work is catalogued as Alakēśvarayuddhaya in certain libraries it is just another version of the Rājāvaliya.<sup>96</sup> Suravira assumes that the name Alakēśvarayuddhaya has been applied to this work since it begins with the war against Jaffna undertaken by Alagakkōnāra Prabhurāja I (c. A.D.1350-1386).<sup>98</sup> It is possible that this portion of the chronicle came to be written after the fall of the Sītāvaka kingdom for the death of Rājasiṅha I (A.D.1581-1593) is mentioned in it. It does not mention the accession of Vimaladharmasūriya I (A.D.1592-1604). It is therefore reasonable to assume that the Alakēśvarayuddhaya was written during the intervening period.

One of the most prominent factors which distinguishes the Alakēśvarayuddhaya from the other Rājāvaliya versions is its correctness where the others are at fault. As we noticed, the Alakēśvarayuddhaya does not mention Vijayabāhu as the king who was taken captive to China.<sup>99</sup>

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96. Or.4971; Or.6606-91.

98. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, introduction, p.vi.; An Examination of the Historical documents in Sinhala Literature, p.34. (In Sinhalese).

99. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, Introduction, pp.ii-xvi and p.19.

The ancestry of Parākramabāhu VI recorded in this work is quite in agreement with contemporary works. The erroneous statement found in the other Rājāvaliyas that the father of this monarch was a king named Vijayabāhu is not found in it. The evidence of Couto that the kings of Kōṭṭē had a habit of holding a coronation ceremony every year is mentioned in this work while the other Rājāvaliyas are silent about this point.<sup>100</sup> Although all the other Rājāvaliya versions do not refer to the Kaṇṇaḍi invasion of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI this work, in agreement with the Girā-sandēsaya and the Pārakumbāsirita, mentions this event.<sup>101</sup> Many other details which have been omitted from the other Rājāvaliya versions have been recorded in this work.<sup>102</sup>

The only error that we can notice in this work is the order of events during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, The rebellion of Uḍaraṭa which disturbed the peace that prevailed during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI is recorded before the conquest of Jaffna undertaken by Prince Sapumal.<sup>103</sup> But the contemporary inscriptional sources and literary works show that the revolt in Uḍaraṭa took place long after the conquest of Jaffna.

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100. Couto in JRAS(CB)xx,p.70; Alakēśvarayuddhaya,p.22(... avurudu patā oṭunu pālaṇḍa); EZ,iii,pp.52-53.  
 101. Alakēśvarayuddhaya,p.22; Girā-sandēsaya,v.141; Pārakumbāsirita, vv.51 and 79.  
 102. See the introduction to the Alakēśvarayuddhaya,pp.v-xv.  
 103. Alakēśvarayuddhaya,p.22.

We have evidence to show that the statement of the Rājāvaliya that the revolt took place in the fifty-second year is true.<sup>104</sup> Apart from this factor the Alakēśvarayuddhaya stands out as a more reliable source than the rest of the Rajavaliyas.

Although the Alakēśvarayuddhaya is more reliable than the other Rājāvaliya versions we cannot conclude that they are really different works. A closer examination of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya and the Gunasekara version of the Rājāvaliya shows that they are two versions of the same work. The contents of the two works are very similar and follow the same pattern. The language and the style on many occasions are identical. It is clear, therefore, that one work depended on the other. However, even if the authors of the other Rājāvaliyas utilized the Alakēśvarayuddha as their source book, it cannot be regarded as an original work by itself. The period that has been dealt with by the author of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya is too long to have been written from the personal knowledge of one writer. Yet it is to be noted that the style and the language of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya exhibits a considerable unity in the entire work.

Although none of the Rājāvaliyas refer to their original source book, a closer examination of these works may help us to ascertain the nature of the original sources that authors utilized.

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104. See below pp. 234-236



No doubt the authors of these works depended on one or more of the legendary accounts regarding certain popular events, especially whenever reliable sources were lacking. The literary works of the contemporaries such as the Pārakumbāsirita and the Girā-sandēsaya have been of some assistance to these writers, especially to the author of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya.<sup>105</sup> Suravira suspects that this work has closely followed the Pārakumbāsirita, for the genealogy of Parākramabāhu VI is similar in both these works.<sup>106</sup> Even the order of events seems to have been taken from this work. The other Rājāvaliyas, however, do not follow this pattern and therefore it is believed that the Rājāvaliya borrowed material from a different work as well. The authors of these works most probably were also in possession of certain documents preserved in various temples regarding their own particular history. The Vidāgama temple had such a tradition recorded in a work known as Tudugala-Vidāgama-Pāvati-Bandāravaliya.<sup>107</sup> No doubt such documents were utilized by our writers for we come across such traditions much before the writing down of the Rājāvaliyas. It is also likely that some of the documents from the royal archives also came into the hands of these writers.

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105. Compare the historical events of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI recorded in the Alakēśvarayuddhaya with vv.27, 48-53 of the Pārakumbāsirita and vv.126-153 of the Girā-sandēsaya.
106. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, introduction, p.xii; Siṃhala-Sāhitya-Lipi, p.116; Kōtṭeyugayē-Siṃhala-sāhityaya, p.25.
107. Tudugala-Vidāgama-Pāvati-Bandāravaliya, Colombo, Museum, X9. Portions of this work has been published in the Silumina of 27th March 1938; Gunalankara Varasombodhi, History of Gampala, pp.61-63; Lilasena, Pārani-Devnuvara, p.5.

Considering the fact that Couto in the latter part of the sixteenth century says that the princes from Ceylon who were living in Goa during that time chanted these traditions, we cannot be far wrong in assuming that the Rājāvaliya authors made use of these oral traditions as well.<sup>108</sup> Even now we are in a position to obtain some such traditions in oḷa manuscripts.<sup>109</sup>

In fact the Vittipotās are full of traditions of the noble families of the Sinhalese, particularly in the areas known as Vannihat-pattuva; some of the traditions of the royal family were known as Rājāvaliyas as their very names indicate.<sup>110</sup> If it is so, they were the original Rājāvaliyas which are now not in existence. Perhaps they perished owing to the fact the major Rājāvaliyas recorded the stories found in them.

108. JRAS(CB)xx, p.101; Queyroz, introduction, p.11; Historians of India Pakistan and Ceylon, p.160; C.R. Boxer, Three Historians of Portuguese Asia, Macau, 1948, p.18.

109. For further information see D.M.de Wikremasinghe's Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1900, pp. 79-83.

110. W.A.de Silva; Sinhalese Vittipot (books of incidents) and Kadayimpot (books of division boundaries), JRAS(CB)xxx, pp.305-325. Couto in JRAS(CB)xx, p.101.

Couto mentions that the Sinhalese princes were in the habit of chanting their history which was in verse. He also mentions that he listened to a Sinhalese prince chanting the chronicle while an interpreter translated it for him. It is regrettable that we are not in a position to examine any such chronicle written in verse. Nor do we know whether the chronicle was originally in Sinhalese verse or not.

Versions of the Rājāvaliya:-

The standard version of the Rājāvaliya which is usually referred to as the Maharājāvaliya contains the history of the Island up to the reign of Vimaladharmasūriya II (A.D.1687-1706).<sup>111</sup> As we have noticed earlier this work does not differ much from the Alakēśvarayuddhaya. Judging from the late date of the writing one cannot ignore the view that it borrowed material from the earlier work. But if we presume that the original sources utilized by the author of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya were utilized also by the author of the eighteenth century Rājāvaliya, we are in a better position to explain the cause for the differences found in these two works.

The best version of the Rājāvaliya is the one that has been edited by B. Gunasekara.<sup>112</sup> An imperfect English translation was published by the same writer.<sup>113</sup> The Sinhalese text edited by this writer has been regarded as the standard version of the Rājāvaliya in this monograph owing to its popularity. Besides, it is this version of the Rājāvaliya of which there are the most manuscript copies available.<sup>114</sup>

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111. This version is widely used as the standard version of the Rājāvaliya. There are a number of ola manuscripts of the same Rājāvaliya. Historians of India Pakistan and Ceylon, p.76.
112. Rājāvaliya (G), ed. by B. Gunasekara. Colombo, 1926.
113. Rājāvaliya, tr. by B. Gunasekara, Colombo, 1900.
114. Add.19,866; Or.5307; Colombo Museum, no.1954,1955,1958; RAS (London) Library, MS. No.4, case 12, top drawer.

The story in this work narrates the history of the Island from its beginnings to the reign of Vimaladharmasūriya II (A.D.1687-1706). The usual hiatus is found in this work too and begins in the reign of Vijayabāhu IV (A.D.1270-1272).<sup>115</sup> It is probable that this work was written during the reign of Śrī-Vīra-Parākrama-Narēndrasimha (A.D.1707-1739) for the last event mentioned in the chronicle is the death of Vimaladharmasūriya II in Saka 1614 (A.D.1707).

The version of the Rājāvaliya edited by Vatuvatte Pemananda Thera is unique in one respect because this work is free from the hiatus that is usually found in the other versions of the chronicle.<sup>116</sup> The reigns of Vijayabāhu IV (A.D.1270-1272), Bhuvanekabāhu I (A.D.1272-1284), Parākramabāhu III (A.D.1287-1293), Bhuvanekabāhu II (A.D.1293-1302), Parākramabāhu IV (A.D.1302-1327), Bhuvanekabāhu III (A.D.1326), Vijayabāhu V (A.D.1335-1341), Parākramabāhu V (A.D.1344-1351), Vikramabāhu III (A.D.1357-1374) and that of Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D.1372-1408) are mentioned. Even the periods of rule covered by the prabhurājas, such as Vīrabāhu and Vīra Alakēśvara are also mentioned in this work.<sup>117</sup>

We have been unsuccessful in our attempts to secure an ola copy of this version of the chronicle and are therefore not in a position to ascertain the authenticity of the work. Although the hiatus is lacking in this work the chronicle does not record the Chinese invasion of A.D.1411.<sup>118</sup>

115. Rājāvaliya, tr. p. 66

116. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, Thera, Rājāvaliya, Colombo, 1959

117. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, pp. 73-75.

118. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, pp. 74-76. Godakumbura also mentions the fact that he could not secure an ola copy of this Rājāvaliya version. (Historians of India Pakistan & Ceylon, p. 76).

The erroneous statement that the father of Parākramabāhu VI was a king called Vijayabāhu is mentioned in this version as well.<sup>119</sup> King Bhuvanekabāhu V has been allocated only twenty years of reign following the erroneous statement of the Cūlavamsa.<sup>120</sup> Since we know that this king ruled for more than thirty years it is likely that the author of this particular version of the Rājāvaliya either followed the Cūlavamsa or misunderstood the statement found in the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya.<sup>121</sup> This Rājāvaliya attributes twenty years of reign to Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa.<sup>122</sup> We learn from the account of the contemporary Saddharmaratnākara that this also is an erroneous statement, for Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa could not have ruled for more than eight years.<sup>123.</sup>

Its more refined language in contrast to the colloquial language used in the rest of the chronicle makes it clear that it cannot have been the original version of the Rājāvaliya. With regard to the absence of the hiatus we are inclined to think that it is a deliberate attempt at correction made by a later scholar, who possibly had the chance of comparing the existing Rājāvaliya with the Cūlavamsa account. Moreover the inaccurate information furnished in the account in place of the hiatus also points out that it is a later addition.

The Rājāvaliya version translated by Upham is to a great extent similar to that edited by Gunasekara.<sup>124</sup>

119. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.74

120. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.74; See also below pp. 110

121. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p.24; See also below pp.109-110

122. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.74

123. Saddharmaratnākara, p.317; Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p.24; See also below pp. 112

124. Upham, vol. ii, pp.141.ff.

There are, however, minute differences such as the relationship between Prince Sapumal and Parākramabāhu VI, which has been represented in this work as that of a son towards his father, and not as that of an adopted son as in the other versions.<sup>125</sup>

Much reliance should not be placed upon this work, for the writer made many errors which are not found in the other Rājāvaliyas: these are due to the deficiency of the author's knowledge in the Sinhalese Language. Upham's version is however useful in ascertaining the duration of the reigns of the kings after Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>126</sup>

The most valuable foreign editions of this chronicle are presented by the Portuguese historian Diogo do Couto and the eighteenth-century Dutch historian Valentijn.<sup>127</sup> It is wrong to assume that these two writers translated the Sinhalese chronicle into their language, for what they seem to have done is to give a summary of events as depicted in the Sinhalese work. The latter writer, however, has made an attempt to follow closely the original even in details.

125. Upham, vol.ii, p.268.

126. Upham, ii, p.263. Upham has referred to Gampala by calling it Sampala. Obviously he has been unable to distinguish the Sinhalese Gha (ආ) and Sa (ස).

127. Couto, Diogo do., Da Asia, Dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram na conquista e descobrimento das terras e mare do Oriente, Decadas IV-XII, 10 parts in 15 volumes. Lisbon, 1778 1788; ~~An english of~~ The parts pertaining to Ceylon tr. by Donald Ferguson in JRAS(CB)xx, no.60, 1908, p.56 ff. Valentijn, F., Oud en nieuw Oost Indien, Amsterdam, vol.v, 1726.

Some scholars hold, not without reason, that the work of De Couto is the earliest printed account on the history of Ceylon.<sup>128</sup> Considering the date of its writing it is fair to conclude that it is the earliest available Rājāvaliya version, for Couto's account closely resembles that of the Sinhalese chronicles. The part pertaining to the history of Ceylon was completed by Couto in A.D.1597.<sup>129</sup> The section connected with our study is limited to one chapter and the writer admits that he had no knowledge of Sinhalese.<sup>130</sup> The account, Couto says, has been obtained from the Sinhalese princes who were living at Goa during his time.<sup>131</sup> Couto on one occasion states that he heard some of these chronicles being chanted by one of these princes while an interpreter translated the text for him. From its similarity to the account of the Rājāvaliya and the usual hiatus found in it, we can be sure that Couto obtained material for the writing of his work from a Rājāvaliya version. Either because Couto had to depend on an interpreter or because the manuscript version he utilized was an earlier version of the Rajavaliya, we find many differences between his account and that of the extant Rājāvaliya.<sup>132</sup>

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128. Historians of India Pakistan and Ceylon, p.160. Queyroz, p.11.  
 129. The Portuguese version of this work was first published in A.D.1645. Da Asia by João de Barros & Diogo do Couto, New edition, 24 vols. Lisbon, 1778.  
 130. JRAS(CB) xx, pp.61-73.  
 131. JRAS(CB) xx, pp.62 foot note 3 and p.101; C.R. Boxer, Three Historians of Portuguese Asia; Barros, Couto, and Bocarro, Reprint from Boletim do Instituto Portugues de Hongkong, Macau, 1948, p.18; Historians of India Pakistan and Ceylon, p.160.  
 132. See JRAS(CB), xx, pp.68-69 regarding the period after the reign of Parakramabahu VI.

Some eminent scholars of Ceylon history have preferred the account of Couto to that of the Rājāvaliya as it is the earlier one of the two.<sup>133</sup> No doubt this is an overestimation. There are quite a number of incorrect statements in Couto's account where the Rājāvaliya has reported the correct facts. The account available in the work of Couto pertaining to the period after the death of Parākramabāhu VI is very much at variance with that of the Rājāvaliya, which has been corroborated by the contemporary inscriptions.<sup>134</sup> Although we cannot accept this account of Couto as correct a closer examination of the account would show that there are some reliable facts included in it. The date attributed to the Vijayabākollaya in this work is, however, incorrect; for Queyroz, who was in a better position to obtain information regarding this question, has disputed the statement of Couto that this event took place in A.D.1517, and shown that it took place in A.D.1521.<sup>135</sup> In fact, Couto has no knowledge of the name of the Sinhalese king that welcomed the Portuguese in Kōṭṭē for the first time.<sup>136</sup>

In spite of these shortcomings the account of Couto dealing with the history of the Island from A.D.1440 to 1537 can be treated as supplementary material for the study of our period.<sup>137</sup>

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133. Codrington in SHC, p.93 mentions that Couto was better informed than the author of the Rājāvaliya.

134. JRAS(CB)xx, pp.66-67.

Paranavitana has rightly pointed out that the period mentioned by Couto for all the events that he is referring to is not long enough for it was only two years. UHC, p.679.

135. JRAS(CB)xx, p.73; Queyroz, ii, p.204.

136. JRAS(CB)xx, p.71.

137. JRAS(CB)xx, pp.61 ff.



Information supplied by this author regarding the Chinese invasion gives some reliable details that has been corroborated by the contemporary Chinese accounts.<sup>138</sup> We should, however, be careful in making use of the account of Couto in reconstructing the history of this period, for the evidence supplied by this writer is often found in a garbled state. Couto may be utilized only as a work that supplements the evidence available from the other works. We cannot place much reliance on this work when it stands alone.

The next valuable version of the Rājāvaliya is found in the account of Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën.<sup>139</sup> Compared with that of Couto, Valentijn's account is more elaborate and seems more reliable. Further, as we pointed out earlier, Valentijn should be given credit for following the original source more closely than Couto.<sup>140</sup> Whenever the author regards the information in the original Sinhalese work as unreliable in the light of his knowledge, he airs his opinion by suggesting what he considers to be correct.<sup>141</sup> For example, the writer regards A.D.1530 which was given by the Sinhalese as the date of arrival of Lourenço de Almeida in the Island as inaccurate, and suggests in place the reign of ParākramabāhuVI.<sup>142</sup>

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138. JRAS(CB)xx,p.67; See also below pp. 136

139. Valentijn, D.F., Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien & c., vol, v, Amsterdam, 1726 (hereafter - Valentijn).

An English translation of Valentijn's account pertaining to this period has been published in JRAS(CB)xxii,pp.36-38. An abbreviated translation of Valentijn's account is found in Philalethes' History of Ceylon,ch.III and IV.

140. See below. p. 412

141. Valentijn,pp.73 and 75.

142. Valentijn,p.75.

Many scholars of medieval Ceylon history were aware that Valentijn was in possession of a Rājāvaliya, but they were not in a position to ascertain what this particular version was. Paranavitana stated that the historical writings utilized by Valentijn seem to have referred to events which are not found in those available to us today, but he was not in a position to identify the original source used by Valentijn.<sup>143</sup> Ferguson conjectured that Valentijn obtained a Portuguese translation of the Rājāvaliya differing in many details from the version now extant in Ceylon.<sup>144</sup> This scholar accuses Valentijn for not admitting the fact that he utilized a Portuguese version of the chronicle. However, we have no reason to assume that Valentijn made use of a Portuguese version of the chronicle. In the body of his work Valentijn states that he made use of a Sinhalese manuscript and he obtained material from it.<sup>145</sup> On certain occasions Valentijn, owing to his inability to grasp the proper meaning of the Sinhalese words, made minor errors.<sup>146</sup> We do not know whether this writer was acquainted with the Sinhalese language; it is likely that he had access to this chronicle only through an interpreter.

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143. UHC, p. 671.

This scholar, however, changed his view later on in the light of the discovery of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya.  
JRAS(CB)NS, vii, 1961, p. 203 foot note. 114.

144. JRAS(CB) xix, p. 361 JRAS(CB) xx, pp. 61 and 109.

145. Valentijn, p. 75.

146. Valentijn, p. 72; See also below pp. 43

A careful examination of the account of Valentijn would help us to determine the nature of the original source of the writer. The Rājāvaliya version known as the Alakēśvarayuddhaya is similar to the account of Valentijn in many a detail. Regarding Prince Sapumal's invasion of Jaffna Valentijn says that the king of Jaffna sent his courtier named Conta Cara Demalis, and then a second and third, named Panigovorum and Valamunivorassa, to stop Prince Sapumal's advance. The Alakēśvarayuddhaya mentions that these three were the chiefs of the army of Prince Sapumal and not of the king of Jaffna.<sup>147</sup> According to the Alakēśvarayuddhaya Kontakkāra Demalaminissu (Tamil soldiers carrying spears), Panikkivaru ( elephant riders ) and Munnilavannivaru (the Vanni Chiefs) belonged to the army of Prince Sapumal.<sup>148</sup> Apart from such minute errors we can notice a striking similarity between these two works. Valentijn's account agrees with the Alakēśvarayuddhaya even when the latter differs from the account of the other versions of the Rājāvaliya.<sup>149</sup> The individuality we notice in the Alakēśvarayuddhaya is found in more or less the same form in Valentijn's work as well. On one occasion the account of Valentijn, however, goes off the track of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya. After the reign of Parākramabāhu VI Valentijn does not refer to the reign of Jayavira Parākramabāhu (A.D.1466-1469) and that of Bhuvanekabāhu VI (A.D.1469-1478) separately.<sup>150</sup>

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147. Valentijn, p.72; JRAS(CB)xxii, p.37; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23

148. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23; Valentijn, p.72.

149. See Alakēśvarayuddhaya, introduction, p.v.

150. Valentijn, pp.73-74.

The two reigns have been confused by this writer. Codrington having noticed this fault of the account of Valentijn, suspected the authenticity of this work.<sup>151</sup> Strangely enough the Rājāvaliya manuscript found in the British museum, Or.4971, bears a striking similarity to the account of Valentijn.<sup>152</sup> In this work also the two reigns of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu and Bhuvanekabāhu VI are confused. Judging from the similarity of these two works we may not be far wrong in assuming that the later one depended on the earlier work. We cannot say that Valentijn utilized the same manuscript that we find in the British Museum, but we certainly know that Valentijn's source book was a version similar to the Rājāvaliya Or.4971 of the British Museum. We should, in this connection, remember that this Rājāvaliya manuscript, though it bears the name Rājāvaliya, should be referred to as Alakēśvarayuddhaya on account of its similarity to the latter.<sup>153</sup>

Valentijn's manuscript certainly had more facts than those found in the Rājāvaliya and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya. Regarding the names of the sons of King Vijayabāhu VI (A.D.1513-1521), Valentijn agrees closely with the Alakēśvarayuddhaya; but the latter does not mention the age of the eldest prince of this family when he died, although it refers to him, while Valentijn says that he was ten years old when he died.<sup>154</sup>

151. EZ, IV, p.17

152. Or.4971, fol.8 does not record the reign of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu as a separate reign. This work states that the Simhala-sange (the revolt of the Sinhalese) took place in this reign. So does the Alakēśvarayuddhaya manuscript Or.6606-91.

153. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, introduction, p.v.

154. Valentijn, p.76

The duration of eight years that has been attributed to Vijayabāhu VI by Valentijn seems quite correct and tallies with the evidence obtainable from the epigraphic sources.<sup>155</sup> On account of these and other similar evidence furnished by Valentijn we can agree with Parānavitana that Valentijn utilized a Rājāvaliya version which is not available to us today; yet we must remember that this must have been very similar to the Alakēśvarayuddhaya.<sup>156</sup>

We cannot, however, rule out the possibility that Valentijn unintentionally added some ideas of his own which he did not find in his original Sinhalese source. According to Valentijn the Sinhalese ships that were attacked by the chief of Driampatam (Adhirampattinam) were laden with cinnamon. Neither the Alakēśvarayuddhaya nor any other Rājāvaliya manuscript that is available mentions this point.<sup>157</sup> The story possibly owes its origin to a period of prosperous cinnamon trade under <sup>the</sup> Dutch rule in the early eighteenth century.<sup>158</sup> On another occasion, referring to an invasion of Salāvata (Chilaw) undertaken by the Muslims in Kāyalpaṭṭanam in South India, Valentijn says that the forces sent from Kōṭṭē to repel these invaders, used a weapon called 'Haṣagaey'.<sup>159</sup> We have no evidence to show that there was any weapon known as 'Haṣagaey' in use during this period.

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155. EZ, iii, pp.235-240.

156. JRAS(CB)NS, vii, p.206

157. Valentijn, p.72; Rājāvaliya, tr.p.69; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22.

158. S. Arasaratnam, Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1658-1687, Djambatom, Amsterdam, 1958.

159. Valentijn, p.74.

As far as we know there was a short wooden spear with a metal point, known as 'Assagai' in use in Ceylon during the early seventeenth century. The historians believe that this weapon was introduced into Ceylon by the Africans who were brought to the Island by the Portuguese.<sup>160</sup> Most of the Rājāvaliya manuscripts do not refer to the weapon by name. The above mentioned manuscript no. Or.4971 of the British Museum, however, refers to this by the name 'lansaya'.<sup>161</sup> We do not know whether Valentijn obtained this wrong information from this Rājāvaliya manuscript. We should, however, remember that even the word 'lansaya' owes its origin to a later period for we know that this word has been derived from the Portuguese 'lança'.<sup>162</sup>

In spite of a number of shortcomings the Rājāvaliya has been regarded as the primary source book for the study of the history of our period. In fact, the Rājāvaliya is superior to the Cūlavamsa for the study of the history of our period. Our chronicle could be hailed as the most important local source even for the period of Portuguese rule in the Island in the next two centuries.

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160. Biblioteca Nacional, Fundos Geral, Lisbon, 1939, fol.85a  
Quoted in C.R. de Silva, The Portuguese in Ceylon, Unpublished thesis, p.380.
161. Or.4971, fol.4.
162. In view of the fact that this Rājāvaliya story ends before the reign of Vimaladharmasūriya I (A.D.1592-1604) it is fair to exclude the possibility that the word was borrowed from the Dutch word 'lans'. The first Dutchman to establish contact with Kandy was Spilbergen who met the king of Kandy in July, 1602.

Apart from the Rājāvaliya versions much of the medieval history of the Island would be a blank and certainly devoid of the details we now possess. For the loving care and the great pain which they have taken to avoid poetic embellishment and imagination, the authors of the Rājāvaliya do not yield the palm even to the author of the Mahāvamsa.

The Rājāvaliya differs from the Cūlavamsa for the former has devoted most of its account to record events and deeds of various reigns and the author has not tried to draw moral lessons from history. The judgment has not been influenced by the patronage to the saṅgha. In other words, the Rājāvaliya does not possess some of the shortcomings that are prevalent in the Mahāvamsa and the Cūlavamsa owing to the moral purpose behind the latter two works. It is possible that the Rājāvaliya deals in greater detail with the political history because it was written about a time that was so eventful and rich in history. The most striking feature of this work is that the author has not been reluctant to mention the failure of the Sinhalese kings even during the period of oppression under the Portuguese rule. Thus it can hardly be said that the field was limited by the patriotism of the author. The objection to foreign invaders has been of the same kind as that to the rule of Māyādunnē, who according to the author, did not honour his elder brother.<sup>163</sup>

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163. Rājāvaliya, p. 54.<sup>(G)</sup>

The events dealt with in the chronicle have mainly been determined by the idea of chronology. Attempts have been made to be precise with exact dates as far as possible. The duration of various reigns have been mentioned; these often include the king's period of rule as Yuvaraja as well; therefore, special care should be taken in ascertaining the period of rule as the Maharaja (chief king). But sometimes the chronicle has mentioned the period of rule only as maharaja; and on such occasions the chronicle and the inscriptions of these particular kings would not agree. But on the whole the duration of reigns mentioned in the Rājāvaliya is corroborated by other contemporary and later writings. In regard to the text of the chronicle also we find corroborative evidence from the epigraphic sources. Even when there is no external evidence regarding certain events that are mentioned in this work we can rely on it as we possess different versions of the Rājāvaliya which provide supplementary information. For this reason the Rājāvaliyas have been treated as the primary source for the study of our period.

Later Rājāvaliyas:-

As we know, other Rājāvaliya works were written after the standard version was completed some time after the reign of Vimaladharmasūriya II (.A.D.1687-1707). Some of these continue the history of the Island till the end of the reign of Śrī Vikramarājasimha (A.D.1798-1815).<sup>164</sup>

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164. Rājāvaliya, MSS, Colombo Archives, no.5/63/80-78/60 (microfilm).



It is easy to identify these later Rājāvaliyas for they are known by another name prefixed to the title Rājāvaliya. Works such as the Vanni Rājāvaliya, the Vijitavāllē Rājāvaliya, the Vijaya Rājāvaliya, the Hārispattuvē Rājāvaliya, the Malvatuvihāra Rājāvaliya, the Narananda Rājāvaliya, the Sulu Rājāvaliya and the Abhingva Sulu Rājāvaliya fall into this category.<sup>165</sup> In addition there are the Rājāvaliyas at the Austrian Archives, the Royal Library at Copenhagen, and that of the Malvatuvihāraya.<sup>166</sup> None of these is valuable for the study of our period for they have borrowed material from the earlier versions of the Rājāvaliya which are available to us today. What is more, the information found in the earlier Rājāvaliyas has often been erroneously distorted in these later Rājāvaliyas, and therefore hardly any additional information could be gathered from them.

Certain Vittipotās and Kadayimpotās also are named as Rājāvaliyas. Some of these are older than the Rājāvaliyas written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and have devoted much of their texts to the description of the noble families, while most of them were written during the Kandy period in the eighteenth century.

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165. Vanni Rājāvaliya, Col.Mus.no.AR.18  
Vijitavāllē Rājāvaliya, Or.6606-77, fols.60 ff.;6606-111;  
 Colombo Mus.X4; 7El.  
Malvatuvihāra Rājāvaliya, Col. Archives, no. 5/63/60  
Sulu Rājāvaliya, ed. by D.P.R. Samaranayaka, Colombo, 1959  
Abhinava Sulu Rājāvaliya, Or.6606-74  
Ravana Rājāvaliya, Or.6606-65
166. Microfilm copies of these Rājāvaliyas are available in the Colombo archives. 5/63/80-78/60; Col.Mus. no. 24P; 32; 24-p-33; 24-p-34; MS. No.29 of RAS (London) Library, Case 12, top drawer.

They may perhaps be of some use to obtain additional information regarding noble families of the Kotte period. The Kadayimpotas (books of boundaries) could be utilized for the study of historical geography for they supply information regarding the boundaries of various administrative divisions.<sup>167</sup>

The Vittipotās (books of incidents) that are known as the Rājāvaliyas can easily be identified, for most of them bear a striking resemblance to the legendary work known as the Malala-katāva and to the Kadayimpotas. These texts can hardly be called Rājāvaliyas if the name means 'line of kings'. The works known as the Buddharājāvaliya, the Malala-Rājāvaliya, the Mahasammata Rājāvaliya, the Bandāra Rājāvaliya and the Yavarājasinhavalliya are all Vittipotās.<sup>168</sup> Although they were written during the seventeenth century and deal with the Kotte period as well, not much reliable information can be gathered from them. All these works, including the Malala-katāva, deal with the history of certain Malala families of the Vanni region.<sup>169</sup> Certain events which took place during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D.1372-1408), and Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466), are mentioned in these works.

167. Nevill, H. 'The Divisions of Lanka or Sirilak Kadayuru', Taprobanian, vol.3,pt.3,1888; Marambe, A.S.W. Tri Sinhale Kadayim saha Vitti, 1926; Silva, de S.C., Siri-Lak Kadayimpota, Colombo, 1961; Or.4975; Or.6606-182; Or.4973.

See also Silva de W.A. Sinhalese Vittipot (books of incidents) and Kadayimpot (books of divisions and boundaries); JRAS(CB)xxx, pp.303-305.

168. Buddha-Rājāvaliya, Or.5290; Malala-Rājāvaliya, Or.6606-78  
Mahāsammata Rājāvaliya, Or.6606-106; Rājāvali-Katāva, Or.6606-78  
Yavarājasinhavalliya, Or.6606-86; See also Or.6606-113  
Rājāvalliya, Palm leaf manuscript with Labugama Lankananda Thera; a photo copy of which is available at the Colombo archives.

169. Malala-katāva, Or. 6607-9.

An English translation of this work is found in M.D.Raghavan's India in Ceylonese History & Culture, New Delhi, 1964.

Apart from this, these works deal mainly with the noble families  
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 in Vanni region.<sup>170</sup>

While the Rājāvaliyas supply the major part of the material for our study, supplementary information is obtainable from a number of other sources. In fact, the information which is procurable from these works is in no way second to that of the Rājāvaliyas, for the latter do not give much information regarding the other royal houses apart from that of Kōṭṭē, especially in a period when there were so many petty dynasties.

The works known as the Vistarayas (descriptive accounts) stand in a special category. They can neither be regarded as chronicles nor can they be classified as Kadayimpoṭas ( books of boundaries ), for they devote the entire work to the history and boundaries of a particular place. The Kurunāgala-vistaraya (descriptive account of Kurunāgala) is based on the traditions concerning the city of Kurunāgala.<sup>171</sup> This work, however, takes back the history to the time of king Mahāsammata and to the beginning of the history of the Island.

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170. Purāyrtta, pp. 117-118; Udarata Vitti, pp. 113-114.

171. Kurunāgala-vistaraya, Or.5042; Or.6607-12; Colimbo Mus. MSS. V.10; AO. 13; Z.10:  
 Modder, F. 'Kurunegala Vistaraya, with notes on Kurunegala, Ancient and Modern, JRAS(CB)xiii,no.44. 1893, pp.35-57.

The Yāpānuvara-vistaraya (Descriptive account of Yāpānuvara; i.e. of Paṇḍuvasnuvara) is not as elaborate as the Kurunāgala-vistaraya (Descriptive account of Kurunāgala), but has the same kind of historical value.<sup>172</sup> The authors of these two works are not known, but it may be presumed that they were written after the reign of Vimaladharmasūriya I (A.D. 1592-1604), for he is the last king mentioned in the Kurunāgala-vistaraya.<sup>173</sup> There is no question that these two works obtained information from a different tradition from that of the Rājāvaliya, possibly one independently developed in Uḍarata. The Kurunāgala-vistaraya is of special interest to us for it provides some additional information regarding the genealogy of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466).<sup>174</sup>

Among other works that may be put in the same category as these two works the Mandārapura-puvata, the Mādampā-puvata and the Aldeni-alankāraya are noteworthy.<sup>175</sup> The Mandārapura-puvata provided us with some vague information about the early Portuguese in the Island; it is very useful for the study of the period of Portuguese rule. The Mādampā-puvata, which was most probably written during the latter part of the seventeenth century, provides some information about the petty king Taniyavallabāhu who ruled at Mādampe during the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D.1489-1513).

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172. Yāpānuvara-vistaraya, Or.5042 fols 14 ff.

173. Kurunāgala-vistaraya, Or.5042 fols 1-14; Or.6607-12

174. Or.5042, fols. 1-14.

175. Mandārapura-puvata, ed. by Labugama Lankananda Thera, Colombo, 1958; Mādampā-puvata, Or.6611-59; Aldeni-alankāraya, Or.6606-249.

The Āldenī-alañkāraya contains valuable information about the chiefs who lived at various times at Ādeniya in Siyanā-kōrale.

The Alutnuvara-Dēvāle-Karavīma is a work that deals with the history of Alutnuvara-Dēvāle and was written during the same period as the Kurunāgala-vistaraya and the Yāpānuvara-vistaraya.<sup>176</sup> In fact, the latter two works bear a striking resemblance to this work in language as well as in the treatment of the material. What is most important in the Alutnuvara-Dēvāle-Karavīma is the information it supplies regarding the royal families of Gampala and Senkaḍagalanuvara (Kandy). Most of the information supplied by this work regarding the reign of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu (A.D.1469-1511) of Uḍaraṭa is corroborated by the Alutnuvara-Dēvāle-inscriptions of the same monarch.<sup>177</sup>

It will not be out of place here to mention the Bandāra-vākkīyava which refers to the early period of the reign of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu.<sup>178</sup> From the body of the work it is clear that it was written in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Siñḍuruvānarata-kadayimpota while corroborating the information supplied by this work adds further facts to our knowledge regarding the early part of the reign of this king in Uḍaraṭa.<sup>179</sup>

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176. Alutnuvara-Dēvāle-Karavīma, Or.6606-145.

Extracts from this work have been published by D.B.Jayatilaka, Siñhala-Sāhitya-Lipi, pp. 70-71.

177. Alutnuvara, Slab Inscriptions, EZ, iv, pp.261-270.

178. Bandāra-vākkīyava, Or.6606-146.

179. Lawrie, A.C. A. Gazetteer of the Central Province of Ceylon, (Excluding Walapane), Colombo, 1898. pp.970-971

In addition to the information about this king the above mentioned two works are of great value to ascertain the nature of the early Kandyan nobility. Two other historical works are worthy of our attention. They are the Kaṇḍure-bandāra-valiya and the Kirivālle-raja-mūlaparam-parāva.<sup>180</sup> The outstanding factor about these works is that they are based on the traditions of the two leading families during this period. The Kaṇḍure-bandāra-valiya is based on the family of the famous minister Kaṇḍure-bandāra who conspired abortively to kill the three sons of Vijayabāhu VI (A.D.1513-1521).<sup>181</sup> The royal grants received by the members of this family during various times have been mentioned in this work with dates. Some of the information supplied by this work regarding Kaṇḍure-bandāra finds corroborative evidence in the Rājāvaliya.<sup>182</sup> The fact that the Śaka-Era has been used in order to clarify the dates of the grants received by the members of the family during various reigns makes it easy for us even to determine the duration of particular reigns. The Kirivālle-raja-mūlaparamparāva is important because it deals with the famous Kīrivālle royal house. Chronologically this work falls into a later time as it was written in the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>183</sup> The contents of the manuscript, however, show that it was written at various times as family records.

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180. Kirivālle-raja-mūlaparamparāva, Or.6606-50; Kaṇḍure-bandāra-valiya, Or.6606-77, fols. 53-59.  
 181. Kaṇḍure-bandāra-valiya, Or.6606-77, fol.55; Rajavaliya(G), p.52.  
 182. Rājāvaliya (G), p.52.  
 183. Kirivālle-raja-mūlaparamparāva, Or.6606-50, fol. 1.

Unfortunately the first few pages of the manuscript are missing from the ola copy, and therefore the earliest information that we can gather from this work begins at the time of the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D.1489-1513).<sup>184</sup> As a result we are not in a position to obtain any evidence regarding the queen of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466) who according to the Rājāvaliya was a scion of the Kīrivālle royal family. It is interesting to note that the names of the seven sons of Kīrivālle Rālamāhi are given in the same manner as in the Rājāvaliya.<sup>185</sup> The dates of the grants that they received from the kings are given according to the Śaka Era and therefore, provide additional information on the duration of the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D.1489-1513).

A palm leaf manuscript entitled Mukkara-hatana is of immense value for the study of certain political events that have been omitted by the Rājāvaliyas. The vague reference to the defeat of the Mukkara king by Parākramabāhu VI found in the Pārakumbāsirita has been passed over by many modern scholars, for it is not reported in the Rājāvaliya or of the any other well known chronicles.<sup>186</sup>

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184. The beginning of the text clearly shows that some words are missing from the first sentence. Or.6606-50.fol.1.

185. Rājāvaliya (G), p.50. The names of these princes were Vālikola Rālahāmi, Gomgomuvē Rālahāmi, Kīrivālle Rālahāmi (jr), Obberiyē Rālahāmi, Valageyi Ralahami, and Annoruve Rālahāmi and the princess who later became the queen of Jayavīra of Uḍaraṭa.

186. Mukkara-hatana, Or.6606-53; Pārakumbāsirita, v.79. For the English translation of the Mukkara-hatana see M.D. Raghavan's The Karava of Ceylon, pp.20 ff.

The information furnished in the Mukkara-haṭana is available in two other works of that period known as the Vanni-upata and the Mahāsammata-Rājāvaliya. The two latter works also seem to have been written some time at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>187</sup> Two other works, which are mainly devoted to records concerning the reigning monarchs of the Island from the Gampala period to the reign of Śrī Vikrama Rājasiṅha (A.D.1798-1815), deserve our attention.

The ola work known as the Rājalekhanaya superficially records the names of all the kings of the Island from the Gampala period to the fall of the kingdom of Kandy.<sup>188</sup> The writer in the colophon of the work admits that it was written in the early part of the nineteenth century.<sup>189</sup> Judging from the information and the accurate regnal periods mentioned in it, it is reasonable to assume that the material was obtained either from earlier literary works or from the documents found in the Kandy archives. The Rājavaṃsaya deals with the kings of Kandy who reigned before the accession of Vimaladharmasūriya I (A.D.1592-1604). Some information recorded in this work enables us to fill in the gap from the end of the reign of Jayavīra (A.D.1511-1552) to Vimaladharmasūriya I (A.D.1592-1604).<sup>190</sup>

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187. Vanni-upata, Or.6606-54; Mahāsammata Rājāvaliya, Or.6606-106

188. Rājalekhanaya, Or.6606-104

189. Or.6606-104, fol.4

190. Rājavaṃsaya, Col.Mus. MSS, AN. 15; 69-1-1; M4.



The information furnished in this work concerning the reign of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu (A.D.1469-1511) is also of value to us. Codrington is of the opinion that the Rājavāmsaya was written in the seventeenth century.<sup>191</sup> This view seems reasonable since the Rājavāmsaya does not refer to any king after Vimaladharmasūriya I (A.D.1592-1604).

In addition to the family traditions such as the Vittipotasa there were recorded accounts in various temples regarding the history of the institution. Donations received from various kings have been recorded in them. The most important of such temple traditions for our study is the work known as the Tudugala-Vīdāgama-Pāvati-Bandāravaliya.<sup>192</sup> Since the work refers to Kīrtisīri Rājasīnha (A.D.1747-1782) it is believed that it was written as late as the eighteenth century. No doubt much of the information available in this work was based on the earlier traditions; especially the report concerning the early life of Parākramabāhu VI is corroborated by the evidence furnished in the Padākada-sannasa.<sup>193</sup>

Rājaratnākāraya:-

Among the literary works the Rājaratnākāraya falls into the same category as the Cūlavāmsa and the Rājāvaliya.<sup>194</sup>

191. CLR(TS) vol.ii, pp.291-292

192. Tudugala-Vīdāgama-Pāvati-Bandāravaliya, Colombo, Mus.MSS.X9.

193. Colombo Mus. MSS.X9, fol.8; JRAS(CB) xxxvi, pp. 130-133.

P.B. Sannasgala refers to a rare book known as Papiliyanavata which records the history & rituals connected with the Papiliyana Temple. Siṃhala-sahitya-vāmsaya, p.288.

194. The Palm leaf manuscript no. 1945 of the Colombo Museum refers to the author by name, Valgampaye Abhayaraja Piruven Thera.

The information found in this work concerning the period before the beginning of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē has been borrowed from such earlier works as the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya and the Cūlavamsa II. Although the Rājaratnākaraya has won the attention of scholars, much confidence could not be placed upon this work for we find much inaccurate evidence and omissions in it. The name of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX is omitted in the list of kings of Kōṭṭē after the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. (A.D.1411-1466).<sup>195</sup> Events of political importance are not recorded in it and only the religious works of Parākramabāhu VI and later kings are mentioned. Unfortunately, this work has been utilized by many writers, and thereby the errors of the Rājaratnākaraya have been repeated in them.<sup>196</sup> The scholars who did not make a thorough study of these sources wrongly assumed that there is corroborative evidence in it to support the evidence found in Rājaratnākaraya.<sup>197</sup> Special care is therefore essential in dealing with the information furnished in the Rājaratnākaraya and other works such as the third part of the Cūlavamsa and the Dambuluvihāra Tudapata, for the latter two have been based on the inaccurate evidence of the Rājaratnākaraya.<sup>198</sup>

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195. Rājaratnākaraya, ed by P.N. Tissera, Colombo, 1929, p.43. An imperfect English translation was published by Edward Upham, The Mahavamsi, the Rajaratnakari and the Rajavali, vol.ii, pp. 1 ff.
196. The errors, however, have not crept into the later works direct from the Rājaratnākaraya. The later works have obtained information from the Cūlavamsa which based its information on the evidence of the Rājaratnākaraya. See above, pp. 7, ff.
197. P.E. Pieris, Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol.i, pp.93 and 475-6.

It may not be far wrong to assume that the Rājaratnākaraya was written during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VII (A.D.1521-1551), for he is the last king mentioned in this work. Confused information found in this work concerning a king called Vīravikrama who reigned in B.E.2084 cannot be taken as a trustworthy criterion in deciding the chronology of either this work or the reign of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu, for we know that there was no king by the name of Vīravikrama in B.E.2084 (A.D.1540/1). We find evidence in the Kandy Nātha Dēvāle inscription of B.E.2085 (A.D.1540/2) that king Jayavīra who ascended the throne in A.D.1511 was still on the throne at Kandy.<sup>199</sup>

Contemporary Literary Works:-

Owing to the literary revival of the fifteenth century a large number of poems were written, some of which furnish valuable contemporary information especially regarding the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466). The poems known as sandēśayas provide in a limited way material of historical interest.<sup>200</sup> Some of them such as the Sālahini-sandēśaya and the Kōkila-sandēśaya provide information not found in the other works regarding the invasion of Jaffna by Prince Sapumal.<sup>201</sup>

199. Gūlavamsa II, ch.89,90,91 and 92 bear a striking similarity to the account of the Rājaratnākaraya. See also, D.E. Wikramasuriya, 'Dambulu vihāra paramparava' Vidyōdaya, vol.iv,1929,pp.79-82.

200. P.B. Sannasgala, Siṃhala-sāhitya-vaṃśaya, pp.237 ff.; Siṃhala sandēśa-sāhityaya, Colombo, 1955, pp.65-122.

201. Sālahini-sandēśaya, ed by Dharmakirti Sri Dharmarama Nayaka Sthavira, Colombo, 1908; Kōkila-sandēśaya, ed. by P.S. Perera, Colombo. 1906.

199. Rājaratnākaraya, p.44; EZ, iv, pp.27-34

Thus we owe mostly to the Sālahihini-sandēśaya our knowledge regarding the chronology of this invasion.<sup>202</sup> The Girā-sandēśaya which was written during the last few years of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466) includes almost all the events that occurred during this reign with the exception of the rebellion in Uḍaraṭa.<sup>203</sup> The Paravi-sandēśaya provides supplementary information regarding the brother of Parākramabāhu VI, of whom we know from the account of Couto. Much of our knowledge concerning the courtiers and petty officers of the court of Parākramabāhu VI, is obtained from the Haṁsa-sandēśaya.<sup>204</sup> The eulogies of the patron found in the Kāvyaśēkharaya of Sri Rahula Thera and in the Guttila-kāvya of Vattave Thera are of immense value for obtaining information regarding chronology, and concerning the members of the royal family.<sup>205</sup> Colophons of the contemporary works such as the Buduguna-alaṅkāraya, the Nāmāvaliya, the Elu-Attanagaluvāmsaya and the Ruvanmala also supply additional information regarding contemporary history.<sup>206</sup>

The Pārakumbāsirita, should be regarded as the most valuable of all the contemporary poems for it is a poem written for the purpose of eulogizing the person of King Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>207</sup>

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202. See below pp.

203. Girā-sandēśaya, ed. by K. Munidasa, Colombo, 1963

204. Paravi-sandēśaya, ed. by A. Sabihela, Colombo, 1967; Haṁsa-sandēśaya ed. by K.D.P. Wikramasinhe, Colombo, 1952. Couto in JRAS(CB)xx,p.67; Pāravi-sandēśaya, vv.196-198

205. Kāvyaśēkharaya, ed. by Sri Dharmarama Thera, Colombo, 1966.

Guttila-kāvya, ed. by W. F. Gunasekara, Colombo, 1916.

206. Buduguna-alaṅkāraya, ed. by D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1904;

Nāmāvaliya, ed. by K. Nanavimala Thera, Colombo, 1956; Ruvanmalanigāntava, ed. by Dharmabandhu, Colombo, 1954.

207. Pārakumbāsirita, ed. by Charles de Silva, Colombo, 1954.

The author of the poem is not known but it is believed that it was Toṭagamuve Śrī Rāhula Thera. The value of this work has been doubled for it includes every noteworthy event that took place during this long reign. Even the last major political event, the rebellion of Uḍaraṭa, which took place in the fifty-second regnal year of this monarch is recorded in this work.<sup>208</sup>

The most important piece of information found in this work is in connexion with the genealogy of this king. Erroneous information supplied by the Rājāvaliya in this connexion can be rectified with the help of this reliable contemporary work. We must not, however, forget that the Pārakumbāsirita is a poem and therefore certain allowances must be made for poetic embellishments and imagination.

Apart from the above mentioned poems we possess a number of prose works written during this period. The advantage which these works have over the poems is that the mistakes which have crept into the poems caused by their endeavour to follow the kāvya rules, are lacking in them. The Nikāyasaṅgrahaya which was written a little earlier is of some value to us, for its main purpose is to set down the history of Buddhism in the Island up to the twenty-fifth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu V (i.e. A.D.1396).<sup>209</sup>

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208. Pārakumbāsirita, vv.48-53.

209. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, ed. by K. Munidasa, Colombo, 1929.

Although this valuable work does not continue the story as far as the period under our study it helps us to obtain information regarding the causes which paved way for Kōṭṭē to be made the capital of the Island.

The Saddharmaratnākaraya was the only prose work which was written during the early part of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466). This work, as it was written in the seventh regnal year of this monarch supplies much valuable information that has not been recorded in other works in connexion with the early career of Parākramabāhu VI. In fact, we are indebted to the Saddharmaratnākaraya for information regarding the seven members of the Alakēśvara family who ruled as the prabhurājas before the accession of Parākramabāhu VI. The gap in the history caused by the hiatus of the Rājāvaliya could also be filled with the help of this work. If not for the Saddharmaratnākaraya scholars would have been misled by the statement of the Rājāvaliya according to which the captive king taken to China was Vijayabāhu, but we learn from the Saddharmaratnākaraya that his name was Vira Alakēśvara. The latter name is confirmed by the Chinese sources.<sup>210</sup>

Apart from this there are some other works of lesser value. The Elu-Attanagaluvamsaya (Vidāgama version), the Kathināni-sansaya, Kathinani-sansaya, the Kuvēni-asna are also of concern to us for they bear reference to contemporary politics in their eulogies of the patron.

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210. Saddharmaratnākaraya, ed. by Dharmakirti Sri Sugunasara Devananda Thera, Colombo, 1955.

The last work was written for the purpose of showering blessings on the person of the king, Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>211</sup>

The Sanskrit work, Vrttaratnākarapañjikā was written by a Bengali Brahmin who became a recipient of the patronage of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>212</sup> The writer eulogises the king describing the patron's genealogy which is very much similar to that found in the Pārakumbāsirita, and therefore it is of value for our study.

Passing references are found regarding the initial year of Parākramabāhu VI in the Pañcīkāpradīpāya.<sup>213</sup> The Pali work, Jinakālamāli is a work of much greater importance as it deals with a story connected with an image taken from Ceylon to Thailand and also the introduction of the upasampadā ordination from Ceylon to that country in the time of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>214</sup>

Our means of obtaining information regarding the history of the kingdom of Jaffna is very meagre, for the sources that we possess regarding this kingdom are late works. The best known Tamil chronicle, the Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai, is a work written in 1736 by a person called Mayilvakam Pulavar at the request of the Dutch governor.

211. Elu-Attanagaluvamsa (Vidāgama Vērsion) ed. by R. Tennakoon, Vidāgama Maitrīya Himiyangē Prabandha, Colombo, 1955, pp.169 ff. Kaṭhinānisansaya, ed. by M.M.P. Vijayaratna, Colombo, 1925; Kuveni-asna, ed. by Aryavansa, Colombo, 1912.

212. Vrttaratnākarapañjikā, ed. by C.A. Silakhanda Mahathera, Bombay 1908

213. Pañcīkā-pradīpāya, ed. by Sri Dharmarama Thera, Colombo, 1896.

214. Jinakālamāli, ed. by A.P. Buddhadatta Thera, Colombo, 1956 Romanised edition by the same author, Colombo, 1962; A French Translation of this work has been published in BEFEO, tome, xxv, pp.36 ff.

There is no doubt that this work was written with the help of earlier Tamil writings. Scholars believe that our chronicle borrowed material from such works as Vaiyāpātal and the Kailāyamālai.<sup>215</sup> The Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai professes to

record the history of the Jaffna kingdom from the period before our Era.<sup>216</sup> Although we cannot obtain much reliable information from this work regarding the period before the thirteenth century the information furnished in it regarding the Āryacakravartis of Jaffna is to a certain extent true. This work does not refer to the period of Prince Sapumal's rule in Jaffna in the fifteenth century. However, the vague memory preserved in it seems to provide us with some evidence from the point of view of the citizens of Jaffna. Special care should be taken in utilizing this work for facts and fiction have both found their way into this chronicle.

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215. Kailāyamālai, ed. with summary in English by C.V. Jambulingam, Madras, 1939.

216. Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai, ed and tr. by C. Britto, Colombo, 1897; The Tamil edition is by Mudaliyar K. Sabanathan, Colombo, 1953 I am indebted to Mr. S. Pathmanadan of the University of Ceylon for the English translation of certain parts of the Tamil text.



Foreign Sources:-

Since during our period the Island was visited by members of two very important maritime nations of the time, the Chinese and the Portuguese, we are in possession of a considerable amount of material for the study of their activities in this Island. The Chinese who arrived in the first part of the fifteenth century left a number of records regarding their relations with the Island. It is mostly from the Chinese sources that we learn about the deportation of Vira Alakēśvara to China in A.D.1411. Owing to the fact that the Chinese writers have left a long account regarding this important episode in Ceylon history their information is of great value to us.

Unfortunately, most of the primary records of the Chinese are in their own language, as is also the greater part of the scholarly knowledge derived from the study of such records. Works in European languages thus form only a minute fraction of the whole body of written material, and the contribution made by English writers is only a small part of this.

We owe much to the late professors Pelliot and Duyvendak for their contribution in this field of study.<sup>217</sup> Their works, together with the translations of relevant parts dealing with Ceylon in the Chinese texts, have made it possible for us to form a satisfactory picture of the activities of the Chinese admirals in Ceylon in the period under our study.

The most important compendia for this study are the official Chinese chronicles the Ming-shih (History of the Ming dynasty) and the Shih-lu (Veritable records).<sup>218</sup>

217. Duyvendak, J.J.L., Ma Huan re-examined 'VKAWA afdeelong letterkunde, nieuwe reeks, deel. xxxii, no. 3 (1933) pp.1-74. Sailing directions of Chinese voyages, TP, vol. xxxiv, (1938) pp.230-237.

'The true dates of the Chinese maritime expeditions in the early fifteenth century', TP, vol. xxxiv, (1938) pp.341-412  
Desultory notes on the Hsi-yang-chi, TP, vol. xlii, (1953) pp. 1-35. China's Discovery of Africa, London, 1949.

Pelliot, P. 'Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au debut de XV<sup>e</sup> siecle, TP, vol. xxx, (1933). pp. 237-452.

'Notes additionnelles sur Tcheng Houo et sur ses voyages', TP, xxxi, (1935), pp.274-314.

'Ecore a propose des voyages de Tcheng-Houo', TP, xxxii, (1936), pp.210-222.

I am indebted to Mr. P. D. Premasiri for the English translations of the relevant parts of the above mentioned articles.

218. JRAS(CB)xxiv, pp.119-123  
Rockhill, W.W. 'Notes on the relations and trade of China with the eastern Archipelago and coasts of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century, TP, tome. xiv, (1913).pp.473-6, tome xv (1914) pp.419-47, and tome xvi (1915),pp.61-159, 236-71, 374-92, 435-467, 604-26.

Duyvendak, however, has pointed out certain erroneous statements found in these two works.<sup>219</sup> Nevertheless, they are the primary sources for our knowledge concerning Sino-Ceylonese relations in this period. Unfortunately, the official documents of Cheng-Ho are missing for it is believed that they were deliberately destroyed by the officials of the war office in Peking in the latter part of the following century.<sup>220</sup> Two other contemporary reports of two officers who travelled in the ships in these expeditions have left us very reliable information. Ma-Huan went as an interpreter on the voyages of Cheng-Ho at least on two occasions and his report pertaining to Ceylon supplies reliable information regarding the connections between the two countries.<sup>221</sup> Fei-tsin was perhaps present in the third expedition when dramatic events took place in Ceylon.<sup>222</sup> The Pien-i-tien (A History of Foreign nations) and Wu-Hsueh-pien have a fairly extensive description of what occurred during these voyages in Ceylon.<sup>223</sup>

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219. TP, xxxiv, (1938) pp. 395-398.

220. J.J.L. Duyvendak, Ma-Huan re-examined, VKAWA, deel, xxxii, (1933) pp. 1-74.

221. Rockhill, W.W. TP. tome. xvi (1915) pp. 61-159, 236-271, 367-374  
Phillips, G. 'The Sea Ports of India and Ceylon', JRAS (Ch. B) vol. xx (1885), pp. 209-226, vol. xxi (1886) pp. 30-42.

222. TP. xxxiv, (1938) pp. 374-392.

223. Pien-i-tien, tr. JRAS (CB) xxiv, pp. 98-102.

Wu-Hsueh-pien quoted in E. Tennent's Ceylon, vol. i, London, 1859, pp. 607-628.

In addition to these geographical and historical writings as well as some literary works, there are some inscriptions which help us to reconstruct the course of events. The inscriptions of Cheng-Ho which were found at the temple of Tien-fei, the "Celestial Spouse", at Liu-chia-chiang in the region of T'ai-ts'ang in China, and at Ch'ang-lo Fuchien also in China should be regarded as the most important of them.<sup>224</sup> The famous Galle Trilingual inscription was probably carved in China before the third expedition left Siu-chia-chiang in A.D.1409.<sup>225</sup> The Portuguese historian, Queyroz, mentions the presence at Devundara of some stone pillars (padrões) which the king of China had ordered to be set up with letters of that nation as token of their devotion to the idols.<sup>226</sup> But no inscription of this kind has been found at Devundara so far.

The Portuguese and the Dutch historians who wrote about the Island in the next two or three centuries whilst writing about the achievements of their countrymen give some accounts of the history of the Island before their arrival. In doing so they made use of Sinhalese works such as the Rājāvaliyas and the Vittipotās.

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224. TP.xxxiv(1938),pp.342-356.

225. For an account of the discovery of this inscription see JRAS(CB)xxii,p.129.

Ed. by E.W.Perera, 'The Galle Trilingual Stone', Spolia ...  
Zeylanica, vol.viii,pp.122 ff.

TP.vol.xxxi (1935)pp.309-310 (Published by Prof. P. Pelliot)  
S. Paranavitana, 'The Tamil inscription on the Galle Trilingual Slab', EZ,iii,pp.331.ff.

226. Queyroz, Book.i.p.35.

The accounts of Barros, Couto, Ribeiro, and Queyroz and Valentijn give some valuable information on the political conditions in the Island during the latter period of the Kōṭṭē kingdom.<sup>227</sup>

The most renowned Portuguese historian on Ceylon is undoubtedly Father Fernão de Queyroz whose work 'The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon' has been rightly judged to be the history par excellence of the Portuguese in the Island.<sup>228</sup>

Most of the account dealing with the period before the arrival of the Portuguese in the Island is a result of Queyroz making use of Couto's work.<sup>229</sup> But on many occasions Queyroz has elucidated, corrected and criticised the account of Couto. Nevertheless, Couto's errors sometimes have crept into this work as well. Further the history of the Kōṭṭē kingdom before Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D.1489-1513) seems to have been written with the help of an unreliable vittipota.<sup>230</sup> Queyroz, however, knew the shortcomings of his sources but suffered from lack of material to correct it as he complains several times.<sup>231</sup>

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227. The History of Ceylon, from the earliest times to 1600 as related by João de Barros and Diogo do Couto, JRAS(CB)xx, pp. 1 ff; Ribeiro, J. History of Ceilão, tr. by P.E. Pieris, Colombo, 1909; Fr. Fernão de Queyroz, The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon, tr. by Fr. S. G. Perera. Colombo, 1930.

228. Abeyasinhe, T. Portuguese rule in Ceylon, Colombo. 1966, p.7.

229. Queyroz, tr. Introduction, p.11; See also the text, pp. 37, 204, 269, 274, 293 and 347.

230. Queyroz, book.i, pp.23-31. See for the Vittipota, Marambe, Tri-Sinhale Kada-im saha Vitti, Colombo, 1916, pp. 73 ff.

231. Queyroz - Book,i.p.26.

Although the account of Queyroz was widely used by many scholars for the study of the early career of the Portuguese in the Island, we notice a number of erroneous statements in it. His report concerning the dealings between the Portuguese and the Sinhalese in 1518 seems to be a fabrication for we possess contemporary evidence to prove it.<sup>232</sup> However, the account of Queyroz in spite of all these shortcomings, could be taken as one of the most important sources for the study of the history of this period. The main events recorded in this work have been corroborated by the Rājāvaliyas and the earlier Portuguese writings.

Apart from Queyroz and Couto there are three other historians who deserve our attention. Barros' information regarding the erection of the fortress in 1518 by the Portuguese is of much use to us.<sup>233</sup> Castanheda and Correa also provide us valuable information regarding the early Portuguese activities in the Island.<sup>234</sup> Correa seems to have accompanied the Governor, Lopo Soarez, in 1518 in the latter's expedition to Ceylon and therefore his account appears more reliable.<sup>235</sup>

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232. Queyroz, book, ii, pp. 189 ff.; See also below pp. 444-446

233. Barros, João de, Da Asia, Dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram no descobrimento das terras e mares do Oriente, new edition, Decadas, i-iv, 9 parts in 5 vols. Lisbon, 1777-1778.

English translation of the parts pertaining to Ceylon have been published by D. W. Ferguson in JRAS(CB), xx, pp. 20 ff.

234. Castanheda, Fernão Lopez de., Historia do Descobrimento & Conquista da India pelos Portuguese, third edition, vols. i-x, Lisbon, 1924-1933.; Correa, Gaspar., Lendas da India, vols. i-iv, Lisbon, 1858-1866. Extracts from them pertaining to Ceylon have been translated by D.W. Ferguson in CLR, vols. iii and iv.

235. Correa, Gaspar., Lendas da India, vol. ii, pp. 517 ff.; CLR, iii, pp. 156-158, 165-166 and 179-181.; Bell, A.F.G., Gaspar Correa, Oxford, 1924, p. 8.

Most of the official documents of the Portuguese regarding their activities in the Island in the early part of the sixteenth century have not come down to us for, the Portuguese officials realized the value of these documents only towards the end of the sixteenth century. The available important documents pertaining to our study could be found in translation in an appendix attached to the late Donald Ferguson's article entitled 'The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506' contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch).<sup>236</sup>

Epigraphic Sources:-

We are fortunate in being able to utilize so many chronicles and historical writings for our study. We are also in possession of a considerable quantity of epigraphic evidence. Unlike those of the early periods the inscriptions of our period are rich in information regarding political history. They not only confirm the evidence available in the chronicles but often shed new light on them. They are of immense value to us regarding the chronology, for the chronicles are often in disagreement with each other. Since our period falls in a comparatively recent time, the script is not much different from that of today. The inscriptions of this period are hardly different from the Kadayimpotas written during this period, for much care has been devoted to clarifying the boundaries of the particular grant of land.<sup>237</sup> Partly for this reason the inscriptions are longer than those of the early Anurādhapura period.

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236. JRAS(GB)xix, pp.284-400

237. UHC.p.71

The royal grants known as the sannasas (charters) come into vogue during this period for the first time. The purpose of such grants was to donate some land to the saṅgha or to individual laymen. Although they were not as popular as in the Kandy period a few sannasas of the Kōṭṭē kings are found.<sup>238</sup> In fact even some inscriptions of this period fall into this category although they are engraved on stones.<sup>239</sup> The sannasas, being royal grants are usually inscribed on copper plates, but sometimes on gold or silver plates. The ola copies of the documents are however, not rare. The inscriptions that were engraved on stones often had a duplicate written on an ola leaf. During the Kandy period such copies known as tudapatas were certified by the two chief Adigārs of the kingdom. No doubt this habit was in existence even during the period under our study. Often these tudapatas were issued by the king's court when the original sannasas were lost or defaced.<sup>240</sup> As a rule the royal archives possessed a copy of the grants which were issued by the king. It is a result of this custom that we are able to utilize a number of inscriptions issued during this period of which the original stones are missing or destroyed. The most important of such copies are the inscriptions on the rocks at the Pāpiliyāne Temple and the Lakśmana Saman Dēvāle of Ratnapura.

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238. UHC, p.71

239. L. S. Devaraja, 'The History of Buddhism in Ceylon during the Nayakkar Period (A.D. 1739-1815)', Unpublished thesis submitted for MA. to the University of Ceylon, 1966, pp.21-25.

240. Ibid.



The famous Niyāṅgampāya inscription was not known to the historians until its ola tudapata was discovered since the original stone is not available.<sup>241</sup> Most of the inscriptions of King Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu (A.D.1469-1511) of Uḍaraṭa such as the Kobbākaduva Vihāre Sannasa, Kuṭṭaṅgal Vihāre Sannasa, and Galganē Vihāre Tudapata are lost to us in their original copper plates. The inscriptions such as the Kālaṇi Vihāra Inscription of Dharma Parākramabāhu and the Gadaladeniya pillar inscription of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu are available on the original stones and on the tudapatas.<sup>242</sup>

The donors of these inscriptions are always the reigning monarchs and therefore, they provide evidence concerning the duration of particular reigns, and the names of certain dignitaries who were powerful at that time. One defect which is found in these inscriptions, however, is noteworthy. None of these epigraphs mention the genealogy of the particular monarch; neither do they record the epithets such as Rukulē, Paṇḍita, Vīra and Dharma which have been attributed to the Parākramabāhus of this period. This is unfortunate because there were five Parākramabāhus and three Bhuvanekabāhus out of the nine kings that ruled Kōṭṭē during our period. In addition there were two Vikramabāhus in Uḍaraṭa. Besides, there were a large number of petty kings reigning in various parts of the country who, however, did not have power to issue royal grants.

241. Niyāṅgampaya Inscription, Or.6606-165 (Catalogued under the name 'Gampala galē keṭu liyuma)

242. Munnessarama Tamil Inscription, Or.6616. R. Lankatilaka Vihare Inscriptions, Or.6606-140 Pāpiliyāna Inscription, Or.6606-12. H.W. Codrington, 'Some documents of Vikramabāhu of Kandy, JRAS(CB) xxxii, (1932) pp.64-75.

Paleography does not help us since the writing did not undergo a perceptible change during this entire period; therefore, it is hardly possible to utilize it for determination of the chronology as in the earlier periods.<sup>243</sup> Often our means of ascertaining the name of a king has been the contents, and the regnal years found in the epigraphs. Even this method has been of hardly any use regarding the Oruvala-sannasa which is said to have been issued in the third regnal year of one Parākramabāhu.<sup>244</sup> It could either be Jayavira Parakramabahu (1466-69) or Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII (A.D.1478-1489) since the document refers to the performing of the funeral ceremony of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466). The Gaḍalādeniya inscription of a king known as Jayavīra Parākramabāhu which was issued in his fifth regnal year has been assigned by Codrington to Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D.1489-1513), and later to the immediate successor of Parakramabahu VI, whose name is given in the Cūlavamsa as Jayabāhu. Paranavitana's suggestion that it was possibly Parākramabāhu VI adds more to the confusion. In the same manner the Ganegoda-sannasa has been attributed to both the fifth and <sup>the</sup> seventh Bhuvanekabāhus by different scholars.<sup>245</sup>

In spite of all these difficulties we are in a position to obtain from a number of inscriptions, much valuable information, which would not have been known to us from any other source. The most interesting fact in connexion with these inscriptions is that they are usually dated either in a particular regnal year or in some well known era.

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243. P. E. E. Fernando, 'Development of the Sinhalese script from the eighth Century A.D. to fifteenth Century A.D.', UCR, viii, pp.241-243

244. Oruvala-sannasa EZ, iii, pp.51-71; CLR(TS) ii, pp.291 ff

245. H.C.P. Bell, Report on the Kegalla District, Sessional paper, vol. xix, 1892, p.93

The Śaka era and the Buddhist era have been widely used, while in the Niyangampāya inscription we find even the Kali-yuga Era used in addition to the other two.<sup>246</sup> The use of both the regnal year and the Buddhist year in the Kālani Inscription of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX has been the deciding factor in solving many problems regarding the chronological order of events in the early part of the sixteenth century.<sup>247</sup> Most of the inscriptions of Parākramabāhu VI have been dated with the regnal year while the year in which the king ascended the throne is also mentioned. The problems concerning the durations of the reigns of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu (A.D.1466-1469), Bhuvanekabāhu VI (A.D.1469-1478) and Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu (A.D.1469-1511) have been solved with the help of the inscriptional evidence while the Rājāvaliya is of hardly any use regarding this matter. The discovery of the Vēgiriya inscription provided many additions to our knowledge regarding the duration of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D.1371-1408).<sup>248</sup>

The Dādigama inscription is unique in character for it refers to an amnesty offered by the king to the people of Satara-kōrale.<sup>249</sup> With the help of its counterpart, the Alutnuvara Dēvāle inscription, we could construct the course of events which followed the rebellion called Sinhala Saṅge.<sup>250</sup>

246. Or.6606-165, fol.1

247. Kālanirajamaha-Vihāra Inscription, ed. by Mahamudali Louis de Zoysa, JRAS(CB) vol.v. (1871-72) pp.36-44; For the revised edition of this inscription see, Bell, H.C.P., CALR, vol.i, pp.155-158.

Paranavitana finally corrected the errors of the earlier editions of this inscription in UCR, ~~xx~~ (1961) pp.10-29.

248. Vēgiriya Inscription, JRAS(CB) xxii, p.366

249. RKD, pp.83-85; EZ, iii, pp.278-286

250. EZ, iv, pp.261-270.

We are indebted for much of our knowledge in respect of the reign of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu and of Jayavīra of Uḍaraṭa to the epigraphic evidence without which our knowledge would have been rather scanty. Apart from such additional information the inscriptions could often be utilized as a means of verifying the authenticity of the chronicles.

Numismatic:-

It is regrettable that we are not in possession of sufficient numismatic evidence for further information. The only kind of coins which could be attributed to this period are coins found in Jaffna with the legend 'Śrī Parākramabāhu'. Codrington assumed that they were issued by Prince Sapumal during his period of rule in that part of the Island. The other kind of coins which were in use are the Dambadeniya massas.<sup>251</sup>

Archaeological Sources:-

One who is familiar with the Sinhalese literary works of the Kōṭṭē period would expect to see a large number of beautiful paintings and sculptures and magnificent structures of this period at least in their ruined state. Those who know the subsequent history of the Island would understand why these buildings are not even among the ruins which survive today. We cannot, however, put the entire blame on the chaotic period and the destructive activities of the Portuguese soldiers, for the climatic conditions too were at work.

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251. H. W. Codrington, Ceylon coins and Currency, (Memoirs of the Colombo Museum), Colombo, 1924, pp. 75 ff

Buildings mentioned in the Sandēśayas and in the early Portuguese correspondence would give us an idea of the prosperity of the period.<sup>252</sup> The only sign of a building in the ancient city of Kōṭṭē is the foundation stones of the Daladā-Māligava.<sup>253</sup> The fortress (Kōṭṭē) built by Alagakkōnāra-Prabhurāja I is only a dream to us today even though the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya and the Saddharamaratnākaraya describe it in detail.<sup>254</sup> The religious buildings such as the dēvāles of Devundara, Ratnapura and Munnēssarama are only memories today, for they were demolished by the Portuguese soldiers during times of war and even of peace.<sup>255</sup>

As was seen in the foregoing discussion we are in a position to reconstruct the history of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē with a certain amount of detail. Still we are not in a position to elucidate many important problems owing to lack of information. However, certain reigns such as those of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466) and Vijayabāhu VI (A.D. 1513-1521) are better documented than those of Vira Parākramabāhu VIII (A.D.1478-1489). The activities of the Portuguese in the Island are better known owing to the abundance of sources than the invasions undertaken by the Vijayanagara rulers in the preceding century. Under the circumstances we have been forced to curtail our study according to the existing limitations in the available sources. Perhaps a number of important events which are worthy of our attention are unknown to us today.

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252. Mayura-sandēśaya, v.47; Paravi-sandēśaya, vv.5-20; Sālalihiṇi sandēśaya, vv.7-14; Gira-sandēśaya, vv.12-26; Hansa-sandēśaya, vv.11-25; Kōkila-sandēśaya, vv.121-135.

For Portuguese documents see CALR, vol.i, pp.223 ff.

253. UHC, p.778

254. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p.22; Saddharamaratnākaraya, p.316

255. Queyroz, book, iii, pp. 427, 441 and book, vi, p.714.

CHAPTER TWO

THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF KÖTTĒ

Köttē becomes the capital of the Sinhalese kings:-

The kingdom of Jaffna held a prominent place in the Island's politics during the fifties and the sixties of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the reign of Vikramabāhu III (A.D.1357-1374) the king of Jaffna had been strong enough to dictate the terms of a treaty of peace between the Sinhalese king and the ruler of Jaffna.<sup>2</sup> Paranavitana mentions an unpublished inscription found at Maḍavala, dated in the third year of Vikramabāhu III, which refers to an invasion undertaken by the Āryacakravartī which was repulsed by the Alakēśvara with heavy losses.<sup>3</sup> Thus it appears that the period of decline in the power of the rulers of Jaffna over the Sinhalese kingdom had already set in as early as the third year of Vikramabāhu III. The victory of Mārtanḍam Perumāḷ, the Āryacakravartī, recorded in the Maḍavala rock inscription of Vikramabāhu III, must therefore, have taken place some time before the appearance on the political scene of Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra.<sup>4</sup>

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1. UHC, pp.691-702: Concise History, pp.291 ff. Paranavitana, S., 'The Arya Kingdom in North Ceylon', JRAS(CB)NS vii, pp.174-224; For views concerning the origin of the kingdom of Jaffna see, K. Indrapala, Dravidian Settlements in Ceylon, Unpublished thesis, 1966.
  2. JRAS(CB)NS, vii, pp.197-200
  3. JRAS(CB)NS, vii, p.197
  4. JRAS(CB)NS, vii, p.198; EZ, v, pp.462-466

The author of the contemporary Saddharmaratnākaraya refers to the damage done to the Sinhalese kingdom by the reiterated attacks undertaken by the Āryacakravartis.<sup>5</sup>

If we can trust the contemporary Sinhalese sources it was in response to these invasions of the Āryacakravarti that Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra decided to take firmer measures against the king of Jaffna, which ultimately resulted in the building of the fortress of Jayavardhanapura Kōṭṭē.<sup>7</sup> The reasons which led Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra to decide on building the fortress in a village called Darugama have been explained in the contemporary Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya in precise terms.<sup>8</sup> Among other reasons this village attracted the attention of Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra owing to its situation amidst the marshes to the south of the Kālaṇi Gaṅga. In addition to the natural defence of this village owing to impassable marshes on three sides, leaving open only the narrow neck of land on the south, the Alakēśvara built high walls surrounding the selected area of about one square mile. In accordance with the defence practices of the day, a deep and wide canal was dug encircling the walls of the fortress.<sup>9</sup> The narrow neck of land which joined Darugama with the rest of the land also was separated by constructing a double line of deep moats so that the enemy could not penetrate into the fortress from that side.<sup>10</sup>

5. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p. 316

7. Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya, p. 22; Rājaratnākaraya, p. 42; Saddharmaratnākaraya, p. 316; Rājāvaliyā, p. 46; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 20; Valentijn, p. 71

8. Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya, p. 22.

9. UHC, p. 645. Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya, p. 22 (gāmburu hā pulula āti maha agala

10. See the map. bindavā)

The fortress thus built was maintained by the Sinhalese kings until it was destroyed by the Portuguese in the latter part of the next century.<sup>11</sup> We possess a fair picture of the nature of the fortress from the contemporary sandēśayas.<sup>12</sup> The fortress thus built was guarded by soldiers stationed at various places along the ramparts surrounding the fortress.<sup>13</sup> At the four corners of the ramparts four dēvāles were constructed, dedicated to the four guardian deities of the Island.<sup>14</sup>

If we are to trust the account of Ibn Batutta who visited the port of Kalanbu (Colombo), apart from the above mentioned geographical reasons, the building of this fortress in the vicinity of Kolon-toṭa was motivated by the Alakēśvara Prabū<sup>h</sup>rāja's aim to control the profitable foreign trade, conducted mostly by Muslims in the neighbouring coastal area.<sup>15</sup>

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11. Abeyasinhe, Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, p.76; P.E. Pieris, Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol.i, p.188.  
For a description of Kōṭṭē in 1687 see Daalmans, JRAS(CB)x, p.152.
  12. Mayura-sandēśaya, v.47; Paravi-sandēśaya, vv.5-20; Sālalihini-sandēśaya, vv.7-14; Girā-sandēśaya, vv.12-26; Haṁsa-sandēśaya, vv.11-25; Kōkila-sandēśaya, vv.121-135.  
See also Gaspar Correa Lendas da India, vol.ii, p.519.
  13. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.20 (bala sēnāvan sadā samannā' i.e. having placed and organized forces).  
Nikāyasāṅgrahaya, p.23; Rājaratnākaraya, p.42; Purāvṛtta, p.94.
  14. Nikāyasāṅgrahaya, p.23.  
The four guardian gods according to this work were Kihirāli Upulvan, Saman Boksāl, Vibhīśaṇa, and Skanda-kumāra.
  15. Nikāyasāṅgrahaya, p.22. (Kōlambābhidāna drōnamukhāsannayehi); Ibn Batutta, tr. by H.A.R.Gibb, London, 1929, p.260; JRAS(CB) vol.vii, p.56.



We also learn from this writer, who travelled about two decades before the foundation of Kōṭṭē, that the sultan, Ayri Shakarwati (Āryacakravarti), who kept pirate vessels in his ports, was in control of the cinnamon trade. He further informs us that the Āryacakravarti bartered cinnamon with Malabar traders in exchange for woven stuffs and similar articles.<sup>16</sup> In view of the Rājāvaliya's evidence that the Alakēśvara Prabhurāja expelled the tax collectors of the Āryacakravarti, we can clearly see that the Sinhalese ruler wished to procure economic advantages by getting rid of these officers appointed by the Āryacakravarti.<sup>17</sup> The fact that Darugama was within easy reach of Rayigama, the ancestral abode of the Ālakēśvaras, must also have played an important part in the selection of this village as the main fortress in the campaign against the ruler of Jaffna.<sup>18</sup>

The fortress thus built was named Jayavardhamapura Kōṭṭē (the fortress in the victory increasing city), perhaps with the hope of inspiring his soldiers; indeed, so long as there were sufficient provisions the fortress seemed impregnable.

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16. Ibn Batutta, pp.254-255; JRAS (CB), vol.vii, pp.37-38.  
 17. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.20; Rājāvaliya, tr.p.66; Rājāvaliya, p.46. (6)  
 (Baduvalaṭa siṭiyavun., i.e. tax collectors)  
 18. According to the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya the main camps (tānāyam) of the Āryacakravarti were stationed at Kolamba, Vattala, Migamuva (Negombo), and Halāvata (Chilaw).

After having made all the necessary preparations the Alagakkōnāra Prabhurāja drove away the emissaries of the Āryacakravarti, who were stationed at different places to collect the taxes from the Sinhalese king's territory.<sup>19</sup> The Rājāvaliya records that 'hearing of this act of the Alakēśvara, King Āryacakravarti blazed with rage like unto a cobra when struck with a stick, and sent a large army obtained from the Soḷī-ṛaṭa.' The formidable naval and land forces that were sent by this king in order to reassert his authority in the south suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Alakēśvara Prabhurāja.<sup>20</sup>

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19. The Rājāvaliya seems to have made an error in this connexion, for, according to it, the Alakēśvara hanged the tax collectors of the Āryacakravarti. As Professor Paranavitana correctly pointed out, this was a brutality committed, not by the Alakēśvara, but by the copyists of the Rājāvaliya who wrote the last two letters as elvā (having hung) instead of the correct word elavā (having chased away). The Rājāvaliya MS.no.13 of Rask no.XIX of the Royal Library of Copenhagen, has it that the tax collectors of the Āryacakravarti were captured and killed. (allā māruvāya) JRAS(CB)NS, vii, p.214.; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.20  
See also P.E.Pieris, Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol.i.p.21.  
Most other modern scholars have repeated the error committed by the copyists of the Rājāvaliya.  
Rajavaliya, tr.p.66, Rājāvaliya, p.46, Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.74  
SHC, p.84; JRAS(CB) xxxii, p.274, K.D.P. Wickēmasinghe,  
Kōttē-yugayē-Siñhala-sāhityaya, p.15.
20. Rājāvaliya, p.46, Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.20.

If we can agree with Parānavitana, who holds that this is the victory of the Alakēśvara referred to in the Niyāṅgampāya inscription of the seventeenth year of Vikramabāhu III (i.e. Śaka Era 1295) we would be in a position to obtain a clear idea regarding the time of the building of Kōṭṭē.<sup>21</sup> As we concluded earlier, the prabhurāja realized that the time to fight the Āryacakravartī had come in the third year of Vikramabāhu III, when he managed to defeat an army sent by the king of Jaffna.<sup>22</sup> In view of the fact that a victory mentioned in the Niyāṅgampāya inscription was gained in the seventeenth year of the same king, we may assume that the building of the fortress was carried out during the intervening period.<sup>23</sup> Considering the amount of labour that must have gone into such a large-scale work as the building of a fortress, we may presume that this entire period of over ten years must have been utilized in the direction of making plans and completing the building operations.

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21. Or.6606-165, fol.1; JRAS(CB)xxxii, p.276.

An inscription dated B.E.1917, found carved on a sword refers to Jayavardhanapura Seneviraja Vāsala (the palace of the commander in chief). Therefore, it was issued one year after the Niyāṅgampāya inscription. (JRAS(CB), xviii, p.389).

22. See note 3.

23. Or.6606-165, fol.1.

The sword inscription issued in B.E.1917 clearly shows that Jayavardhanapura was at that time in use as a fortress. JRAS(CB), xviii, p.389.

No doubt once the construction work commenced, particular care must have been taken by expediting the operations in order that the news of it might not reach the king of Jaffna, who might have launched an attack before the fort was in a proper state to face an invasion. We may thus assume that Jayavardhanapura Kōṭṭē was in use as a fortress in Śaka 1295 (A.D.1374), the date of the Niyāṅgampāya inscription.

There is no reason to think that Jayavardhanapura Kōṭṭē should have been abandoned by the Alakēśvaras having defeated the Āryacakravarti, although there is no evidence to show that they shifted their residence from Rayigama to Kōṭṭē at that time. The king of Jaffna on the contrary, made it essential for the prabhurāja to maintain the fortress even during the reign of the next king who ascended the throne at Gampala after Vikramabāhu III. The Sagama inscription of the ninth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu V reports renewed hostilities between them.<sup>24</sup> The contemporary Nikāyasaṅgrahaya also mentions that the hostilities did not come to an end with just one war. From the Saddharmaratnākaraya we learn that the Alagakkōnāras (the Alakēśvaras) had to fight the forces of the king of Jaffna time after time (varin vara).<sup>24a</sup>

24. EZ, iv, pp.296-312

24a. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p.23.

Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.316... ".....Āryacakravarti varin vara luhubāṇḍimin" (pursuing the Āryacakravarti time after time).

Alakēśvara and Alagakkōnāra meant the same family for the latter is the Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit Alakēśvara. For further information see below, p.

The fortress of Kōṭṭē thus continued to be in use throughout the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V, (the successor of Vikramabāhu III) even though the king was at Gampala and the Alakēśvaras were at Rayigama. The state of affairs in the fortress of Jayavardhanapura Kōṭṭē after the death of the first prabhurāja is hinted at in the Mayura-sandēśaya where Jayavardhanapura Kōṭṭē has been referred to as the city on a par with Gampala and Rayigama.<sup>25</sup> Kōṭṭē, however, did not attract either the king or the prabhurāja as a residence. It was at a much later date, during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D.1371-1408) that Kōṭṭē came to be honoured as the royal abode.

We learn from the Saddharmaratnākaraya and the Nikāyasangrahaya that Bhuvanekabāhu V was the successor of Vikramabāhu III.<sup>26</sup> The impression given by the author of the Rājaratnākaraya is that Bhuvanekabāhu V was a member of the Alagakkōnāra family, and that when he ascended the throne he took the name Bhuvanekabāhu V.<sup>27</sup> One cannot take this evidence as conclusive for we know that the name Alagakkōnāra, was not a personal name for it was used in connexion with all the members of this particular family, from the beginning of the fourteenth century to A.D.1411, when Vira Alakēśvara was taken to China as a captive.<sup>28</sup>

25. Mayura-sandēśaya, v. 47.

26. Nikāyasangrahaya, p. 24

Saddharmaratnākaraya, p. 316

Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p. 74. "Tun veni Vikramabāhu raja āvāmehi pasveni Bhuvanekabāhu raja Gampala rājadhaniyehi!..."

27. Rājaratnākaraya, p. 42.

28. UHC, 653-659.

Two scholars, Geiger and Codrington, opposed the view that Bhuvanekabāhu V was an Alagakkōnāra, for they did not take into account the fact that Alagakkōnāra was not merely a personal name.<sup>29</sup> As Paranavitana has correctly pointed out, Bhuvanekabāhu V had a right to claim the name Alagakkōnāra, for we have evidence to prove that Bhuvanekabāhu's father was an Alagakkōnāra.<sup>30</sup> Judging from the prominent position assigned to princess Jayasiri, the mother of Bhuvanekabāhu V, in the eulogy found in the Mayura-sandēśaya, it is reasonable to assume that his claim to the throne was inherited from the maternal side.<sup>31</sup> There is hardly any doubt that princess Jayasiri was the sister of Parākramabāhu V (A.D.1344-1359), for we learn from the Rājāvaliya that Bhuvanekabāhu V was that king's bānā (sister's son).<sup>32</sup> Thus it is not unfair to conclude that Bhuvanekabāhu V was a member of the Alagakkōnāra family although he was the son of Princess Jayasiri, for this queen was the consort of the Alakēśvara Prabhurāja I.

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29. Geiger, Gūlvaṃsa, II, p.213, foot note, 3.; Codrington in JRAS(CB) xxxii, p.277

30. UHC, p.648

31. Mayura-sandēśaya, vv.16-17

See also UHC, p.655 where Paranavitana has ~~correctly~~ proved that princess Jayasiri was the mother of Bhuvanekabāhu V, contrary to the view of the modern commentators on this poem.

32. Rājāvaliya(G), p.46.

Purāvṛtta, p.90.

Rājāvaliya.tr.p.66 has used the word 'nephew' in order to give the meaning of the Sinhalese word 'bānā'. The word 'bānā', however, could mean 'son-in-law'.

In this connexion it is interesting to point out that Queyroz, who wrote his account in the seventeenth century with the aid of a Sinhalese document, refers to 'Boneca-Bau' as the first king of Kōṭṭē, and as the natural son of 'Aselatica', meaning 'Alakēśvara'.<sup>33</sup> One vittipota dealing with the noble families of Uḍaraṭa casually refers to Bhuvanekabāhu V by these two names, viz. Alakēśvara and Bhuvanekabāhu, alternatively.<sup>34</sup>

Bhuvanekabāhu V on his accession occupied the throne of Gampala. The authors of the Mayura-sandēśaya and the Elu-Attanagaluvāmsaya speak of him as the king of Gampala.<sup>35</sup> Even at the time of the writing of the Sagama inscription in the ninth regnal year of this monarch, the king was at Gampala.<sup>36</sup> When the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya was completed in the twenty-fifth regnal year of this king, which was B.E.1939 (expired) the king was still at Gampala.<sup>37</sup>

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33. Queyroz.book.i,p.26. Queyroz says that 'Aselatica' was an ancient king of Rajapure (Rayigama).

34. Uḍaraṭavitti,p.110.

35. Mayura-sandēśaya -vv. 6-13; Elu Attanagaluvāmsaya (Gampala version),p.1.

36. The inscription is dated in the ninth year of Bhuvanekabāhu. Judging from the script and the names found therein the inscription can safely be attributed to Bhuvanekabāhu V. For further information, see Paranavitana in EZ,iv,pp.296-312.

37. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya,p.26-27. In the colophon of the Nikayasangrahaya the following stanza is mentioned:-

Gaṅgāsiripure ramme Bhuvanekabhujje pure  
Rajjan kārayamāne yo Dhammakitti yatissaro....

(While Bhuvanekabāhu was reigning at Gaṅgāsiripura (Gampala) Venerable Dhammakitti thera....)

Note the word 'rajjan kārayamāne' which clearly implies that the king was still reigning.

There is, on the other hand, evidence to indicate that Bhuvanekabāhu V reigned from a city other than Gampala. The Rājaratnākaraya refers to this king both as king of Gampala and later as king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>38</sup> In addition some Rājāvaliya versions support the evidence of the Rājaratnākaraya, for they also know Bhuvanekabāhu V as the king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>39</sup> The seventeenth-century Malala-katāva contains a story concerning some Baṇḍaras who were welcomed by king Bhuvanekabāhu of Kōṭṭē when they arrived in the Island.<sup>40</sup> Parānavitana's identification of this king with the fifth of that name is justified, for according to the Malala-katāva the successor of this king was Savuḷu Vijaya Namba Kāliṅga Aiyiyotti Parākramabāhu, undoubtedly Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>41</sup> According to the tradition of the Vidāgama Temple recorded in the Tuḍugala-Vidāgama-Pāvati-Baṇḍāravaliya, at the death of the Maharaja of Kōṭṭē, the Alakēśvara, the enemy of Parākramabāhu VI, captured the throne.<sup>42</sup> Considering the fact that the enemy of Parākramabāhu VI was Vira Alakēśvara, who exercised authority as prabhurāja from A.D.1400, to 1411, we may assume that the maharaja who died leaving the kingdom to Vira Alakēśvara was Bhuvanekabāhu V. This view is supported by the Vegiriya inscription which refers to the thirty-fourth or the thirty-sixth regnal year of this monarch (A.D.1406-1408).<sup>43</sup>

38. Rājaratnākaraya, p.42.

39. Sulu-Rājāvaliya, p.30; Purāvṛtta, p.133.

40. Marambe, Tri Sinhale Kada-im saha Vittti, p.37.  
Purāvṛtta, p.95 and 117.

41. Ceylon and Malaysia, pp.152-153.

42. Tuḍugala-Vidāgama-Pāvati-Baṇḍāravaliya, Colombo Mus.MS no.X9.fol.8.  
Some of the names found in this document are mentioned in the the contemporary Paḍākada-sannasa. See JRAS(CB) xxxvi, p.131.

43. Sadharmaratnākaraya, p.317.  
Vegiriya Inscription, JRAS(CB) xxii, p.366.



Some later chroniclers, having been unable to understand the statement of the Nikāyaśaṅgrāya<sup>ka</sup> according to which Bhuvanekabāhu's twentieth year was the year in which his suhurubaḍu (brother-in-law) took the title of raja, attributed only a twenty years' reign to this monarch.<sup>44</sup> The Cūlavamsa, which drew material from the Nikāyaśaṅgrāhaya regarding the history of this period, has also attributed only a twenty years' reign to Bhuvanekabāhu V. Even some modern scholars have preferred this evidence of the Cūlavamsa.<sup>45</sup> There is no need to repeat errors found in the later sources, for the colophon of the Nikāyaśaṅgrāhaya mentions that this work was written some time after the twenty-fifth year of this monarch, while he was still living at Gampala.<sup>46</sup>

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44. Nikāyaśaṅgrāhaya, p.24.

Saddharmaratnākara, p.317 shows that Vīrabāhu Āpāna did not become the king of the Island, but only prabhurāja.

45. Cūlavamsa. Ch.91.sta.13.

According to Geiger's translation of the Cūlavamsa II, p.214 when the time of this king (after he had held sway for twenty years) had expired, a man called Vīrabāhu attained the royal dignity. Polvatte Buddhaddatta Thera in an article entitled 'Some corrections of Geiger's Cūlavamsa translation' contributed to University of Ceylon Review, suggested that the correct reading of the Pali text carry the meaning that Virabāhu attained the position of royal dignity after twenty years of Bhuvanekabāhu's reign, while the latter was alive. UCR-Vol.viii, p.96-109, pp.161-180.

The Pali stanza of the Cūlavamsa, Ch.91; sta.13, runs thus:

Rajjam viṣati vassāni katvāna niṭṭhite tadā  
Tassa rājassa sāleko Virabāhu'ti vissuto

According to Buddhaddatta Thera, the correct reading should run thus:

"tassa rājassa kāleko Vīrabāhu ti vissuto pāpunitvāna rajjam".

This passage conveys the idea that Vīrabāhu became king while the former king was still alive. According to Buddhaddatta Thera this error was caused by a copyist's error, namely writing the word Sāl'eko (one of the brothers in law), instead of the correct word kāle (during the time) UCR, viii, p.176.

46. See note 37.

On the other hand, there is no need to take the fact that Virabāhu apāna took the title raja in the twentieth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu V as proving his accession to the throne in that year. According to the Saddharmaratnākaraya this was due to the succession of Virabāhu to the office of prabhurāja on the death of Kumāra Alakēśvara, the son of the first prabhurāja.<sup>47</sup> This contemporary work shows how the members of the Alagakkōnāra family, after the first prabhurāja, quarrelled among themselves at Rayigama as to who should take up the office of prabhurāja, which at this time had become more important than the position of the maharaja as regards the administrative matters of the kingdom.

According to the Rājāvaliya, Bhuvanekabāhu V, out of fear fled to Rayigama from Gampala when the Āryacakravarti of Jaffna invaded his territories. The date of this invasion is not known, but it is certain that when the king wished to return to Gampala after the fear of the war was over the people of Gampala protested against it.<sup>48</sup> The Rājāvaliya version used by Valentijn records that the Sinhalese swore that they would never acknowledge such a coward as their king.<sup>49</sup> The Rājāvaliya, however, states that the king went back to Gampala.<sup>50</sup> In view of the fact that there is substantial evidence to prove that Bhuvanekabāhu V was living at Kōṭṭē during the later part of his reign, the chances are that the king was forced to leave Gampala for good owing to his unpopularity.

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47. Saddharmaratnākarya, p.317.

48. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.66.

49. Valentijn, p.71

JRAS(CB)xxii, p.36

50. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.66.

It is rather difficult to ascertain the date of this invasion of the Āryacakravarti mentioned in the Rājāvaliya, for we know that the kings of Jaffna attacked the Sinhalese territories on several occasions. Moreover, it is evident that the Āryacakravartis who undertook several expeditions to the South were even under the Vijayanagara kings of South India in the last decade of the fourteenth century. In addition, there are a number of inscriptions issued by Vijayanagara rulers claiming victories over the rulers of the Island. The famous Alampundi plates of Virūpākṣa dated Śaka 1307 (A.D.1385) place Īlam (Ceylon) among the territories conquered by prince Virūpākṣa who was the governor of the southern part of the Vijayanagara kingdom. The Ariyur plates dated Śaka 1312 (A.D.1390) of prince Virūpākṣa, and his two Sanskrit plays, the Nārāyaṇivilāsam and Unmattarāghavam, call this prince the lord of the Pāṇḍya monarchs and the planter of a pillar of victory in Siṁhala.<sup>52</sup> From the evidence of these South Indian sources, coupled with that of the Rājāvaliya, it appears that the Āryacakravarti attacked the Sinhalese territories in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V, with the help of thousands of Tamil men from the Solī rata, (Cōla), with the approval of the king of Vijayanagara.<sup>53</sup>

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51. EI.iii,no.32,pp.224-230, ARE 1899, Para.55; UHC,p.687.  
 52. IA.xxxviii,p.12; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagara History,p.53.  
 53. Rājāvaliya,tr.p.66; Alakēśvarayuddhaya,p.20.

The Vijayanagar kingdom had incorporated the Cōḷa country before the death of Bukka II (A.D.1356-1377), and it is unlikely that the Cōḷa king was in a position to assist the Āryacakravarti on this particular occasion.<sup>54</sup> In this connexion Codrington's assumption that the expedition of Virūpākṣa may perhaps be identical with the Āryacakravarti's campaign against the Sinhalese territory in the time of Bhuvanekabāhu V, may be considered as correct,<sup>55</sup> for the Āryacakravarti must have undertaken this expedition on behalf of his Vijayanagar overlord.

In view of the fact that the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya mentions the defeat of the Tamil enemies among the achievements of Virābāhu Āpāṇa, who assumed the title Prabhurāja in the twentieth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu V, we may identify him with the Alakesvara who, according to the Rājāvaliya, repelled the attack of the Āryacakravarti.<sup>56</sup> Since the author of the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya places the Tamil attack between the twentieth and twenty-fifth regnal years of Bhuvanekabāhu V, we may place it between A.D.1390 and 1395.<sup>57</sup> In the light of this evidence it is clear that the invasion took place some time in A.D.1390 or 1391, for the Ariyur plates are dated Śaka 1312 (A.D.1390/1). We may thus agree with S.G. Paul, according to whom the invasion took place in A.D.1391.<sup>58</sup>

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54. Delhi Sultanate.pp.278-279.

55. JRAS(CB)xxvi,p.103. JRAS(CB)xxxii,p.275.

56. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya,p.24 Rājāvaliya,tr.p.66.

57. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya,pp.24-27.

58. JRAS(CB)xxviii,p.115.

In any case the king did not leave Gampala permanently in this year, for there is evidence of his presence in that city in his twenty-fifth regnal year (A.D.1395/6). But the king's death took place while he was living at Kotte for the Tudugala-Vidāgama-Pāvati-Bandāravaliya bears witness to this fact.<sup>58a</sup>

If we trust the evidence of the sannasa of Bhuvanekabāhu of Kōṭṭē granted at Sītāvaka in Śaka 1321 (A.D.1399), we may assume that the king shifted his capital to Kōṭṭē some time between A.D. 1395 and 1399.<sup>59</sup> For this reason some writers such as the author of the Rājaratnākaraya know Bhuvanekabāhu V as the king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>60</sup>

From the above discussion we may conclude that Bhuvanekabāhu V was reigning from Kōṭṭē some time after his twenty-fifth regnal year, and was there during the last part of his reign. It is therefore, fair to conclude that Bhuvanekabāhu V was the first among the Sinhalese kings to reside in Kōṭṭē, thus having the credit of being the originator of the Kōṭṭē kingdom.

#### The Alakēśvara Family.

On the eve of the foundation of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē the Sinhalese people experienced a new type of leadership which was not known to the Island before. The family known as Alakesvara or Alagakkōnāra came to the forefront of the political scene, pushing the reigning monarch to the background.

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58a. Tudugala-Vidāgama-Pāvati-Bandāravaliya, X9, fol.8.

59. JRAS (CB) xxxii, p.280 Malalakatāva, or.6607-9

60. Rājaratnākaraya, p.42.

The Alakēśvaras in this manner practically ruled the Sinhalese kingdom for over half a century.

It is, however, regrettable that the period during which the Alakēśvaras held power, which begins some time after the fall of the Dambadeniya kingdom, and ends at the accession of Parākramabāhu to the throne in A.D.1411, is one of the worst documented periods of Ceylon history.<sup>61</sup> The Cūlavamsa is of little use for obtaining information about the Alakēśvaras. The Rājāvaliya also is of hardly any use, for the hiatus in the narrative recorded in this work begins from after the reign of Parākramabāhu II (A.D.1236-1270), and extends to the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466) thus omitting the period covered by the Alakēśvaras.<sup>62</sup>

The name Alakēśvara should not be regarded as a personal name, for it is applied to the persons of more than one generation. The Kitsirimevan Kālaṇi inscription of B.E.1887 (A.D.1344) refers to ten generations of the Alakēśvara family.<sup>63</sup> The name Alagakkōnāra shows some sort of Tamil origin, for the word Alakā in Tamil means the abode of Kuvera the God of wealth (Skt. Alakā), while Kōnār in the same language meant 'chief'. This name occurs in some Sinhalese

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61. See above pp. 16-18

62. Ibid.

63. CALR, I, p.153, UHC.p.653.

writings in its Sanskrit form 'Alakēśvara'.<sup>64</sup>

The origin of the Alakēśvaras as a political power cannot be explained with certainty owing to lack of substantial information. If we trust the evidence furnished in the Kitsirimevan Kālāṇi inscription of B.E. 1887, which refers to to ten generations of the members of the Alakēśvara family, their origin may go back to the reign of Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1153-1186).<sup>65</sup> It should however, be pointed out in this connexion that the above mentioned epigraph, owing to the similarity of its script with that of the late fourteenth century inscriptions, is of somewhat doubtful authenticity.<sup>66</sup>

The contemporary works, while referring to the Alakēśvaras, mention that they were of the Giri vāṃsa and originally came from Vāñcipura.<sup>67</sup> It is unnecessary to connect the Alakēśvaras with the Pallavas assuming that Vāñci was the same as Kāñci, the ancient capital of the Pallavas.<sup>68</sup> In the Sangam literature, Vāñci

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64. The Mayura-sandēśaya, vv. 55 and 56 refer to one person with both these names, i.e. Alakēśvara and Alagakkōnāra.

65. CALR, i, pp. 151-156.

66. UHC, pp. 639 ff.

67. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p. 317; Rājaratnākaraya, p. 42; Cv. 91: vv. 2-9; Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p. 24; Elu-Attanagaluvaṃsaya (Gampala), p. 1; EZ, iv, p. 310; Or. 6606-165, fol. 1; CALR, i, p. 153; JRAS (CB), xxxii, N. Mudiyanse, Gampola Period, pp. 175-180.

68. C.M.A. de Silva, 'Alakesvara, the founder of Jayavardhanapura Kotte', CHJ, ii, pp. 42-45

is referred to as the capital of the Cēra kingdom;<sup>69</sup> this has now been identified with Kuruvur in Kerala.<sup>70</sup> The queen of Parākramabāhu II (A.D.1236-1270), too, is said to have been a scion of Giri vam̐sa, but we do not know whether she had any connexions with the members of the Alakēśvara family.<sup>71</sup> Some scholars have expressed the possibility that the name Giri vam̐sa originated from the name of the abode of Kuvera, i.e. Alakā, for it is referred to as Giri in some medieval Sinhalese writings.<sup>72</sup> How far this theory is based on facts we cannot say, since we do not possess positive evidence to support it.

One may cite the evidence available in the Niyāṅgampāya <sup>the</sup> inscription that Alakēśvara Mantri had an epithet called 'Alakāpati' and the fact that the Raghuvam̐sa mentions the name Alakēśvara as another name for Kuvera to support the view that Alakēśvaras claimed their descent from Kuvera.<sup>73</sup> The Pāramīmahā-śatakaya of the fourteenth century refers to Nissāṅka Alakēśvara as Alakēśvara of Amaragiri.<sup>74</sup> Since amara in Sinhalese refers

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69. Siṃhala-Sāhitya-Lipi, p.131.  
K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Cōlas, p.125.
70. UHC, p.639.
71. Alutnuvara-dēvāle-karavīma, Or.6606-145, fol.2.  
Siṃhala-Sāhitya-Lipi, p.71.
72. Mahābōdhivam̐sa Gāṭapada Vivaranaya, ed. by Sri Dharmarama, Colombo, 1923.p.39.
73. Or.66-6-165, fol.1. This inscription is recently edited by N. Mudiyanse in his The Art and Architecture of the Gampola Period, Colombo, pp,175-184.  
M.M.W. Williams, Sanskrit Dictionary, p.94.
74. Pāramī-mahā-śatakaya, ed. by W. Dipankara Thera, Colombo, 1921, v.108



to any god one might perhaps be inclined to assume that this  
 also is a support to our view that <sup>the</sup> Alakēśvaras claimed their  
 descent from Kuvera, the god of wealth, who is supposed to have  
 his abode on mount Kailāśa.<sup>75</sup> But it is almost certain that  
 the Alakēśvaras of Ceylon so connected themselves, if they had  
 ever done, only after they accumulated their riches and secured  
 a powerful position in the kingdom. It should, however, be  
 mentioned that some scholars have made an attempt to connect the  
 Giri-Vāṃsa with the Malaimans in South India, but this theory  
 has not advanced beyond speculation.<sup>76</sup>

The information supplied by a number of contemporary sources  
 apparently reveal that the Alakēśvaras were originally traders who  
 later secured a position as court officials in the Sinhalese  
 kingdom. The Niyāṅgampāya inscription describes <sup>the</sup> Alakēśvara Mantri  
 as a 'crest jewel to the merchant caste' (Vanik vāṃsa śikhā-maṇi).<sup>77</sup>  
 The tradition embodied in the account of Queyroz also mentions that  
 'Alaguecera' who founded the city of 'Cota' was originally a  
 merchant.<sup>78</sup> This evidence has been taken by Codrington as proof  
 to support the view that <sup>the</sup> Alakēśvaras belong to the Vaiśya caste.<sup>79</sup>

75. Śrī Sumaṅgala Śabdakōśaya, vol.i, p.82; Ruvanmala, v.8

76. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagar History, p.284  
 Codrington in JRAS(CB), xxxii, p.298

77. Or.6606-165, fol.2.

N. Mudiyanse, Art and Architecture of the Gampola Period, p.175

78. Queyroz, book, i, pp.23-24.

79. Codrington in JRAS(CB), xxxii, p.297; Paranavitana in EZ, iv, pp.  
 300-304.

Whether the Alakēśvaras belonged to the Vaiśya caste we cannot say definitely for the four-fold caste system was not prevalent in Ceylon in the same rigid form as was in most parts of India. However, considering the fact that the Cēra country with which the Alakēśvaras were connected, played an important part in international trade during this period, we may not be far wrong in accepting the view, that they were originally traders, although most of the records that we possess refer to the Alakēśvaras when they had already given up their occupation as traders.<sup>80</sup>

The fact that they resided at Rayigama may also be taken as a proof of their origin as traders owing to that city's proximity to the port of Bēruvala, which has been described in the Tisara-sandēśaya as a prosperous harbour.<sup>81</sup> In view of this it seems clear that the Alakēśvaras were originally traders in the Island. Their wealth must have attracted the leading noble families to seek matrimonial alliances with them. Thus during the time of Bhuvanekabāhu IV the Alakēśvaras already had connexions with the Menavara and Gaṇavāsi families.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, the Alakēśvaras possibly attended royal court as Siṭānas thus representing themselves as the chief traders or guilders.<sup>83</sup> In this manner they may have

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80. UHC, p.639

81. Tisara-sandēśaya, v.74; Mayura-sandēśaya, v.73; UHC.pp.709 ff.

82. Sagama-inscription, EZ, iv, p.310.

83. Kaṇḍavuru-sirita, Or.6607-15, fol.17, UHC.p.733.

begun their career in the royal court, and taken the opportunity of getting connected with the noble families, and later with the royal family as well.

As we have mentioned before, the earliest reference to a minister of the name of Alagakkōnāra is found in the Kitsirimevan Kālaṇi inscription of B.E.1887 (A.D.1344).<sup>84</sup> Since this epigraph refers to him by the title 'mantriśvara' his position as a king's councillor in the Sinhalese kingdom must have been clear by this time. Ibn Battuta who travelled from Jaffna to Adam's Peak in A.D.1344 mentions that he arrived at a place called Kunakar where the sultan named Kunar was living.<sup>85</sup> According to this writer Kunar was blinded by the people after a rebellion and his son was made the sultan after that. It is not difficult to recognize Alagakkōnāra in its Arabic guise 'Kunar'. The place named Kunakar has been regarded as the Tamil rendering of the name Rayigama, the ancestral abode of the Alakēśvaras.<sup>86</sup> If this identification is to be relied upon, the Alakēśvaras were exercising some sort of authority as early as the middle of the fourteenth century. The Kāragala inscription of the eleventh year of Vijayabāhu V (A.D.1330-41) also shows that the Alakēśvara mantri was already in a supreme position.<sup>87</sup> The fact that Ibn Battuta mentions that Kunar's son

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84. CALR, I, p.153

85. JRAS(CB) xxxii, p.262, The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, tr. by M. Husain. p.247; JRAS(CB), vol.vii, pp.39 ff.; Travels of Ibn Battuta tr. by H.A.R. Gibb, p.256.

The names occurring in the account of Ibn Battuta are given as they appear in the English translation of H.A.R. Gibb.

86. UHCp.639.

87. JRAS(CB) xxii, p.352.

was selected by the people to rule the kingdom after the deposition of the former, would show that they had established their hereditary authority by this time.<sup>88</sup>

Some time after the reign of Vijayabāhu V. the supreme position of the Alakēśvaras was temporarily suspended owing to the emergence of an outstanding personality by the name of Sēnālaṅkādhikāra.<sup>89</sup> It is argued that this was a result of a struggle between the Gampala and Rayigama rulers, belonging to the Sēnālaṅkādhikāra and Alagakkōnāra families respectively.<sup>90</sup> This able minister overshadowed the position of the king during the next three decades by taking the upperhand in the administration of the kingdom. We do not possess substantial evidence to show the manner in which the Sēnālaṅkādhikāra rivalled the Alakēśvaras. Some scholars argue on the basis of the fact that the Alakēśvaras were of Giri-vamsa and Sēnālaṅkādhikāra was of Meṇavara-vamsa, that this was owing to a struggle between these two families.<sup>91</sup> Although such a view is reasonable there is no evidence to support the idea that they adopted violent means to gain their ends. It should be pointed out that this was not necessarily a clash between the two clans for it seems that the fact of Sēnālaṅkādhikāra becoming more powerful than the Alakēśvaras was due to the personal success of the former over the latter than anything else. In the Sagama inscription we possess evidence that

88. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta.p.247; Ibn Battuta, tr.by H.A.R.Gibb,p.256.

89. Concise History,p.297.

90. UHC.p.641.

91. Ibid.

these two families were connected with each other by a matrimonial alliance, while Sēnālaṅkādhikāra was exercising his authority as the chief minister of Bhuvanekabāhu IV, (A.D.1341-1351).<sup>92</sup> A marriage between Sēnālaṅkādhikāra and a lady of the Alakēśvara family is suggested by some scholars, although there is no evidence to support this.<sup>93</sup> It is, however, certain that these two families which held power during this period of history both came from the Giri-vaṃsa and the Meṇavara-vaṃsa, and were related to each other.<sup>94</sup>

A new episode in the fortunes of the Alakēśvaras begins after the death of Sēnālaṅkādhikāra which took place some time after the death of Bhuvanekabāhu IV(A.D.1341-1351). From the data furnished in the Saddhamaratnākara it is evident that there were seven members of the Alakēśvara family who held power one after the other. The account in the

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92. EZ.iv, p.296-312

93. CHJ.ii, p.43; JRAS(CB), xxxii, p.302; E.W.Perera, 'Alakesvara; His life and times', JRAS(CB).xvii, pp.281-312

94. UHC.p.649

Saddharmaratnākaraya runs as follows:-<sup>95</sup>

"After that (the death of Nissaṅka Alagakkōṇāra)  
 Kumāra Alakēśvara, own son of that prabhurāja  
 called Alakēśvara; his father's bāṇa, Vīra Alakēśvara;  
 his younger brother Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa; his son Vijaya Āpāṇa;  
 his brother Tunayesa; his uncle the above mentioned  
 Vīra Alakēśvara, being defeated in Rayigama in battle  
 with his younger brother Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa, having left  
 the country and come again, ruled here for twelve years.  
 Afterwards when he went away, being caught in the Chinese  
 ūstrategem through his karma done in the past,  
 Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa, the munuburu of the above mentioned  
 Senevirad ruled."

This new line of Alakēśvaras begins with the emergence of a  
 personage called Nissaṅka Alagakkōṇāra. We should, however,  
 remember that he was not the same Nissaṅka Alagakkōṇāra as the  
 person referred to as the first in the ten generations before  
 Alagakkōṇāra of the Kitsirimevan Kālaṇi inscription of B.E.1887.<sup>96</sup>

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95. Saddharmaratnākaraya.p.317.

An English tr. of this passage is found in JRAS(CB),  
 xxxii,p.281.

96. CALR.I,p.153.

According to the contemporary records, Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra was the person who undertook to liberate the Sinhalese kingdom from the threatened subjugation by the Āryacakravartis of Jaffna and their South Indian allies, during the reign of Vikramabāhu III (A.D.1357-1374), by building the fortress known as Jayavardhanapura Kōṭṭē.<sup>97</sup> This great warrior and statesman is referred to as prabhurāja in contemporary writings, and became the virtual dictator of the Sinhalese country owing to the weakness of the reigning monarch. There are a number of contemporary documents referring to this personage in more laudatory terms than those concerning the reigning monarch. The most important of all these documents is the Sagama inscription of the ninth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D.1371/2-1408), where the Alagakkōnāra-mantri and his brother Dēvamantriśvara are given epithets more laudatory and high sounding than those applied to the king.<sup>98</sup> In fact the king's name is mentioned only for purposes of dating the epigraph.<sup>99</sup> The Mayura-sandēśaya which was written during the same period for the purpose of invoking blessings on the three Alakēśvara brothers, describes them as ksatriyas, while the king also is so described.<sup>100</sup>

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97. Nikāyasāṅgrahaya, p.22; see above, p.79

98. EZ, iv. p.310.

99. Ibid.

100. Mayura-sandēśaya. v.37.

The dates of Bhuvanekabāhu V will hereafter be referred to as A.D.1371-1408 in order to agree with the dates mentioned in the UHC.

It is not so difficult to obtain an idea about the period in which Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra ruled. The Sagama inscription as we have seen, is dated the ninth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu, which reign according to the Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya began in A.D.1371/2 (B.E.1914); the date of our epigraph would, therefore, be A.D.1380/1.<sup>101</sup> This Alagakkōnāra is referred to in <sup>the</sup> Elu-Attanagaluvamsaya of Śaka 1304 (A.D.1382) and described as the Lord of Laṅkā.<sup>102</sup> The Niyāṅgampāya inscription of Śaka 1295 (A.D.1378) also refers to the Alagakkōnāra-mantri in the same laudatory terms and it is reasonable to assume that Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra is meant, for the document is issued during the reign of Vikramabāhu III (A.D.1357-1374).<sup>103</sup> We learn from the Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya that this minister defeated the Tamils after building the fortress known as Jayavardhanapura Kōṭṭē, during this king's reign.<sup>104</sup> An inscription issued in the third regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu IV (A.D.1341-1351), in which the name of Sēnālaṅkādhikāra also is mentioned, refers to a person known as Nissaṅka Patirāja.<sup>105</sup> Since Nissaṅka was the personal name of the Alagakkōnāra who about twenty years later became prabhurāja, we may agree with Codrington in identifying these two names as referring to one person.<sup>106</sup>

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101. Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya, p.24. JRAS(CB)NS, ii, p.144. EZ. iv. p.310.

102. Elu-Attanagaluvamsaya (Gampala), p.1.

103. Or.6606-165, fol.1.

104. Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya, p.22.

105. JRAS(CB)xxxii, p.267.

106. Ibid.



As we know, the term patirāja represented a title which possibly was the title of Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra before he became prabhurāja.<sup>107</sup> There is hardly any doubt that Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra was offered the title prabhurāja only after the death of Sēnālaṅkādhikāra during the early years of the reign of Vikramabāhu III (A.D.1357-1374). The Nikāyasaṅgrahaya mentions that Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra was the patron of the convocation of the Saṅgha which took place in B.E.1912 (A.D.1369/70).<sup>108</sup> This is corroborated by the Sagama inscription of A.D.1380/1 where the two Alakēśvara brothers are said to have successfully endeavoured to bring about the prosperity of the sāsana.<sup>109</sup> It is said in the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya that the religious harmony thus established prevailed up to the fifteenth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D.1386/7).<sup>110</sup> We do not find mention of any special events in this year in connexion with the Buddhist order. No reference is made either in the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya or in any other contemporary work of any such event happening in this year. Therefore, it is likely that this was the year in which Nissanka Alagakkōnāra, who was the patron of the religious convocation in B.E.1912, died.<sup>111</sup>

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107. UHC.p.735.

108. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya.p.24.

109. EZ.iv.p.308 ff.

110. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya,p.24.

111. N. Mudiyanse, The Art and Architecture of the Gampala Period, Colombo, 1967,p.14.

The Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya seems to imply that religious harmony prevailed until the end of his career in A.D.1386/7.

According to the Saddharmaratnākaraya the son of Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra succeeded to the position of prabhurāja after the latter's death.<sup>112</sup> This prince, Kumāra Alakēśvara, does not appear to have been a worthy successor of his father. His name appears only in the Sad<sup>d</sup>harmaratnākaraya. Even the contemporary Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya has omitted his name among the list of the rulers who patronized the religion. Since his successor, Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa, according to the Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya, assumed power in the twentieth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D.1391/2), it seems clear that Kumāra Alakēśvara's rule lasted for only about five years.<sup>113</sup>

Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa:

It should not, however, be assumed that Kumāra Alakēśvara was immediately succeeded by Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa. From the account available in the Saddharmaratnākaraya it seems clear that this prince was succeeded by his father's brother (bāna), Vīra Alakēśvara at the former's death.<sup>114</sup> Then the position of Vīra Alakēśvara was challenged by his younger brother, who defeated him in a battle at Rayigama. We are not in a position to ascertain the exact duration of Vīra Alakēśvara's power during his first spell of rule. It seems

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112. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.317.

113. Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya, p.24.

114. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.317.

probable that he did not rule <sup>for</sup> more than two or three months,  
for it is mentioned in the Saddharmaratnākaraya that Vīrabāhu  
Āpāṇa immediately attacked his brother.<sup>115</sup>

It is rather difficult to understand the relationship  
between Nissāṅka Alagakkōṇāra and Vīra Alakēśvara. In the  
Saddharmaratnākaraya Vira Alakesvara was the bāṇa of Nissāṅka  
Alagakkōṇāra. In Sinhalese, bāṇa may mean either the son-in-law  
or nephew (when pronounced with the final vowel 'a' open) while  
the term bāṇa could mean one's own brother as well (when pronounced  
with the final vowel 'a' closed).<sup>116</sup> In fact, the name Alakēśvara  
suffixed to the name of Vīra Alakēśvara would show that his father,  
not his mother, was the member of the Alakēśvara family. It is,  
therefore, easier to assume that bāṇa in this particular instance  
means 'brother'. In fact, the Saddharmaratnākaraya mentions that  
Vīra Alakēśvara was in his dotage in A.D.1391 (twentieth regnal year  
of Bhuvanekabāhu V) when he was defeated by his brother Vīrabāhu  
Āpāṇa.<sup>117</sup> It is also evident that his age became a curb on  
retaliating against his younger brother when Vīra Alakēśvara was  
opposed by him. Further support for this view is found in the

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115. Ibid; Rājāvaliya(Vatuvatte).p.74.

116. Bāṇa = Skt. Bhāgineya, Pali, Bhāgineyya, Sister's son.;  
Bāṇa = Skt. Bhātr; Pali, bhātara, brother,

117. Saddharmaratnākaraya,p.317.  
Nikāyasaṅgrahaya,p.24.

Mayura-sandēśaya where the blessings of God Upulvan are prayed for, for the protection of three Alakēśvara brothers.<sup>118</sup> This work refers to the person called Āpā as the yuvaraja of the kingdom and residing at Gampala.<sup>119</sup> If we are to assume that this Āpā was the same person as Vīrabāhu Āpāna, we will be in a better position to understand the relationship properly. According to the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya Vīrabāhu Āpāna, the younger brother of Vīra Alakēśvara, was the suhurubadu (brother-in-law) of the reigning monarch, Bhuvanekabāhu V.<sup>120</sup> This work mentions that Vīrabāhu belonged to the Meṇavara clan. From the Sagama inscription it is evident that the two Alakēśvara brothers mentioned in the epigraph were connected with the Meṇavara clan on their father's side.<sup>121</sup> From this line of argument it seems clear that Vīrabāhu Āpāna was the same person as the Āpā mentioned in the Mayura-sandēśaya as the yuvaraja of the kingdom. Since the Saddharmaratnākaraya refers to Vīra Alakēśvara as a brother of Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra we may not be far from the truth in assuming that Vīra Alakēśvara was the same person mentioned in the Mayura-sandēśaya and the Sagama inscription as Dēvamantriśvara, the brother of Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra.<sup>122</sup> It is likely that Vīra (brave) Alakēśvara was the name acquired by Dēvamantriśvara on his accession to the office of prabhurāja. In view

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118. Mayura-sandēśaya, v.37.

119. Mayura-sandēśaya, v.19.

120. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p.24.

121. EZ.iv.p.304.

122. Mayura-sandēśaya, vv.19, 37, 56 and 64.

Sagama inscription. EZ.iv.p.304.

Elu-Attanagaluvamsaya (Gampala), p.1

of these arguments we may assume that Vīrabāhu Āpāna was the youngest brother of Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra.

As we noticed earlier, Vīrabāhu Āpāna was the suhurubaḍu of Bhuvanekabāhu V.<sup>123</sup> This relation must have been caused either by Vīrabāhu's marriage to the reigning monarch's sister or vice versa. This relationship may well have been the cause why Bhuvanekabāhu V selected Vīrabāhu Āpāna as his yuvaraja.

According to the Saddharmaratnākaraya Virabahu Apana had two sons known as Vijaya Āpāna and Tunayesa, who assumed power after his death.<sup>124</sup> But the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya adds another son to his family, who according to this work became a bhikkhu at the request of the father. According to this work he was the eldest son of Vīrabāhu Āpāna. Paranavitana's identification of this bhikkhu with Vanaratana mahāsāmi of Kāragala vihāra is supported by the evidence furnished in the Haṁsa-sandēśaya and the Kāragala inscription of the eleventh year of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>125</sup>

It is believed by some scholars that Vīrabāhu Āpāna succeeded to the throne after the death of Bhuvanekabāhu V, when the latter died having completed twenty years of reign.<sup>126</sup> A careful examination

123. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya.p.24.

124. Saddharmaratnākaraya.p.317.

125. Haṁsa-sandēśaya,v.185. JRAS(CB)xxii,352, UHC,p.658, Godakumbura,C., 'Some doubtful readings of the Haṁsa-sandēśaya.' JRAS(CB)NS,iii,pp.6-12; Nikāyasaṅgrahaya,p.26.

126. See above,pp. 89-90

of the contemporary and other sources would show that this is an error caused by a faulty statement in the Cūlavamsa, where it is mentioned that after Bhuvanekabāhu had held sway for twenty years, and had expired, a man called Virabāhu attained the royal dignity.<sup>127</sup> The later works such as the Narēndracaritāvalōkanapradīpikāva, which borrowed information from the Cūlavamsa, repeated this error. The mistake seems to have crept into the Cūlavamsa owing to a misunderstanding of a passage found in the Nikāyasaṅgraha, which was most probably the source of the Cūlavamsa for the history of this period.<sup>128</sup> In this work it is mentioned that in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V his suhurubadu (brother-in-law), Virabāhu Āpāṇa, attained the position of raja.<sup>129</sup> As we know, the Nikāyasaṅgraha does not state that Bhuvanekabāhu V died in the twentieth regnal year of his reign. In fact, the author represents the king as living in Gampala when the work was completed in his twenty-fifth regnal year.<sup>130</sup> It is not correct to take the title raja as referring always to the sovereign lord of the Sinhalese kingdom. We notice that in one of the contemporary inscriptions Sēnālankādhikāra is referred to as raja.<sup>131</sup> The Niyāṅgampāya inscription refers to the Alakēśvara mantri as raja while the name of king Vikramabāhu III is also mentioned in it.<sup>132</sup> It thus appears

127. Cv. 91.v.13.

128. Narēndracaritāvalōkanapradīpikāva, p.134, see also above p.

129. Nikāyasaṅgraha, p.24.

130. Nikāyasaṅgraha, p.26

131. UCR. xviii, no.1, 1960, pp.4-14.

132. Or.6606-165, fol.1.

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that the title raja used in the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya in this particular instance also did not mean that Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa became the sovereign lord of the Island.<sup>133</sup>

From the Saddharmaratnākaraya we learn that Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa was not the person who should have succeeded to the position of prabhuraja after the death of Kumāra Alakēśvara for we learn from this work that Vīra Alakēśvara assumed office, on this occasion before he was opposed by his younger brother.<sup>134</sup> The Mayura-sandēśaya mentions that Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa was at Gampala while the two other Alakēśvara brothers, presumably Nissanka Alakēśvara and Vīra Alakēśvara, were at Rayigama in the early part of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V.<sup>135</sup> Thus, Vīra Alakēśvara being the eldest remaining member of the Alakēśvara family took up the position vacated by Kumāra Alakēśvara. The fact that he was living at Rayigama before the former's death may have been an added advantage to him for succeeding to the office of prabhurāja. In the meantime, Vīrabāhu the younger brother of Vīra Alakēśvara, being the favourite of the reigning monarch, raised his voice against the accession of his elder brother, and defeated him at Rayigama in a battle. From the Rājāvaliya and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya we learn that Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa was at Rayigama after he became the prabhurāja.<sup>136</sup>

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133. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p. 24

134. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p. 317

135. Mayura-sandēśaya, vv. 19, 56 and 64.

136. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 19.

Rājāvaliya, tr. p. 66.

When the Āryacakravarti invaded Kōṭṭē and Gampala this ruler was at Rayigama.

The duration of the period of Vīrabāhu's rule is not mentioned in the Saddharmaratnākaraya. According to one Rājāvaliya version, he ruled for twenty years while according to the Rājaratnākaraya his rule lasted only for twelve years. The contemporary Nikāyaśāṅgrahaya written during this ruler's time clearly mentions that his rule began only in the twentieth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu V (i.e. B.E.1934, A.D.1390/1).<sup>139</sup> The same work mentions that Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa was still in power in B.E.1939 (1395/6) when it was written in that year.<sup>140</sup> Since Vīra Alakēśvara ruled for twelve years before he was taken to China in the early part of the year A.D.1411, we may conclude that Vīrabāhu's rule ended before A.D.1399/1400. Since the Saddharmaratnākaraya mentions that the two sons of Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa, Vijaya Āpāṇa and Tunayesa, also ruled for some time before Vīra Alakēśvara returned from South India, Vīrabāhu must have ceased to reign at least some time before A.D.1399.<sup>141</sup> It is to be regretted that we are not in a position to ascertain the duration of the rule of Vijaya Āpāṇa and Tunayesa. The duration of Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa's rule, however, must have been less than nine years. The evidence supplied

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137. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.317.

138. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.74  
Rājaratnākaraya, p.42.

139. Nikāyaśāṅgrahaya, p.24.

140. Ibid.

141. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.317.



by one Rājāvaliya version that he ruled for twenty years possibly included his period as the yuvaraja in addition to his period in office as the prabhurāja.

Vīra Alakēśvara:-

According to the Saddharmaratnākaraya, Vīra Alakēśvara fled to India after his brother defeated him at Rayigama in A.D.1390/1 (i.e. the twentieth regnal year of Bhuvanēkabāhu V), and remained there during the period of time when Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa, Vijaya Āpāṇa and Tunayesa were ruling at Rayigama as prabhurājas.<sup>142</sup> It is most likely that Vīra Alakēśvara received assistance from a South Indian ruler. Vīra Alakēśvara's request for help from a Vijayanagar ruler against the Sinhalese king must have been received with much favour, for the South Indian rulers' repeated attempts to win the southern part of the Island and to bring it under their control proved fruitless.<sup>143</sup> From the garbled account available in the Rājāvaliya and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya it seems clear that there was a bloody battle on the arrival of Vīra Alakēśvara in the Island after exile.<sup>144</sup> Even the father of Parākramabāhu VI seems to have been killed in this battle, for the Rājāvaliya mentions that Sunetrā-devī, the mother of this monarch, had to take her children and seek refuge in the Vīdāgama Temple at her husband's death in the battle. From the account available in this work we can notice

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142. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.317. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p.24

143. See above, p.91

144. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.66; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.19.

that this event took place in B.E.1944 (A.D.1400/1).<sup>145</sup> This date seems to tally with the duration attributed to Vīra Alakēśvara's period of rule in the Saddharmaratnākaraya. Even the Vatuvatte Pemananda version of the Rājāvaliya, and the account of Couto, agree with the above mentioned work in attributing twelve years of rule to Vīra Alakēśvara.<sup>146</sup> The twelve years attributed to this ruler must have been current when he was taken captive in about May A.D.1411 since his rule began in B.E.1944 (A.D.1400/1).<sup>147</sup> We do not know whether Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa met with a natural death or was killed by his brother Vīra Alakēśvara, who fled to India after he was defeated in A.D.1391.<sup>148</sup> It is possible that Vīra Alakēśvara did not come back to contest his claims during the time when Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa was ruling, for the Saddharmaratnākaraya mentions two other prabhurājas after the death of Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa and before Vīra Alakēśvara. It is most likely that Vīra Alakēśvara fought with the last prabhurāja mentioned in the Saddharmaratnākaraya known as Tunayesa, the younger son of Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa.<sup>149</sup>

One interesting fact is found in the account of the Rājāvaliya regarding the succession of Vīra Alakēśvara to the position of prabhurāja. According to the account of the Rājāvaliya, Sunetrā-devī

145. See above, p. 25

146. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.74; Couto in JRAS (CB)xx, p.67; Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.317.

147. TP.xxxiv, p. 373

See also below, p. 135

148. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.317.

JRAS (CB),xxxii, p.284-285. UHC.p.650.

149. Saddharmaratnākaraya.p.317.

the mother of Parākramabāhu VI, fled from the city of Rayigama after her husband was killed during an invasion of Ceylon by the Chinese.<sup>150</sup> As we have seen, the chronicle has confused the history of this period, for some unknown reason. In the next episode we find Vīra Alakēśvara seeking to kill Sunetrādevī and her two sons in order to secure his power in the kingdom. We know that no Alakēśvara was alive after the Chinese invasion in A.D.1411. In view of the fact that Vīra Alakēśvara sought means to exterminate Parākramabāhu VI, as well as his mother and brother, we may conclude that the invasion which resulted in the death of his father, Jayamahalēna, was not that of the Chinese, as stated by the chronicle, but an attack made by Vīra Alakēśvara. The date assigned to this event in the chronicle seems to support our conclusion, for the date mentioned there is B.E.1944 (A.D.1400/1401).<sup>151</sup> If we assume that the twelve years' rule attributed to Vīra Alakēśvara had not yet expired, when he was taken away to China in A.D.1411, we can place the beginning of the rule of Vīra Alakēśvara in A.D.1400. If we accept these arguments we can be certain that the father of Parākramabāhu VI was killed by Vīra Alakēśvara and not by the Chinese, as the Rājāvaliya erroneously states. Therefore, Codrington's view that Princess

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150. Rājāvaliya<sup>(C)</sup>, p.47. Couto in JRAS(CB)xx,p.67.

151. See above, p. 25

Sunetrā-devī fled with her children in fear of Vīra Alakēśvara may be regarded as correct.<sup>152</sup>

If then we may assume that the father of Parākramabāhu VI was killed during fights which took place at Rayigama when Vira Alakēśvara returned from South India with some forces, we can interpret the vague reference to this event found in the Rājāvaliya to mean that Parākramabāhu's father, Jayamahālāna I, and the prabhurāja prior to the arrival of Vīra Alakēśvara (i.e. Tunayesa), the younger son of Vīrabāhu Āpāna, were also killed when Vīra Alakēśvara invaded his former territory after a lapse of time.<sup>153</sup>

According to the Rājāvaliya the last Alakēśvara aimed at establishing his power as prabhurāja of the Island, at the cost of life of Prince Parākramabāhu VI and his mother.<sup>154</sup> The account of Couto, adds another prince to this family in disguise, whose name was 'Madune Pracura Mabago'.<sup>155</sup> A corroborating piece of evidence is found in the contemporary Śrī Rāhula's Paravi-sandēśaya, according to which the brother of Parākramabāhu VI whose name was Māyādunnē Parākramabāhu was the yuvaraja in the early period of this reign.<sup>156</sup>

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152. JRAS (CB) xxxii, p.290

153. Couto in JRAS (CB) xx.p.67.

Rājāvaliya, tr.p.68.

Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.317.

154. Rājāvaliya. tr.p.68

155. JRAS (CB) xx.p.68

156. Paravi-sandēśaya, vv.196-198.

The Rājāvaliya has cast a halo around the childhood of Prince Parākramabāhu VI, and makes the prince overcome all the opposition of his enemy, 'Alakēśvarayā', in the manner in which Kṛiṣṇa overcame all his enemies in the Mahābhārata.<sup>157</sup> The kernel of this legend, however, cannot be regarded as a fabrication, for we have corroborative evidence from other reliable sources, that the henchmen of 'Alakēśvaraya', i.e. Vīra Alakēśvara had been keeping a sharp look out for news of the whereabouts of Princess Sunetrā-devī and her sons. No doubt this was the reason why the two princes and their mother had to move from place to place during the twelve years of Vīra Alakēśvara's rule. The villages such as Rukulegama and Polvatta of Satara-Kōralē, Sītāvaka of Siyanā-Kōralē and Vīdāgama of Rayigam-Kōralē were connected with the adventures of prince Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>158</sup>

From the chronicles we know that princess Sunetrā-devī was offered protection in the temple of Vīdāgama when she had to flee with her children after the death of her husband.<sup>159</sup> Judging from the traditional customs of the Sinhalese with regard to fugitives who took asylum in a temple village, we can well see that Sunetrā-devī was assured of protection against any possible danger from Vīra

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157. Rājāvaliya, tr. pp. 67-68.

158. Rājāvaliya, p. 47. Satara-kōralē in Polvatta.

Couto in JRAS (CB) xx. p. 67, Sitavaka.

Tudugala-Vīdāgama-pāvati-bandāravaliya, Col. Mus. MSS. no. X9.  
fol. 8. Māyādunu-kōralē.

Queyroz, book, i. p. 24. Ruqueli-Potuata.

159. Rājāvaliya, tr. 67.

Rājāvaliya, p. 47.

Alakēśvara.<sup>160</sup> From Couto we learn that Princess Sunetrā-devī died when the family was residing at Sītāvaka, but the two princes were granted protection by a chief of the village of Rukulēgama in Beligal Kōralē of Satara Kōralē.<sup>161</sup> According

160. SHC, pp.42-43.

161. Couto as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.68.

Queyroz, book, i, p.24; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.21.

Satara Kōralē was an administrative unit composed of many kōralēs. Perhaps the original number of kōralēs included in Satara Kōralē was four. The name Satara Kōralē occurs for the first time in the writings belonging to the Gampala period. We are unable to state the exact period as to when this term was used in the inscriptions to denote the area between the Balana Pass in the east and Māṇikkaḍavara in the west. During the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466) Satara Kōralē was administered by Māyādunu Nuvara Parākramabāhu and later after the latter's death by <sup>the</sup> Āmbulugala Raja. Satara-Kōralē was an important part of the kingdom of Kotte and was usually administered by the yuvaraja. After the foundation of the kingdom of Uḍaraṭa in about A.D.1470, Satara Kōralē became a bone of contention between the kings of Kōṭṭē and those of Uḍaraṭa.

We are unable to state the original kōralēs in the Satara Kōralē (four Korales). Queyroz, who wrote his account on Ceylon in the seventeenth century, was surprised to see that 'the four corlas' (Satara Kōralē) was divided into seven kōralēs. These seven kōralēs according to Queyroz were Ina (Siyanā), Apitigao (Hapitigam), Beligal (Beligal), Adapandura (Sandapandunu), Quiribada (Kirivālla-Pattuva), Paranacune (Paranakuru), Galba (Galbaḍa). (Queyroz, i, pp.43-44) A Kaḍayimpota which could be attributed to the seventeenth century includes, Galbaḍa, Paranakuru, Saṅdapāndunu, Kinigoḍa, Beligal and Hāpitigam Kōralēs as kōralēs of Satara Kōralē. Kirivālle Pattuva, however, according to the Sinhalese Kaḍayimpotas, was a part of Beligal Kōralē and was not a separate korale. (Trisinhale Kaḍa-im saha Vitti pp.39-67). From all these accounts it seems clear that Satara Kōralē had more than four kōralēs in the seventeenth century. It is possible that this was the case in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as well. We have not used the term 'the four kōralēs' in this work in order to refer to Satara Kōralē for the simple reason that Satara Kōralē most probably had more than four kōralēs.

to the Rājāvaliya it is clear that Parākramabāhu and his brother were at this village when the Chinese took Vīra Alakēśvara captive to China.<sup>162</sup> According to the tradition recorded in the Tudugala-Vīdāgama-Pāvati-Bandāravaliya the ministers who were against Vīra Alakēśvara, acting on the advice of Vīdāgama Thera, offered the throne to Prince Parākramabāhu VI, when there was no king in the Island after the last Alakēśvara.<sup>163</sup>

None of our sources implies that Parākramabāhu VI fought against Vīra Alakēśvara in order to capture the throne. From the accounts available to us it seems clear that Parākramabāhu VI was offered the throne owing to the fact that there was no king in the kingdom when Vīra Alakēśvara was taken captive to China.<sup>164</sup> If we are to trust the information collected by Couto regarding this period, Vīdāgama Thera was in charge of the administration immediately after the departure of Vīra Alakēśvara; the thera later invited the prince, who was acquainted with him, to be consecrated as king.<sup>165</sup>

It is generally believed that Parākramabāhu VI was the rightful heir to the Sinhalese throne which was occupied by Vīra Alakēśvara.<sup>166</sup> This idea seems to have originated on the basis

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162. JRAS(CB)xx, p.67. Rājāvaliya, p.47.  
 163. MS. no.X 9 of the Colombo Museum.  
 164. JRAS(CB)xx, p.67; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.20. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.317.; Purāvṛtta, p.94.  
 165. JRAS(CB)xx, p.68.  
 166. Perera. E.W. 'The age of Parakramabahu VI'. JRAS(CB)xxii, pp.6-33; G.C. Mendis, SHC, p.103. Codrington in JRAS(CB)xxxii, pp.297-309. SHC, p.90.; UHC, pp.660-663 and 672. Concise History, pp.305-306. Ceylon and Malaysia, pp. 136-155.

of the erroneous statement of the Rājāvaliya that Parākramabāhu VI was the son of a monarch known as Vijayabāhu, who, according to some scholars, was the sixth king of that name.<sup>167</sup> As we have seen, this account of the Rājāvaliya has to be rejected for the entire account is confused owing to the hiatus in the knowledge of the history of the Island. From the Pārakumbāsirita we learn that the father of this king was not a monarch but a dignitary known as 'Jayamahālāna'.<sup>168</sup> We should, therefore, keep in mind that Parākramabāhu VI was offered the throne not because he was the rightful heir on the merit of his father. In fact we have conclusive evidence to show that Vīra Alakēśvara had better claims to the throne than Parākramabāhu VI, for we know that Bhuvanekabāhu V, who reigned at least till A.D.1406, which was the seventh year of Vīra Alakēśvara as prabhurāja, was also a member of the Alakēśvara family. On the other hand, the Alakēśvaras were established by this time as the de facto rulers of the kingdom, for their names are eulogized in most of the contemporary poems.<sup>169</sup> In the next chapter we can see the factors that paved the way for Parākramabāhu VI to be elevated to the throne.

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167. See above. pp. 21-22.

168. Pārakumbāsirita, v.27  
See below, pp. 148-149

169. UHC. pp. 653-659.



The Nature of the Power of the Alakēśvaras.

The contemporary works such as the Mayura-sandēśaya and the Saddharmaratnākaraya refer to Nissañka Alagakkōnāra with the title prabhurāja.<sup>170</sup> The Cūlavamsa, having perhaps derived information from the Saddharmaratnākaraya, also refers to him as prabhurāja.<sup>171</sup> On the other hand, another contemporary work, the Elu-Attanagaluvamsaya (Gampala version), refers to the same person as agamāti (chief minister). The Sagama and the Niyāṅgampāya inscriptions address him as a mantriśvara.<sup>172</sup> The Niyāṅgampāya inscription, however, mentions that the Alakēśvara mantri assumed the title raja during the reign of Vikramabāhu III.<sup>173</sup> The Nikāyasaṅgrahaya in the same manner mentions that Virabāhu Āpāṇa attained the position of raja in the twentieth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu V.<sup>174</sup> There is no reason to believe that any of these Alakēśvaras became the sovereign lord of Laṅkā, for we possess definite evidence to prove that the reigning monarch during this time was Bhuvanekabāhu V who reigned from A.D.1371/2 to at least A.D.1406.<sup>175</sup>

170. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.317; Mayura-sandēśaya, vv.55-56.

171. Cv.91: 4.

172. Elu-Attanagaluvamsaya (Gampala version), p.1; Niyāṅgampāya inscription, or.6606-165, fol.1; N. Mudiyanse, The Art and Architecture of the Gampola Period, p.175.

173. The Art and Architecture of the Gampola Period, p.175. Or.6606-165, fol.1.

174. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p.24.

175. UHC, pp.646-650.

We cannot assume that the Alakēśvaras and Bhuvanekabāhu V shared the kingdom or that they were joint kings during this period, for the Alakēśvaras are always referred to as mantris (court officials or king's councillors) in spite of the fact that some of them had the title prabhurāja. In our earlier discussion of the subject we noticed that the Alakēśvaras came to power one after the other and the title prabhurāja that they held was hereditary. Thus we cannot state that their position was the same as the agamātis (chief ministers) of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, for this office was given to the favourite councillor of the reigning monarch. The Guttīla-kāvya of Vāttāvē Thera informs us that Salāvata Jayapāla mantri was the retired agamāti of Parākramabāhu VI while according to the Haṃsa-sandēśaya the person in office at that time was Ēkanāyaka Mudaliyā.<sup>176</sup> During the Kandy period there were plots among the ministers to win the favour of the king so as to get the position of the chief minister.<sup>177</sup> Thus it seems that the Alagakkōnāras were different from the ordinary agamātis who held the same office before and after them, for the position of the Alagakkōnāras was hereditary.

Although the title prabhurāja seems an honorary one, in view of the fact that it was first used by Nissaṅka Alagakkōnāra who defeated the Āryacakravartī we may assume that it was conferred upon him by Vikramabāhu III (A.D.1357-1374) in appreciation of this victory.

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176. Guttīla-kāvya, vv.6-10; Haṃsa-sandēśaya, v.51.

177. Colvin R. de Silva, Ceylon under the British Occupation, vol.i, p.294.

In addition, owing to this personal success of Nissañka Alagakkōnāra over the king of Jaffna who obtained tribute from the Sinhalese king, this minister must have become more popular and gained more influence in the kingdom than the other ministers. As one scholar rightly puts it, the Alakesvaras ruled the kingdom while the king reigned.<sup>178</sup> There is no doubt that Nissañka Alagakkōnāra was not slow in exploiting the popularity, and the royal favour, that he obtained after the defeat of the king of Jaffna, in order to strengthen his position.

Before Nissañka Alagakkōnāra died he must have selected his son, Kumāra Alakēśvara, perhaps with the permission of the reigning monarch Bhuvanekabāhu V, to hold his office after his death. Later on the other members of the Alakesvara family took it for granted that their position was hereditary. In fact, when Vira Alakēśvara and Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa fought each other over the position of prabhurāja, the king, Bhuvanekabāhu V, was not in a position to stop it by appointing his favourite, Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa, who was his yuvaraja. Further the fact that Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa used force to win the position of prabhurāja in spite of the fact that he was the yuvaraja shows that the latter was less significant than the former, although the yuvaraja was the heir apparent. Thus on the eve of the accession of Parākramabāhu VI to the throne the kingdom had been virtually ruled by the members of the Alakēśvara family for over half a century.

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178. N. Mudiyanse, The Art and Architecture of the Gampola period, p.14.

The Chinese Invasion (A.D.1411)

As already mentioned in the chapter on the sources most of the Sinhalese chronicles have overlooked a very remarkable episode in the history of Ceylon, the knowledge of which we owe mostly to the Chinese sources. Well before the time of the first maritime expeditions by the Portuguese from the western side of the globe, similar enterprises were carried out by the Ming rulers of China from the opposite direction. Although their motives were different the target of both was the same, namely the lands bordering the Indian Ocean where most of the world trade commodities were transported. The main outline of the ambitious ventures of the Chinese is marked by seven great maritime expeditions which were dispatched to the Indian Ocean.<sup>179</sup> These began in A.D.1405, some time after the accession of the third Ming Emperor, Yung-lo (A.D.1403-1424), and were continued by his successors until 1433.<sup>180</sup> Some maritime activities, however, continued until the sixth decade of the fifteenth century but not on the same scale as before A.D.1433.

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179. The Chinese writers refer to this part of the world by the name Nan-yang. This term is now used in general to denote Southeast Asia.

180. The dates of these seven expeditions are as follows:- 1405-1407, 1407-1409, 1409-1411, 1413-1415, 1417-1419, 1421-1422, and 1431-1433.

These major expeditions were led for the most part by a Muslim court eunuch named Cheng-Ho, who, as a Muslim, was well suited to deal with the Islamic rulers who were greatly involved in international trade. While we know the general results of these expeditions, the motives for undertaking them on such a vast scale are still a matter of speculation.<sup>181</sup>

It is reported that the junks which set out for the first expedition proceeded to Java, Malacca, Ceylon and sailed as far as Aden. According to the official history of the Ming dynasty (Ming-shih), and the so-called Veritable records (Shih-lu), this expedition lasted from July 11th 1405 to 2nd October 1407. In view of the fact that Ceylon was visited by them en route from Malacca to Aden we can agree with Professor Duyvendak that the visit to Ceylon mentioned in the Chinese chronicles took place some time at the beginning of the year A.D. 1406.<sup>182</sup>

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181. For further information regarding these seven expeditions see: J.J.L. Duyvendak, China's discovery of Africa, 1949; P. Pelliot; Les grands voyages maritimes Chinois au debut du XVe Siecle 'T'oung Pao, xxx, 1933, pp.237-452; 'Notes additionnelles sur Tcheng Houo et sur ses voyages' 'T'oung Pao, xxxi, 1935, pp.274-314; 'Encore a propos des voyages de Cheng-Houo, TP, xxxii, 1936, pp.210-222; J.J.L. Duyvendak 'The true dates of <sup>the Chinese</sup> maritime expeditions in the Early Fifteenth Century', TP, xxxiv, 1938, pp.341-412; W. Willetts, 'The Maritime Adventures of Grand Eunuch Ho; JSEAH, v, pt, 2, pp.25-42; Chiu Ling Yeong, 'Chinese Maritime Expansion', 1368-1644', Oriental, ii, pp.27-47
182. Ming-shih quoted in TP, xxx, 1933, p.375.; Shih-lu quoted in TP, xxxi, 1935, p.281; See also TP, xxxiv, 1938, pp.356-360.

The Chinese sources inform us of a sad event that occurred in Ceylon when Cheng-Ho and his crew landed on the coast of the Island. The Pien-i-tien records that the king of the Island during this time was A-lie-kou-nai-eul, who observed heretical practices and did not honour the law of the Buddha. He was cruel to his subjects and did not respect the sacred tooth of the Buddha. When Cheng-Ho arrived in the Island with pious offerings he made an attempt to persuade A-lie-kou-nai-eul to honour the teachings of the Buddha and give up heretical practices. The king felt irritated and seemed determined to use force against Cheng-Ho. The admiral, however, realizing the danger of the situation withdrew and returned to the junks.<sup>183</sup> The person mentioned as A-lie-kou-nai-eul in this work and Ya-lieh-k'u-nai-erh in the Ming-shih can easily be identified with Vīra Alakēśvara of the Saddharmaratnākaraya, for the latter work mentions that he was the person who had dealings with the Chinese.<sup>184</sup> It seems clear that he was known to the Chinese by his family name Alakēśvara or rather by its Tamil equivalent, Alagakkōnāra. The accusation made by the Pien-i-tien concerning Vīra Alakēśvara's attitude towards religion can perhaps be based on facts.<sup>185</sup> As we noticed elsewhere, Vīra Alakēśvara was

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183. JRAS(CB)xxiv,pp.98 and 119

184. JRAS(CB)xxiv,pp.119-120; Saddharmaratnākaraya,p.317

185. JRAS(CB)xxiv,p.98; Se-yih-ke-foo-choo quoted in Tennent Ceylon, vol.i,p.622; Beal, Buddhist records of the Western World, vol.ii, pp.249&282; UHC,p.651; Concise History,p.303.

forced by his brother Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa to leave the kingdom. The latter was a great benefactor of the Buddhist religion. In fact, during the period of over eight years' rule of Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa, Vīra Alakēśvara lived in exile in South India. The latter possibly adopted a policy opposed to that of his rival after he recaptured power in c. A.D.1400.<sup>186</sup> Although the Chinese chroniclers refer to Vīra Alakēśvara or A-lie-kou-nai-eul as the king of the Island, his proper title at this time was prabhurāja while the reigning monarch, according to the evidence available in the Vegiriya inscription, was Bhuvanekabāhu V who was perhaps residing at Kotte.<sup>187</sup> We have already seen that the king who had dealings with the Chinese was not Vijayabāhu VI, as erroneously stated in some copies of the Rājāvaliya.<sup>188</sup>

We can agree with Parānavitana in stating that the estimate of Vīra Alakēśvara's character, formed by the Chinese, was probably not unjust, for nowhere in Sinhalese writings do we find a good word said about him.<sup>189</sup> Still we find it hard to understand that this was a sufficient reason for Cheng-Ho to capture him on a later occasion. Although we do not possess sufficient evidence to

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186. See above, pp. 113-115

187. Vegiriya Inscription, JRAS(CB)xxii, p.366; UHC.pp.650-651

188. See above, p. 22.

189. UHC, p.651; Saddharmaratnākara, p.317.

be sure of the movements and the motives of Cheng-Ho in Ceylon, from the manner in which he treated the kings in South East Asia it can be assumed that the Admiral arrived in the Island in the hope of reopening seaborne trade, and of developing Chinese commercial contacts.<sup>190</sup> During this voyage Cheng-Ho developed contacts with Majapahit Java.<sup>191</sup> King Paramēśvara and the port of Malacca were selected by the Chinese as the most promising agency to accomplish their ends. Ceylon was known to the Chinese as an important commercial centre as early as the fourth century of our Era. The maritime trade between Western Asia and China naturally involved Ceylon, where we find some products of the Middle East associated with items traded from Ceylon to China.<sup>192</sup> Wolters directs our attention to a passage appearing in the T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan, compiled in the late tenth century, which refers to cannabar, mercury, turmeric, storax, costus and other commodities as products of Ceylon (Shih-tzu).<sup>193</sup> Undoubtedly, with the growth of maritime trade which received a stimulus after Central Asian trade routes were closed by Tamerlane, the importance of Ceylon increased, and it is not surprising that Cheng-Ho took a special interest in establishing commercial contacts with Ceylon.

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190. D.G.E.Hall, A History of Southeast Asia, p.181; J.F.Cady Southeast Asia, p.155.

191. E.O.Reischauer and J. K. Fairbank, East Asia: The Great Tradition,

192. O.W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, pp.80-81; p.321.  
The Ceylon Historical Journal, vol.iii, 1954, p.223.

193. Wolters, O.W.: Early Indonesian Commerce, p.80.



In the light of these developments we cannot be satisfied with the reason for the conflict depicted in the Pien-i-tien. Judging from the vastness of the fleet, which carried about 28,000 men in 62 vessels, it seems probable that Vira Alakēśvara mistook the arrival of Cheng-Ho at the capital of the kingdom for an invasion.<sup>194</sup> It is very likely that the people were terrified at the spectacle of the Chinese armada in the adjacent waters of the Island. If we are to assume that the statement of <sup>the</sup> Pien-i-tien that Cheng-Ho made an attempt to persuade Vira Alakēśvara to honour the teachings of the Buddha is true, Vira Alakēśvara's suspicions may well have been confirmed by this. The exact cause of the quarrel between the two parties, however, still remains a matter of speculation although we gather from the Chinese sources that the reason was to some extent a personal conflict between Cheng-Ho and Vira Alakēśvara.<sup>195</sup> The idea put forward by Paranavitana that Cheng-Ho had received unfavourable reports on Vira Alakēśvara before he arrived in Ceylon and that the Chinese admiral would have been requested to act on behalf of Prince Parākramabāhu, may be regarded with scepticism for the evidence advanced by this scholar seems unconvincing.<sup>196</sup> As we know Prince Parākramabāhu was at the

194. JRAS(CB)xxiv,p.98; J.J.L.Duyvendak, China's Discovery of Africa,p.27; R.O. Winstedt, A History of Malaya,p.47; P.Wheatley, The Golden Khersonse,p.88.

195. JRAS(CB)xxiv,p.98; Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World,vol.ii, pp.246,282 . Tennent, Ceylon,vol.i,pp.622-626. TP,xxx,1933,p.278.

196. UHC.p.666; Concise History,p.303. Ceylon and Malaysia,p.142.

time a child of about eleven years of age, living in exile with his mother.<sup>197</sup> Paranavitana's statement that "the behaviour of Cheng-Ho in Malacca would have come to the ears of the parties contending for the political supremacy of Ceylon, inducing one of them, the weaker, to solicit the aid of the Chinese on its behalf, and the other to be ready with elaborate military preparations against the expected menace", is certainly an assumption influenced by the historical parallels in Southeast Asia.<sup>198</sup> Assumptions in a historical context can sometimes be risky. We shall see later on in this chapter that there is more than one reason why Paranavitana's <sup>assumption</sup> ~~s~~, in respect of the identification of the prince who was taken to China, ~~assumption~~ cannot be supported by the evidence available in the Sinhalese sources.

The Chinese armada returned to China in October 1407, but it seems to have been back on a voyage for the second time very soon after. The interesting factor concerning this second voyage is

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197. See above, pp. 114 - 116

198. UHC.p.667.

For Cheng-Ho's intervention in the affairs in Malacca see: Winstedt, R.O., A History of Malaya, London, 1962, pp.47-48.

For similar events regarding Java see: D.G.E. Hall, A History of South East Asia, London, 1955, pp.69-70 and 83.

that it did not land in Ceylon even though the junks sailed to Calicut passing Ceylon.<sup>199</sup> The main aim of this expedition was to carry sundry tribute bearers to China and offer official Chinese recognition to the new king of Calicut.<sup>200</sup> Cheng-Ho did not command this fleet, though he undoubtedly was the person who supervised its preparation. Possibly Cheng-Ho remained in China in order to make arrangements for the third and crucial expedition on which the dramatic event in Ceylon took place.

199. Nevertheless, one can cite the Galle Trilingual inscription with a view to proving that Cheng-Ho was in Ceylon during this voyage, for the edict is dated the seventh year of Yung-lo (A.D.1409). Dyvendak, however, in agreement with suggestions of Yamamoto and Pelliot, has proved on the evidence of newly discovered inscriptions that the trilingual inscription had been composed and carved at Nanking before the third expedition set out. Dyvendak focuses our attention on a passage of a work called Ming-Ta-Chen-Tsuan-yao where Cheng-Ho's presence in China in 1407 is clearly mentioned. (TP, xxxiv, p.364).  
 For further information see: TP, xxxi (1935), p.309; Toyo Gakuho, xxi (1934), p.369; TP, xxxiv (1938), pp.361-369; CHJ, iii (1954), pp. 227-228; JSEAH, v, (1965), p.28.

The Galle Trilingual inscription has been published in Spolia Zeylanica, vol.vii, pp.122 ff.; EZ, iii, pp.331-339.

200. TP, xxxiv, 1938, pp.361-372; JSEAH, v, p.28; Chiu Ling-Yeng, 'Chinese Maritime Expansion, 1368-1644', Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia, vol.iii, 1965, p.34.

The third expedition, which was actually the second under the personal leadership of Cheng-Ho lasted from the first month of the seventh year of Yung-lo (January 16th-February 14th 1409) to July 6th 1411. Cheng-Ho's Liu-chia-chiang and Tai-ping Bay inscriptions record in particular the visit to Ceylon and the conflict with its king Ya-lieh-jo-nai-erh.<sup>201</sup>

There is hardly a question regarding the fact that the attitude of Cheng-Ho in this instance was motivated by the events which occurred on his first visit to the Island. The fact that he gave orders to the admirals who headed the second expedition not to visit Ceylon, and remained in China preparing for the third expedition in which he wished to visit Ceylon, may mean that Cheng-Ho took every possible step to deal with A-lie-kou-nai-eul, who did not show respect to the Chinese mission. The fact that the Alagakkōnāra behaved with a lack of respect towards the mission is emphatically mentioned in Cheng-Ho's inscriptions and in some Chinese official chronicles.<sup>202</sup> The fact that Cheng-Ho arrived on his homeward voyage from Aden clearly shows that Cheng-Ho was well prepared to deal with the Alakēśvara this time.<sup>203</sup>

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201. TP, xxxiv, pp. 347 and 353.

202. Ibid; JRAS(CB) xxiv, pp. 98 and 119

Fei-tsin's Hsing-ch'a Sheng-la also records the same.

See: TP, xvi, pp. 381-383; K.N. Nilakanta Sastri, Foreign Notices of South India, pp. 296-7.

203. TP, xxxiv, p. 373; JRAS(CB) xxiv, pp. 119-120.

The story recorded in the Ming-shih gives a detailed account of the events that took place in Ceylon during the third expedition. According to this work the Alagakkōnāra tried to entrap Cheng-Ho into his territory and afterwards sent out an army of 50,000 to scorch the earth and to block the line of Cheng-Ho's retreat. The admiral, however, with the help of 2,000 foot soldiers slipped past the enemy and attacked the capital by storm. The ruler was taken captive, together with his wives and children. According to the Pien-i-tien Cheng-Ho did not have much hope at the beginning of the contest. The above mentioned 50,000 soldiers cut down trees so as to block the way while another troop of men were charged to plunder the junks. The plans of the Sinhalese ruler leaked out through some of his underlings, and that helped Cheng-Ho to overcome these difficulties, and ultimately capture the king. The Chinese soldiers could not, however, return to their ships immediately for the soldiers of the Sinhalese ruler who had gone to pillage the ships, and others from the interior of the kingdom, arrived from all sides, and gave battle for six days. Cheng-Ho, having kept the ruler a prisoner, covered

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more than 20 li (approximately 7 miles) and finally got on board.<sup>204</sup>

The authenticity of the account found in these Chinese official histories has been confirmed by many contemporary Chinese and local sources. Fei-Hsin, who most probably was in the crew of the third expedition, gives a strikingly similar account concerning this event.<sup>205</sup> The Rājāvaliya, the Alakēśvarayuddhaya and the Saddharmaratnākaraya have also recorded vague memories of the tradition concerning the deportation to China of the Sinhalese king.<sup>206</sup>

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204. JRAS(CB),xxiv,pp.98-99 and 119-120; TP,xvi,1916,pp.381-382. This could be taken as evidence to prove that Vīra Alakēśvara was either at Rayigama or <sup>at</sup> Kōṭṭē at the time of the capture, owing to its proximity to the port of Colombo it is easier to believe that the latter was the capital of Vīra Alakēśvara during his last few days. The fortified city of Kōṭṭē must have attracted Vīra Alakēśvara, who expected Cheng-Ho to return, to shift the capital from Rayigama to Kōṭṭē after the death of Bhuvanekabāhu V. In view of this evidence it is unreasonable to believe that Gampala was the capital of Vīra Alakēśvara when he was captured by the Chinese, for the city of Gampala is about 85 miles away from the ports of Colombo (Kolon-toṭa) and Bēruvala. The Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya clearly mentions that Vīra Alakēśvara ruled the coastal area of the Island while living there. (Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya,p.74).

J.E. Tennent, Ceylon,vol.i,pp.417 and 623. Tennent mentions that the capital was Gampala where the Alagakkōnāra was captured. Our view that it was Kōṭṭē where Vīra Alakēśvara dwelt in 1411 is <sup>that</sup> put forward by Paranavitana as well. (UHC,pp.651-2).

205. TP,xvi(1916)pp.382-383; JSEAH,v,p.31.

206. Rājāvaliya,tr.66; Alakēśvarayuddhaya,p.19;Saddharmaratnākaraya,p.317. The account of Couto in JRAS(CB),xx,p.67.

The evidence of the Ming-shih, in its biography of Cheng-Ho, that in the 6th year (of Yung-lo), in the 9th month Cheng-Ho went for the second time to Hsi-lan-shan (Ceylon) cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence of the fact that Cheng-Ho arrived in Ceylon about October 1408 for, as Duyvendak has pointed out, the evidence found in the eye-witness account of Fei-Hsin's work, the Hsing-ch'a-sheng-lan, and the dates clearly mentioned in the above mentioned inscriptions issued by Cheng-Ho himself contradict it.<sup>207</sup> From the account of the Shih-lu it is quite obvious that the occasion of the quarrel with the ruler of the Island was on Cheng-Ho's return voyage during the third expedition. As we notice from both the Ming-shih and the Shih-lu the fleet was back in China on July 6th, 1411.<sup>208</sup> In view of the fact that the Alagakkōnāra was captured on the homeward voyage Duyvendak has placed the event in A.D.1411.<sup>209</sup> If we pursue the evidence supplied by the Rājāvaliya that Parākramabāhu VI captured the throne after the last Alakēśvara (i.e. Vīra Alakēśvara), we can assume that the deportation of this ruler which ended his rule took place in B.E.1955 (A.D.1411/2), which was the year in which Parākramabāhu captured Rayigama after the deportation of the ruler of the Island.<sup>210</sup>

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207. JRAS(CB)xxiv,p.119; TP,xxx(1933),p.280; TP,xxxi(1935),p.283; TP.xxxiv,(1938),p.373.

208. TP,xxxiv,pp.362-372

209. TP,xxxiv,(1938),p.373

210. Rājāvaliya.tr.p.66,

From the account of Couto we know that after the deportation to China, of the Sinhalese ruler ~~to China~~, the kingdom fell into the hands of a 'chagatar' who in turn offered it to Prince Parākramabāhu.<sup>211</sup> In view of the fact that the Portuguese writers referred to the Buddhist priests with the name chagatar we can assume that this 'chagatar' of Couto's account was the same person as the Vidāgama Thera of the Sinhalese chronicles and the account of Valentijn.<sup>212</sup> From Couto's account it seems certain that there was no king in the kingdom after Vira Alakēśvara was taken away to China and probably this was the reason why Prince Parākramabāhu was offered the throne. We learn from the Pārakumbāsirita and the chronicles that this king, Parākramabāhu VI, remained at Rayigama for about three years before moving to Kōṭṭē.<sup>213</sup>

Regarding the captives the Ming-shih records that the king was taken prisoner along with his wives, children and leading men of the kingdom, and taken to the Imperial court in Peking.<sup>214</sup> The ministers of state requested the emperor that they should be put to death. The emperor, however, pitying the ignorance of the captive king, set them at liberty and ordered them to select the most worthy member of their tribe to be placed on the throne.<sup>215</sup>

211. JRAS(CB),xx,p.67

212. Rājāvāliya, tr. pp.66-7; TWB, Colombo, Museum, MS ,no.x9, fol.8; Valentijn,

213. Pārakumbāsirita, v.28; Rājāvāliya, tr.p.68. p.72.

214. JRAS(CB)xxiv,p.120; TP,xvi, (1916),p.383.

215. Tennent, Ceylon, vol.i, pp.417 and 622; JRAS(CB)xxiv, pp.99-120 TP,xvi (1916),p.282; TP,xxx (1933),pp.278-280; TP,xxxi,(1935),p.284; TP,xxxiv,pp.347 and 353.



The captives on this occasion being unanimous on the decision selected a person called Yeh-pa-nai-na as the worthiest. Accordingly he was sent out bearing the seals of office and proclaimed king under Chinese suzerainty . The deposed monarch was also sent back with them.<sup>216</sup> The evidence of the Ming-shih that the captive king was sent back to the kingdom is corroborated by many other Chinese sources, among which the contemporary report of Fei-Hsin and the inscriptions of Cheng-Ho found at Liu-chia and T'ai-p'ing Bay are most reliable. The account of Couto is that the captive king returned to the kingdom from China little more than two years after he was captured.<sup>217</sup>

According to the Chinese work Hsi-yang-chao-hung-tien-lu this most worthy subject was made the king of Ceylon in the tenth year of Yung-lo (i.e. A.D.1412) by an imperial decree. He was named Pu-lo-ko-ma-pa-ssu-raja after he was declared king.<sup>218</sup> The Wu-hsüeh-pien corroborating this evidence states that Yeh-pa-nai-na later became Pu-lo-ko-ma-pa-ssu-la-cha.<sup>219</sup> In view of the fact that the captives were in China in the tenth year of Yung-lo (A.D.1412), and that the initial order for the fourth expedition was dated December 18th 1412 in the account of the Ming-shih and the Shih-lu, we can assume that the new king returned

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216. Couto's account in JRAS(CB),xx,p.67; TP,xxxiv,pp.347 and 353.  
 217. JRAS(CB),xxiv,p.120; TP,xvi (1916),p.382; TP,xxxiv (1938),p.374;  
 218. TP,xvi (1916),p.383.  
 219. Tennent, Ceylon,vol.i,p.622.

to the Island in the ships of the fourth expedition.<sup>220</sup>

According to the above mentioned two works the junks were back in China on August 12th 1415.<sup>221</sup> Since King Paramēśvara of Malacca, who also went to China, in the same fleet as that of Vira Alakēśvara, returned to his kingdom in the beginning of the year A.D.1414 we can accept the assumption of Willetts that the new Sinhalese king arrived back in Ceylon about June, 1414. This tallies with the evidence advanced by Couto that the captives were returned to the Island after an interval of over two years.<sup>222</sup>

As regards the identification of this new king, Parānavitana expressed the view that Ye-pa-nai-na, in Chinese garb, could be easily recognized as Sinhalese title apana, which according to this scholar, is applicable to any prince of royal blood, and concluded that he was the same person as Parākramabāhu VI, since the Chinese work Wu-hsueh-pien indicated that the person known as Yeh-pa-nai-na afterwards became known as 'Pu-lo-ko-ma-pa-ssu-~~la~~<sup>223</sup>cha. We are not opposed to Parānavitana's identification of these two names as āpāna and Parākramabāhu respectively, but it is hardly possible to accept the view that the Parākramabāhu mentioned in this Chinese work was identical with Parākramabāhu VI. Codrington's

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220. JSEAH, v, p.36.

Duyvendak indicates that the inscriptions of Cheng-Ho mention the 11th year of Yung-lo as the year in which the fleet started (i.e. in 1413),. His view that considering the extensive preparations required and the advanced season, the fleet did not start till the 9th month of the 11th year', has been regarded as plausible by most Sinologists. (TP.xxxiv,1938,p.374)

221. TP,xxx (1933),p.292; TP,xxxi,(1935),p.285; TP,xxxiv(1938),pp.373-378.

222. Couto in JRAS(CB)xx,p.67; JSEAH,v,p.36.

223. Tennent, Ceylon,vol.i,pp.417,& 625;TP,xvi(1916),p.383; TP,xxx (1933),p.279; UHC.pp.666-667.

objection to the identification of Parākramabāhu VI with the nominee of the Chinese emperor is given in the following words: 'It seems almost certain that the two were different persons. A strong point against the identification is the great improbability of Parākramabāhu having been at the Court of the ruler, from whom he had been in hiding since his childhood; yet his presence there is necessary if he was carried off to China.' Parānavitana rejects this argument, stating that Parākramabāhu VI was not in the entourage of the Alakēśvara but took a separate passage to China, perhaps incognito, but certainly with the knowledge and complicity of Cheng-Ho himself.<sup>224</sup>

As we shall see later on, Parānavitana's view regarding the identification of the nominee of the Chinese emperor seems to have been based on the same misunderstanding as that which led the author of the Wu-hsüeh-pien to identify Yeh-pa-nai-na with Pu-lo-ko-ma-pa-ssu-la-cha owing to the similarity of the names of Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa and Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>225</sup> From the contemporary Saddharmaratnākara we learn that there was a ruler in the Island known as Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa after Vira Alakēśvara and before BE.1958.<sup>226</sup> This work states that Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa died before

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224. UHC, p.665; Concise History, p.304; JRAS (CB) xxxii, p.291;

225. Tennent, Ceylon, vol.i, pp.622-623; TP, xvi, 1916, p.383.

226. Saddharmaratnakaraya, p.317.

the month of Poson in B.E.1958 (current) i.e. May/June A.D.1414. Considering the fact that Couto says that the king who returned from China was murdered in the same night that he returned to the kingdom, we can assume that the murder of Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa, who was the nominee of the Chinese emperor, took place in the early days of the month of June 1414, thus agreeing with the date mentioned by Willetts regarding the date of return of Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa.<sup>227</sup>

Apart from this decisive evidence, we possess substantial evidence to prove that Parākramabāhu was at Rayigama during the period between B.E.1955 and 1958.<sup>228</sup> The Alakēśvarayuddhaya supported by the Rājāvaliya quite clearly indicates that Parākramabāhu VI reigned for about three years at Rayigama before he shifted the capital to Kōṭṭē in B.E.1958 (A.D.1414).<sup>229</sup> According to the Chinese works during this period the captives including the nominee to the Sinhalese throne, were in China.<sup>230</sup> In view of all this evidence it is quite impossible that Parākramabāhu VI, who ruled for three years at Rayigama, was present in China during the same period. It is, therefore, quite clear that the Yeh-pa-nai-na of Wu-hsüeh-pien was the same person

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227. JRAS(CB),xx,p.67; JSEAH,v,p.36.

228. See below,pp.177-179.

229. Alakēśvarayuddhaya,p.21; Rājāvaliya,tr.p.68.

230. JRAS(CB)xxiv,p.120; Tennent, Ceylon,vol.i,pp.417 and 623.

as Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa, who is referred to as the grandson of Sēnālaṅkādhikāra, in the Saddharmaratnākara. The statement of the Wu-hsüeh-pien that Yeh-pa-nai-na later became king by the name of Pu-lo-ko-ma-pa-ssu-la-cha (Parākramabāhu-Raja) should not be taken as an objection against our conclusion that this person was Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa for any āpāṇa who later becomes king should be known by his kingly name, Parākramabāhu-Raja and not by the princely title.<sup>231</sup> The author of the Wu-hsueh-pien owing to his ignorance of the names of the Sinhalese kings, seems to have confused the name of the king, Parākramabāhu VI (Pu-la-ko-ma-pa-hu-la-p'i), who sent tribute to China in A.D.1433, with the nominee of the Chinese emperor owing to the close similarity of their names.<sup>232</sup>

It should not be assumed that Sino-Ceylonese contacts came to an end after the death of Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa who was nominated by the Chinese Emperor. The major expeditions undertaken by Cheng-Ho were continued for two more decades, and in all these expeditions, four in number, Cheng-Ho visited the Island.<sup>233</sup>

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231. Tennent, Ceylon, vol.i, p.622; TP, xvi, 1916, p.383.

232. Ming-shih, as translated in JRAS(CB), xxiv, p.120.

233. Oriental, vol.ii, 1964, pp.31-37; CHJ, vol.iii, 1954, pp.301-330

We have no evidence to show that Cheng-Ho was dissatisfied about the killing of Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa by Parākramabāhu VI. Considering the meagre knowledge that the Chinese possessed regarding the local politics of foreign countries, we can assume that Cheng-Ho mistook Parākramabāhu VI for the nominee of the Chinese emperor to the throne of Ceylon on account of their identical names.<sup>234</sup> Parākramabāhu VI, perhaps realizing this, seems to have sent tribute missions along with the fleet of Cheng-Ho to the imperial court.

According to the Ming-shih, missions from Ceylon bearing tribute reached China in the 13th (A.D.1416) and the 18th years of Yung-lo and the 7th (A.D.1432) and the 8th (A.D.1433) years of Hsuan-te (A.D.1426-1435).<sup>235</sup> Three other missions are said to have been received in A.D.1436, 1445 and 1459. According to the Ming-shih the first two missions were headed by the king of Ceylon in person. There is no evidence in the contemporary Sinhalese sources to the effect that the king was away from his kingdom during these two years. If we assume that the king was

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234. King Paramēśvara of Malacca, who kept closer contacts with the Chinese than ~~of~~ the Sinhalese king, could not be recognized by the Chinese when this king later changed his name to Megat Iskander Shah after his conversion to Islam. See for further information, Winstedt, A History of Malaya, pp.48-49; Cady, Southeast Asia, pp.155-156; Hall, A History of Southeast Asia, p.180
235. JRAS(CB)xxiv, p.120; BEFEO, Tome, iv, 1904, p.357; China Review, iii, p.329.

present in the palace at Jayavardhanapura Kōṭṭē when Kuruvansa-Sri-Sannasa was issued in B.E.1959 (A.D.1415/6) and the Gadaladeniya grant of the fifth regnal year (A.D.1416) was made, it is clear that Parākramabāhu VI was in Ceylon in A.D.1416.<sup>236</sup> As regards the second date we know for certain from the contemporary Sinhalese lexicon known as the Nāmāvaliya, written in the month of Vesak in Śaka Era 1343 (April/May 1421), that the king was at Kōṭṭē.<sup>237</sup> In view of the fact that the journey from Ceylon to China took about one year, we find it hard to believe that Parākramabāhu VI was in China on the above mentioned two occasions.<sup>238</sup> Further considering the fact that these two missions are said to have arrived in China with the ships which came back to China after the fourth and sixth expeditions, it seems likely that the missions took over one year to return to Ceylon.<sup>239</sup> Perhaps it may be correct to assume that the yuvaraja, the brother of Parākramabāhu VI, who was also known by the name of Parākramabāhu, headed the mission on behalf of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>240</sup>

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236. P.D.S.Wirasuriya, Devundara Itihāsaya, p.95; ASCAR, 1911-2, no.256  
 237. Nāmāvaliya, p.285.  
 238. JRAS(CB)xxxii, p.354.  
 239. Dale, W.L. 'Wind and drift current in the South China Sea,' The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography, vol.viii, (1956), pp.1-31.  
 240. JRAS(CB)xx, p.68; Paravi-sandēsaya, vv.196-198; See also below, pp.

The mission which was sent from Ceylon in A.D.1445 had been headed by a person called Ye-pa-la-mo-ti-li-ya. Parānavitana's identification of him with Jayapāla Mudaliyā, the patron of the poem Guttīla-kāvya, may be considered correct, owing to the similarity of the two names.<sup>241</sup> The selection of Jayapāla Mudaliyā, who was the chief courtier (agamāti) of Parākramabāhu VI, seems to indicate how much the king valued the goodwill of the Chinese Emperor.<sup>242</sup>

The last mission from Ceylon is said to have been sent by a king known as Ko-li-sheng-hsia-la-shi-li-pa-chiao-la-jo. Although we find it difficult to find out the corresponding Sinhalese name, it is certain that it was a reference to Parākramabāhu VI, for we know that the kingdom of Jaffna also had been brought under the control of Parākramabāhu VI, thus unifying the entire Island.<sup>243</sup> No further tribute seems to have reached China from Ceylon after this, although it is reported that the trade between the two countries was continued.<sup>244</sup>

Modern scholars of Ceylon history have been rather reluctant to admit the fact that Parākramabāhu VI paid tribute to China, for this king was the most celebrated Sinhalese king since the fall of

241. Guttīla-kāvya, vv.6-11; UHC, p.665.  
 242. Guttīla-kāvya, v.6.  
 243. JRAS(CB)xxiv, p.120; Hsi-yang-chao-kung-tien quoted in TP, xvi, p.383. For further information regarding the identification of the name of this king, See: Pelliot in TP, xxx, 1933, p.279; Pachow, W, UOR, xii, no.3, pp.182-192; Parānavitana in Ceylon and Malaysia, p.146.  
 244. Tennent, Ceylon, vol.i, p.417; Queyroz, book, ii, p.305.



Polonnaruva.<sup>245</sup> Caution is necessary, however, in dealing with the term 'tribute' occurring often in the Chinese writings. Wolters focuses our attention on a passage of Ma Tuan-lin's encyclopaedia known as Wen-hsien-t'ung-k'ao of the early fourteenth century which comments that the foreign countries sent tribute because they wanted trade and imperial presents; thus there may be a tendency to assume that these missions were normally instruments of commerce.<sup>246</sup> Thus Paranavitana's observation that, from considerations of domestic policy, the tribute periodically sent to China would in no way have minimized the prestige of Parākramabāhu VI among his subjects, may be regarded as a satisfactory explanation of this question.<sup>247</sup> The

245. Siṃhala-sāhitya-lipi, p.124; JRAS(CB)xxii, pp.6-34.

(E.W.Perera has ignored the contacts with the Chinese in dealing with the reign of Parākramabāhu VI); Codrington in JRAS(CB)xxxii, p.291.

246. Groeneveldt, W.P. 'Notes on the Malay Archipelago' and Malacca; compiled from Chinese Sources', Batavia, 1876, p.61; Wolters, O.W. Early Indonesian Commerce, p.165.

247. UHC. pp.667-668.

return presents from the emperor of China must have been represented in Ceylon as a token of the prestige of Parākramabāhu VI in the eyes of foreign sovereigns. No doubt commercial interests also played an important part, since Ceylon enjoyed an important position in trade with China. We cannot, however, overlook the fact that the capture of Vira Alakēśvara by the Chinese made a great impression on the minds of the king and the people concerning the might of China. Parākramabāhu VI must have realized the wisdom of keeping the Chinese, who held a prominent position in naval power, pleased. Moreover, the fact that this king had friendly dealings with such a power would have strengthened his own position.

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THE REIGN OF PARĀKRAMABĀHU VITraditions concerning the lineage of Parākramabāhu VI.

As has happened in the case of many other important figures in history the ancestry and the early life of Parākramabāhu VI are shrouded in obscurity. In view of the fact that Parākramabāhu VI reigned in comparatively recent times one might expect a more reliable and detailed record concerning this king; but uncertainty still prevails in several respects in spite of the fact that a considerable number of poets were the recipients of the king's patronage.<sup>1</sup>

According to the Rājāvaliya, Parākramabāhu VI was a royal prince. This work represents him as a son of a king named Vijayabāhu who was taken to China as a captive.<sup>2</sup> There is no need to discuss this statement here since we have already concluded that the account of the Rājāvaliya is erroneous in this particular instance.<sup>3</sup> The tradition recorded in the Alakēśvarayuddhaya represents him as the son of a person called Jayamahālēna, and adds that his mother was known as Sunetrā-devī. Valentijn, who most probably was in possession of a copy of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya, agrees with the latter in detail.<sup>4</sup>

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1. UHC, p.661; Concise History, p.305

2. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.68

3. See above pp.21-22

4. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.21; Valentijn, p.72; JRAS (CB), xxii, p.36

the genealogy recorded in these works is as follows:

"Come from the cloud, to wit, the womb of Sunetrā-devī who was like a golden creeper clinging to the wishing tree the lord named Jaya Ma Le, grandson of the great king Parākramabāhu, son of the great king Vijayabāhu, of the lineage of Maha Sammata called Śrī Vaivasvata Manu, sprung from the pure race of the Sun, born of the clan of king Sumitra."<sup>5</sup>

The contemporary poem, Pārakumbāsirita, which is considered to be a panegyric on Parākramabāhu VI, records a somewhat similar genealogy. According to this work:

" Queen Sunetrā-mahādevī who resembled a golden creeper that twined round the divine tree, namely, her husband, the Jayamahalāna of the Lambakarna-gotra, begot a worthy prince, a potential Buddha. He (i.e. the Jayamahalāna) was grandson of king Parākramabāhu, the son of King

5. The above English translation is from JRAS (CB), xxxii, p. 304. The Sinhalese text found in the Alakesvarayuddhaya, p. 21 runs as follows

Śrī vaivasvata Manu sankhyāta Mahāsammata Paramparānuyāta  
sūda sūrya-vamsōtbbhūta Sumitra rājanutra navitra gōtrābhi-  
jāta navaratnādhipati Śrī Mattambhana gōtra saṁjāts vū  
Savulu Vijayabāhu rajahata putra vū Parākramabāhu maharaja  
hata munuburu vū Jayamahalēna svāmin nāmāti kalpa vrukṣaya  
vālaṇḍa vū svarṇa latāvaka vāni vū Sunetrā nam dēvingē garbha  
nāmāti megha mukhayen nikut vū candra mandalayaka vāni vū  
Rukulē Parākramabāhu maharaja tema"

Savulu Vijayabāhu born in the clan of the aforesaid  
kings of majesty, power and suzerainty." <sup>6</sup>

A similar contemporary work known as Vṛttaratnākarapañjikā  
written in Sanskrit by a Bengali Brahmin by the name of  
Rāmacandrabhārati records the following:

"The princess by the name of Sunetrā of the Kāliṅga  
royal family gave birth to Parākramabāhu; (her husband)  
Jayamālo mahīpati was of the lineage of king Dharmāśoka;  
his son became Parākramabāhu for the welfare of the  
people" <sup>7</sup>

Śrī Rāhula's Kavyaśekhara written in the thirty-sixth  
regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI adds one more fact, namely  
that Parākramabāhu was the munuburu of 'Jayamahalāna' of the  
Lamāni-kula. The latter, who was a different person from the  
father of Parākramabāhu VI who also bore the name Jayamahalāna  
according to the other works was of the clan of Savulu Vijayabā

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6. Parākumbasirita, v. 27

Melesa teda bala mahat anasaka āti rajun kula pivituru  
Savulu Vijeba niriṅdu pit Pārakum rajun haṭa munuburu  
Lamāni Jayamahalāna himi sura tura velū ran liya yuru  
Sunet mahadevi bisō himi lat raja ruvak soṅda budukuru

7. Vṛttaratnākarapañjikā, ed. by Silakkhanda Mahathera,  
Bombay, 1908, p. 20, Stanzas, 47-48

Kāliṅgadēśa-sañjāta-bhūmipāla-kulodbhavā  
Sunetrā nāma devī sā Parākramabhujam prasuh  
Dharmāśoka-nṛpānvaye Jayamālo mahīpatih

Tasya putraḥ prajā-sriye Parākramabhujō 'bhavat .

raja.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note that the name of the father of this king is not mentioned in the Kāvyaśekhara. Further according to this work the closest ancestor of Parākramabāhu VI who reigned as a monarch was Savulu Vijayabāhu, a scion of the line of Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1153-1186).

When considering this conflicting evidence the first point that we clearly note is that Parākramabāhu's mother was a princess by the name of Sunetrā-devī. Even the garbled account of the Rājāvaliya is in agreement with this.<sup>9</sup> But nothing more is said about her parentage except that she was a princess of the Kāliṅga clan.<sup>10</sup> The name Kāliṅga is not unknown in the post-Polonnaruva period of Ceylon history. But how she became a scion of this clan we cannot say, for we do not possess substantial information about her ancestry. According to some sources concerning the Daṁbadeṇiya period Vijayabāhu III (A.D.1232-1236) and Parākramabāhu III (A.D.1236-1270) belonged to a Kāliṅga royal family.<sup>11</sup> The Siṁhala-Bodhivaṁsaya, which was written in the

8. Kāvyaśekhara, Sarga, Xv, vv. 19-20

Agbō Vijayabā

Lamāṇi kula pivituru

Mahalu Pārakum-mahabā

Jayamalāna munuburu

Kulayen ā subā

Guṇa gaṇa miṇi sayuru

Savulu Vijabā rajuge sasobā.

Siyal niriṇḍun mudun mal yuru

9. Rājāvaliya, p.47; Rājāvaliya, tr.p.68; Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.320  
Vṛttaratnākarapañjikā, Stanza, 47; Pārakumbāsirita, v.27;  
Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.21; Paravi-sandēśaya, v.46; Girā-sandēśaya, v.69;  
Kōkila-sandēśaya, vv.107-109

10. Vṛttaratnākarapañjikā, Stanza 47

11. A.Liyanagamage, The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya, Colombo, 1968, pp.76-105

fourteenth century, represents Bhuvanekabāhu 11 (A.D. 1293-1302); and Parākramabāhu 1V (A.D. 1302-1326) as scions of the Kāliṅga vaṁsa.<sup>12</sup> The Pārakumbāsirita also on one occasion depicts the hero of the praśasti as a descendant of the royal family of Kāliṅga to which Vijaya, the first king of Ceylon, belonged.<sup>13</sup> The sources are not informative in respect of her parentage. There are a number of inscriptions and literary sources that record the donations made by Parākramabāhu VI for the merit of his mother Sunetrā-devī; yet none of these make even an allusion to her parentage.<sup>14</sup> The slender evidence that is recorded in the account of Couto makes her a daughter of a king.<sup>15</sup> Couto, however, says that she was the daughter of the king who was taken captive to China, and according to him Alakēśvara ruled after the departure of this king. As we know, the truth was that Alakēśvara was the king who was taken captive to China.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, if she was a daughter of a ruling prince there is no reason why the Pārakumbāsirita should have omitted to mention this fact in the

12. Siṁhala-Bōdhivaṁsaya, ed. by V. Amaramoli Thera, Colombo, 1951, p.222.

13. Pārakumbāsirita, v.77

14. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.320; Paravi-sandēśaya, v.46  
Girā-sandēśaya, vv.62 and 69; Kōkila-sandēśaya, vv.107-109.;  
Cūlavāṁsa, 91; 24. Rājāvaliya (†), p.47; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.21.;  
 For inscriptions bearing the name of the mother of  
 Parākramabāhu VI see: JRAS(CB) vol.vii(1882), pp.185 ff.;  
Katikāvatsaṅgarāva, pp.43-46.; Vidyōdaya, vol.i (1926), pp.295 ff.  
EZ, vol.v, pp.451-452.

Ola copies of some inscriptions bearing the name of this princess are found in the Royal Library of Copenhagen (Document no.XLX of Westergaard, Codices Indici Bibliothecae Regiae Havniensis, Havniae, 1866).; British Museum, Or.6605-12

15. JRAS(CB), xx, p.67

16. See above, p.126

genealogy of Parākramabāhu VI. It is not certain why

Sunetrā-devī is classed among the descendants of the Kāliṅga royal family. One later work known as the Tuḍugala-Vīdāgama-Pāvati-Bandāravaliya mentions that Parākramabāhu VI was the bānā of the <sup>the</sup> king of Cōḷa country.<sup>17</sup> We cannot be certain of the true nature of this relationship owing to the lack of other evidence although the trustworthiness of the above-mentioned fact is proved by the contemporary Padākada-sannasa.<sup>18</sup> Possibly the association of her name with the Kāliṅga royal family was due to the popularity among the contemporary Sinhalese of the belief that Vijaya came from Kāliṅga.<sup>19</sup> In view of the fact that we do not possess substantial evidence to ascertain her parentage, we can only state that she was believed to be a royal princess related perhaps to some South Indian royal family.

In the above mentioned accounts we noticed that the name of the father of Parākramabāhu VI was Jayamahālēna. One who is familiar with the Sinhalese literary works of this period might regard the name Jayamahālēna more as that of a family or a title

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17. Colombo Museum, MS.no.X9, fol 118

18. JRAS(CB), xxxvi, 1945, pp.131-132.

19. UHC.pp.507-528.



rather than a personal name.<sup>20</sup> In fact, we have reasons to believe that this is the truth.

According to some works dealing with the genealogy of Parākramabāhu VI this king belonged to <sup>the</sup> Lamāṇi-kula.<sup>21</sup> In some of the contemporary sources the term Lambakarṇa, instead of Lamāṇi-kula, is used in this connexion.<sup>22</sup> The Alakēśvarayuddhaya represents this king as a descendant of Prince Sumitra. There is hardly any problem regarding the identity of the person who is mentioned in the sources by the name of Sumitra. We can rule out any attempt to identify this Prince Sumitra with Prince Sumitta, the brother of Vijaya referred to in the Mahāvamsa.<sup>23</sup> The Bodhivamsa and other literary works dealing with the princes who arrived with the sacred Bo-tree refer to all of them collectively by the name of Bodāhara-kula. Thereafter the descendants of these princes and princesses were also referred to as members of the Bodāhara-kula. As time went on the descendants of these Bodāhara families were divided into smaller kulas.<sup>24</sup> All these small kulas trace their origin back to one of these princes who arrived in the Island during the reign of Devanapātissa. The Siṃhala-Bodhivamsaya

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20. Liyanagamage, The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya, p.83; Siṃhala-Bodhivamsaya, pp.198-223  
21. Sālahihini-sandēsaya, vv.97-98.; Kāvyaśekharaya, sarga, I, v.13.; and sarga, XV, v.20.; Pārakumbāsirita, vv.27 and 72.; Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.318.; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.21; Rājaratnākaraya, p.42; Paravi-sandēsaya, v.46.  
22. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.318  
23. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.21; Mahāvamsa, 8: 1-17.  
P.E.Fernando in UCR, vol.xxiii, p.274 states that the person mentioned here must be the brother of Vijaya, the first king of Ceylon. This is obviously a misunderstanding caused by the similarity of the two names.  
24. Siṃhala-Bodhivamsaya, pp.198-223; Rājaratnākaraya, pp.47-48.

makes it clear that Prince Sumitra was the first person to hold office of Jayamahālēna.<sup>25</sup> The sixteenth-century Rājaraṭnākara has recorded a legend concerning the manner in which this prince came to be regarded as the originator of a clan known as Gaṇavāsī-kula.<sup>26</sup> The contemporary Saddharmaraṭnākara connects Parākramabāhu VI with the Gaṇavāsī-kula through Prince Sumitra. The well known Mēṇavara-kula and the Gaṇavāsī-kula are represented in the contemporary writings as two important sub-kulas of the Bodāhara-kula. According to the tradition recorded in the chronicles on the history of the sacred Bo-tree all these Bodāhara-kulas collectively belonged to the Lambakarna-vaṃsa.<sup>27</sup> It is, however, interesting to note that even the earlier writings such as the Dīpavaṃsa, the Samantapāsādikā, the Mahāvāṃsa or the Vāṃsatthappakāsinī put the Bodāhara-kulas among the kṣatriyas of the Island.<sup>28</sup>

The name Jayamahālēna connected with the genealogy of Parākramabāhu VI appears to have its origin in these Bodāhara-kulas. The Pāraḱumbāsīrita refers to Prince Sumitra, who came to the Island with the sacred Bo-tree, as the first person to have had

25. Siṃhala-Bodhivaṃsaya, pp.198-223.; Saddharmaraṭnākara, p.318

26. Rājaraṭnākara, p.47

27. Liyanagama, The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Daṃbadeṇiya, p.83.; UHC, p.175.

28. Liyanagama, The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Daṃbadeṇiya, p.83.; UHC, p.175.; Dīpavaṃsa, 16:32-40.; Samantapāsādikā (Takakusu), i, pp.98-100.; Mahāvāṃsa, 19:66

this title conferred on him by Devānāmpiyatissa and as the originator of this dynasty.<sup>29</sup> According to this tradition, while Prince Sumitra became the originator of the Gaṇavāsi-kula, his brother Bodhigupta became the originator of the Mēṇavara-kula.<sup>30</sup> These two families held prominent positions in the history of the Island after the fall of Polonnaruwa. During the period just before that concerned in our study, we come across the Mēṇavara-kula taking the supreme position in the Island's politics.<sup>31</sup> It is Parākramabāhu VI who is believed to have been the first king of the Gaṇavāsi kula.<sup>32</sup> Although Paranavitana thinks that with the accession of Parākramabāhu VI, the sovereignty of the Island passed from the Mēṇavaras to the Lamāṇi or Lambakaṇa family which, according to the Saddharmaratnākaraya, was also the same as the Gaṇavāsi stock, we do not possess evidence to support the view that there was a struggle for power between these two leading families. On the contrary the Sagama inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu V bears testimony to the marital connexion between these two families.<sup>33</sup> Even the later kings of Kōṭṭē were proud of the fact that they belonged to the ancestry of the family of Prince Sumitra.<sup>34</sup> They in their inscriptions mention the fact that they belonged to the Lamāṇi-gotra through Prince Sumitra. The Pārakumbāsirita in tracing the genealogy of Parākramabāhu VI refers to the ancient kings of

29. Pārakumbāsirita, v.11.; Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.318

30. Siṃhala-Bōdhivamsaya, p.214; Rajaratnākaraya, p.48.

An inscription found at Hiṇḍagala in the Kandy District refers to a person known as Laka-Jaya-Maha-Māti. Paranavitana identifies him with Lamkā-Jayamaha-Lekhako. He further says that the dignitary bearing this title claimed descent from Bodhigupta. UCR, vol.xvi, no.1-2 pp.3-4.

31. Codrington in JRAS(CB) vol.xxxii, pp.280-286.; Concise History, p.301.; Liyanagamage, The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya, pp.83-84.; UHC pp.662-663.

32. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.318

33. UHC, p.662; UHC, iv, pp.296-312.; Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.318

34. See for the Sannasas of Bhuvanekabāhu VI: RKD, p.91; JRAS(CB) xxii, pp.271-272

of Ceylon as Gajabāhu I, Sirisaṅghabodhi, Goṭhābhaya, Mahāsena, Kumāra-Dhātusena, Aggabodhi, Vijayabāhu I, and Parākramabāhu I, as the ancestors of this king.<sup>35</sup> These kings, however, are not presented as scions of the Bodāhara-kula in the earlier chronicles.<sup>36</sup> There is also no connexion between the Lambakarna and the Bodāhara-kulas as revealed by these chronicles. We cannot, however, expect that the entire tradition is recorded in the Dīpavaṃsa, the Samantapāsādikā, and Mahāvāṃsa and the Vāṃsatthappakāsini. We, therefore, do not know how much truth there is in the claim made for Parākramabāhu VI to belong to the Lambakarna gotra.

As Paranavitana correctly points out 'the connection of Lamāni stock of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with the Lambakarna of the early Anurādhapura period, and through them with the kinsmen of Asoka, is a very tenuous one but was accepted as a self-evident truth by the panegyrists of those days and by the people as a whole who were not permitted to entertain doubts with regard to such matters'.<sup>36a.</sup>

In view of the fact that there is no reliable account concerning the position held by Jayamahālēna, which name is represented as indicating an office in the Bōdhivaṃsaya, we

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35. Pārakumbāsiriṭa, vv.12-26.; Kāvyaśekharaya, sarga XV, vv.18-20.

36. Dīpavaṃsa, 16: 8-47.; Samantapāsādikā, (Takakusu), pp.98-100.; Mahāvāṃsa, 19:1-63.; Vāṃsatthappakāsini, vol. ii, p. 408

36a. UHC, pp.662-663.

cannot say much about the position of the Jayamahālēnas of the Gampala period and later.<sup>37</sup> In fact the title Jayamahālēna seems to have been lost in oblivion until some time before the accession of Parākramabāhu VI. Codrington has made an attempt to identify the title Boganisuru found in the Haṁsa-sandēśaya with Jayamahālēna of the Bodhivaṁsaya: but we <sup>do not</sup> have sufficient evidence to show that they had much in common.<sup>38</sup> We come across a dignitary entitled Mahalēna among the court officials of the Polonnaruva period.<sup>39</sup> The bearers of this title, according to Paranavitana, held the office of chief scribe or secretary which corresponded to Sanskrit Mahā-lekhaka-nāyaka.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps the immediate ancestors of Parākramabāhu VI held this office and on the strength of it they may have had matrimonial connexions with the royal family.<sup>41</sup> In any case we do not have sufficient evidence to accept the recent view of Paranavitana, according to which the word 'Jayamahālēna' meant Jaya, the Malay.<sup>42</sup>

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37. Siṁhala Bodhivaṁsaya, pp. 219-220; Mahā-Bodhivaṁsaya, ed. Strong, PTS, 1891, pp. 155-161.
38. Haṁsa-sandēśaya, v. 186.; Siṁhala-Bodhivaṁsaya, p. 214.; JRAS (CB) xxxii, p. 302
39. UHC, p. 540; Concise History, p. 167; Nikāyaśaṅgahaya, p. 18
40. UHC, pp. 540-541
41. We have evidence to show that Bhuvanekabahu V married a queen from the Gaṇavāsi-kula.  
See; JRAS (CB), xxxii, p. 302
42. Ceylon and Malaysia, pp. 141-144.  
Pārakumbāsirita, vv. 10-11.; Kāvyaśekhara, sarga XV, vv. 13-18  
These two works clearly mention that 'Jayamahālēnas' originally came from Magadha in India.

There is hardly any evidence to show that the name Jayamahālēna underwent a change of meaning immediately before the accession of Parākramabāhu VI. The contemporary writings clearly indicate that Jayamahālēna belonged to the Bodāhara-kula. Moreover, the evidence advanced by Parānavitana in order to prove that Parākramabāhu VI was of Malay origin lacks reliability.<sup>43</sup> We therefore, have to rely on the evidence furnished by the contemporary sources and conclude that Parākramabāhu VI traced his descent from Prince Sumitra who was believed to be the originator of the Gaṇavāsi-kula and the first Jayamahālēna and that he thereby declared himself as a scion of the Lambakarna-gotra.

As we have seen, according to the Pāarakumbāsirita, the Alakēśvarayuddhaya, the Vṛttaratnākaraṇṇjikā and the account of Valentijn the father of Parākramabāhu VI was Jayamahālēna. On the other hand, the Kāvyaśēkharaya does not mention the name of the father but mentions another 'Jayamahālāna', who purports to have been his grandfather.<sup>44</sup>

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43. Ceylon and Malaysia, Appendix I, II and III, pp. 213-218;  
See also UCR vol. xxi, pp. 103-138

44. Kāvyaśēkharaya, sarga, XV, v. 20.

Lamāni-kula pivituru  
Jayamahālāna munuburu.

The term munuburu which occurs in most of the manuscripts of the Kāvyaśēkharaya is not found in some printed versions. The editors have inserted the word manapiru in place of munuburu in an attempt to reconcile the text with the Pāarakumbāsirita, v. 27.

Let us now examine the additional evidence regarding these two personages. We possess an inscription, viz., the Niyāṅgampāya inscription, which refers to a high dignitary known as Jayamahālēna-siṭāna-mantri whose personal name was Bhaskara.<sup>45</sup> This inscription, which is now extant only in an ola copy, represents him as a scion of Srīman Vipra-vāmsa, which normally should mean Brahmin origin.<sup>46</sup> But the title siṭāna attributed to the same person, however, does not tally with the name Vipra-vāmsa if the latter referred to a Brahmin family. The inscription was issued in Saka Era 1295 (A.D. 1374) and bears the name of King Vikramabāhu III. It also describes the activities of the Alagakkōnāra-mantri and Bhāskara Jayamahālēna siṭāna-mantri who were two brothers comparable to the sun and the moon.<sup>47</sup> Since this inscription belongs to the last years of the reign of Vikramabāhu III (A.D. 1357-1374) it is reasonable to assume that the Jayamahālēna mentioned therein served under the successor of that monarch, Bhuvanekabāhu V, in the early part of his reign. But we do not come across this name in the inscriptions of Bhuvanekabāhu V's reign although he held a very important position in the kingdom during the previous reign. The Sagama inscription of the ninth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu V does not refer to Jayamahālēna.<sup>48</sup>

45. Or.6606-165.; See also : JRAS(CB) xxxii, p.274.; Ceylon and Malaysia, p.141.

46. Or.6606-165; N. Müdiyanse, Gampola Period, pp.175-184

47. Ibid.

48. EZ, iv, pp.296-311; JRAS(CB) xxii, pp.363-365.

The Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, written after the twenty-fifth regnal year of this monarch, does not include the name of Jayamahālēna among the mantris (court officials or king's councillors) who patronized the religion of the Buddha.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps the silence regarding the existence of this person, who held a position on a par with that of the Alagakkōnāras, may mean that he was not alive in the latter part of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V.<sup>50</sup> The Niyangampāya inscription does not mention much about the genealogy of this person. His title, Jayamahālēna, may be taken as an argument in favour of his connexion with the Bodāhara-kulas, which took a prominent position in the politics of the Island in this period.<sup>51</sup> Judging from his title it may not be incorrect to conclude that he was either the father or the grand-father of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>52</sup> From the prominent position given to him in the genealogy of this king in the Kāvyasēkharaya it stands to reason that Jayamahālē-siṭāṇa-mantri of the Niyangampaya inscription, who held a position on par with that of the Alagakkōnāra-mantri who was the prabhurāja, might be the grandfather of Parākramabāhu VI, for the period he lived is too early for him to be the father of this monarch.<sup>53</sup>

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49. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, pp.23-24

50. Saddharmaratnākaraya, pp.316-317

51. Liyanagama, The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya, pp.83ff.; Siṃhala-Bōdhivaṃsaya, p.214:

52. According to the Rājāvaliya Parākramabāhu VI was an infant when his father died. Rājāvaliya(G) p.47; see also below pp.148-150

53. Kāvyasēkharaya, sarga, XV, v.20.; Or.6606-165, fol.2



Still, we do not have much information about the father of this monarch apart from what we find in the works dealing with the ancestry of Parākramabāhu VI. This was possible owing to the fact that he died in his youth leaving his two infant sons behind.

The other two persons who concern us with regard to the ancestry of Parākramabāhu VI are Savulu-Vijayabāhu and his son Parākramabāhu. From the genealogy recorded in the previously mentioned contemporary accounts we notice that the writers were very keen on connecting Parākramabāhu VI with these two kings.<sup>54</sup> Unfortunately, these accounts do not mention who these two particular kings were, for there were five Vijayabāhus and five Parākramabāhus before Parākramabāhu VI. On this account we have to make a conjecture with the support of some outside evidence.

According to the accounts of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya and the Pārakumbāsirita Jayamahalēna, the father of Parākramabāhu VI, was the munuburu of one King Parākramabāhu who was the son of another king named Savulu-Vijayabāhu.<sup>55</sup>

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54. See above. pp 148-150

55. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.21; Pārakumbāsirita, v.27

There is disagreement among scholars concerning the identity of these two kings. Before a serious study of these views is undertaken, it is useful to make an attempt to understand what the term munuburu meant.<sup>56</sup> In modern Sinhalese the term munuburu could be applied by a senior to any junior male relation of the second generation. It should also be noted that this word is often translated into English as grandson. It is well known that the term marumanaka, which occurs in the Brahmi inscriptions in Ceylon before the third century A.D. is used to mean the grandson and that the term was possibly borrowed from Tamil marumahan.<sup>57</sup> The Sanskrit equivalent word could be naptr although the Sinhalese word is not derived from it.<sup>58</sup> More recently in a number of inscriptions of the Gampala and the Kōṭṭē periods the term munuburu is mentioned jointly with daru-munuburu. On most occasions scholars have taken the term munuburu as an equivalent of the English grandson.<sup>59</sup> But in connexion with munuburu in the Oruvala-sannasa Codrington pointed out the possibility that this term could mean descendants.<sup>60</sup> In another article dealing with the history of Uḍaraṭa the same writer has pointed out that the word munuburu has the meaning of descendant.<sup>61</sup>

56. Valivitiye Sorata Thera, in his Śri Sumaṅgala Śabdakōśaya, has given the meaning grandchild to the Sinhalese word munuburu. According to him the Sanskrit equivalent is naptr (vol.ii,p.745) Charles Carter mentions it as grandson (Sinhalese English Dictionary,p.505).

57. See for example, the Habāssa inscription, EZ, vol. iv, p.217 Tamil Lexicon, vol.v, p.3090.

58. Monier Williams, Sanskrit, English Dictionary

59. EZ.vol.v, pp.661-662

60. EZ, iv, pp.67-68; See also CLR (TS) Vol.ii, p.344

JRAS(CB) xxxii, pp.67-68; EZ, iii, p.243.

61. CLR(TS), vol.ii, p.344

He holds that the term munuburu that occurs in the Rājasim̄hasirita of the seventeenth century dealing with the genealogy of Rājasim̄ha II (A.D. 1635-1687) should be taken as descendant.<sup>62</sup> E.W. Perera in translating a document pertaining to this period says that the word darumunuburu should be regarded as progeny.<sup>63</sup> Godakumbura also has accepted the possibility of the word meaning descendants in addition to the usual meaning. One conclusive piece of evidence occurs in the Mayura-sandēśaya which was written during the latter part of the fourteenth century. The last verse of this work, revealing the name of

62. The verse found in the Rajasiṃhasirita (V.10) is:

Diniṇḍu got garusāra Vikramabāhu niriṇḍuta jātavū soṇḍa  
Pasiṇḍu set Jayavīra nam naravīra munuburuvū visārada  
Ramiṇḍu yut nijabāhu vikumen pasiṇḍu Rajasiha niriṇḍu mananada  
Susādu sat tena sevana karalak vājāmbi sakviti siriya hāma-sāṇḍa

According to this verse Rājasim̄ha II was the munuburu of King Jayavīra (A.D.1511-1552) who was the son of Vikramabāhu (A.D.1469-1510). The genealogy of the kings of Kandy is as follows:

Vikramabāhu + A Princess

Jayavīra	+the daughter of K.Rālāhāmi	Daughter+K.Rālāhāmi
Karalliyaddē Baṇḍāra	A Daughter+Dharmapāla (A.D.1551-1597)	
Dona Catharina (Kusumāsana-devī)	+Senarat (A.D.1604-1635)	
Rājasim̄ha II (A.D.1635-1687)		

From this genealogy it is clear that Rājasim̄ha II was not the grandson of Jayavīra even though the word munuburu has been used in order to denote the relationship. The actual relationship was great-grandson. Munuburu, therefore, did not mean grandson in this particular reference.

63. CALR, vol.i, no2, p.93.; JRAS(CB), xxii, pp.271-272.; RKD, pp.93-94

64  
its author runs as follows:

Kivisuru mata kirulu yuru rāṇḍi nānini saru  
Gunasaru Gurulugāmi āduriṇḍuta munuburu  
Kivisuru kivi puvala kivirasa basa maharu  
Me Miyuru saṇḍesaya kala rasa sapiru

We notice in the above mentioned verse that the author of the Mayura-saṇḍēsaya is claiming that he was connected with Gurulugomi as munuburu of the latter. There is no doubt that the person mentioned here is none other than the author of the Amāvatura and the Dharmapradīpikāva.<sup>65</sup> The name of Gurulugomi is mentioned in the Sidatsaṅgārava which was written during the reign of Parākramabāhu II (A.D.1236-1270).<sup>66</sup> There is a reference to a king called Kāliṅga Cakravarti in Gurulugomi's Dharmapradīpikāva.<sup>67</sup> Since Kāliṅga Cakravarti mentioned here has been identified with Nissaṅkamalla (A.D.1187-1196), we may assume that Gurulugomi lived during the Polonnaruwa period; he was most probably patronized by the kings of Polonnaruwa after Parākramabāhu I (A.D.1153-1186).<sup>68</sup> Considering the fact that the author of the Mayura-saṇḍēsaya, who lived in the latter part of the fourteenth century, represented

64. EZ, v, pp.461-462; Mayura-saṇḍēsaya, v.160

65. Siṃhala-Sāhitya-vāṃsaya, pp.104-108; UHC, pp.580-582

66. UHC, p.580; Liyanagamage, The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya, p.150

67. Dharmapradīpikava, ed. Sri Dharmarama Thera, Colombo, 1906, p.54  
Liyanagamage, The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Demabadeniya, p.60.; P. B. Sannasgala, Siṃhala Sahitaya Vāṃsaya, p.105.

68. EZ, ii, p.104; EZ, ii, p.109; EZ, v, pp.207, 401 and 426-427

himself as the munuburu of Gurulugomi, who lived in the latter part of the twelfth century, we cannot here translate munuburu as 'grandson' as the two persons lived about two centuries apart. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the Dhampiyā-Atuvā Gātapadaya written in the tenth century makes use of the term munuburu to refer to grandchildren down to the seventh generation.<sup>68a</sup> On this account we must bear in mind that the word munuburu did not necessarily mean 'grandson'.

Most of the students of Ceylon history have taken the two monarchs mentioned in the genealogy of Parākramabāhu VI as Vijayabāhu V (A.D.1335-1341) of Kurunāgala, and Parākramabāhu V (A.D.1344-1359) of Dādīgama.<sup>69</sup> Codrington who discussed this problem in detail, declared that these two kings must be identified with the fifth kings of these names rather than with the second or the third owing to the fact the the Rājāvaliya mentioned that Sunetrā-devī was persecuted by <sup>the</sup> Alakēśvara.<sup>70</sup> He says that this is intelligible if the princes, the sons of Sunetrā-devī, were nearer the succession to the crown, a position hardly likely, if Parākramabāhu II or III was their last ancestor to sit on the throne.<sup>71</sup>

68a. Dhampiyā Atuvā Gātapadaya, ed. by Madauyangoda Vimalakirti, Colombo, 1960, p.162. '...yavasattamā kulaparivatta, satvana kula parivata dakvā-mohu satvana munuburu dakvay yūsē.

69. E.W. Perera in JRAS(CB), xxii, p.12; Bell in RKD, p.5; Codrington in JRAS(CB), xxxii, p.306.; Jayatilaka in Siṃhala Sāhityalipi, p.119; Paranavitana in UHC, pp.661-662; JRAS(CB)NS, vii, p.198. K.D.P. Wikramasinghe, Kōttē Yugayē Siṃhala Sāhityaya, p.25.

70. JRAS(CB), xxxii, p.306; Rājāvaliya (G), p.47  
It is interesting to note that the Alakēśvarayuddhaya being a more reliable version of the Rājāvaliya does not refer to the early life of Parākramabāhu VI. This king is represented as a son of a ruling monarch.

71. JRAS(CB), xxxii, p.306

Paranavitana, while giving further arguments to supplement those advanced by Codrington, took it for granted that the kings were Vijayabāhu V and Parākramabāhu V.<sup>72</sup> In addition, he declared that Vijayabāhu V was the originator of a new dynasty.<sup>73</sup> Paranavitana's argument is that the other kings of those names are of a date too early to have been the grandfather of 'Jayamahālāna', the father of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>74</sup>

Let us now consider whether it is reasonable to conclude that Vijayabāhu V and Parākramabāhu V are the kings who are proudly referred to as the ancestors of Parākramabāhu VI by the panegyrists of this king.

There are some obstacles which prevent us from identifying the above mentioned two kings with the ancestors of Parākramabāhu VI. As we noticed in the account of the Pārakumbāsirita, Vijayabāhu is given the epithet 'Savulu'.<sup>75</sup> It does not seem to us that there is any evidence to prove that Vijayabāhu V was called Savulu Vijayabāhu in any reliable source for the study of this period. The Pāramāmahāsatakaya, which was

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72. UHC, p.662

73. UHC, pp.636-639; Concise History, p.291; Ceylon and Malaysia p.135; JRAS(CB)NS, vol.vii, p.198

74. UHC, p.662

75. Pārakumbāsirita, v.27. and v.72.; Paravi-sandēśaya, v.27

written in the reign of Vijayabāhu V, does not associate the title Savulu with this king.<sup>76</sup> The Tisara-sandēśaya and the Vuttamāla written in the reign of Parākramabāhu V do not mention any such epithet used by either of these kings, even though the authors of these two works have taken much labour to eulogize Parākramabāhu V.<sup>77</sup> The Saddharmaratnākaraya, the Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, and the Elu-Attanagaluvaṃsaya (Gampala version) give no allusion to such an epithet being used by these two kings.<sup>78</sup> In fact, no contemporary or later work refers to Vijayabāhu V with an epithet 'Savulu'.

Secondly, the Alakēśvarayuddhaya and the Pārakumbāsirita both mention that the Parākramabāhu in question was the son of a king named Savulu Vijayabāhu.<sup>79</sup> We do not possess any external evidence to support the view that Vijayabāhu was the father of Parākramabāhu V of Dādigama.<sup>80</sup> The Tisara-sandēśaya, which was written in his reign makes no reference to the father of this king.<sup>81</sup> We cannot, however, prove that Vijayabāhu V was not the father of Parākramabāhu V; but it is reasonable to point out that there is

76. Pāramīmahāsatakaya, ed. by W. Dipankara Thera, Colombo, 1921.

77. Tisara-sandēśaya, vv. 140. ff.; Vuttamāla, ed. by Sataraparivena Upassi, Colombo, 1871.

78. Saddharmaratnākaraya, pp. 315-316; Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p. 21. Elu-Attanagaluvaṃsaya (Gampala Version), pp. 47-48: Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, pp. 72-3.

79. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 21.; Pārakumbāsirita, v. 27

80. UHC, pp. 636-652.

81. Tisara-sandēśaya, vv. 21-43.

no evidence to support the view that he was the latter's father apart from the questionable evidence furnished in the genealogy of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>82</sup> To the writers of the Pāarakumbāsirita and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya it was an accepted fact that the two kings mentioned in the genealogy were father and son, and these writers were proud to mention that Parākramabāhu VI descended from them.<sup>83</sup>

Thirdly, all the sources dealing with the ancestry of Parākramabāhu VI lay much emphasis on the fact that he was a scion of the Bodāhara-kula.<sup>84</sup> None of the inscriptions connect Vijayabāhu V and Parākramabāhu V with the previous kings of the Island; nor do they mention the royal clan that they belonged to.<sup>85</sup> In view of this omission, we find it difficult to ascertain whether they belonged to the Bodāhara-kula, to which the panegyrists of Parākramabāhu VI connected their hero. On account of the fact that the sources are silent on the above mentioned problems in connexion with the relationship of Vijayabāhu V and Parākramabāhu V to Parākramabāhu VI, it is not out of place if we take up the problem further, and make an attempt to identify these two kings mentioned in the genealogy of Parākramabāhu VI with other kings of the Island. As Paranavitana pointed out, the earlier kings of the name of Vijayabāhu appear to have been of a date too early to have been the

82. See JRAS(CB), xxxii, pp.306 ff. for evidence advanced by Codrington for this conjecture.

83. D.B. Jayatilaka, Siṃhala-Sāhitya-Lipi, pp.115-136.  
K.D.P. Wikramasinghe, Kōttē-Yugayē-Siṃhala-Sāhityaya, pp.22-27  
Concise History, pp.291-293; UHC, pp.636, ff.

84. Kāvya-Sekharaya, sarga, XV, vv.19-20; Pāarakumbāsirita, vv.11-12 and 27  
Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.21; Valentijn, p.72

85. Following inscriptions are attributed to these two monarchs:  
Vijayabahu V:- Karagala rock inscription (JRAS(CB), xxii, pp.352-3)  
Vigulavatta inscription (JRAS(CB), xxii, p.363).  
Parakramabahu V:- Hapugastanna inscription (RKD, p.79),  
Magulmahavihara inscription (EZ, iv, pp.161-169).



great-great-grandfather of a prince who ascended the throne in the second decade of the fifteenth century and reigned for over half a century.<sup>86</sup> But this problem would not arise if we take the word munuburu in the meaning of descendant of the second generation and beyond as in the above mentioned verse in the Mayura-sandēśaya and that in the Rājasin̄hasirita, and the evidence available in the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya.<sup>87</sup>

Now let us take a look at the other earlier kings whose names were Vijayabāhu and Parākramabāhu. The third and fourth Vijayabāhus had sons, by the name Parākramabāhu, who subsequently ascended the throne.<sup>88</sup> The third Vijayabāhu and his son Parākramabāhu II gained popularity with later generations, and their names are often mentioned in the writings of the poets of the Gampala and Kōṭṭē periods.<sup>89</sup> Some inscriptions of Parākramabāhu VI such as the Munnesvaram inscription and the Sabaragamu Saman Devale inscription, make allusions to his connexions to King Kalikāla Sāhitya Sarvajña Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu of Jaṃbudroṇipura (Daṃbadeṇiya).<sup>90</sup> Further, it is a well known fact that Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1236-1270) was the son of Vijayabāhu III (A.D. 1232-1236).<sup>91</sup>

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86. UHC, p.662.

87. Mayura-sandēśaya, v.160; Rājasin̄hasirita, v.10.

Dhampiyā-Aṭuvā-Gāṭapadaya, ed. by M. Vimalakirti, Colombo, p.162

88. UHC, pp.846-847; Concise History, pp.276-304 and 345.

89. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p.20; Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.314.

90. Vidyōdaya, vol.ii, 1927, pp.238-239; CALR, ii, pp.36-46

91. Cūlavamsa, 91:69; Rajavaliya(G), p.44

As we know, according to many of the sources Parākramabāhu VI belonged to the Gaṇavāsi-kula, a branch of the Bodāhara-kula.<sup>92</sup> According to the Pūjāvaliya, Vijayabāhu III was a descendant of the Saṅghabodhi family which, according to this work, came to the Island with the sacred Bo-tree during the reign of Devānaṃpiya-Tissa (B.C. 250-210).<sup>93</sup> The tradition recorded in reliable works such as the Daladāsirita, the Elu-Attanagaluvamsaya, the Rājaratnākara, the Rājāvaliya, and the Cūlavamsa supports the view that Vijayabāhu III (A.D. 1232-1236) was of the line of the princes Sumitra and Bodhigupta, who were among the first princes of the Bodāhara-kula in the Island.<sup>94</sup> In this connexion, it is interesting to note that Vijayabāhu III and Parākramabāhu II have been regarded as suitable monarchs to rule the Island on the strength of the fact that they belonged to the Bodāhara-kula.<sup>95</sup> We, therefore, have sufficient reason to prove that Vijayabāhu III (A.D. 1232-1236) and Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1236-1270) were of the Bodāhara-kula.

The epithet 'Savulu' is not attributed to these two kings by the contemporary writers. Nevertheless, there is a theory that 'Savulu' was used by the kings after Parākramabāhu VI, since they connected their origin to a village called Savuluva in the neighbourhood of Daṃbadeṇiya.<sup>96</sup>

92. Saddharmaratnākara, p. 318; Pārakumbāsirta, v. 11; Paravisandēsaya,

93. Pūjāvaliya, p. 785; Elu-Attanagaluvamsaya, (Vidāgama), p. 236. <sup>v. 27</sup>  
Elu-Attanagaluvamsaya (Gampala), p. 44

94. Ibid.

Daladāsirita, p. 43; Rājaratnākara, p. 39; Rājāvaliya (G), p. 44.  
Cūlavamsa, 81, vv. 10-11.

95. Liyanagamage, The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Daṃbadeṇiya, pp. 82-84

96. Siṃhala-Sāhityalipi, pp. 128-129; Sirilak Kādyimpota, p. 14.

The Pārakumbāsirita represents Parākramabāhu VI as a descendant of king Parākramabāhu who beautified 'Savulu' of Daṃbadeṇipura.<sup>97</sup> Two Rājāvaliya versions which seem to have been written in the sixteenth century refer to Vijayabāhu III (A.D.1232-1236) as Sulu Vijayabāhu and the same work<sup>s</sup>, writing about the ancestry of Parākramabāhu VI mentions that the latter was a descendant of 'Sulu Vijayabāhu' who according to the Alakēśvarayuddhaya was called Savulu Vijayabāhu.<sup>98</sup> The Paravi-sandēśaya of Śrī Rāhula Thera also has made an attempt to connect Parākramābahu VI with Parākramabāhu II of Daṃbadeṇiya and with the Savulu-kula.<sup>99</sup>

It is appropriate, however, to mention here that there were two other kings known as Vijayabāhu and Parākramabāhu who stood to one another in the relation of father and son. Parākramabāhu III (A.D. 1287-1293) was<sup>a</sup> son of Vijayabāhu IV (A.D.1270-1272). Even these two kings lived in a period too early to have been the great-great-grandfather of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466) and it is not likely but also not totally impossible to support the interpretation of the term munuburu in the above mentioned accounts as grandson. These two kings, however, belonged to the Bodāhara-kula for Vijayabāhu IV (A.D.1270-1272) was the son of Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1236-1270). Since the panegyrists have made an attempt to

97. Pārakumbāsirita, v.72; Paravi-sandēśaya, v.27

98. Or.4971, fols.1 and 3; Or.6606-91 fols. 1 and 3; Alakēśvarayuddhaya pp.19-21.

99. Paravi-sandēśaya, v.27; Rājaraṭnākara, p.49

connect Parākramabāhu VI with a ruling monarch we can consider these two kings also as the ancestors of Parākramabāhu VI even though they were not well known among the later generations. In view of the above mentioned <sup>evidence</sup> we may find it easier to identify Vijayabāhu III (A.D. 1232-1236) or Vijayabāhu IV (A.D. 1270-1272) with Savulu Vijayabāhu of the genealogical accounts of Parākramabāhu VI, rather than with Vijayabāhu V (A.D. 1335-1342) of Kurunāgala. The identification of Vijayabāhu III (A.D. 1232-1236) would be more favourable, for his son, Kalikāla-Sāhitya-Sarv<sup>a</sup>gnā-Paṇḍita-Parākramabāhu, is mentioned in a number of inscriptions of Parākramabāhu VI, as the original donor of many grants made by the latter.<sup>100</sup> In fact, contemporary poets of the Kōṭṭē period refer to Parākramabāhu II as a king of the Savulu family.<sup>100a.</sup>

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100. Lakṣmana-Saman Devale Inscription, CALR, 1916, pp.43-45  
Munnesvaram inscription, Vidyodaya, vol.iii, 1928, pp.238-239  
and 269-270

100a. Pārakumbāsirita, v.72

Date of the beginning of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI.

Different sources for the study of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI categorically state that he ascended the throne in the years B.E. 1953, 1955 and 1958 respectively.<sup>101</sup> Of these three dates the first, B.E. 1953, seems to be the least likely one. Although the Saddharmaratnākara (in one place), the Cūlavamsa, the Siṃhala-Daladāvamsaya and the Narēndracaritāvalōkanapradīpikāva mention this as the initial regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI; among these only the Saddharmaratnākara dates back to this period.<sup>102</sup> But in fact this very work, on another occasion, states that the king commenced his reign in B.E. 1958.<sup>103</sup> For this reason scholars have been inclined to think that the year B.E. 1953, recorded in one place, is a clerical error.<sup>104</sup> One ought not <sup>to</sup> lay too much emphasis on the evidence of the third part of the Cūlavamsa for it does not deserve to be called by the same name when compared with the earlier parts of the chronicle.<sup>105</sup> However, later writers who were prejudiced by the name Cūlavamsa preferred the evidence of this book to that of the more reliable Rājāvaliya.<sup>106</sup>

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101. E.W. Perera, 'The age of Parākramabāhu VI', JRAS(CB), vol.xxii, pp.6-44; H.C.P. Bell, Report on the Kegalla District, pp.5-6  
 D.B. Jayatilaka, Siṃhala-Sāhitya-Lipi, pp.136-137; K.D.P. Wikramasinghe, Kōttē Yugayē Siṃhala Sāhityaya, pp.22-45
102. Saddharmaratnākara, p.75; Cūlavamsa, tr.p.215, Cv.91 v. 16.  
Narēndracaritāvalōkanapradīpikāva, p.134.
103. Saddharmaratnākara, p.317
104. Codrington in JRAS(CB), xxxii, p.308; EZ, iii, p.53  
 Wikramasinghe in Kōttē Yugayē Siṃhala Sāhityaya, pp.39-40
105. See above pp.10-11
106. Siṃhala Sāhitya Vamsaya, pp. 418 and 555.

The later works such as the Siṃhala-Daladāvamsaya and the Narēndracaritāvalōkanapradīpikāva have no independent value as they depend heavily on the Cūlavamsa in respect of the history of the period prior to the sixteenth century A.D. Judging from the later date of the writing of the Cūlavamsa we may assume that it has probably borrowed this date from the passage in the Saddharmaratnākaraya which gives it as B.E. 1953.<sup>107</sup>

Codrington, who took much pains to unravel this problem, argued that the year 1953 found in one section of the Saddharmaratnākaraya as the initial regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI should be looked upon as a copyist's error caused by the similarity of the Sinhalese numerals for 3 and 5.<sup>108</sup> Wikramasinghe rightly pointed out that the date is not recorded in Sinhalese numerals, so that Codrington's theory is unacceptable. However, a copyist's error is quite possible even though the date was written in the Sinhalese script, for such errors are very frequent in the ola manuscripts which we make use of even today. Indeed, the presence in the same work of two different dates is difficult to explain unless the date was such an error.<sup>110</sup> Jayatilaka holds that Parākramabāhu VI ascended to the throne at Rayigama in 1953 and moved to Kōṭṭē in 1958, but it does not seem possible to reconcile this with the

107. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p. 317; Cv. 91 v. 16

108. JRAS(CB), xxxii, p. 308; EZ, iii, p. 53

109. Kōṭṭē Yugayē Siṃhala Sāhityaya, pp. 39-40

110. See above. p. 26 .

statement of the Rājāvaliya, supplemented by the Alakēśvarayuddhaya, according to which he ruled at Rayigama for only three years.

That he commenced his reign at Kōttē in 1958 is, however, stated in the other passages of the Saddharmaratnākaraya.<sup>111</sup>

Paranavitana's view that B.E.1953 was the year in which the first expedition of Cheng-Ho to the Island took place is also not convincing as there is no Chinese evidence to support it. There is also no support for it from the contemporary Sinhalese writings. The statement of Paranavitana is that "of the three dates, the first, 1410/11 A.D., falls within the period of Cheng-Ho's first expedition. If, as we have surmised above, Cheng-Ho's hostility towards Vira Alakēśvara was due to his support of the claims of Parākramabāhu VI to the throne, this date must be the year in which he first announced his assumption of the sovereignty. The second date, two years later, was that on which Parākramabāhu returned from China with the seals of office, and began actually to rule at Rayigama."<sup>112</sup> Professor Duyvendak, however, established beyond question that the first expedition of Cheng-Ho lasted from July 11th 1405 to October 2nd 1407.<sup>113</sup>

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111. Siṃhala-Sāhitya-Lipi, p.135.

112. UHC, p.669

113. TP, xxxiv, 1938, pp.356-360

According to this scholar Cheng-Ho arrived in Ceylon in the early part of the year 1406 on his way to Aden.<sup>114</sup> This being so, Paranavitana's theory cannot be maintained. However, if what Paranavitana means is the second expedition <sup>to Ceylon</sup> /during which Cheng-Ho captured Vira Alakēśvara in 1411, we are unable to state that this year and B.E. 1953 were the same.<sup>115</sup>

As we have shown above, only the Saddharmaratnākaraya out of all the sources which indicated B.E. 1953 as the initial regnal year of this reign is contemporary and further, it contradicts itself.<sup>116</sup> The other works having mentioned 1953 as the initial regnal year, inform us that Parākramabāhu VI ascended the throne at Jayavardhanapura Kōṭṭē in this year and ruled for fifty two years as the maharaja of the Island. But we have conclusive evidence to prove that there was no chance for Parākramabāhu VI to occupy the throne of Kōṭṭē in B.E. 1953 for Vira Alakēśvara was powerful enough even to challenge Cheng-Ho about two years later in B.E. 1955.<sup>117</sup> We may, therefore, in the light of the information on these dates conclude that the belief B.E. 1953, as the date for the accession of Parākramabāhu VI is incorrect and that it is based on the error of a copyist of the Saddharmaratnākaraya.

114. TP, xxxiv, 1938, pp. 365-372.

115. This date, A.D. 1411, falls in the current year of B.E. 1955 since according to the evidence available in the Ming-shih the captives were taken from Ceylon by Cheng-Ho on his way back to China. Cheng-Ho was back in China in the month of July 1411. The junks carrying the Sinhalese ruler touched Ceylon in about the month of June 1411. (JSEAH, vol. v, p. 36). This year does not certainly fall in B.E. 1955 (either expired or current) contrary to the view of Paranavitana. For further information regarding the dates of Cheng-Ho's expeditions see: Duyvendak, J.J.L., 'The True dates of the Chinese Maritime Expeditions in the Early Fifteenth Century, TP, xxxiv, 1938, pp. 341ff.

116. Saddharmaratnākaraya, pp. 75 and 317

117. See above, pp. 135



Our second possible date is B.E. 1955. It is worthy of notice that the sources that mention this date are contemporary works. The Ganitasimha, the Nāmāvaliya, the Pañcikāpradipaya and the sannasa found at the Pāpiliyāna temple are <sup>the</sup> most important among the works that mention this year. It is, however, worthy of mention here that not all these works give the date according to the Buddhist Era. The Pañcikāpradīpaya and the Nāmāvaliya give the date according to the Śaka Era.<sup>118</sup>

The Pāpiliyāna-sannasa equates B.E. 1972 with the seventeenth regnal year of the king.<sup>119</sup> The initial year thus falls in B.E. 1955 in this document as well. The Pañcikāpradipaya written by Śrī Rāhula states in its colophon that it was written in the forty-fifth regnal year of the king, which according to this work was Śaka Era 1379.<sup>120</sup> According to the latter work the initial regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI fell in Śaka Era 1334. The Nāmāvaliya, which was written by the minister who was in charge of the signet ring of the king, was completed in Śaka Era 1343 which fell in the tenth regnal year of this monarch.<sup>121</sup>

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118. We have been unable to procure a copy of the Ganitasimha. The information is obtained from Codrington's observations available in the EZ,iii,pp.53 ff.  
Nāmāvaliya,v.285. Śaka vasinek dahas tunsiya tesālisha  
 Neka saṅḍa kirana van yasa patala dasa desa  
 Siripā piyum pilimal raja nāmū hisa  
 Pārakumba nirīṅḍu dasavana vesak masa  
Pañcikāpradīpaya, ed. by Sri Dharmarama, 1898, p.168  
Pāpiliyāna-sannasa, Vidyodaya,vol.i, 1926,p.296

119. Vidyodaya, vol.i,p.296  
 120. Pañcikāpradīpaya,p.168  
 121. Nāmāvaliya,v.285

According to this work the tenth regnal year was current in the month of Vesak in Śaka Era 1343 (March/April 1421). From the calculations made with the help of the Pāpiliyāna-sannasa and the Ganitasimha, we can be quite certain that the beginning of the reign has to be placed in B.E.1955, current.<sup>122</sup> We have to place the beginning of the reign some time before May A.D. 1412 as the tenth regnal year was current in April 1421 (i.e. month of Vesak Śaka Era 1343) according to the Nāmāvaliya. We know from the Rājāvaliya and the account of Couto, that Parākramabāhu VI could capture the throne only after the reign of the last Alakēśvara was terminated.<sup>123</sup> This person, Vira Alakēśvara, was dethroned by the Chinese and as a result of this, Parākramabāhu VI could, without a struggle, ascend the throne. As we have noticed earlier, the deportation of Vira Alakēśvara should be placed in the early part of A.D. 1411., as Duyvandak has conclusively proved that the event took place on the homeward voyage of Cheng-Ho in his third expedition.<sup>124</sup> Since the Ming-shih and the Shih-lu mention that the vessels were back in China on July 6th 1411, we should assume that the event took place at least some months before this date.<sup>125</sup>

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122. EZ,iii,p.53.

123. JRAS(CB), xx, p.68: Rajavaliya, tr.p.68

The Alakesvarayuddhaya and the account of Valentijn have no reference to the rule of Vira Alakēśvara or Parākramabāhu's quarrels with him.

124. TP,xxxiv, p.373

125. Ming-shih in TP,xxx,p.280; Shih-lu in TP,xxxI,p.283

If we assume that the capture of Vīra Alakēśvara took place in the last month of the year B.E. 1955 (i.e. the first half of the month of Vesak, April 1411) which was the first month of Śaka Era 1333 (April/May 1411) we can place the deportation of Vīra Alakēśvara in April/May 1411. It is therefore, fair to assume that the year B.E. 1955 was that in which Vīra Alakēśvara was taken captive to China and that it coincided with the accession of Parākramabāhu VI to the throne vacated by the former.

It would be wrong for us to conclude that Parākramabāhu VI occupied the city of Kōṭṭē in this year, for there is substantial evidence to prove that the king was at Rayigama during the early years of his reign. As we have noted earlier, reliable contemporary sources such as the Pārakumbāsirita state that the king had his first consecration at Rayigama. The Alakēśvarayuddhaya and the Rājāvaliya lead us to believe that the king remained at Rayigama for over three years before he transferred his capital to Kōṭṭē.<sup>126</sup>

The next date supposed to have been the initial regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI is B.E. 1958. The majority of the documents issued by this monarch mention that he ascended the throne of Kōṭṭē in B.E. 1958. The Kāvyaśēkharaya, the Alakēśvarayuddhaya, the Rājāvaliya and the account of Valentijn also mention this date as the initial year of the king's reign.<sup>127</sup>

126. Pārakumbāsirita, v.28; Rājāvaliya, tr.p.68; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.21

127. Kāvyaśēkharaya, sarga, 1, v.6.; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.21; Rājāvaliya, tr.p.68.; Valentijn, p.72.; JRAS(CB), xxii, p.36

The Saddharmaratnākaraya gives further information for the elucidation of this problem. According to this work Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa, who was hostile to this monarch, died before the month of Poson of the year B.E. 1958; and after that Parākramabāhu VI became the king of the Island of Laṅka. The date given in the Saddharmaratnākaraya falls in the month of May/June 1414, as B.E. 1958 referred to in this work, is given in the current year.<sup>128</sup>

The Kāvyaśekhara also clearly indicates that B.E. 1958, the year in which Parākramabāhu VI ascended the throne at Kōṭṭē, was current.<sup>129</sup> In this connexion we may note that Paranavitana has by mistake calculated the dates of this reign on the assumption that the year B.E. 1958 found in the Saddharmaratnākaraya had expired while the truth is that the year is clearly mentioned as current.<sup>130</sup> We may, therefore, conclude that Parākramabāhu VI moved his capital to Kōṭṭē as soon as Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa was killed after his arrival in the Island in about June 1414.

According to Couto the king who returned from China was immediately killed on his arrival.<sup>131</sup>

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128. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p. 317.

For further information regarding the correct date of the accession of Parākramabāhu VI see Geiger, Cv. tr. ii, p. 215. Codrington in JRAS (CB), xxxii, pp. 304-309; EZ, iii, pp. 53 ff.

129. Kāvyaśekhara, sarga, i, v. 6.

Buduvasi-nek dahasa-navasiya ata panas vasa Rivi saṅda teda yasasa-patala niriṅdek viya lōkusa.

130. UHC, p. 669

131. JSEAH, vol. v, p. 36; Couto as translated in JRAS (CB), xx, p. 68.

One might ask the question why the king remained at Rayigama for three years and decided to shift his residence to Kōṭṭē at the end of this period. We know that Rayigama was the principality of the Alakēśvara family for over half a century, and it is described as a city on a par with Gampala during the early part of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V. This city, therefore, was suitable for the king as it held the honour of being the ancestral abode of the Alakēśvaras. But we should not assume that this was the decisive factor in selecting it as the centre of government by Parākramabāhu VI. If we take Couto's statement that the city of Kōṭṭē was destroyed by the Chinese and that Parākramabāhu had to build it anew before making it his residence as true this provides an answer to the question.<sup>133</sup> But it is also possible that Parākramabāhu VI did not take up his residence immediately at Kōṭṭē, owing to the fear that the Chinese junks might return to the coast of the Island. When they did not remain in the Island for long after leaving Parākramabāhu Āpāna, Parākramabāhu VI was able to obtain recognition as the king of the country by killing the successor of Vīra Alakēśvara, the nominee of the Chinese emperor.

The city of Kōṭṭē by this time had won a position of honour for it was probably the abode of Bhuvanekabāhu V in the latter part of his reign. From the Alakēśvarayuddhaya we learn that the temple of the Tooth relic was already in that city when Parākramabāhu VI came to reside there.<sup>134</sup> Moreover

132. UHC, pp. 636-652; Concise History, pp. 291-304; Mayura-sandēśaya, vv. 50-63

133. JRAS (CB), xx, pp. 67-68

134. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 21

Kōṭṭē was better protected by the surrounding walls and moats which had been built by Nissaṅka Alagakkōṇāra about half a century earlier.<sup>135</sup> Even if the city was badly damaged by the Chinese, it must have been easier to repair it than to bring the defensive strength of Rayigama to the level of that of Kōṭṭē. Probably the king's formal coronation was performed after he began his rule at Kōṭṭē.

According to Codrington the transfer of the capital to Kōṭṭē coincided with the end of a civil war. This writer, arguing on the evidence of the Denavaka-sannasa, mentions that Parākramabāhu VI was finally triumphant over his enemies. In fact the Denavaka-sannasa refers to the unification of the Island of Ceylon under one canopy by this king. Possibly the hostility that was faced by the king was from the nominee of the Chinese emperor, Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa (Pu-la-ko-ma-Ba-zae-Yeh-pa-nae-na).<sup>136</sup>

A word, however, should be said about the effect which the different dates for the accession of Parākramabāhu VI has on the reckoning of the regnal year in contemporary documents. Most of the royal grants issued during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI bear the year B.E.1958 as the king's date of accession to the throne.<sup>137</sup>

135. See above, pp. 79-81

136. JRAS (CB), xxxii, pp. 308-309

137. Saman Devale Inscription, GALR, ii, pp. 36-46.

Pāpiliyāna-sannasa - Vidyodaya, vol. i, 1926, pp. 296 ff.

Denavaka-sannasa -, JRAS (CB), xxxii, pp. 308-309

The Pāpiliyāna-sannasa that we mentioned in connexion with the year B.E.1955, is an exception although it connects the regnal year and the Buddhist year in which the grant was made.<sup>138</sup> However, we have no document which computes the regnal year from B.E.1958 as all the available documents computed the regnal years from 1955 of the Buddhist Era. The Kāvyaśekharaya in the beginning of the work mentions that the king ascended the throne in B.E. 1958 and at the end of the same work it is stated that the poem was composed in the thirty-fourth regnal year.<sup>139</sup> As we know, the author of the same work, Śrī Rāhula, in another of his writings known as the Pañcikāpradīpaya, mentions that the forty-fifth regnal year of the same reign was S.E. 1379 thus implying that the initial year of the reign was B.E. 1955.<sup>140</sup> As Codrington correctly points out, the fact that Śrī Rāhula mentions a date so late as the forty-fifth year, tends to show that the initial point throughout was B.E. 1955 even where the documents mention B.E. 1958 as the year in which this king ascended the throne.<sup>141</sup>

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138. Vidyodaya, vol.i,p.296.

139. Kāvyaśekharaya, vv.6 and 21 of sargas I and XV respectively.

140. Pañcikāpradīpaya, p.168

141. EZ,iii,p.53

In this connexion we should remember how Vijayabāhu I took into account his period of reign as king of Rohana in the total number of years of his reign.<sup>142</sup> Since we know from the Pārakumbāsirita that Parākramabāhu VI inaugurated his reign with a consecration at Rayigama, it is reasonable to assume that the king calculated his regnal years from that year which was B.E. 1955 thus including his period of rule as king of Rayigama.<sup>143.</sup>

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142. UHC, p.428; EZ, ii, pp.202-208

143. Pārakumbāsirita, v.28

Jayatilaka points out how the yuvaraja and the maharaja counted their regnal years from their first coronation whichever was the first and continued to use it even after the person became maharaja.

Siṃhala-Sāhitya-Lipi, p.106

JRAS(CB), x, pp.83-95

Lankatilaka Vihara Inscription, Or.6606-140



The Early Reign of Parākramabāhu VI:-

As we have noticed earlier, Parākramabāhu VI did not have any better claim to the throne than Vīra Alakēśvara or Parakramabahu Āpāna.<sup>144</sup> Parākramabāhu VI therefore, had to achieve his power through his own merits, although he was helped to obtain the throne by a movement against Vīra Alakēśvara headed by some of the courtiers and ministers with the help of Vīdāgama Thera.<sup>145</sup> He contracted a marriage with a princess of the Kirivalle royal family which was closely connected with the kings of Gampala.<sup>146</sup> According to the Alakēśvarayuddhaya this princess belonged to the Bodāhara-kula and was a descendant of Prince Anuruddha who came to the Island with the sacred Bo-tree.<sup>147</sup> The name of Prince Anuruddha does not, however, occur in the Bōdhivamsaya in the list of the princes who came to the Island with the Bo-tree during the reign of Devanampiya Tissa.<sup>148</sup> Whether the claims made by the author of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya to connect this princess were based on facts or not, we cannot doubt her royal descent. It is probable that this princess was present as the queen at the king's formal coronation held at Kōttē. This marriage must have brought the territories of Kanda-Uda-Pas-Rata (the Five Provinces above the Mountain), which up to this time had been ruled by the Gampala<sup>royal</sup> family, under the rule of this king.<sup>149</sup>

144. See the section on the genealogy of Parakramabahu VI.

145. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.68; Rājāvaliya(G), p.47; Tudugala-Vīdāgama Pavati-Bandaravaliya, Col.Mus.no.X.9, fol.8.

146. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.68

147. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22; Valenti.jn, p.72

148. Siṃhala-Bodhivamsaya, pp.198-223; Mahābodhivamsa, pp.155-167

149. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22; K.T.W. Sumanasuriya., A Critical Edition of the Kōkila-sandēśaya (unpublished thesis), pp.7-8  
K.D.P. Wikremasinghe, Kōtte Yugayē Siṃhala Sāhityaya, pp.45-46

We are not in a position to ascertain the validity of this statement since we do not possess any evidence to prove it. From the Rājāvaliya we know that Vira Alakēśvara could send officers as far as Rukulegama in Beligal-Kōrale, in which Kīrivālle Pattuva, the principality of the Kīrivālle royal family, was included.<sup>150</sup> If we can assume that all the territories under Vira Alakēśvara came under the rule of Pārakramabāhu VI just after the deportation of the former to China, then Kīrivālle Pattuva must have been included among them.

Contemporary writers have not eulogized the name of this queen although the king's mother, Sunetrā-devī, and daughter, Ulakudaya-devī, have been taken notice of by the poets. In fact, we do not even know whether she was the mother of Ulakudaya-devī. Thus the part played by the consort of Parakramabahu VI is left a matter for conjecture. The only assumption that we may make with the help of the evidence of the Rājāvaliya and of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya, is that she was the chief queen of the king and was possibly consecrated at the coronation of the king held in B.E. 1958 at Kōttē.

150. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.68; Tudugala Vidāgama Pāvati Bandāravaliya Col.Mus.no. X 9, fol.8; Couto in JRAS(CB), xx, pp.67-68. D'Oyly, Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom, p.9. Rukulegama: location: 07.12N-80.29E

We have no information about the means which were adopted by Parākramabāhu VI to consolidate his power in the kingdom. The contemporary sources are silent on this point. These works do not mention any event which took place during this reign before the suppression of the Vanni chieftaincies and the conquest of Jaffna. On the other hand, we are in possession of a number of inscriptions issued by this monarch scattered in many parts of the Island dating from the very early years of the reign. The Beligala-Sannasa issued by this king is dated B.E.1958.<sup>151</sup> There is an inscription found at Mahayiyāva, about one mile from Kandy, bearing the date of the fourth regnal year of this monarch (B.E. 1959). There are some among the fragmentary inscriptions at the Gaḍalādeniya temple which seem to have been issued in his fifth regnal year (B.E.1960).<sup>152</sup> The Nayimana Tamil inscription is dated the tenth regnal year (B.E. 1965).<sup>153</sup> The Saddharmaratnākara which was completed in the seventh regnal year (B.E. 1962) of the king, refers to some repairs undertaken by him in places such as Pāpiliyāna, Gaḍalādeniya, Attanagalu Vihara, and Mahiyaṅgana.<sup>154</sup> We do not know whether this king captured these territories by his own efforts, or whether he inherited them from the last Alakēśvara; most probably the latter alternative is nearer the truth.

151. Beligala-Sannasa, RKD, p.94 ; Beligala-- location:07.16N-80.16E

152. Mahayiyava inscription, CJSG, vol.ii, p.195

153. ASCM, vol.vi, pp.70-74

154. Saddharmaratnākara, pp.318-321.

Locations of the places in the list:-

Pāpiliyāna-06.51E-79.53E

Gaḍalādeniya-07.15N-80.33E

Attanagalla-07.07N-80.08E

Mahiyaṅgana-07.13N-80.59E

## THE REIGN OF PARĀKRAMABĀHU VI

Confrontation with South India:—

Unfortunately very little is known of the early part of the career of Parākramabāhu VI. As we noted above, the king had to make his way to the throne at the cost of the life of Parākramabahu Āpāna, who arrived in the Island with the seals of office from China. We do not know whether the king had to overcome further hostilities within the territories that were under Vīra Alakēśvara prior to his succession to the throne.

The contemporary works are not precise regarding the chronological order of the events of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. We, therefore, have to take special care with regard to the reconstruction of its history.<sup>1</sup> In the Rājāvaliya the first important major political event during this period was the conquest of the kingdom of Jaffna by Prince Sapumal at the orders of the Kōṭṭē king.<sup>2</sup> But a careful examination of all the Rājāvaliya versions available to us and contemporary sources such as the Girā-sandēśaya and the Pārakumbāsirita, shows that the Gunasekara version of the Rājāvaliya has left an important event unrecorded.<sup>3</sup>

1. JRAS(CB), xxvi, pp. 101 ff.; JRAS(CB), xxii, pp. 40-41

2. The order of events recorded in the Rājāvaliya is as follows:

- a. Accession of Parākramabāhu VI at Rayigama.
- b. Removal of the Court to Kōṭṭē.
- c. Conquest of Jaffna.
- d. Attack on Virarāmapaṭṭanama in South India.
- e. Revolt in Uḍarata.

For further information see Rājāvaliya, tr. pp. 67-68

3. Pārakumbāsirita, vv. 46-53; Girā-sandēśaya, vv. 126-150.  
Alakēśvarayuddhaya, pp. 19-22; Or. 6606-91; Or. 4973.

Historians first noticed an invasion of Ceylon undertaken by a South Indian king in the account of Valentijn, who writes "not long afterwards (i.e. after the birth of Princess Ulacoedajanam Dewa) the emperor was very unexpectedly attacked by a large army that had been sent by the king of Canara to Ceylon with a numerous fleet; but the prince having speedily gathered together some troops, defeated that mighty army, which act gave him a very formidable name throughout the whole East, and caused him to be greatly beloved by his people". Although historians first noticed this event in the account of Valentijn, it is also recorded in the Sinhalese chronicle, Alakēśvarayuddhaya, a version of which was most probably utilized by Valentijn in writing his work.<sup>4</sup> In addition we have evidence of the Girā-sandēśaya where a similar statement is made concerning this victory, according to which the king, "having made the four oceans the boundaries of his imperial august sway, blew away the fierce wrath of the Kāṇṇāḍi king". In view of the fact that there is this contemporary evidence concerning a confrontation with a king in South India we cannot overlook this as an insignificant event as the author of the Rājāvāliya appears to have done.<sup>5</sup>

4. Valentijn, p.72; JRAS (CB), xxii, p.36; Philalethes, History of Ceylon p.39, Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22.

The translation of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya passage is as follows: "While the king was reigning after getting a daughter named Ulakuḍaya-devī alias Lokanāthā, the Kāṇṇāḍi king, who was renowned across the four oceans, having sailed, landed (in the Island) with a large army. The king who heard this sent a formidable force and defeated him, and thus became famous in the entire Jambudvīpa (South Asia)."

5. Girā-sandēśaya, vv.141-144

The other contemporary Sinhalese sources such as the Kōkila-sandēśaya do not make a distinction between the forces of the Āryacakravarti of Jaffna and the 'Kannāḍisen', most probably meaning the Karṇāṭa forces.<sup>6</sup> We do not know whether they were regiments that had been hired by the ruler of Jaffna or detachments of the army of the Vijayanagara rulers, stationed in the vital places of Jāvaka-kōṭṭē where the ruler of Jaffna, who was by this time under the Vijayanagara supremacy, could expect some sort of hostility from the Sinhalese rulers in the south. Judging from the Vijayanagara records, which on and off refer to conquests of Ceylon, we may assume that the ruler of Jaffna was already under the overlodship of the kings of Vijayanagara.<sup>7</sup>

The South Indian inscriptions are also informative about some kind of continued confrontation with the rulers of Ceylon. A Vijayanagara inscription dated A.D. 1435 refers to an endowment known as samudrayātrādāna made by Lakkaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka in order to commemorate the successful destruction of the forces of Iyālpāṇam, Nāgapaṭṭinam and Īlam.<sup>8</sup>

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6. Kōkila-sandēśaya, v. 236

Sēvaka samaga Pārakum niriṇḍuge vipula  
Ēvaka pāmīni Sapumal kumariṇḍu . pabala  
Nēvaka gunāti Kannāḍi sen biṇḍi tumula  
Jāvaka-kōṭṭaya dāka yan maga asala.

7. H.W. Codrington, 'Vijayanagar and Ceylon', JRAS(CB), xxvi, no. 70 pp. 101-104; UHC, pp. 686-690.

8. SII, vol. vii, no. 778; UHC, p. 688; Indian Antiquary, vol. xliii, p. 10

This inscription clearly distinguishes the kingdom of Jaffna (Iyālpāṇam) from Īlam (Ceylon, i.e. the Sinhalese kingdom) and therefore, makes an allusion to some victory gained by the Vijayanagara prince in the southern part of Ceylon as well. This is in agreement with the above mentioned accounts of Valentijn and of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya, the only difference between these two reports being that they each tried only to report the victories of their own side. Taking account of the boasting nature of the South Indian inscriptions, one would certainly conclude that the inscription under discussion had overlooked the counter-attack of the Sinhalese ruler.<sup>9</sup>

Chronologically, the above mentioned inscriptions seem to tally with the report of the Sinhalese chroniclers. As we have seen earlier the evidence available in the account of Valentijn, which is corroborated by the Alakēśvarayuddhaya, leads us to believe that the confrontation with the rulers of South India began some time after the birth of the daughter of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>10</sup> We have no precise information regarding the year in which the princess was born; we have, however, the evidence of the Sālahihini-sandēśaya where it is mentioned that the first son of this princess was born in the thirty-sixth regnal year of the king. As we have pointed out earlier the thirty-sixth regnal year mentioned in this work should be counted from B.E. 1955, for we know that all the regnal years of this king were counted from this date. The thirty-sixth regnal year, therefore, must be B.E. 1991 (A.D. 1447/8).

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9. Valentijn, p.72; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22

10. see note 4.

The precise date is mentioned in this work as Aslisa nākata of the waxing moon of the ninth month of the thirty-sixth regnal year. No doubt princess Ulakudaya-devī was in her twenties when a son was born to her in this year.<sup>11</sup> In fact, some of the king's councillors seem to have been somewhat afraid that the princess might not get a suitable partner, for the Paravi-sandēśaya of Śrī Rāhula offers prayers to the God Upulvan at Devinuvara asking for a suitable husband for the princess. The princess must, therefore, have been born in the third decade of the fifteenth century for her first son was born in the fifth decade.<sup>12</sup> The invasions mentioned in the Vijayanagara inscriptions dated S.E. 1357, 1360 and 1362 can thus be identified with the confrontation reported by Valentijn, for these inscriptions were dated 1435, 1437 and 1440 of our Era.<sup>13</sup>

In reading the above mentioned inscriptions one might be inclined to assume that the Sinhalese sources are untrustworthy, for these inscriptions mention that the Vijayanagara forces were victorious in Ceylon. A closer look at these inscriptions would, however, show that they are not reliable owing to their object of eulogizing the character of their hero.

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11. Sālālihini-sandēśaya, vv.109-110; EZ, iii, p.53;

See also below, pp. 248

According to the Pañcikāpradīpaya of the same author the forty-fifth regnal year was S.E. 1379. The thirty-sixth regnal year therefore, must be S.E. 1370 (A.D. 1447/1448).

12. Paravi-sandēśaya, vv.198-199

13. Indian Antiquary, vol.xlii, p.10; SII, vol.vii, no.778; SII, vol.viii, no. 428;

The Nayar inscription of S.E. 1362 (A.D.1440) describes DevarāyaII as one who received tribute from Ceylon.

ARE, no.144 of 1916 (I am indebted to Mr. S. Pathmanadan for the English translations of these inscriptions).



In view of the fact that Nuniz records that the king of Ceylon paid tribute to Devarāya II of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1422-1446), and that Abdur Razaak in A.D. 1443 refers to a voyage undertaken by Prince Danaik some time before this year, it seems certain that there was some sort of hostile action against the Sinhalese.<sup>14</sup>

But the South Indian records undoubtedly overlooked the counter-attack made by the Sinhalese ruler.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, it is possible that the set-back that the Vijayanagara forces suffered at the hands of the forces of Parākramabāhu VI in the south was not so significant, at least as far as the Vijayanagara rulers were concerned, for they were chiefly concerned about tribute that they received from the kings of Jaffna. In any case, it is unreasonable to reject the information supplied by Valentijn regarding the counter-attack undertaken by Parākramabāhu VI. The biruda attributed to the Kannaḍi king by the author of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya, 'caturassa-sāgara pariyanta kōṭa viriṅḍu piṁbavū' (One who had fame up to the end of the four oceans), cannot but be a sarcastic reference to the title 'Dakṣinasamudrādhipati' (Lord of the Southern ocean) which was assigned to Lakkaṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka in one of his inscriptions.<sup>16</sup>

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14. Sēwell, A Forgotten Empire, pp.74 and 302  
Narrative of the voyage of Abd-ur-Razzak, India in the fifteenth Century, R.H.Major, Hakluyt Society, London, 1857, p.25.  
15. Madras Annual Report of Epigraphy, 1916, p.136.  
16. Valentijn, p.72; Girā-sandēśaya, v.141; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22

The authors of the Girā-sandēśaya and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya joyfully state that the defeat of the Kannaḍi king was a humiliation for the entire Dambadiva, and it could well be the reason why the South Indian inscriptions are silent regarding this point.<sup>17</sup>

The Conquest of the Vanni:-

The kingdom of Jaffna in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was apparently an intermediate zone between the Sinhalese kingdom in the south and the Vijayanagara kingdom in the north. In fact, the king of Jaffna had sent expeditions to the south on behalf of the South Indian rulers on certain occasions, as they were subject to the latter during this period. The Tamil rulers in Jaffna had much in common with those in South India for both spoke the same language and had a similar religion. We should not, however, forget that in the Sinhalese kingdom also there were a large number of South Indian dignitaries. The fact that the rulers of Jaffna were subject to the authority of the Vijayanagara rulers must have made it easy for the ambitious South Indian princes such as Lakkaṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka (Danaik), to make an attempt to invade the southern part of the Island. For this reason, or owing to the ambitions of Parākramabāhu VI, we have records of two expeditions undertaken by him to conquer Jaffna.

17. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22.  
Girā-sandēśaya, vv.141 and 144.  
 Tema teda anaṭa udu  
 Him kara satara dalanidu  
 Pimbū sāḍa viridu  
 Paṣiṇḍu Kannaḍi niriṇḍugē rudu  
 Yuda oda paṣiṇḍā  
 Ovun biṇḍa luhubandā  
 Yasa dasa'ta andā  
 Keleya mulu Dambadivata nindā.

6 There is hardly any doubt regarding the fact that, as a preliminary, the subjugation of the Vanni chieftaincies was effected before the conquest of Jaffna for strategic reasons. In fact, the Tamil chronicles such as the Yālpāna-vaipavamālai include a number of Vanni chieftaincies among the territorial possessions of the king<sup>of</sup> Jaffna.<sup>18</sup> The extent of the lands under the Vanniyars who were subject to the Āryacakravarti varied from time to time depending on the power of the king of Jaffna and that of the kings of Gampala and Kōṭṭē.<sup>19</sup>

The term Vanni is frequently mentioned in Ceylonese literature after the fall of Polonnaruva. It is not sure that it was not known to Ceylon during or before the Polonnaruva period; we can only say that we have no reliable information regarding its use before that time.<sup>20</sup> In the Sinhalese and the Pali works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the name 'Vanni' has been applied to the chieftaincies of Raja-Raṭṭa and other forest tracts.<sup>21</sup>

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18. Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, tr.p.23; Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, p.44.

19. K. Indrapala, Dravidian Settlements in Ceylon, Unpublished thesis, University of London, 1966, pp. 306-398.

20. Cūlavamsa, 81:11

21. Cūlavamsa, 88:10-11; Nikāyaśaṅgrahaya, p.18; Daladāpūjāvaliya p.45; Saddharmaratnākara, p.311.

UHC, p.737; A. Liyanagamage, The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya, p.85.

The number of these Vanni chieftaincies is variously given as seven, eighteen, and sometimes as three hundred and sixty four.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps this discrepancy regarding the numerical strength of the Vannis could be explained with the help of the evidence of the Elu-Attanagaluvamsaya where reference is made to two classes of Vannis known as Maha-Vanni (Greater Vanni) and Siri-Vanni (Lesser Vanni).<sup>23</sup> Most probably the eighteen Vannis were Maha-Vannis while the three hundred and sixty four were Siri-Vannis. The figure seven concerning the number of the Vannis is found only in the Yālpāna-vaipavamālai.<sup>24</sup> As correctly suggested by Indrapala, probably this referred to Maha-Vannis that were feudatory to the kingdom of Jaffna.<sup>25</sup> In fact, this Tamil chronicle is referring only to the Vannis that were in relation with the Āryacakravartis of Jaffna. The writings of the Kōṭṭē period refer to the Vanni as eighteen in number. The Girā-sandēśaya and the Pārakumbāsirita, which were contemporary works, allude to the rulers of Vannis as Vanni niriṅḍō (Vanni kings) while according to the other Sinhalese and Tamil sources they were called Vanniyārs.<sup>26</sup> The word niriṅḍō (king) in this connexion could be interpreted as an indirect reference to their political power.

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22. Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, tr.p.22; Girā-sandēśaya, v.137; Daladā-pūjāvaliya, p.45 (360 Vanni pattus are mentioned); Saddharma-ratnakaraya, p.311 (360 Vanni -pattus); Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23. (18 Vannis); Nikāya-śaṅgrahaya, p.18 (364 Vanni pattus).
23. Elu-Attanagaluvamsaya, (Gampala), p.43.
24. Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, tr.p.22. Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, p.44.
25. K. Indrapala, Dravidian Settlements in Ceylon, p.321.
26. Girā-sandēśaya, v.137; Pārakumbāsirita, v.28.

We do not know the territorial limits of these eighteen Vannis, but it seems clear that the major part of them were in the territories adjacent to the kingdom of Jaffna.<sup>27</sup>

From the meagre evidence procurable from contemporary sources we cannot form a fair picture of the territories that were under the Vanniyārs. Although contemporary writings mention that Parākramabāhu VI conquered eighteen Vannis we are not in a position to ascertain the names of these eighteen Vannis.<sup>28</sup> The sources in dealing with the reign of Rājasiṅha I (A.D. 1580-1592) also credit him as having received tribute from eighteen Vannis.<sup>29</sup> But those sources also do not mention the territorial extent of the Vannis. It seems, however, unreasonable to assume that the Vannis were situated only in the intervening country between the kingdoms of Jaffna and Kōṭṭē in the north central plains of Ceylon. The Cūlavamsa in dealing with the territories of Vijayabāhu III refers to Vanni kings as living in Pihiti-Raṭa as well as in Ruhuṇu Rata.<sup>30</sup> In view of the fact that the boundaries of Ruhuṇu Raṭa is situated beyond the limits of the north-central plains of Ceylon, the above view falls to pieces. Queyroz in the seventeenth century referring to the Vannis included Putalāo (Puttalam),<sup>31</sup> Pulugāo (Mulatiw),<sup>32</sup>

27. During the early part of the sixteenth century the Vanniyars were in Pānama, Yāla, Kosgama, Maḍakalapuva (Batticaloa), and Kōṭṭiyārama. P.E. Pieris, Ceylon: The Portugese Era, i, p.319

28. Girā-sandēśaya, v.137; Pārakumbāsirita, v.46 Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23.

29. Sāvul-asna, v.86; Rājāvaliya, (G), p.64; Tri Siṁhale Kaḍa-im saha

30. Cūlavamsa, 89:51

Vitti, p.28.

31. Queyroz, book, iii, p.729

32. Queyroz, book, iii, p.788.

Triquilemale (Trincomalee), Cutiar (Koṭṭiyār), Batecalou (Batticaloa), Hiravur (Eravur), Vilacem (Vela-assa), Palugrama (Pālugama), Leuana Cosgama (Velavara Kosgama), Paneua (Pānāma), and Hiala (Yāla) among them.<sup>33</sup> This clearly shows that there were Vannis in the north central plains of Ceylon as well as in the eastern and south-eastern coastal areas. They spread from Puttalam on the west to Yāla on the south-east. Undoubtedly Parākramabāhu VI did not send forces to conquer all these Vannis individually, for such an attempt would need vast scale preparations, about which we do not find support in the sources. However, it seems clear that the Vanniyārs who gave resistance to the power of Parākramabāhu VI were the ones that were under the king of Jaffna, the number of whom according to the Yālpāna-vaipavamālai was only seven.<sup>34</sup> The rest of the Vanniyārs must have either been already under the king of Kōṭṭē or possibly given voluntary submission to him.

According to the Sāvul-asna and other Sinhalese sources the Vanniyārs who accepted the authority of a Sinhalese king brought tribute to the royal palace in person.<sup>35</sup>

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33. Queyroz, book iii, p. 528

34. Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, p. 44.

35. Sāvul-asna, v. 86.

Sirit lesin pera niriṅḍun hata pāvati  
Mahat ātun saha aya paṅḍuru gena ruti  
Avit Vanni dasaṭṭin Vannivaru niti  
Yugat mudun dī ehi vāṅḍa vāṅḍa siṭiti.

They at times attended the king's council for they are mentioned among the members of the king's council in contemporary Sinhalese sources.<sup>36</sup> Queyroz informs us that the tribute sent by these Vanniyārs were mostly elephants. According to this writer the Vanniyārs annually visited the court of Kōṭṭē in person or sent a member of their family in order to pay homage to the king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>37</sup> As Sāvul-asna would have us believe this habit originated possibly after the capture of the Vannis by Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>38</sup>

The causes for the invasion of the Vanni chieftaincies are not mentioned in the contemporary works, but it may be assumed, as we have mentioned earlier, that the motive behind this conquest was to prevent any threats from the Vanni when an attack should be made on the kingdom of Jaffna. Valentijn closely connects the conquest of Jaffna with that of the Vannis.<sup>39</sup> The Yālpāna-vaipavamālai also supports our view, for this work mentions that the Vanniyars were not subject to the king of Jaffna when Prince Sapumal invaded that kingdom.<sup>40</sup> The Alakēśvarayuddhaya also gives the impression that the eighteen Vannis were subjugated before an invasion was launched on the kingdom of Yāpapaṭuna (Jaffna).<sup>41</sup>

36. Sāvul-asna, v. 83 and 86

37. Queyroz, book i, p. 32, book iii, p. 528

See also Sāvul-asna, v. 86; Tri Siṁhalē Kada-im Saha Vitti, p. 28

38. Sāvul-asna, v. 86

39. Valentijn, p. 72

40. Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, tr. p. 22; Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, pp. 44-45

41. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 23.

The reference found in the Girā-sandēśaya and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya would indicate that much hard fighting was needed to subjugate some of the Vanniyārs. Although we do not possess information relating to these military encounters, it seems likely that a number of chiefs lost their lives in them.<sup>42</sup>

Contemporary writers do not allude to the course of action followed by Parākramabāhu VI in regard to the Vannis after they were brought under his control. The domains of those Vanniyārs who offered stout resistance to the forces of Kōṭṭē must have been handed over to those whose loyalty could be counted upon. We are fortunate enough to possess some Vittipotās which inform us of some Vanniyārs who were appointed by Parākramabāhu VI and other kings of Kōṭṭē.<sup>43</sup> We should not assume that all the Vanniyārs who held sway over these Vannis were replaced by new ones; it is likely that some of those who were willing to offer allegiance to Parākramabāhu VI were allowed to remain in their areas under the promise of being loyal to the king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>44</sup>

42. Girā-sandēśaya, v.137; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23.

43. Marambe, Tri Siṅhalē Kada-im saha Vitti, pp.24-37. Purāvr̥tta, pp.81,96 and 117; Udarata Vitti, pp.130-131.

44. According to the Sāvul-asna Rājasīṅha I (A.D. 1582-1592) of Sītāvaka received Vanniyārs who came to offer elephants and other dues in his palace at Sītāvaka in accordance with ancient custom. Parākramabāhu VI undoubtedly received the same sort of honours from the Vanniyārs under his authority. Sāvul-asna, v.86.



With the subjugation of the Vannis the territorial limits of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē ran up to the boundaries of the kingdom of Jaffna. Most of the strategic positions which were of importance to the security of the kingdom of Jaffna also fell when the Vanniyārs were subjugated by the king of Kōṭṭē. A direct conflict between these two powers thus became inevitable.

#### The Conquest of Jaffna:-

The territories which <sup>were</sup> at this time known as Yāpāpaṭuna in the Sinhalese chronicles do not seem to have been under a separate king, prior to the decline and fall of Polonnaruva kingdom in the early part of the thirteenth century. This kingdom seems to have come into being, at least as an independent state, only after the invasion of Māgha.<sup>45</sup> We are <sup>not fully</sup> aware of the circumstances that paved way for the foundation of the kingdom of Jaffna. Nevertheless, we know that the sovereigns of Jaffna, who were collectively known as <sup>the</sup> Āryacakravartis, were in control of the northern part of the Island as early as the latter part of the thirteenth century; this does not, however, mean that they were not there prior to this time. The Āryacakravartis reached the zenith of their power in the middle of the fourteenth century; in fact, for a short time the overlordship of the Island was in the hands of the king of Jaffna. They were powerful enough to intimidate the Sinhalese rulers in the south and levy taxes in the southern part of the Island.<sup>46</sup>

45. SHC, p.90

46. UHC, pp.638-640 and 698-700; EZ, v, pp. 463-466.

This political ascendancy did not continue for long, as the small kingdom of Jaffna could not maintain her hold on the Sinhalese rulers in view of the challenge of the South Indian invaders in the last three decades of the fourteenth century. When the Alakēśvaras challenged the power of the king of Jaffna in the lands south of Mīgamuva (Negombo) and Matale, the Āryacakravartis were unable to retaliate successfully; therefore, the power of the kings of Jaffna was again reduced to the limits of the northern peninsula, and its immediate neighbourhood. We have reliable evidence to prove that the Āryacakravartis were tributaries of the powerful continental kingdom of Vijayanagara at the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>47</sup>

On the eve of the invasion of Prince Sapumal the king of Jaffna was Kanakasūriya-Singei-Āriyan; who seems to have had some Vijayanagara regiments at his disposal. The Kōkila-sandēsaya, as we have seen earlier, does not make a distinction between the forces of the king of Jaffna and the Kannadi-senaga (Carnatic army).<sup>48</sup> In view of the fact that there are a large number of Vijayanagara inscriptions claiming suzerainty over the northern part of the Island, it is not unreasonable to assume that the king of Jaffna paid tribute to the powerful Vijayanagara rulers in South India.<sup>49</sup>

47. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p.22; Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.316

48. Kōkila-sandesaya, v.236.

Sēvaka samaga Pārakum niriṅduge vipula  
Ēvaka pāmīni Sapumal kumariṅdu pabala  
Nēvaka guṇḍati Kannadi-sen biṅdi timula  
Jāvaka-kōttaya dāka yan maga asala.

49. UHC, pp.686-690; See also above, pp.

The territorial boundaries of the kingdom of Jaffna on the eve of the invasion of Prince Sapumal has not been precisely recorded by any of the contemporary writers. As a result our judgements regarding this question have to be based on assumptions arrived at with the help of indirect information. According to Queyroz the kingdom of 'Jafanapatam' was not confined to the little district of Jafanapatão, but included also the neighbouring lands. He mentions that the territories of the king of Jaffna before the Portuguese conquest, spread from Mannar on the west to as far as Triquilemale (Trincomalee) in the east.<sup>50</sup> Queyroz, however, includes the petty chieftaincies of the Vannis among the territories of the Jaffna kingdom. As we know, these Vanni provinces were subjugated by Parākramabāhu VI, most probably before the conquest of Jaffna. From the Kōkila-sandēsaya we know that Prince Sapumal was appointed the ruler of eighteen ratas by Parākramabāhu VI in appreciation of his victory in Jaffna.<sup>51</sup>

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50. Queyroz, book, i, pp. 47-48

51. Kōkila-sandēsaya, vv. 256-263.

This prince then administered these eighteen raṭas while residing in Jaffna. If we are to assume that these eighteen raṭas were those that belonged to the king of Jaffna before his fleeing to South India, we can see that the kingdom of Jaffna included a large part of Raja-Raṭa (Pihiti-Raṭa), which, according to the contemporary Kaḍayimpotas (Books of Boundaries), included forty-two raṭas.<sup>52</sup>

52. As we know the Kaḍayimpotas (Books of Boundaries) are the Sinhalese works that deal with the boundaries of the territorial divisions of the Island. According to them the Island was divided into three main raṭas which in turn were divided into smaller divisions also known as raṭas. The three major raṭas viz. Ruhunu, Māyā and Pihiti thus had 114 lesser raṭas in all, out of which forty-two belonged to Raja-Raṭa. (Pihiti-Raṭa). The Sinhalese kings of the post-Polonnaruva period used the title Tri-Siṃhalādhiśvara thus claiming overlordship of the entire Island although none of them with the exception of Parākramabāhu VI who conquered and administered the kingdom of Jaffna. In this connexion it is interesting to point out that the kings of Kandy in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries superficially used this title even though their kingdom was limited to the central highlands and some Vannis in the eastern province of the Island. (For further information see: Devundara Slab Inscription of Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1236-1270), ASCM, vi, pp. 63-70; Lankatilaka inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu IV (A.D. 1341-1351), JRAS (CB), x, pp. 80-96; Budulen Vihara Copper Plate of Rājādhiraśiṃha (A.D. 1780-1798), Saparagamuvē Pārani Liyavili, p. 61;

The Kaḍayimpotas that could be attributed to the fourteenth century refer to five raṭas of Pihiti Raṭa where the boundaries were written in Tamil. The names of these five raṭas according to them are Javāripa-Raṭa (Chavakachcheri), Maracci Raṭa (Marichchikatti), Balataḍi-Raṭa (Palattadichchenai), Munduvalliya Raṭa (Muntiriveli) and Kanukkinni Raṭa (Kanukkeni). This fact can be taken as evidence to state that the Kaḍayimpota writers, though reluctant, accepted the reality of the existence of the kingdom of Jaffna.

Siri-lak Kaḍayim-pota, ed. by Sri Charles de Silva, p. 23.

Trisimhale Kaḍa-im saha Vitti, ed. by A.J.W. Marambe, p. 21.

Kaḍayimpota Manuscript: no. Or. 4964.

In addition to these lands in the mainland the king of Jaffna was without doubt the ruler of the neighbouring islets.

It would be quite wrong to assume, as many have done, that the kingdom of Jaffna was inhabited only by Tamils.<sup>53</sup> The tradition recorded in the Yālpāna-vaipavamālai alludes to the presence of a Sinhalese population on the eve of this conquest.<sup>54</sup> Possibly some of the Vanniyārs that were under the king of Jaffna may have been Sinhalese, for we learn from the above mentioned Jaffna chronicle that the Sinhalese Vanniyārs with the help of the Sinhalese inhabitants of Jaffna revolted against Kanakasūriya Singei Āriyan, the Āryacakravarti, before the latter lost his kingdom to the Sinhalese.

The Rājāvaliya and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya are not in agreement concerning the chronology of this invasion. According to the Rājāvaliya the conquest of Jaffna by Prince Sapumal took place prior to the revolt of Uḍaraṭa in the fifty-second regnal year.<sup>55</sup> The report of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya which is followed by the account of Valentijn states that the invasion of Jaffna was the major event in this reign.<sup>56</sup>

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53. Rasanayagam, Ancient Jaffna, pp.330-368; S.G. Paul, 'The Overlordship of Ceylon in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries', JRAS(CB), xxvii, pp.83-134.

54. Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, p.45; Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, tr. pp.24-25.

55. Rājāvaliya, tr. p.69; Rājāvaliya, (G), p.48.

56. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.20; Valentijn, p.72; JRAS(CB), xxii, p.36.

The Yālpāna-vaipavamālai on the other hand, limits the period of Sinhalese rule in Jaffna to only seventeen years, thereby placing its beginning at a date after the year A.D. 1450.<sup>57</sup> Reliable information to unravel this problem is obtainable from the contemporary Sālalihini-sandēśaya. The author of this work knows the victory of Prince Sapumal as an event which was then happening. In fact, as it is mentioned in the poem, when it was written Prince Sapumal was on his way to Kōṭṭē after the final victory in Jaffna and was camping at a village called Kayikāvala. From the colophon of this work we are inclined to believe that the work was completed before the thirty-sixth regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>58</sup> The Sālalihini-sandēśaya was, as we know, composed for the purpose of making a prayer to the God Upulvan at Kālaṇiya in order to get a son for Princess Ulakuḍaya-devī who would then be suitable to succeed to the throne after the death of Parākramabāhu VI. In the body of the poem we come across the message of the poet conveyed to the God Upulvan through a messenger bird.<sup>59</sup> From this we gather that Princess Ulakuḍaya-devī had no son at the time of the writing of the main part of the body of the poem, where the victory of Prince Sapumal is mentioned. The three verses added in the colophon make it clear that the son was conceived in the month of Navam of the thirty-fifth regnal year, and that this prince was born in the next year.<sup>60</sup>

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57. Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, p. 45; Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, tr. p. 24.

58. Sālalihini-sandēśaya, vv. 29 and 31.

59. Sālalihini-sandēśaya, vv. 102 and 103

60. Sālalihini-sandēśaya, vv. 109-110

On this account we have to assume that the invasion of Jaffna had taken place a considerable time before the thirty-fifth regnal year of the king. The question, however, has been further complicated by the confusion regarding the initial regnal year of this king, which, as we discussed earlier, should be B.E. 1955.<sup>61</sup> The thirty-fifth regnal year, therefore, fell in B.E. 1990. Further support of this view is obtainable from the Munnesvaram inscription of the thirty-seventh regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI, for the donation recorded therein includes lands in the Jaffna Peninsula.<sup>62</sup>

The evidence available on the South Indian side also may help us to ascertain the approximate date of this invasion. As we concluded earlier, the northern peninsula of the Island was already under the Vijayanagara overlordship, when Prince Sapumal invaded that part of the Island. The Girā-sandēśaya and the Kōkila-sandēśaya refer to Vijayanagara regiments fighting on the side of the Jaffna king.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, the Vijayanagara records cease to mention the fact that they received tribute from Ceylon some time before the death of Devarāya II (A.D. 1422-1446).

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61. Rasanayagam, Ancient Jaffna, pp.371-375; Navaratnam, C.S., Tamils and Ceylon, p.138. Paranavitana, Concise History, p.311. All these scholars have taken the initial regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI as B.E. 1958. For further information see above, pp.
62. Vidyodaya, vol.ii, 1926, pp.238-9 and 269-270.
63. Kōkila-sandēśaya, v.236; Girā-sandēśaya, v.141

The tradition embodied in the chronicle of Nuniz which was written about the middle of the sixteenth century gives credit to this Vijayanagara king as one who received tribute from 'Ceyllāo' among other countries.<sup>64</sup> At the time when Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador, arrived in the kingdom of Vijayanagara in November 1442, Lakkana Danaikk, the Divan and commander in chief of Devarāya II, is said to have gone on a naval expedition to the frontier of Ceylon.<sup>65</sup> Nilakanta Sastri is of the opinion that this invasion was probably undertaken because some fresh troubles started in the northern part of the Island.<sup>66</sup> Although we do not have evidence either for or against this view, it is reasonable to believe that, when this invasion was launched on the northern kingdom of the Island, it was already tributary to the Vijayanagara kings. It is hardly likely that the Vijayanagara rulers could secure tribute from Jaffna after that territory was brought under the control of Prince Sapumal. We, therefore, can assume that Kanakasūriya Singei Āriyan, who was compelled to leave the country as a result of the invasion of Prince Sapumal, was still in power as late as A.D. 1443 when Prince Danaikk received tribute from the northern kingdom of Ceylon. On this account we have to accept that Prince Sapumal's invasions of the Jaffna kingdom took place some time between A.D. 1443 and 1446.

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64. Sewell, Forgotten Empire, p.302.

65. Sewell, Forgotten Empire, p.74.

Narrative of the voyage of Abd-er-Razzak, India in the Fifteenth Century, ed. by R.H.Major, Hakluyt Society, London, 1857, p.25.

66. UHC, p.689



The contemporary sources, as well as the modern writers, have advanced various views in connexion with the motive of Parākramabāhu VI for undertaking an invasion of the kingdom of Jaffna, which had never been under the Sinhalese kings after the Āryacakravartis captured power. Certainly Parākramabāhu VI must have had causes other than the mere lust of conquest to lead him to attempt to conquer this kingdom.

According to the tradition embodied in the Yālppāna-vaipavamālai, Kanaḡasūriya Singei Āriyan, who succeeded his father, Kunavīran, was forced to leave his kingdom by his Sinhalese subjects, who revolted against him with the assistance of some Vanniyārs, owing to the fact that this king was unjust and cruel. He fled to South India along with his consort and two sons of tender age. Having left these two princes under the protection of the chieftains of Tirukkovalur, the deposed king of Jaffna and his queen went on pilgrimage to the holy places in North India. After a period of seventeen years during which a Sinhalese chief known as Vijayavāku (Vijayabāhu) ruled the country oppressively the king returned to the Island when his sons were grown up, bringing with him a force supplied by the chieftains of Madurai. After a bloody battle the son of Kanaḡasūriya, Parārajasēkaran, killed Vijayavāku and captured the throne.<sup>67</sup>

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67. Yālppāna-vaipavamālai, tr. pp. 23-24; Yālppāna-vaipavamālai, pp. 44-45.

This account recorded in the Yālpāna-vaipavamālai sounds acceptable, and might have been regarded as true if the history of the rest of the Island was unknown and if we did not possess contemporary records pertaining to this subject. It is unreasonable to assume on the ground of the evidence supplied by this work that the conquest of Jaffna was a rebellion of the Sinhalese subjects of the king of Jaffna assisted by the Vanniyārs. Sinhalese chronicles record this event as an invasion undertaken at the orders of the king of Kōṭṭē under the leadership of Prince Sapumal.

According to the account of Couto written in the latter part of the sixteenth century the invasion of Jaffna had been motivated by purely personal reasons limited to the royal family of Kōṭṭē. The leader of this invasion, Prince Sapumal and his brother were, according to Couto, sons of a panical (panikki) who arrived in the city of Cota (Kōṭṭē) from the opposite coast, and a woman of rank who was given in marriage to him by the king owing to the fact that the panical was a man of great activity and sagacity. These two lads were brought up in companionship with another prince. Couto further informs us that the third prince was a first cousin of theirs, the son of a sister of their mother. When these three princes grew up, the king noticed in them a change of disposition, from which he feared that on his death they would murder his grandson. The king, taking this as an opportune moment to destroy them, commanded the two brothers to go and bring into subjugation for him the kingdom of 'Jafanapatão' which had rebelled against him.<sup>68</sup>

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68. JRAS(CB), xx, pp. 68-69.

The above information given by Couto does not seem to have been more than a piece of gossip which went round the court of Kōṭṭē in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The seventeenth century Portuguese historian Queyroz, who borrowed material from the account of Couto without acknowledgement, has recorded this same story in his account as well.<sup>69</sup> The Sālalihini-sandēśaya affirms that the invasion of Jaffna was already effected well before the birth of the grandson of Parākramabāhu VI and, therefore, there is no reason to assume that the king acted in the manner suggested by Couto and Queyroz to protect his grandson from being killed by Prince Sapumal and his brother.<sup>70</sup> The story mentioned by these two writers seems to owe its origin to a later time when the people knew that Prince Sapumal killed the grandson of Parākramabāhu VI. There is no basis for entertaining the idea that Parākramabāhu VI sent Prince Sapumal in the hope that he would be killed in order to protect his unborn grandson. In fact, Couto's statement that the grandson of the king was alive before the conquest of Jaffna contradicts the reliable evidence of the contemporary Sālalihini-sandēśaya.

The Rājāvaliya's statement is that the king considered it wrong that there should be two seats of government in Laṅka; he then entrusted an army to Sēnānayaka Sapumal Kumārayā, whom he sent to Yāpapaṭuna.<sup>71</sup>

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69. Queyroz, book i, pp. 46-49

70. Sālalihini-sandēśaya, vv. 29, 103, 109 and 110

71. Rājāvaliya, tr. p. 68.

This statement does not explain why just at that particular time the king should have been struck by the inappropriateness of there being two kings in a small Island such as Ceylon.

Valentijn's account elaborates this point further by mentioning that it was the king of Jaffna who provoked Parākramabāhu VI by proclaiming himself the emperor of Ceylon.<sup>72</sup> Valentijn says that 'the king of Jaffanapatnam, fearing that Parākramabāhu VI would be further revenged upon him in one way or another, took all needful precautions against this, and in the meanwhile also had himself proclaimed as Emperor of Ceylon. The Emperor of Cotta (Kōṭṭē) had no sooner learned this than he resolved on the spot to make himself master of Jaffanapatnam'. The Alakēśvarayuddhaya closely connects the conquest of Jaffna with the suppression of the Vannis. According to this work 'King Āryacakravarti' gathered a large force and declared himself maharaja of Jaffna without showing even a sign of submission to Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>73</sup>

Codrington, who expressed a different view regarding this question, pointed out that the Tamil inscription which was discovered at Koṭagama has a bearing on the conquest of Jaffna undertaken by Prince Sapumal.

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72. Valentijn, p.72; JRAS(CB), xxii, p.37; Philalethes, History of Ceylon, p.40.

73. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, pp.21-22.

This inscription extols in poetic language a victory of Āriyan of Singai-nagar (Āryacakravarti of Singai-nagar). According to Codrington this inscription was set up by <sup>the</sup> Āryacakravarti on the occasion of an invasion of the territories of Kōṭṭē during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>74</sup> There is no reason why the author of the Yālppāna-vaipavamālai who wished to glorify the victories of the kings of Jaffna should leave such an important event unrecorded. The contemporary Sinhalese writers, too, have not noticed any such invasion. The whole argument of Codrington which is based on the opinion, expressed by an epigraphist of Madras, whose name is not mentioned, that the inscription could possibly be ascribed to the fifteenth century seems unconvincing.<sup>75</sup>

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74. JRAS(CB), xxxii, pp. 214 ff.

The text and the translation of the Kotagama Tamil inscription is as follows:-

Setu

Kankanam verkanninaiyār kāddinur

Kāmar valaippankayakkai mertilatam pārittār

Ponkoli nī sinkainaka rāriyanais serā

Vaṇuresar taṅkal madamātar tām

Hail! The young women of Anuresar who did not submit (lit. belong to) Aryan of Sinha city with loud lamentations (lit. great swelling noise) showed (their) bracelets close to the pairs of (their) javelin (like) eyes (and) rested (their) forehead marks on (their) lotus (like) wrists (lit. hands) (covered with) beautiful bangles.

This translation is obtained from Bell's Report on the Kegalla District, p.85

75. JRAS(CB), xxxii, pp.214 ff.

Paranavitana has correctly pointed out the possibility that this epigraph could be assigned to the fourteenth century on palaeographic grounds. Since we do not possess any other information in the epigraph to determine its date we may accept the opinion expressed by Paranavitana that the inscription in question belongs to the fourteenth century.<sup>76</sup>

In connexion with the conquest of Jaffna, Paranavitana does not seem to agree with either the contemporary literature or the opinions of most modern scholars. His view that Parākramabāhu VI invaded Jaffna in order to take revenge on the Āryacakravarti owing to the fact that his great-grandfather, who according to him was Parākramabāhu V, was deprived of sovereignty over the Island, does not seem plausible. Paranavitana further indicates that when Parākramabāhu VI at last succeeded in recovering his patrimony, the satisfaction of the family honour demanded a trial of strength with the Āryacakravarti.<sup>77</sup> As we have seen in the preceding chapter, Parākramabāhu VI had no immediate claim to the throne; moreover we have reason to question the genealogy reconstructed by Paranavitana. In fact, Parākramabāhu's family was deprived of power not by the Āryacakravarti but by Vīra Alakēśvara. Since Paranavitana's conjecture is based on another surmise, viz. that Parākramabāhu V was his great-grandfather which has not been proved, it is unreasonable to assume that Parākramabāhu sent forces to capture the kingdom of Jaffna in retaliation for an attack made by one Āryacakravarti over a hundred years before.<sup>78</sup>

76. UHC.p.642.; See also Indrapala, Dravidian Settlements in Ceylon, unpublished thesis, p.524.

77. UHC.pp.636-653 and 672

78. See above, pp. 171-172

We do not need to seek special reasons for this conquest as it seems to have been motivated mostly by the special conditions at the time. Unlike other Sinhalese kings of the period after the fall of Polonnaruva, Parākramabāhu VI enjoyed a very long reign during which he could attend to many problems that had not been attended to by his predecessors. Parākramabāhu VI had settled matters inside his territories as early as the first two decades of his reign. The division of power between kings and the members of the Alakēśvara family, which prevented any united action on previous occasions, ceased to exist during his reign, and the king had sufficient power to take action to unify the country. In addition, the assistance of able princes such as Prince Sapumal was a great asset to the king, and perhaps the latter's ability may have encouraged him to take such an important step as the conquest of the kingdom of Jaffna, which had not been under the Sinhalese kings since centuries.

The unification of the entire Island was the dream of most of the Sinhalese kings. Even the contemporary writings make allusion to this idea of a unified Laṅkā. The Nikāyasaṅgrahaya and the Saddharmaratnākaraya give undeserved credit to Vīrabahu Āpāṇa and some other rulers for having unified the entire Island.<sup>79</sup> The Kadayimpoṭas (Books of boundaries), which were written in the fourteenth century, do not refer to the kingdom of Jaffna, but continue to use the old divisions of the Island into three major raṭas and their subdivisions.

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79. Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p.24; Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.317

Even the territories under the king of Jaffna had been placed under Raja-Raṭa (Pihiti-Raṭa) without a distinction. The inscriptions and other documents of all the Sinhalese kings have attributed the title Tri-Siṃhalādhi-S'vara (the lord of the three Siṃhalas) to the reigning monarch, irrespective of the fact that a major part of Pihiti-Rata was under the Āryacakravartis of Jaffna.<sup>80</sup>

We know that the kingdom of Jaffna was tributary to Vijayanagara in South India during a period before its conquest by Prince Sapumal.<sup>81</sup> But the conditions within the kingdom of Vijayanagara deteriorated badly after A.D. 1443, when a brother of King Devarāya II attempted to kill the king.<sup>82</sup> Henceforth the Vijayanagara kingdom experienced a period of dissension and decline. The situation was aggravated when the incompetent Mallikārjuna ascended the throne in c.A.D. 1446.<sup>83</sup> He was a weak monarch and his accession marks the beginning of the decline in the fortunes of the Sangama dynasty which held power until this time. In addition to these internal troubles, the defeat of a Vijayanagara naval force by the Sinhalese king's army on an earlier occasion must have given further confidence to the Ceylonese king to undertake an expedition to conquer Jaffna.

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80. Marambe, Tri Siṃhale Kada-im saha Vitti, pp. 1-17.

S.C. de Silva, Siri-Lak. Kadayim pota, pp. 1-25.

81. Codrington, Vijayanagar and Ceylon, JRAS(CB)xxvi, pp.101-104.

82. Delhi Sultanate, pp.292-297

83. Nilakantasastri, A History of South India, p.260



As Valentijn and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya inform us, the immediate provocation for launching this attack on Jaffna must have been the Āryacakravarti's refusal to accept the authority of Kōṭṭē.<sup>84</sup>

According to the Rājāvaliya and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya Prince Sapumal undertook two expeditions to Jaffna the first of which has been overlooked by most modern writers.<sup>85</sup> The statement of the Rājāvaliya that Prince Sapumal attacked several villages belonging to Yāpāpaṭuna (Jaffna), brought prisoners to the city of Kōṭṭē, and delivered them to the great king Parākramabāhu, has been regarded by Parānavitana as referring to a reconnoitring expedition in order to observe the military strength of the king of Jaffna. Parānavitana further conjectures that, the outcome of the skirmish being satisfactory, orders were given by Parākramabāhu for the final offensive. Lack of information does not permit us either to accept or reject the view of this scholar. Nevertheless, considering the fact that it was a raid made by Prince Sapumal with a large army, we cannot but be sceptical about it.<sup>86</sup> If the purpose of Parākramabāhu VI in this expedition was merely to reconnoitre the military strength of the ruler of Jaffna, it would seem to be a foolish act on the part of the king, for a large army sent on such a mission would, undoubtedly, provoke the enemy and put him on his guard. If reconnoitring was his purpose, it is more likely that the king would have used espionage, as suggested by Kautilya.<sup>87</sup>

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84. JRAS (CB) xxii, pp. 36-7; Valentijn, p. 72; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 20

85. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 23; Rājāvaliya, tr. p. 68.

86. UHC, p. 673; Concise History, p. 311.

87. Girā-sandēśaya, v. 153. Kautilya's Arthasastra, tr. by R. Shamasastri, Mysore, 1967, pp. 17-19

The assumption of Navaratnam that the forces of Sapumal were defeated on the first occasion may perhaps be true.<sup>88</sup> This could be the reason why contemporary panegyrist have passed over the story of the first attack while Paranavitana's theory that the first expedition was only for the purpose of getting information does not commend itself to us. We cannot overlook his suggestion that the necessary information for the decisive battle may have been obtained from prisoners.

It seems probable that either because the king felt humiliated by his failure in this first expedition to capture Jaffna, or because the king was aware that he could defeat the ruler of Jaffna as he possessed the necessary information regarding the weak points of the ruler of that kingdom, a second expedition was undertaken with the purpose of subduing him. Moreover, it seems very likely that the king of Kōṭṭē took advantage of the confusion in the Vijayanagara kingdom which followed the death of Devarāya II in A.D. 1446, since that gave him an added chance of defeating the king of Jaffna who depended on military aid from South India.

Assuming that the first expedition was a kind of a failure Parākramabāhu must have taken steps to see that the mistakes that happened on the first occasion were avoided. From contemporary sources we learn that the Kōṭṭē army was composed of Demala (Tamil), Malala (Malabar) and Doluvara (Tulu) soldiers in addition to the Sinhalese.<sup>89</sup>

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88. Navaratnam, C.S., Tamils and Ceylon, p.138.

89. Kōkila-sandēśaya, v.257 (Demala Malala Doluvara Siṁhala balaya) Rājāvaliya, tr.p.68.

The first three must have been mercenary forces hired by the king specially for this war.<sup>90</sup> While the Rājāvaliya is not informative regarding the manner in which the forces were organized, the Alakēśvarayuddhaya informs us that the army divisions were headed by the Munnila-Vannivaru (the chiefs of the Vannis) while there were also Panikkivaru (elephant riders) and Kontakkāra Demala-minissu (Tamil soldiers bearing spears).<sup>91</sup> Although we do not possess any information concerning the use of a cavalry force, the chronicles say that Prince Sapumal rode on horseback. Probably only the leaders of the army rode on horseback for the horse was regarded mainly as a symbol of prestige in Ceylon.

We do not possess information regarding the manner in which the forces advanced to the north. In the previous century the Āryacakravartis of Jaffna attacked the southern part of the Island by sea and by land.<sup>92</sup> Considering the fact that this Sinhalese ruler clashed with the Vijayanagara forces on sea on an earlier occasion we may assume that seagoing vessels were used to transport at least some part of the army from the south to Jaffna.<sup>93</sup>

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90. The Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23. clearly mentions that the forces of Parākramabāhu VI which were handed over to Prince Sapumal were composed of paid soldiers. (mahā sēnavata padilavā)

91. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.68; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23. Valentijn, p.73; JRAS(CB)NS, vii, p.204.

The Alakēśvarayuddhaya mentions "... nāvata mahasēnava rās kota Kontakkāra Demala-minissu hā Panikkivaru hā Munnila-Vannivaru hā ekkota āriya tāna" (When the great army composed of Tamil soldiers bearing spears, elephant riders and Vanni chiefs, was sent) According to Valentijn it was "... Conta Cara Demalis, en nog een tweede, en derde, Panigevorum, en Valumunivorum ..." (Conta Cara Demalis, and then a second and third, named Panigevorum, and Valamunivorum ...) JRAS(CB) xxii, p.37. It seems as if Valentijn has distorted the meaning of the original Sinhalese version.

92. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.67.

93. UHC, p.674.

Probably the view of Parnavitana that the bulk of the army marched by land while their supplies were transported by sea may be correct. The forces that advanced by land must have taken the same route as that taken by the messenger of the Kōkila-sandēśaya.<sup>94</sup> There was another route from Jaffna to the south. This ran across Matale to Gampala but was too far for a king of Kōṭṭē to use in an expedition to Jaffna. Both these routes were used by the king of Jaffna in order to attack Kōṭṭē and Gampala in the preceding century.<sup>95</sup>

The forces advanced, while capturing one by one the camps (tānāyam) on their way, as far as Jāvaka-kōṭṭē, where they met with stout resistance from a Vijayanagara garrison stationed there; Jāvaka-kōṭṭē was a fortress which had a history of about two centuries, going as far back as the time of Candrabhānu.<sup>96</sup> According to the contemporary Kōkila-sandēśaya some Kannadi (i.e. Vijayanagara) garrisons were stationed there.<sup>97</sup>

94. The messenger of the Kōkila-sandēśaya flies over Kontagantota, Kālaniya, Vāttala, Mābōva, Ātubunvala, Rilamulla, Vāligampitiya, Kiṅdigodahoya, Siribōvalāna, Mīgamuva (Negombo), Tōppuva, Mānavahoya, Māravila, Nikapiṭiya, Salāvata (Chilaw), Munnēsvarama, Vellavala, Tammannāva, Puttalama, Ponparappuva, Muvadoragama, Musaliya-muvadara, Mannārama, Attalamukkama, Māvaṭupaṭuna, Nuḡavanaya, Malvila lake, Jāvaka-kōṭṭē, Lunuhoya, Galmunaya and Yāpāpaṭuna.

95. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.20.; Rājāvaliya(G), p.46.

96. The Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23. refers to the various detachments that were defeated by the prince, as Kaṅdavuru (camps)

The Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p.24. refers to them regarding the earlier period, by the name tānāyam (camps)

The Rājāvaliya refers to these by the name vādi (Tamil. camps)

In any case these works bear evidence to the fact that the Āryacakravarti had placed his officers in various parts of the territories that were under his control.

For Jāvaka-kōṭṭē see: Liyanagamage, The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya, p.140

97. Kōkila-sandēśaya, v.236

Nēvaka gunāti Kannadi sen biṅdi tumula.

Jāvaka-kōṭṭaya dāka yan maga asala

This fortress, as it was situated on the mainland of the peninsula close to the present Elephant Pass, was the gateway to the heart of the kingdom of Jaffna from the south, and must have had a strong garrison. On this account it is reasonable to assume that the fall of the Vijayanagara regiment stationed at Jāvaka-kōṭṭē left the southern front of the security forces of the king of Jaffna open.

The chronicles mention that the king of Jaffna did not give up hope after his failure to protect the kingdom before the enemy entered the Jaffna Peninsula.<sup>98</sup> Another battle took place, apparently in the city of Nallur, for the Alakēśvarayuddhaya alludes to it as having taken place in Yāpāpaṭuna-nuvara. The forces of the Aryacakravarti were then led by an Indian Muslim (Yon Vaḍakkara).<sup>99</sup> Our impression is that he too was a Vijayanagara soldier, for Muslims were taken into Vijayanagara service by the late King Devarāya II in order to give the Hindus a better training in archery.<sup>100</sup>

The Alakēśvarayuddhaya states that the Muslim soldier who headed the force entered the field saying that he would cut the prince and his horse into two pieces. The Sinhalese chronicler, in referring to the great valour and daring exhibited by the prince on this occasion, mentions that he rode on his horse at the Vaḍakkara (Indian) and ran him through the breast, so that the spear head protruded from his back.

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98. Rājāvaliya(G), p.48; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23.

99. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23.

Valentijn refers to this person by the name of 'Varacara'.

Valentijn, p.73.

100. The Delhi Sultanate, pp.289-295.

The author of the Rājāvaliya describes the defeat of the forces of the Āryacakravarti mentioning that the streets of Yāpāpaṭuna were deluged with blood immediately after the battle.<sup>101</sup> This account of the chronicles should not be taken as historical truth in its face value although the account appears interesting. This is probably an imitation of the descriptions found in the epics where the hero is extolled in most profound terms. It seems, however, certain that the second attempt of Prince Sapumal in order to conquer Jaffna was successful and the Āryacakravarti having been defeated left the kingdom and reached India. The fact that Prince Sapumal was regarded as a hero on account of his victory in Yāpāpaṭuna is accepted even by contemporary poets, therefore, we need not be too sceptical about the authenticity of the entire account of the chronicles.

The statement of the Rājāvaliya that the Āryacakravarti was slain and his consort and children made prisoners cannot be regarded as trustworthy, for contemporary writers do not agree with it.<sup>102</sup> In fact, the Kōkila-sandēśaya, which should have mentioned it if it was true, while referring to the victories of Prince Sapumal, gives us to understand that the Āryacakravarti fled to India after his defeat.<sup>103</sup>

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101. Rājāvaliya(G), p.48; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23.

102. Rājāvaliya(G), p.48.

103. Kōkila-sandēśaya, v.263.

Āriya Sakviti giya rata āra etara (The Āryacakravarti went abroad leaving his kingdom behind...)

The Girā-sandēśaya also mentions the fact that Prince Sapumal had to pursue the king of Jaffna after the latter was defeated.

(E niriñduhu luhu bandava., Gira-sandesaya, v.146)

See also Pārakumbasirita, v,52.

The Gira-sandēśaya adds that Prince Sapumal managed to take prisoner the uncle (mayil), the younger sister (nā) and the elder and the younger brothers (bā-malun) of the Āryacakravarti.<sup>104</sup> The author of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya extols the victory of Prince Sapumal by stating that the prince captured the Āryas there in nets like a herd of deer and won for himself the name of Ārya-vettiyārum-perumāl ('the lord who hunted the Aryas').<sup>105</sup> The evidence of the Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, according to which Kanaḡasūriya-Singei-Āriyan fled to India together with his two sons and his consort seems more likely, even though the Sinhalese sources are silent regarding this statement.<sup>106</sup>

Kanaḡasūriya must have fled to India with a view to seeking Vijayanagara intervention in order to regain his lost kingdom. Unfortunately, for the king of Jaffna the Vijayanagara authorities were not in a position to despatch a military expedition to Ceylon to drive away Prince Sapumal and protect their ally because of the problems faced by them within their own kingdom.<sup>107</sup>

104. Girā-sandēśaya, v.146

Kala yudehi ridavā-e niriñduhu luhu bandavā  
Ohuge oda siñdavā-mayil nā bā malun bañdavā.

In one manuscript of the Gira-sandēśaya, instead of the expression 'mayil-nā' we find 'mayil-nañ'. Thus it is very clear that the Āryacakravarti's sister was caught.

(Gira-sandēśaya, M. Kumaratunga, p.222)

The Alakēśvarayuddhaya, clarifying this point further, informs us that the sister of the king of Jaffna who was captured by Prince Sapumal was the Āryacakravarti's bunnagun (younger half sister.) Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23.

105. JRAS(CB)NS, vol.vii, p.203; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23.

Valentijn, p.73 (Ariattetoe Addum Prauwma)

106. Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, tr.p.24.

107. UHC, p.700.

Although some scholars seem to regard the victories claimed by Arikesari Parākrama Pāṇḍya as proof of assistance given by this Pāṇḍya ruler to the deposed Jaffna king, we cannot consider that as anything more than empty boast as suggested by Mudliyar Rasanayagam.<sup>108</sup>

The kingdom of Jaffna thus fell into the hands of Prince Sapumal and his army. According to the chronicles and some contemporary sources, Sapumal returned to Kōṭṭē after he had subdued the kingdom of Jaffna in order to receive honour from Parākramabāhu VI. Thereupon Prince Sapumal was entrusted with responsibility for the government of Yāpāpaṭuna.

The conquest and the subsequent annexation of the kingdom of Jaffna can be regarded as one of the most outstanding achievements of this period. As the author of the Girā-sandēsaya rightly indicated, the Āryacakravartis were never brought under the power of the Sinhalese kings before.<sup>109</sup> This conquest made Prince Sapumal the hero of the time and he was celebrated as such by some of the contemporary poets. For the first time after the fall of Polonnaruva the sovereignty of one king was acknowledged through the length and breadth of the entire Island. In fact, the kings of Kōṭṭē who ascended the throne after this event made a point of mentioning the fact that they were the overlords of the kingdom of Jaffna, even though this kingdom was recaptured by the Āryacakravarti soon after Prince Sapumal ascended the throne of Kōṭṭē in A.D. 1469.<sup>110</sup>

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108. Ancient Jaffna, p. 367; UHC, p. 688.

109. Girā-sandēsaya, v. 145; Sālahihini-sandēsaya, v. 29; Kōkila-sandēsaya, vv. 8, 81

110. See below, pp. 292-294.  
UHC, p. 676.



Even Bhuvanekabāhu VII (A.D. 1521-1551) in one of his letters written to the Portuguese king, João III., in A.D. 1546 states that he was the owner of the kingdom of Jaffna.<sup>111</sup> As a result of the conquest undertaken by Prince Sapumal the Vijayanagara supremacy over the kingdom of Jaffna seems to have come to an end. In fact, when the deposed Aryacakravarti returned to the kingdom some time after A.D. 1469, he was able to start as a king independent of Vijayanagara supremacy.

We are by no means certain about the type of administration followed by Prince Sapumal as ruler of Jaffna. From the Kōkila-sandēśaya we learn that he occupied a throne (siñhāsanaya) and was assisted by a council (sabāmaḍuva) in matters of government.<sup>112</sup> As Paranavitana conjectures, his court must have been on the model of that of Kōṭṭē.<sup>113</sup> It is however, not unlikely that the prince inherited from the Āryacakravartis an administrative machine in good working order. Perhaps Prince Sapumal found no reason to scrap that machine; it is most likely that some of the officials of the deposed Āryacakravarti went in to the service of Prince Sapumal.

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111. P.E. Pieris and Fitzler, Ceylon and Portugal, part, i, p.52.

112. There is little doubt that this throne was the one which had been left vacant by the departure of the Āryacakravarti. From the Nikāyasañgrahaya we know that these rulers had a throne as early as the time of Vikramabāhu III (A.D. 1357-1374). Possibly the Āryacakravartis had this throne as early as the beginning of their rule in Jaffna in the latter part of the thirteenth century. (Nikāyasañgrahaya, p.23)  
Kōkila-sandēśaya, vv.265, and 266.

113. UHC, p.675.

It is clear from the Rājāvaliya that he received the assistance of these Tamil dignitaries during his stay in Jaffna.<sup>114</sup> Further, he seems to have been accompanied by some of them to Kōṭṭē when he ascended the throne there.

The tradition that has been recorded in the account of the eighteenth-century Yālppāna-vaipavamālai gives a dismal picture of the Sinhalese rule in Jaffna.<sup>115</sup> As we have already noticed this account overlooks the period of Prince Sapumal's rule in the peninsula; instead the rule of a person called Vijayavāku (Vijayabāhu) is mentioned. According to this work the Sinhalese ruler was unjust and cruel; it was a period of hardship for the Tamils in Jaffna, who were harassed in many cruel ways. They were forced to dress in the manner of the Sinhalese, and were ordered to imitate the Sinhalese manners and customs. Those who refused to obey the orders were severely punished. Although the Yālppāna-vaipavamālai accuses the Sinhalese ruler in this manner we have evidence to the contrary from contemporary sources. A Tamil verse refers to a person called Sri Saṅhabodhi Puvanekavāku (Sri Saṅgab<sup>dhi</sup> Bhuvanekabāhu) who caused the town of Yālppānam and the Nallur temple to be built.<sup>116</sup>

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114. See below, pp 278-279

115. Yālppāna-vaipavamālai, tr.p.24.

116. Yālppāna-vaipavamālai, pp.31-32; Ancient Jaffna, p.332.  
Indrapala, Dravidian Settlements in Ceylon, Unpublished thesis, p.525

This temple has since come to be held in great veneration by the inhabitants of Jaffna. In addition, we come across a kattiyām daily invoked at the Kandasvāmi Temple at Nallur which refers to Śrī Saḡhabodhi<sup>n</sup> Bhuvanekabāhu and two other persons known as Gajavalli and Mahavalli, probably two queens of this ruler.<sup>117</sup> There is no reason to doubt the suggestion made by P. E. Pieris that Bhuvanekabahu, whose name is invoked in the kattiyām, was none other than Prince Sapumal, who later became king by the name of Bhuvanekabahu VI.<sup>118</sup> In this way we have evidence from Tamil sources in Jaffna that Prince Sapumal does not deserve to be accused of being a ruler who harassed the Tamils in Jaffna. The author of the Kōkila-sandēśaya makes the messenger bird visit the shrines of Rāma and Indra at the temples in Yāpāpaṭuna.<sup>119</sup> In view of this evidence we cannot assume that Prince Sapumal was an unpopular ruler in Jaffna. The Yālpāna-vaipavamālai must have purposely fabricated its account to condemn the ruler who defeated the Tamil king, when this work was written at a much later date.<sup>120</sup>

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117. Ancient Jaffna, p.332; Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, pp.31-32; Kailāyamalai, p.23; UHC, p.695.  
JRAS(CB)NS, vii, pp.192-193.; See also below pp.291
118. JRAS(CB), xxvi, p.16; Indrapala, Dravidian Settlements in Ceylon, pp.525-527.
119. Kōkila-sandēśaya, vv. 202, 252 and 253.
120. Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, pp.31-32.

Codrington draws our attention to certain coins found in Jaffna which bear the legend 'Śrī Parākramabāhu'. According to this scholar, they were the 'Śētu' coins of the Āryacakravartī which had been re-struck by Prince Sapumal while he was ruler of Jaffna. A comparison of the earlier 'Śētu' coins with these that bear the legend 'Śrī Parākramabāhu' clearly indicates that the view of Codrington is based on facts. It is probable that Prince Sapumal did not like to use coins bearing the name of his enemy.<sup>121</sup>

The duration of Prince Sapumal's rule in Jaffna has turned out to be a disputed question. As the Yālpāna-vaipavamālai limits the duration of the Sinhalese rule in Jaffna to only seventeen years, some scholars argue that Prince Sapumal's rule lasted from A.D. 1450 to 1467.<sup>122</sup> However, as we have indicated earlier, the beginning of his rule has to be placed before A.D. 1446, for the Sālahihini-sandēśaya refers to the victory of Prince Sapumal as taking place before the thirty-fifth regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D. 1446).<sup>123</sup> As we shall see in the next chapter Prince Sapumal did not leave Jaffna immediately after the death of Parākramabāhu VI in A.D. 1466, for we find Jayavīra Parākramabāhu reigning for over two years in Kōttē.

121. H.W. Codrington, Ceylon Coins and Currency, Colombo, 1924. pp.

122. Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, p.45; Rasanayagam, Ancient Jaffna, pp.369-371; UHC, pp.694 and 700; C.S. Navaratnam, Tamils & Ceylon, pp.136-142.

123. Sālahihini-sandēśaya, vv. 29, 98 and 109.

Since Jayavīra Parākramabāhu died in A.D. 1469 we should assume that Prince Sapumal ruled in Jaffna at least till A.D. 1469, thus making the duration of his rule in that kingdom about twenty-two years.

Renewed Confrontation with South India:-

The defeat of the Āryacakravarti, who heavily depended on Vijayanagara assistance, was undoubtedly a blow to the Jaffna king's sympathizers in South India. It is, however, not strange that they did not come to rescue the king of Jaffna when he was overthrown, for Vijayanagara was politically unstable during the period after A.D. 1442 till after the fall of the Saṅgama dynasty in A.D. 1485.<sup>124</sup>

From the Yālpāna-vaipavamālai we learn that the deposed king of Jaffna left his sons in Tirukkoyalur in South India, but this text does not say that the Vijayanagara feudatory ruler in Tirukkoyalur gave military assistance to Kanakasūriya.<sup>125</sup> The Rājāvaliya, however, and many other Sinhalese sources give us to understand, that there was some provocative action taken by the local chief in a place named Adivīrarāmapaṭṭanam (Adhirāmpaṭṭinam in the Tanjore District).<sup>126</sup>

124. Delhi Sultanate, pp.297-302.

125. Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, tr.p.24. (G)

126. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.69; Rājāvaliya, p.48; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22.

The English translation of the Rājāvaliya mentions that a Malabar named Vīrarama of Yāpapaṭuna seized this cargo vessel. But the Sinhalese version has it that the Malavara of Ayapaṭṭanama named Vīrarāma seized the vessel. The Alakēśvarayuddhaya, however, states that it was Rāyanmalavarāyar of Ativīraramapattanama. It is most likely that the last named work gives us the correct name for we find a village named Adhirāmapaṭṭanam in the Tanjore District. (UHC, p.688). The name found in the Alakēśvarayuddhaya is corroborated by the Pārakumbāsirita and the Girā-sandēsaya, (Pārakumbāsirita, v.53; Girā-sandēsaya, v.149).

The chieftain of this port named 'Rāyan Malavarāyar' seized a merchant vessel of the king of Kōttē at Adivīraramapaṭṭanam (Adhiramapaṭṭinam). According to Valentijn this vessel was laden with cinnamon. The Sinhalese writers, however, do not indicate what the cargo on board was, but we have no reason to doubt the possibility of the ship being laden with cinnamon.<sup>127</sup> It is, however, possible that the eighteenth-century Dutch writer made this addition in his work, as cinnamon was the major trading item from Ceylon during his time.<sup>128</sup> There is no sufficient reason to assume that <sup>the</sup> Rāyan Malavarāyar took this action because he adopted the cause of Kanaḡasūriya Singei Āriyan, who was in South India about this time, for the Yālpnāna-vaipavamālai does not mention any such attempt by this deposed ruler.<sup>129</sup> The claim made by the Pāṇḍyan ruler, Arikēsari Parākramapāṇḍya, in some of his inscriptions, that he had seen the backs of his enemies (in battle) at Singai and Anurei, should not be taken too seriously.<sup>130</sup> The identification of these two places with the Sinhalese and Jaffna capitals does not seem convincing, for Anurei, if it refers to Anurādhapura, had ceased to be the capital of the Sinhalese king for the last five centuries.<sup>131</sup>

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127. Valentijn, p.72; JRAS(CB)xxii, p.37. Parakumbasirita, v.52.

128. We cannot discard the evidence of Valentijn altogether for Ibn Batuta bears testimony to cinnamon trade as early as the fourteenth century. (Ibn Batuta, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, pp.254-255) Valentijn, p.72.

129. Yālpnāna-vaipavamālai, tr. pp.22-24; Yālpnāna-vaipavamālai, pp.44-46.

130. Rasanayagam, Ancient Jaffna, p.367

131. Travancore Archeological Series, vol.i, no. iv, pp. 89 and 91

On the other hand, the Pārakumbāsirita definitely says that Malavarāyar was in the Solī (Cōḷa) country.<sup>132</sup> Further, in view of the fact that the contemporary Sinhalese sources bear testimony to the defeat of Rāyan-Mālarāyar, such victories claimed by Arikēsari Parākramapāṇḍya cannot be connected with the naval action undertaken by Parakramabahu VI against a port in South India after the capture of Jaffna.

According to the Alakēśvarayuddhaya the king sent hundreds of ships in order to take revenge for the action of the rāyan of Adhirāmapaṭṭanam.<sup>133</sup> The Rājāvaliya as usual states that the enemy chief was killed by the king's forces while the contemporary sources do not indicate such an event. The Girā-sandēśaya and the Pārakumbāsirita are completely silent on this point.<sup>134</sup> It is interesting to note that the more reliable Rājāvaliya version known as the Alakēśvarayuddhaya is in complete agreement with these two contemporary works.<sup>135</sup> There is no doubt that if the rāyan had been killed in the battle the contemporary writers would have gladly mentioned the fact. There is no ground to doubt the fact that the forces sent by the king, for we know that it was <sup>were</sup> so from the contemporary sources.

132. Mud. Rasanayagam discards the authenticity of these inscriptions as empty boasts. (Ancient Jaffna, p.367); Codrington is not sure whether the inscriptions are trustworthy or not (SHC, p.92).

Nilakantasastri thinks that the claim of the Pāṇḍya ruler is probably true, but gives no outside evidence to it. (UHC, p.689).

133. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22.

134. Valentijn, p.72; Pārakumbāsirita, v.52; Girā-sandēśaya, v. 148; UHC, p.675. Concise History, p.312.

135. Alakesvarayuddhaya, p.22

We cannot once again be in agreement with the Rājāvaliya when it states that the king caused several villages and a town in the Solī country to be pillaged; and tribute to be brought annually from four villages called Makudam-kōṭṭa.<sup>136</sup> The Alakēśvarayuddhaya, does not say anything about an annual tribute, although it refers to the collection of a levy from seven villages inclusive of Makulan-kōṭṭa of the Cōḷa country.<sup>137</sup> It is possible that the defeated ruler was compelled to secure peace by paying a large sum as compensation.<sup>138</sup>

The tradition recorded in the eighteenth-century Mukkara-hatana refers to an invasion of Ceylon by the Mukkaras during the reign of king Parākramabāhu.<sup>139</sup> Since the Pārakumbāsirita also alludes to some hostile exchanges between the Mukkara king and Parākramabāhu VI we may assume that the report found in the Mukkara-hatana is referring to an event that took place during the reign of this king as suggested by Raghavan.<sup>140</sup> The Mukkara-hatana mentions that the king, Parākramabāhu VI, managed to repel the invasion of Puttalama and Nagapattanama under the leadership of a person called Manikkatalavān.<sup>141</sup>

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136. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22; Rājāvaliya, tr.p.69

137. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22.

138. Girā-sandēsaya, vv. 148-149; Pārakumbāsirita, v.53

139. Mukkara-hatana, Or.6606-53; For the English translation of this work see: Raghavan, The Karava of Ceylon, pp.16 ff.

140. Pārakumbāsirita, v.78; The Karava of Ceylon, pp. 14-15

141. The Karava of Ceylon, pp. 20 ff.



Parākramabāhu VI successfully repelled the enemy with the assistance of mercenary forces that he obtained from Kañcipura, Kāvēripaṭṭanam and Kilakkai in South India. We are not in a position to obtain further information regarding this invasion, for the chronicles are silent about this event. Whether it was a part of the invasions said to have been launched by the Pāṇḍyan ruler, Arikēsari Parākramapāṇḍya, or was undertaken independently by the Mukkaras, is not known.<sup>142</sup> What we know about this event for certain is that the Mukkaras who invaded the north-western part of the Island were defeated by Parākramabāhu VI with the assistance of some mercenary forces he obtained from South India.<sup>143</sup>

142. See note 132.

143. The Karava of Ceylon, pp. 14 ff.  
 Wickremasinghe, Catalogue of the Sinhalese manuscripts in the British Museum, pp. 79-80.

The Rebellion in Uḍaraṭa (A.D. 1463)

Apart from the foreign invasions the internal conditions of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē appears to have been quiet during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI until, towards the close, the ruler of Uḍaraṭa made an attempt to shake off his allegiance to Kōṭṭē. According to the chronicles, the chief of Uḍaraṭa known as Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa ceased supplying labourers, neglected payment of his yearly tribute, and rebelled against the authority of Kōṭṭē in the fifty-second regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>144</sup>

Some scholars seem to hold the opinion that the revolt in Uḍaraṭa took place before the invasion of Jaffna.<sup>145</sup> A closer examination of the sources would show us that the revolt in Uḍaraṭa took place during the last few years of this reign, and that the date mentioned in the Rājāvaliya is <sup>not</sup> erroneous. The Girā-sandēśaya written during the last few years of this reign, does not mention the revolt of Uḍaraṭa although all the other important political events are recorded in it.<sup>146</sup> From the Maḍavala rock inscription it is clear that the person who headed this revolt, Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa, was chief of Uḍaraṭa in the forty-seventh regnal year of this monarch.<sup>147</sup>

144. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.69

145. Perera, E.W. 'The Age of Parakramabahu VI', JRAS(CB)xxii, pp.6-44.

146. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22; Valentijn, p.72

Girā-sandēśaya, v.151 shows that the king was in his dotage. The Pārakumbāsirita records practically all the important events that took place during this reign. (Pārakumbāsirita, vv. 48-54).

147. EZ, iii, pp. 235-240.

Codrington has erroneously stated that the Maḍavala rock inscription was dated in the seventeenth regnal year. (SHC.p.93).

But the conquest of Jaffna took place before the thirty-fifth regnal year. For this reason we cannot reject the evidence supplied by the Rājāvaliya according to which the revolt took place in the fifty-second year of this monarch.<sup>148</sup> We should, however, remember the fact that the same Rājāvaliya indicates that the king died fifty-two years after he began to reign as maharaja. One might be inclined to condemn the chronicle on the ground that these two events could not have taken place in the same year, for we learn from the same Rājāvaliya that the king died a considerable time after the suppression of this revolt. The answer to this objection is obvious. As we know, there were two different dates reckoned as the initial date of this reign. The year B.E. 1955 was the year which was usually considered as the initial regnal year throughout this reign.<sup>149</sup> But in the account of the Rājāvaliya the fifty-two years attributed to this king is his period of reign as maharaja undoubtedly meaning the period after he held his coronation in Kōṭṭē in B.E. 1958.<sup>150</sup> The revolt in Uḍaraṭa, therefore, took place in B.E. 2007 (A.D. 1463/4) which was the fifty-second regnal year calculated from B.E. 1955 and so took place about three years before the death of this monarch.<sup>151</sup>

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148. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.69

149. EZ, iii, pp. 52-53; EZ, iii, p.237; See also above, pp.

150. See above, pp. 179-182.

151. This date has been calculated from the initial year B.E. 1955. As we have concluded earlier, this date fell some time after May A.D. 1411 for it was the date in which Vīra Alakēśvara was captured by the Chinese.

From the Maḍavala inscription we gather that Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa was not the only person who was in charge of the administration of Uḍaraṭa.<sup>152</sup> This inscription shows that Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa held the rank of Laṅkā-adikāri, while there was a person most probably a scion of the Gampala royal family, who held the title āpāṇa. His name is mentioned as Dantoṭavature-dēvan. In the light of this inscription it seems clear that the effective government of Uḍaraṭa was in the hands of Laṅkā-adikāri and the āpāṇa, a member of the Gampala royal family.<sup>153</sup>

152. EZ, iii, p.238.

The name Sojāta-Siṭu-rajā assigned to this person by the Rājāvaliya seems erroneous. The blame for this mistake should be directed against the copyists of the Rājāvaliya, even though this name occurs in a number of the Rājāvaliyas. The correct name, however, appears in the Alakēśvarayuddhaya and in the account of Valentijn. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.69; Rājāvaliya(G) p.48; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.76; Upham, vol.ii, p.270 (Sojama Sewo Rajah); Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22; Valentijn, p.72; Pārakumbāsirita, v.48; Mādampā-puvata, Or.6611-59. The last four works mention the correct name and agree with the Maḍavala rock inscription.

153. The title given to Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa in this inscription, viz. Laṅkā-adikāri, deserves our attention, for this was an important title during the earlier periods. This along with the title Adhikāri found in many documents from the later part of the Polonnaruva period. The Nikāyasaṅgrahaya places the Adhikari at the top of the first of the officers of the reign of Parākramabāhu I (Nikāyasaṅgrahaya, p.18). The title Laṅkā-adhikāri is found for the first time during the reign of Sahāssamalla (A.D. 1200-1202). The two persons called Laṅkā-adhikāra Lolupālākulu Dūttāti Ābona and Laṅkā-adhikāra Lolupakakulu Bosalna supported Sahāssamalla on his accession to the throne. (EZ, ii, p.220) Sivalkolu Lakdiva-adhikāri and Senālaṅkādhikāri held important positions during the reign of Vikramabāhu III (A.D.1357-1374). Paranavitana's view that Laṅkā-adhikāri was a title borne by the person who held the position corresponding to that of prime minister may be taken as evidence for Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa's position in Uḍaraṭa. Possibly he was the chief minister of the Gampala prince, and, therefore, held a very important position. (UHC.p.540).

The motives of Jōtiya-siṭāṇa in respect of this revolt do not seem very clear. The time of the rebellion appears to have been well selected for we know from the Rājāvaliya that Parākramabāhu VI, having reigned for fifty-two years, abdicated the throne in favour of the son of his daughter Ulakudaya-devī, whom he called Vīra Parākramabāhu.<sup>154</sup> From the Alakēśvarayuddhaya and other sources we know that the king reigned for three more years after the appointment of his grandson as the yuvaraja.<sup>155</sup> In these circumstances Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa perhaps assumed that Parākramabāhu had died in this year and the throne was occupied by the young prince, Jayavīra.<sup>156</sup> Such rumours are not unlikely in a period when there was no means of obtaining direct information. If this was the case, Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa may have expected to obtain independent authority over the Uḍaraṭa kingdom from the young king.

As we have noticed earlier, Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa ceased to supply people for rājakāriya and to pay the annual tribute to the king of Kōṭṭē. In addition, he watched aṅgam-pora in the manner of an independent king.<sup>157</sup>

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154. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.69

155. See the next chapter.

156. See below pp.<sup>249-250</sup> for the name of this prince.

157. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.69

Aṅgam-pora is a form of sword contest or wrestling in vogue during the time of the Sinhalese kings. For further information see: A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language, vol. i, pt. i, pp. 4-5

The evidence supplied by the Alakēśvarayuddhaya is that Jotiya-Siṭāṇa stopped the annual taxes (badu paṇḍuru) which were due to be paid to the king of Kōṭṭē; kept back the people who were to be sent to the king's service; conferred honours, titles and village grants, and rebelled against the authority of Kōṭṭē. The statement of Valentijn that titles and honours were conferred upon various nobles of Uḍaraṭa may be regarded as correct, for the nobles held an influential position among the masses, and the power of a rebel king mostly depended on the nature of support he received from the nobles.<sup>158</sup>

The relief from Vijayanagara invasions and the peace established in the kingdom enabled Parākramabāhu VI to turn his attention to the central highlands in time. The brother of the king, Māyādununuvara Parākramabāhu, who held the office of yuvaraja and resided at the city of Māyādununuvara, was not alive at this time and the province which was administered by this prince was now under the Aṃbulugala-Raja, the brother of Prince Sapumal.<sup>159</sup> This prince was entrusted with a large army for the purpose of subduing the rebels in Uḍaraṭa.

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158. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22; Rājāvaliya<sup>(G)</sup>, p.48; Valentijn, p.72  
JRAS (CB) xxii, p.37.

The Rājāvaliya states that the aya-badu was not sent to Kotte while Alakēśvarayuddhaya refers to it as badu-paṇḍuru. The Alakēśvarayuddhaya distinguishes the aya-paṇḍuru (levies) from badu-paṇḍuru (taxes). The Rājāvaliya without a distinction uses the term aya-badu in both contexts. Since the Alakēśvarayuddhaya mentions that Parākramabāhu VI obtained aya-paṇḍuru from seven villages in South India after the defeat of Rāyan Malavarāyar, the aya-paṇḍuru may mean a portion of the revenue. Badu-paṇḍuru which was stopped by Jotiya-Siṭāṇa must undoubtedly be the income derived from various taxes.

159. Paravi-sandēśaya, vv.196-198; Couto in JRAS (CB) xx, p.69;  
 See also the chapter on Jayavīra Parākramabāhu (A.D. 1466-1469).

The route taken by the Aṃbulugala-Raja to reach Uḍaraṭa is not clear from the sources, but judging from the proximity of his principality at Aṃbulugala it seems certain that he led the army through the Balana-Pass.<sup>160</sup>

Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa and his sympathizers could not offer resistance to the forces led by the Aṃbulugala-Raja. In fact, the chronicles do not even refer to any fighting in this connexion. Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa, considering himself no match for the army led by the Aṃbulugala-Raja, seems to have decided to abandon the struggle and run away. The Pārakumbāsirita referring to the victory of Parākramabāhu in Uḍaraṭa states that "the thick darkness called Jōtiya-siṭu, ruler of men, fled in fear to the confines of another world". Several relatives of the rebellious ruler were removed to Kōṭṭē as prisoners.<sup>161</sup>

According to the Rājāvaliya, the administration of Uḍaraṭa was entrusted to the royal prince of the Solar race (sūrya-vaṃsa), descendant of the Gampala dynasty, and to his ministers (āmātiyan), and taxes (aya-badu) were recovered.

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160. Aṃbulugala...location=07. 14N-80. 25E.

This prince, the Aṃbulugala-Raja is known to us mostly by his title. His personal name according to Couto was Javira probably meaning Jayavira. (JRASCB,xx,p.69). The Sinhalese writings do not refer to him by the name of Jayavira. In view of the fact that the Aṃbulugala-Raja was later known as Vira Parākramabāhu VIII after his accession to the throne, it might not be incorrect to accept Couto's evidence.

See JRAS(CB)xxii,p.21

161. Pārakumbāsirita,v.48.

Bātiya rajavan Pārakum dinarada  
Jōtiya vata siyu raṅga sēn ras kaṅda  
Jōtiya siṭu naravara gana 'ṅdara kaṅda  
Bātiya kara giye para sakvala vāda

The Alakēśvarayuddhaya, however, gives some other names as the persons who were entrusted with the administration of Uḍaraṭa. According to this work it was the āpāna and Gampala prince (kumārayā) who were given the responsibility. The contemporary Pārakumbāsirita says: 'the āpā extinguished his sorrow by kneeling at the sacred feet of king Pārakum; while the Gampala prince quenched his heat by immersing himself in the precious river of rays of light from the nails of the sacred feet of this king'.<sup>162</sup> From this it seems clear that the persons to whom the authority of Uḍaraṭa was handed over were the āpā and the Gampala prince.<sup>163</sup> Although we are not certain about the identification of this āpā and the Gampala prince (kumārayā) it seems possible that the first personage was the same as the āpāna of the Gaḷaladeniya Slab Pillar inscription of the fifth regnal year of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu, the successor of Parākramabāhu VI. As we shall see in the next chapter the name of this āpāna should be Dodamvela Parākramabāhu Āpāna. The Gampala prince in all probability is to be identified with Menavara Tunaya of the same inscription.<sup>164</sup>

162. Pārakumbāsirita, vv. 49-50.

Kivī kālan oda yasin sura rada  
Rivi kulen pāvatenā Pārakum rada  
Gāvi surata siripā sara muvarada  
Nivī tāvul sita āpā hasarada

Pinipā van pirisidu yasa vaturu  
Siyapā teda yut merajuge soṅḍuru  
Siripā niya ras gaṅga bāsa maharu  
Satapā gati gim Gampala kumarū

163. Rajavaliya, tr. 69; Rajavaliya, p. 48 (Gampala pelapaten pāvata ena rivi-kula kumārayanta hā āmatiyanta...) The English translation has "...to the royal prince of solar race descent of Gampala dynasty, and to his ministers". Alakesvarayuddhaya, p. 23. is not in agreement with the Rājāvaliya. According to this work 'Gampala-kumārayan hā āpānan' (Gampala prince and the āpāna) were entrusted with the Government of Uḍaraṭa.

164. EZ, iv, pp. 16-27; See below pp. 259-261



The political conditions of Uḍaraṭa were once again stabilized before the termination of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. The new rulers of this province seem to have carried out the formalities of allegiance until the death of this monarch. These new rulers, however, being scions of the ancient Gampala dynasty, contributed considerably to the rather drab story of the internal warfare in the kingdom of Kōṭṭē on the death of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>165</sup>

Duration of the Reign of Parākramabāhu VI:--

In the contemporary sources two different numbers of years are given for the duration of this reign. The Rājāvaliya, as we have noticed earlier, mentions that the king reigned for fifty-two years as the maharaja before his death.<sup>166</sup> The Rājāratnākaraya,<sup>the</sup> Cūlavamsa, the Sulu-Rājāvaliya and the Narendracaritāvalokanapradīpikāva are among the sources that support the Rājāvaliya.<sup>167</sup>

An important piece of evidence is obtainable from the Oruvala-sannasa which is believed to have been issued by the immediate successor of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>168</sup>

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165. See the chapter on the kingdom of Uḍaraṭa.  
 166. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.69; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.77; Upham.ii, p.271.  
 167. Rājāratnākaraya, p.43; Cūlavamsa, 91:33; Sulu-Rājāvaliya, p.32.  
Narendracaritāvalokanapradīpikāva, p.134.  
 168. EZ, iii, pp.51-71.

The expression 'until His Majesty our king Mahā Parākramabāhu had worn the crown fifty-five times' is evidence of the fact that the king reigned for over fifty-two years. From the account of Couto and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya<sup>169</sup> we learn that the kings of Kōṭṭē had a habit of performing the crowning ceremony on the same day as that on which they were first crowned; and for this reason the years of their rule are counted by the number of times that they were crowned. Valentijn confirming our evidence, gathered from the Oruvala-sannasa, attributes fifty-five years to this king as the duration of his rule.<sup>170</sup> In fact, some versions of the Rājāvaliya also are in agreement with Valentijn.<sup>171</sup> Further support for the view that this king's rule passed the limit of the fifty-second regnal year is obtainable from the Kāvvalakṣṇaminimālāva, and the Kathinānisaṅsaya, which were written in the fifty-fourth regnal year of this monarch.<sup>172</sup>

We have seen above that the regnal years of this monarch were counted from the day on which he first declared himself king at Rayigama in B.E. 1955.<sup>173</sup>

169. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22 "...avurudu patā otunu pālaṅḍa" (...having being crowned every year).; Couto in JRAS(CB)xx, p.70; See also Rājāvaliya, Or.4971.

A similar evidence is furnished in the Thūpavamsa written during the last part of the thirteenth century. "Kāvantissa rajjuruvo sū-sāṭa votunnak pālaṅḍa.." (King Kavantissa having worn sixty four crowns) Thūpavamsa, Colombo, 1926, p.108.

170. Valentijn, p.73; EZ, iii, pp. 51-71.

171. Rājāvaliya, Or.6606-91

172. Kāvvalakṣṇaminimālāva, v.87; Kathinānisaṅsaya, ed. by M.M.P. Vijayarātna, Colombo, 1925, pp. 1 and 45.

173. See above, pp. 182-184

If we assume that the fifty-five years attributed to him have been counted from this date, we can reckon that the end of this reign took place in about B.E. 2010. As we learn from the Rājāvaliya the period of fifty-two years attributed to him was the time during which the king exercised his rule as maharaja, which began in B.E. 1958 when he held his first formal coronation at the city of Kōṭṭē.<sup>174</sup> The fifty-two years of the Rājāvaliya also thus ended in B.E. 2010. The three years of his stay at Rayigama have not been counted in the period of his rule as maharaja, possibly because the king had to overcome a number of difficulties before becoming maharaja, and hold the coronation at Kōṭṭē. As we noticed on an earlier occasion, the beginning of this reign occurred some time after May A.D. 1411 when Vīra Alakēśvara was taken away to China.<sup>175</sup> The fifty-fifth regnal year, therefore, must have fallen in the year 1466 before the month of July.

Before this chapter is brought to an end it would be appropriate to draw attention to some of the more noteworthy features of the period covered by the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. The long eventful reign of Parākramabāhu VI was the last glorious period of the Sinhalese monarchy, with notable events in peace as well as in war. Having started without a valid claim to the throne, he had nevertheless, by the end of his reign of fifty-five years achieved much that the other Sinhalese kings, after the fall of Polonnaruva, only entertained as dreams.

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174. Rājāvaliya, (G), p.48

175. See above, pp. 177-179

For the first time after about three centuries the entire Island was brought under the authority of one ruler, and administered as such for over two decades until the death of this monarch. The conquest of the kingdom of Jaffna which ultimately united the entire Island was certainly the most noteworthy achievement of this reign. The periods during which the entire Island was administered by one king could be counted with our fingers; the reign of Parākramabāhu VI was one of them.

Students of Ceylon history have been unable to give due credit to this monarch owing to the fact that there is no epic dealing with this king's life story. The Rājāvaliya gives a fair description of the events of this reign, but this work has failed to record a number of events which are recorded in some contemporary sources. Further, the Rājāvaliya is by no means an epic of the reign of Parākramabāhu, or of any other. Although the Pārakumbāsirita is a panegyric on the person of Parākramabāhu VI it does not help us to glean a fair picture of the events that occurred during the reign of this monarch, for the author has given more attention to poetic embellishments and kāvya rules. The portion of the Cūlavamsa dealing with the history of this reign was written about two centuries after this reign and therefore the author of the chronicle had devoted his attention on Kīrti Śrī-Rājasinhā (A.D. 1747-1780). We, however, are unaware whether any such chronicle ever existed regarding the reign of Parākramabāhu VI.

This apparently has been the reason why students of Ceylon history were unable to fully appreciate the significance of this king's reign.

Parākramabāhu VI was called upon to defend his kingdom against invaders from the Vijayanagara kingdom and the king successfully defended the kingdom from them. We do not possess evidence to prove that Parākramabāhu VI went in person to battle, but his able adopted sons such as Prince Sapumal and the Āmbulugala-Raja committed themselves ardently and fought in defence of the kingdom. His naval victories are outstanding among his achievements, since this is one of the very rare occasions the Sinhalese fought in the sea and managed to check the invader before he landed on the soil of the Island.

His conquest of Jaffna is by all means the most important event in Ceylon history after the fall of the Polonnaruva kingdom. In this connexion the assistance of Prince Sapumal is certainly unforgettable. The suppression of the rebellion of Uḍaraṭa was likewise done by the brother of Prince Sapumal, <sup>the</sup> Āmbulugala-Raja. Though Parākramabāhu VI did not figure in the battle field, nevertheless it appears that he was the source of inspiration. Once when this inspiration was removed after the death of the monarch the quarrels among the members of the royal family began to dominate the political scene.

The Period of Disintegration

Before his death Parākramabāhu VI appointed his grandson, Prince Jayavīra, to the office of yuvaraja, which had fallen vacant some time earlier with the death of Māyādununuvara Parākramabāhu. This appointment was made in the fifty second regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI, which was about three years before his death.<sup>1</sup> According to Couto Māyādununuvara Parākramabāhu, the brother of Parākramabāhu VI, outlived the latter. His account runs as follows: "The emperor Maha Pracura Mabago Pandar (i.e. Jayavīra Parākramabāhu) having succeeded to the dominion, when he had reigned a year and a half, his uncle, the ruler of Corlas (Māyādununuvara Parakramabahu, the ruler of Satara Kōrale), died; and the king gave that dominion to the brother of the king of Jafanapatão."<sup>2</sup> According to this account the ruler of the 'Corlas', i.e. Māyādununuvara Parākramabāhu, would have died during the reign of the successor of Parākramabāhu VI. It is true that the principality of

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1. Rājāvaliya(G), p.48; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.77; Rājāvaliya, tr.p.70.

2. Couto as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.68; SHC, p.93.

Māyādununuvara Parākramabāhu was subsequently given to the brother of Prince Sapumal, who is referred to as Aṃbulugala Raja in the Rājāvaliyas. But the rest of the statement of Couto is in conflict with the narrative found in the Sinhalese chronicles. According to these works the Aṃbulugala Raja was in Galbaḍa-Kōrale, which was the appanage of Māyādununuvara Parākramabāhu, before the fifty-second regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI, since he carried out the expedition to Uḍaraṭa to check the rebellion of Jōtiya Siṭāṇa in this year. Moreover, the Rājāvaliya prevents us from concluding that Māyādununuvara Parākramabāhu died in the year in which the rebellion of Jōtiya Siṭāṇa took place for the chronicle has clearly indicated that the Aṃbulugala-Raja was in Galbaḍa Kōrale at that time.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, if Māyādununuvara Parākramabāhu had outlived Parākramabāhu VI he would have been entitled to succeed to the throne of Kōṭṭē which fell vacant at his brother's death owing to the fact that he held the title yuvaraja. The Paravi-sandēsaya clearly indicates that this prince was holding this

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3. Rājāvaliya(G), p.48; Rājāvaliya, tr.p.69.

office at the time of the writing of the poem some time before the marriage of Princess Candrāvati, which took place in the third decade of the fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The reason for the appointment of a second yuvaraja during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI was, therefore, the death of the king's brother who had held that office. When the Sālalihini-sandēśaya was written in the thirty-sixth regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI, there was no yuvaraja for the poet prays to the God Vibhiṣaṇa at Kālaniya for a suitable prince to succeed to the throne after Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>5</sup> Māyādununuvara Parākramabāhu must, therefore, have died before the writing of the Sālalihini-sandēśaya. It is, therefore, almost certain that when the grandson of Parākramabāhu VI ascended the throne the late king's brother was not alive.

There is little doubt that Parakramabahu VI had no sons of his own. The panegyrists, who were patronized by Parākramabāhu VI, do not refer to any sons of this king, while their attention is focused on eulogizing his daughter, Candrāvati who later

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4. Paravi-sandēśaya, vv. 196-197.

5. Sālalihini-sandēśaya, vv. 96-106



became known as Lokanathā (or in its Tamil garb Ulakudaya-dēvī). Even in the thirty-fifth regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI, it seems that the royal court accepted the fact that the succession should be effected through the daughter of the king. The Sālalihini-sandēśaya, written in the thirty-sixth regnal year of this king (c.A.D.1447), records the birth of a son to Ulakudaya devī.<sup>5a</sup> This prince was expected to succeed his grandfather. Hence he must have been about sixteen years of age when he was appointed yuvaraja in the fifty-second regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI (c.A.D.1463); and the prince was nearly nineteen years old when he ascended the throne after the death of his grandfather. The death of Parākramabāhu VI, as we know, occurred in the fifty-fifth year of his reign (c.A.D.1466).

The name of this prince is given variously in the available records as Jayavīra, Jayabāhu, Parākramabāhu, Vira Parakramabahu, and Jayavīra Parākramabāhu. The Rājāvaliya names him Vīra Parākramabāhu.<sup>6</sup> At the same time some other manuscripts of the same chronicle name him Jayavīra

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5a. Sālalihini-sandēśaya, vv.109-111

6. Rājāvaliya(G), p.48.

Parākramabāhu.<sup>7</sup> The Alakēśvarayuddhaya the Vijitavālle Rājāvaliya, the account of Queyroz, and that of Valentijn also call him by the same name.<sup>8</sup> De Couto, in his confused account, names this king Javira on one occasion, while on another he is called Maha Pracura Mabago Pandar.<sup>9</sup> Yet another version of the Rājāvaliya, which was written in the seventeenth century, attributes to him a completely different name, Jayabāhu.<sup>10</sup> This version is probably based on the account of the Rājaratnākaraya, which is not a very reliable source for the history of this period. The other works which record the name Jayabāhu are the Cūlavāṃsa and the Sulurājāvaliya, which were written after the Rājaratnākaraya, and were apparently based on the latter.<sup>11</sup> It is, however, interesting to note that some other versions of the Rājāvaliya besides those mentioned above also give the name Jayabāhu to this monarch.<sup>11a</sup>

7. SOAS. Library MS.no.41972, fol.43.; Br.Museum, no.Add. 19866, fol.48.

8. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.24.; EZ, iv, p.17.; Queyroz, book i, p.19.; Valentijn, p.73.; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.77.; Or.6606-73, fol.8.

9. Couto as translated in JRAS (CB), xx, pp.69-70.

10. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.77.; Rājaratnākaraya, p.43.; Cūlavāṃsa, 91:1.

11. Sulurājāvaliya, p.32.; Cūlavāṃsa, 92:1.; Rājaratnākaraya, p.43.

11a. Or.8219.

As a result of this diversity with regard to the name of the successor of Parākramabāhu VI, some modern scholars have been inclined to surmise that there were two kings at Kōṭṭē during the period between the death of Parākramabāhu VI and the accession of Bhuvanekabāhu VI.<sup>12</sup> In order to support this view the account of De Couto has been cited by them. According to Couto after the death of Parākramabāhu VI, there were two kings in Kōṭṭē; one of whom was called Maha Pracura Mabago Pandar who was also known as Javira (i.e. Jayavīra Parākramabāhu), and the other was the nephew of a princess called Manica Pandar who is represented as the sister of Javira (Jayavīra Parākramabāhu). Couto also says that 'Javira' ruled for one and a half years while Manica Pandar ruled for two years after 'Javira' keeping her nephew as the nominal king. Manica Pandar later realizing that her nephew was not capable of reigning sent for Queba Permal (Sempahap Perumal, i.e. Prince Sapumal), the king of 'Jafanapatão'. In the meantime, the ruler of Corlas (most probably meaning the Aṃbulugala-Raja), the brother of Queba Permal, hastened to take part in the business claiming the kingdom for

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12. EZ, iv, p.17; SHC, p.93.

himself but when Queba Permal arrived although there were many disputes, he could become king changing his name by calling himself Boenegabao Pandar (Bhuvanekabāhu).<sup>13</sup> But as we know only a period of about two years could be attributed to the interval between the death of Parākramabāhu VI and the accession of Bhuvanekabāhu VI. As Paranavitana correctly points out, the period two years seems to be contradictory to what Couto says, as he assigned three and a half years to these events. Therefore, much reliability cannot be placed on Couto's narrative. None of the available Sinhalese writings permits us to conclude that there were two kings during this short interval. Therefore, the multiplicity of names assigned to Jayavīra Parākramabāhu cannot be taken as evidence to indicate that there were two kings during the interval between the death of Parākramabāhu VI and the accession of Bhuvanekabāhu VI since the period that covered this interval was only about two years.<sup>13a</sup>

An eighteenth-century chronicle known as Rājalēkhanaya seems to connect two of these names.<sup>14</sup> This work says that the prince earlier known as Jayavīra acquired the name of Jayabāhu on his accession to the

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13. Couto as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, pp.69-70.

13a. Concise History, p.314. UHC, pp.678-680.

14. Rājalēkhanaya, Or.6606-104, fol.8.

throne. On the other hand, the Alakēśvarayuddhaya states that his name was Jayavīra when he was still a prince, but became Parākramabāhu at his accession.<sup>15</sup> Some writers have used the full name of the king calling him Jayavīra Parākramabāhu. Perhaps for convenience yet another group of writers may have used the name Jayabāhu- a kind of combination of these two names.<sup>16</sup>

The second problem with regard to the reign of this king is its duration. The Rājāvaliya(G), does not state the duration of his rule, but gives the impression that he was immediately ousted by Prince Sapumal, thus apparently assigning him not even a period of one year.<sup>17</sup> Valentijn, confusing this reign with that of Bhuvanekabāhu VI, allots him a seven years' rule.<sup>18</sup> Queyroz assigns his reign the

15. Alakeśvarayuddhaya, p.24.; Valentijn, p.72.

16. Jayavīra Parākramabāhu could be regarded as the seventh Parākramabāhu of Ceylon history, for, he is referred to as Parākramabāhu in a number of contemporary literary sources and in inscriptions. Most modern scholars, however, have taken the name Jayabāhu found in the Cūlavamsa. Therefore, this king is known to the students of Ceylon history by the name of Jayabāhu, and, hence, in order to avoid confusion, I have made no attempt to name him Parākramabāhu VII.

17. Rājāvaliya(G), p.49.

18. Valentijn, p.75.

incredible number of seventy-nine years.<sup>19</sup> The accounts of these writers, therefore, are of no value in determining the duration of the reign of Jayavira Parākramabāhu.

The Vatuvatte Pemananda version of the Rājāvaliya assigns him a reign of two years.<sup>20</sup> This work states that the king was killed by Prince Sapumal after he had reigned for two years. This statement seems to be in agreement with the regnal years found in the inscriptions which may be attributed to this king. On the basis of these records, we may take that the king's death occurred in the third year of his reign. The duration of his rule given in this version of the Rājāvaliya most probably refers to his period of rule as king of Kōṭṭē after the death of Parākramabāhu VI; and apparently the period of his rule as yuvaraja is not taken into account, although this, too, is included in the regnal years found in the inscriptions attributed to him.

There are a number of inscriptions which shed some light on the duration of the king's rule. Unfortunately, it is not possible to distinguish with

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19. Queyroz, book i, pp.24-25.

20. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.79. 'de varśayakata pasu'... (after two years...);  
So also does Couto. See: JRAS(CB), vol.xx, p.69.

certainty the inscriptions that were issued by this king because of the difficulty of identifying the name 'Parākramabāhu' which is very often found in inscriptions of the latter part of the fifteenth century. During the forty-seven years after the death of Parākramabāhu VI, there were four kings in Kotte who bore the name Parākramabāhu. In addition there were other local rulers with the same name. Palaeography is of no help in determining the chronology since the inscriptions were very close to each other in time. Consequently, there are quite a number of inscriptions which cannot be arranged in chronological order. Some of these could well have been issued by Jayavīra Parākramabāhu alias Jayabāhu.<sup>21</sup>

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21. The Oruvala-Sannasa which has been attributed to Parākramabāhu VIII could well belong to Jayavīra Parākramabāhu. The sannasa is dated the third year of a king named Parākramabāhu. As we shall see later on in this chapter, Parākramabāhu VIII (A.D. 1477-1489) became king of Kōṭṭē only in his eighth year as yuvaraja. Therefore, his regnal years start from the ninth year for that was the year in which Parākramabāhu VIII ascended the throne of Kōṭṭē. On the other hand, the third regnal year mentioned in the Oruvala-Sannasa suits the reign of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu for the record refers to the funeral ceremony of Parākramabāhu VI as having been just completed. It is therefore, likely that the donor referred to in this sannasa was Jayavīra Parākramabāhu, the immediate successor of Parākramabāhu VI. Oruvala-Sannasa, EZ, iii, pp. 51-71.

The Madagoda Vihare Copper Plate is dated the seventh day of the dark half of the month of Vesak in the third year of Siri Sakalakalā Sarvajña Paṇḍita Jayabāhu Cakravarti.<sup>22</sup> Codrington identifies this king with the successor of Parākramabāhu VI and assigns the copper plate to the first year of Jayavira Parākramabāhu as king of Kotte after the death of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>23</sup> This record bears the third year because the king computed his regnal years in the usual manner, which is from the day he assumed the office of yuvaraja.

According to the Buduguna-alankāraya the first three years of Bhuvanekabāhu VI, the successor of Jayavira Parākramabāhu, were completed in B.E.2015 (expired).<sup>24</sup> Hence the beginning of Bhuvanekabāhu's rule as king of Kōṭṭē was in B.E.2012 (expired), which was most probably the last year of his predecessor's reign. The end of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, as we have seen earlier, fell in B.E.2010. Therefore, the

22. Registered NWP, no.683 of the land registry, quoted in EZ, iv, p.17.

23. EZ, iv, p.17; JRAS(CB), xxxii, p.209.

24. Buduguna-alankāraya, v.609.

Samatās muniṃḍu pirinivi vasa paṭan lada  
Dedahas pasalosak avurudu pirunu saṃda  
Diyagos patiri Buvanekabuja nirinḍu saṃda  
Pirivas tunehi Sirilaka raja bisev lada.



duration of the rule of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu of Kōṭṭē must be dated from B.E.2010 to 2012 (expired) or A.D.1466 to 1468/9. However, Jayavīra Parākramabāhu calculated the regnal years in the royal documents from the day he assumed the office of yuvaraja in the fifty-second year of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1463/4) even though his actual reign began in the fifty-fifth year of that king. Therefore, the Vatuvatte Pemananda version of the Rājāvaliya is correct when it records that the reign of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu lasted for two years.<sup>25</sup> The royal documents, however, could even go up to the fifth regnal year, for his period of office as yuvaraja is included in it. It is interesting to note that there are no royal documents issued by this monarch before his third regnal year.

The Gaḍaladeniya slab-pillar inscription of the fifth regnal year of a king named Siri Saṅgabo Śrī Jayavīra Parākramabāhu concerns the granting of amnesty to a person called Menavara Tunayan, nephew of Doḍamvala Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa. The inscription extends the amnesty to the chiefs and to the people of

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25. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.77.; Couto as translated in JRAS(CB), vol.xx, p.68.

Uḍaraṭa as well. The text of the inscription shows that the king was in possession of the Sacred Tooth Relic and called himself the lord of Tri Siṃhala. According to the inscription, the king personally marched to Uḍaraṭa in order to subjugate this area which was in revolt. The purpose of the invasion was achieved before the coronation festival held on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Vesak in the fifth year of the king.<sup>26</sup>

Although this epigraph records the name of a king, the identification of this monarch depends on how we deal with four main problems connected with the text of the epigraph. First, the name of this ruler is not found in the most popular Rājāvaliya versions.<sup>27</sup> The second problem concerns the fifth regnal year found in the inscription;<sup>28</sup> the third is the identification of the person called Doḍamvela Parākramabāhu Āpāna; the fourth is the event which is recorded in the epigraph.<sup>29</sup> The lack of corroboratory evidence in respect of a rebellion in the reign of a

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26. 'The Gadaladeniya Slab Pillar Inscription of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu', EZ, vol. iv, pp. 16-27.

27. Rājāvaliya, tr. p. 70; Upham, vol. ii, p. 271; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p. 77.

28. EZ, iv, p. 21.

29. EZ, iv, pp. 21-22.

king called Jayavīra Parākramabāhu in the Rājāvaliya or any other chronicle remains a barrier to a definite identification of the grantor of this amnesty.

Codrington's view is that the inscription belongs paleographically to the latter part of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, due to his inability to find a king with the name Jayavīra Parākramabāhu who had a reign of at least five years, he came to the conclusion that the identity of the grantor of the amnesty should be Parākramabāhu IX rather than any earlier ruler of Kōṭṭē.<sup>30</sup> Assumptions in a historical construction can be risky. There are reasons why the assumption of Codrington in respect of the identity of this king is not justifiable. As he admits, Parākramabāhu IX was not called Jayavīra.<sup>31</sup> He was known as Dharma Parākramabāhu to all the contemporary writers and to none by the name of Jayavira. Further, the ruler of Uḍarāṭa during his time was Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu and not Menavara Tunayan.<sup>32</sup>

Paranavitana's view is that the inscription was issued by Parākramabāhu VI and that the person called Deḍamvela Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa was identical with

30. EZ, iv, pp. 16-20.

31. EZ, iv, p. 19.

32. See below, pp. 381-393

Parākramabāhu Apana, the grandson of Sēnālaṅka Adhikāra.<sup>33</sup> He further argues that Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa was forgiven by this monarch in his fifth year. But it is clear from the Saddharmaratnākaraya that Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa died in B.E.1958.<sup>34</sup> This year is given as the third regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI in his royal documents which excludes the presence of Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa in the fifth year, which was B.E.1960. Moreover, Parākramabāhu VI was not known as Jayavīra Parākramabāhu in any of the literary or epigraphic texts.<sup>35</sup> Hence the identification of Parānavitana, too, is equally untenable. Both these scholars have been misled by the inability to identify the king bearing this name. They were unable to name a king whose reign lasted for about five years, and who was known as Jayavīra Parākramabāhu. As has been pointed out earlier, the successor of Parākramabāhu VI was known as Jayavīra Parākramabāhu.<sup>36</sup> The latter's regnal years ran up to the fifth year though he did not have a reign of over five years. Therefore, the

33. UHC., p.670.

34. Saddharmaratnākaraya, p.317.

'Parākramabāhu Āpāno yayi yana me sat denā āvāṃṇa apa Budun pirinivī ekvā dahas navasiya aṭa panas vanu....'

35. EZ, iv, pp.16 ff; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.24.

36. See above, pp. 249-253

first two problems with regard to the grantor of this record can be solved. The third problem is the identification of Doḍamvela Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa. The name 'Doḍamvela Parākramayā' is mentioned in the Alutnuvara Devale Slab Inscription of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu.<sup>36a</sup> Doḍamvela Parākramayā seems to have been an important personage in the kingdom of Uḍaraṭa at the time when the Alutnuvara Devale Inscription was issued. This person is perhaps identical with Dodamvela Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa, mentioned in the Gadaladeniya inscription of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu. He was probably the same person known as the Āpāṇa to whom the government of Uḍaraṭa was entrusted after Parākramabāhu VI defeated Jōtiya Siṭāṇa.<sup>37</sup> These observations do not in any way seem incongruous with our identification of the grantor as given above. The suppression of the rebellion of Uḍaraṭa could thus be regarded as performed by Jayavīra Parākramabāhu alias Jayabāhu, the immediate successor of Parākramabāhu VI.

Practically nothing is known about the causes which led to the rebellion. It is possible that the chief of Uḍaraṭa made an attempt to take advantage of

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36a. EZ, iv, pp. 263 ff.

37. See above, p. 240

the removal of the powerful hand of Parākramabāhu VI at his death. In addition to this, they might have expected to gain their freedom from Kōṭṭē when the new ruler, Jayavīra Parākramabāhu was threatened by Prince Sapumal.

The failure of the rebellion was probably due to the fact that the rebels did not expect the king's personal appearance in Uḍaraṭa with the army. They failed in their attempt, since they were not prepared to meet the situation that arose when the king appeared in person.

The most dangerous challenge to this king came from Prince Sapumal, who did not recognize the authority of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu. The Rājāvaliya says that he murdered the grandson of Parākramabāhu VI immediately after Jayavīra's accession.<sup>38</sup> But, as we know, the task of Prince Sapumal was not such an easy one. The new king had a considerable following in the council. In fact, Jayavīra Parākramabāhu was selected by the late king's council at the death of Parakramabāhu VI. There was a section of Buddhist Theras that favoured the

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38. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.70.

succession of this prince.<sup>39</sup> More than anything else the faction of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu was powerful because this prince was the chosen successor of Parākramabāhu VI, while the latter was alive.

Nevertheless, it should be remembered that there was another section of the royal court and a group of Buddhist theras who disapproved of the succession of the son of princess Ulakuḍaya-devī. They regarded Prince Sapumal as the most suitable person to succeed to the throne. It is apparent that the fraternity of the theras of the Vīdāgama Vihāra sympathized with Prince Sapumal, while the fraternity of the theras presided over by Toḷagamuve Śrī Rāhula Thera chanted prayers for the safety of the new king.<sup>40</sup> The Arankālē-Sannasa bears evidence to the visit by Vīdāgama Mahathera to Yāpāpaṭuna, where Prince Sapumal was residing.<sup>41</sup> In addition to this, there were some ministers who desired Prince Sapumal's succession at Kotte, at the expense of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu.<sup>42</sup>

A work called Yavarājasimha-valliya (ola MS) states that the prime minister of Parākramabāhu VI, viz. Ēkanayaka

39. Wickramasinhe, K.D.P. Kōṭṭē Yugayē Siṃhala Sāhityaya, pp.66-70. Sālahini-sandēśaya, vv.98-108; Alakeśvarayuddhaya, p.24.

40. Siṃhala-sāhitya-lipi, pp.139-146.

41. Siṃhala-sāhitya-lipi, pp.144-145.

42. Yavarājasimha-valliya, Or.6606-88, fol.2; Hansa-sandesaya, vv.50 and 106.

Mudaliyā, sent a message written on an ola leaf to Prince Sapumal informing him of the accession of Prince Jayavīra to the vacant throne.<sup>43</sup> De Couto also supports this evidence, since he records a similar event which made 'Javira Pracura Mabago' lose his kingdom.<sup>44</sup> The upheaval in Uḍaraṭa, too, followed the troubles in Kōṭṭē. But the opposition in Uḍaraṭa was completely overcome by the king and this region did not create trouble for him after that. The threat from the north under the leadership of Prince Sapumal could not be overcome so easily.

Prince Sapumal not only refused to recognize the authority of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu, but also went to the length of declaring himself emperor of Ceylon and legal successor to the throne of Kōṭṭē, which had fallen vacant after the death of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>45</sup> He reckoned his regnal years in his inscriptions from the year of the death of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, even while he was in Jaffna he would have adopted the name 'Śrī Saṅgabohi Śrī Bhuvaneka Bāhu', and declared

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43. Yavarājasimhavalīya, Or. 6606-88, fol. 2.

44. JRAS (CB), xx, p. 69.

45. Rasanayagam, Ancient Jaffna, pp. 332-333; K. Indrapala, Dravidian Settlements in Ceylon, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1966, pp. 526-528.

46. See below, pp. 296-297



that he was the emperor of Ceylon.<sup>46a</sup> In the meantime, he made arrangements to depose Jayavīra Parākramabāhu.

Sapumal could not capture Kōṭṭē immediately in spite of his prestige as a warrior. It appears that he remained in Yāpāpaṭuna for about two years waiting for an opportunity to conquer Kōṭṭē. The troubles in Uḍaraṭa required the presence of the king before the rebellion could be crushed. This would have given Prince Sapumal an opportunity to launch an attack on Kōṭṭē while the king was away in Uḍaraṭa. The conciliatory attitude that was adopted by the king towards the rebels of Uḍaraṭa may well have been due to this invasion. Ultimately, Prince Sapumal was successful and Jayavīra Parākramabāhu lost his life in battle.<sup>47</sup>

Jayavīra Parākramabāhu has been regarded as a puppet king by some scholars.<sup>48</sup> But this does not seem

46a. Following is a part of the kaṭṭiyam daily repeated at the Nallur Kandaswamy Temple. (Quoted from Ancient Jaffna, p.332 f.n.).

Srīmān Mahārājati rajaya ahanda Pumandala pratiyati  
kandara visvanta kīrti Śrī Gajavalli mahavalli sameta  
Subramanya padara vinda janatiruḍa Sodasa mahadana  
Sūryakula Vāṁsōtbhava Śrī Saṅgabōdhi Bhuvaneka Bāhu smūha

47. EZ, iv, pp.16-27; UHC, p.679.; Rājāvaliya(G), p.49.

48. Sumanasuriya, Critical Edition of the Kokila-sandesaya, Unpublished thesis, University of London, Ph.D, 1958, p.15.

to be true. During his short reign he made an attempt to maintain the splendour of the kingdom of Kotte associated with the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. He was capable of settling the affairs of Uḍarata successfully. If due consideration is given to the comparative youth of this monarch, one cannot fail to appreciate what he attempted to achieve and the extent to which he was successful during the short period of his reign.

Bhuvanekabāhu VI (A.D.1469-1477):-

Prince Sapumal was victorious and succeeded in capturing the palace and the throne of Kōṭṭē. On his accession to the throne he kept the name Bhuvanekabahu which he took while still in Yāpāpaṭṭana.<sup>49</sup> Ūkanayaka Mudaliyā who had given information about the movements and plans of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu was honoured by a grant of some paraveni lands.<sup>50</sup>

The capture of the throne by force in itself did not ensure Bhuvanekabāhu VI, a peaceful reign. No doubt

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49. Yāḷppāna-vaipava-mālai, p.32; Kailāya-mālai, p.23; Mudaliyar Rasanayagam, Ancient Jaffna, p.332.

50. Yavarājasimha-valliya, Or.6606-88, fol.2.  
Paraveni land = land granted in heritable tenure, SHC, p.50.  
H.W. Codrington, Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon, Colombo, 1938, p.11.

the people of the realm honoured the choice of Parākramabāhu VI. As we know, Prince Jayavīra, the grandson of Parākramabāhu VI, who later became king under the name Jayavīra Parākramabāhu, was regarded as the legitimate successor of his grandfather by the court and the hierarchy as early as the thirty-fifth regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>51</sup> The court did not even consider the claims of Prince Sapumal in connexion with the succession. Even after Prince Sapumal's victory in Jaffna and his successful period of administration of that part of the country, the contemporary poets referred to him as a loyal subordinate of Parākramabāhu VI in glowing terms, and never as a suitable successor to the throne.<sup>51a</sup> When we read the writings of Sri Rahula, the most renowned thera of this time, we can see how the people looked to Jayavira as the heir-apparent.<sup>52</sup>

Being aware of this opposition to his accession to the throne, Bhuvanekabāhu adopted a policy of reconciliation, and emphasised his relationship to Parākramabāhu VI. Certain statements in the inscriptions of Bhuvanekabāhu VI, show that the king felt the insecurity

51. Sālalihini-sandēśaya, vv, 109-110.

51a. Sālalihini-sandēśaya, v, 29.

52. UHC, pp. 677-679;

of his position owing to the opposition headed by some of the courtiers of the realm. The king often emphasised that he was a son of Parākramabāhu VI, thereby, attempting to establish his title to the throne. The phrase Śrī-Parākramabāhu-Mahārājādhirājā-nandana' (the son of great king Parākramabāhu), occurs in his Dādigama inscription.<sup>53</sup> He made an attempt in this manner to show to the courtiers and to the people that Jayavīra Parākramabāhu was not the rightful heir, for he, Bhuvanekabāhu VI, being the son of Parākramabāhu VI, was the person who had the right to succeed to the throne.

Apart from the fact that he wished to obliterate the popularity of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu, Bhuvanekabāhu carried out a policy of pardoning his enemies in order to create a better impression about himself among the people.

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53. 'Dadigama inscription of Bhuvanekabahu VI', EZ,iii,pp. 278-285; RKD,pp.83-85; The Kalyani inscriptions of Dhammaceti also refers to a statement made by Bhuvanekabāhu VI to the same effect. According to this epigraph, Bhuvanekabāhu referred to Maha Parākramabāhu VI as 'my father' (saha mama pitu) IA,vol.xxii,1893,p.211.; Parts of this inscription pertaining to Ceylon are published in JRAS(CB),vol.xxiv,pp.231-241, Pali text of this inscription known as the Kalyānippakarana is edited by A.P. Buddadatta Thera, Colombo,1924. The Mon version of this inscription is found in Epigraphia Burmanica,vol.iii,pp.75-290.

We can notice this policy of the king in the chronicle as well as in the Dadigama inscription.<sup>54</sup>

Neither this propaganda work, nor his prestige as the warrior who captured Jaffna, could assure Bhuvanekabāhu of a peaceful regime. The assassination of the grandson of Parākramabāhu VI sparked off a general revolt, or rather a series of revolts, throughout the Kōṭṭē kingdom. The disapproval of Bhuvanekabāhu's rule was soon expressed by some courtiers loyal to the assassinated king. From Kōṭṭē the infection spread sporadically to various parts of the kingdom including Jaffna. Bhuvanekabāhu VI's first and foremost task was, therefore, the consolidation of his authority over the Island. He had to labour hard to achieve this end, for the disintegration of the kingdom had already begun. The consolidation of his authority was to take his entire seven years' reign as the king of Kōṭṭē; but even then the discontent among his subjects was not completely appeased.

The first and most general of these revolts followed soon after the assassination of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu. Sirivardhana Patirāja of Kākulandola, and the Himiyāna of Kurugama, possibly close relatives

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54. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.70; EZ, vol.iii, p.278.

of the late king, left the capital with a considerable following, and raised the standard of rebellion in the entire country between the Kalu-gaṅga and the Valavē-gaṅga.<sup>55</sup> The extent and the seriousness of the revolt is clearly hinted at by the name assigned to it by the chroniclers and in the contemporary inscriptions. The Rājāvaliya refers to it as Siṁhala-peraliya (insurrection of the Sinhalese) while the Dadigama inscription names it Siṁhala-saṅge (the war of the Sinhalese).<sup>56</sup> The name seems to suggest that it was a national sentiment in opposition to some alien element which aroused the rebellion of the Sinhalese population in the kingdom.

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55. The names of these two dignitaries are not spelt properly in the chronicles. The names given in different versions of the Rājāvaliya do not agree with one another. According to the Gunasekara version of the Rājāvaliya the names are Kākulandala Śrī Jayavardhana Patirāja and Kurugama Himiyāna. The Alakesvarayuddhaya mentions that they were Kākulandala Sirivardhana Patirāja and Kurugama Imiyāna. The names adopted in this work have been decided upon by comparing the Kadayimpoṭas and many versions of the Rājāvaliya.

Alakesvarayuddhaya, p.24; Rājāvaliya, tr.p.70.

Vatuvatte Rajāvaliya, p.79.

56. Rājāvaliya(G), p.48; Rājāvaliya, tr.p.70; EZ, vol.iii, p.9.

The author of the Rājāvaliya appears to have overlooked the gravity of the rebellion, for he gives only a brief reference to it in one sentence.<sup>57</sup> A closer study of the sources shows that the entire Island was affected by the troubled political atmosphere at the time of the worst turmoil.

Of all the kings of Kotte why was it Bhuvanekabāhu VI alone who had to face this type of opposition?. We may assume that it was due to the assassination of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu. But it is rather difficult to regard this as the main reason for such a widespread turmoil. In this connexion Parnavitana writes:-  
 "The names by which this rising is referred to, Siṃhala-peraliya in the Rājāvali and Siṃhala-saṅge in the Dādigama Inscription, suggest that it was an upsurge of national sentiment in opposition to a ruler who, on his father's side, was of Malayāli extraction".<sup>58</sup> As far as we are aware, none of the available Sinhalese sources indicate any such origin of Bhuvanekabāhu VI. It is only Couto who writes:- 'that Queba Permal (Sempahap Perumal) was the son of a Panical (Panikki) from the opposite coast,

57. Rājāvaliya(G), p.48; Rj. tr.p.70; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.24.

58. UHC.p.679.; Concise History, p.314. In the latter work Parnavitana has toned down the harshness of the statement stating 'non-Sinhalese extraction' instead of 'Malayali extraction' found in the UHC.

whose caste was that of those kings'.<sup>59</sup> More reliable contemporary sources, however, are silent about this point.<sup>60</sup> As we have pointed out earlier, the evidence of Couto cannot be taken as a deciding factor when it stands alone, and when it is in disagreement with the contemporary works, for Couto did not have any knowledge of the Sinhalese language with the result that he had no direct access to the original Sinhalese sources. Even if the information furnished in the account of Couto were taken as trustworthy, we find no reason why the people should oppose him for the reason suggested by Paranavitana.<sup>61</sup> Couto clearly states that 'Panical' was of royal caste.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, his opponent, Jayavira Parākramabāhu, too, was not free from South Indian blood on his father's side. It is clear from the contemporary sources that this prince was the son of Princess Ulakudaya-devī by a union with a Cola prince known as Nannuru-Tunayan.<sup>63</sup> We, therefore, cannot agree that the main cause of these revolts was the parentage of Bhuvanekabāhu VI.

59. Couto as translated in JRAS(CB)xx,p.69. We must not forget that Queyroz also refers to Chamba-pera-Mali (g'empahap Perumal) as a son of a Panical. Undoubtedly Queyroz borrowed this particular portion from the account of Couto mentioned above. Queyroz,book.i,p.48.

60. See above,p.210

61. See above,p.271

62. JRAS(CB),xx,p.69.

63. Sālahihini-sandēśaya,vv.96-102; JRAS(CB),xx,p.68;UCR,xxi,1963 pp.103-138.



The name given to the rebellion, however, suggests that a considerable proportion of the population had some serious grievance after the accession of Bhuvanekabāhu VI. Revolts in Ceylon history often followed a similar pattern. Some influential people, usually court officials or king's councillors, became disgruntled with the king, often for personal reasons, and raised the standard of revolt. This happened frequently when the throne went to a person other than the prince who was expected to succeed to it. If the accepted heir-apparent succeeded, matters at court ran smoothly, as there had been time for the courtiers to get to know him and adjust themselves to him and accept him as king. But the position of the courtiers, or at least some of them, could take a different turn when a person other than the heir-apparent succeeded to the throne. On such occasions the persons who had eulogized the heir-apparent as the future king found it hard to reconcile themselves to the new king. They often revolted in such a case being unable to adjust themselves to a new ruler. The extent and seriousness of the revolt depended on the popularity and influence of the leader, and varied with his ability to organise opposition. Nine out of ten such revolts were finally overcome by the reigning monarch

though the rebels could influence the king to change some of his plans. The Siṃhala-saṅge or Siṃhala peraliya was no exception to this rule.

An example may illustrate the manner in which discontented chiefs and supporters of the late king rose up in arms against Bhuvanekabāhu VI. We know that Śrī Rāhula Mahāthera was one of the closest friends of Jayavīra Parakramabahu. His Sālalihini sandēśaya was written in order to offer prayers to Vibhiṣaṇa for this prince's birth.<sup>64</sup> There are many stories showing how this thera looked forward to seeing Jayavīra Parākramabāhu as king in succession to his grandfather.<sup>65</sup> We can understand his discontent when Bhuvanekabāhu VI killed this prince in order to capture the throne. The Buddhippasādini-tīkāva written by this thera in his old age during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI contains no reference to the reigning monarch. The Kalyani inscriptions of Dhammaceti refer to this thera as a virtuous one, but the inscriptions state that he did not take part in the upasampadā ceremony in A.D.1476 during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI.<sup>66</sup>

64. Sālalihini-sandēśaya, vv.102-103.

65. K.D.P.Wickremasinhe, Kōṭṭē yugayē Siṃhala sāhityaya, p.71.

66. Buddhippasādini-tīkāva, ed. by Sri Darmarama and Vacissara, Colombo, 1908, p.1.; IA, vol.xxii, p.43; E.B., iii, p. 231.

The chiefs who headed the revolt are named as Siri Vardhana Patirāja and Kurugama Patirāja in the Rājāvaliyas.<sup>67</sup> The Kalyani inscriptions of Dhammaceti introduce yet another person as a chief of the revolt. The name of Garavi-Amātya is not found in the Sinhalese writings.<sup>68</sup> The titles attributed to these three personages show that they held some high offices in the kingdom, and were members of the king's court.<sup>69</sup> We cannot rule out the possibility that the names of some of the other chiefs who led the revolt have been suppressed. The person known by the name Siri Vardhana Patirāja undoubtedly held the office of chief minister under the late king. The title patirāja was well known in the period after the fall of Daṁbadeṇiya.<sup>70</sup> According to the Dalada Pujavaliya the three personages known as Sonantarāmātya, Alagakkōnāra and Jayisimha Patirāja were the three prime ministers of Bhuvanekabāhu V.<sup>71</sup> During the reign of Parākramabāhu II a person known as Dēvapatirāja held a very influential position in the

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67. Rājāvaliya(G), p.48; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.24.

68. Ibid.

69. IA, xxii, p.42.; E.B., iii, pp.228-9.

70. UHC, p.735.

71. Daladā-pūjāvaliya, p.1.

kingdom. The Sidatsaṅgarāva was written at the request of Patirājadēva Amati.<sup>72</sup> According to the Cūlavaṃsa he was one of the favourite ministers of Parākramabāhu, II.<sup>72a</sup> We do not know whether the position occupied by the Patirājas during the Kōṭṭē period was the same as it was in the earlier times. Paranavitana argues that the title Patirāja has the same connotation as Prabhurāja, the title of the Alakēśvaras.<sup>72b</sup> It should, however, be noted that there was only one Prabhurāja at a time, while there were many patirājas during the same period. In view of the fact that Valentijn refers to Sirivardhana Patirāja as a prince of royal blood it is not impossible to identify this personage as the chief minister of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu.<sup>73</sup>

The second leader, Kurugama Himiyāna bore a less known title himiyāna. This title is, however, mentioned among the rebelling Vanni chiefs at the end

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72. Sidatsaṅgarāva, ed. by R. Dharmarama, Colombo, 1931, p. 216. Liyanagamage, A., The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya, p. 150.

72a. Cūlavaṃsa, 86: vv. 4. ff.

72b. UHC, p. 735.

73. Valentijn, p. 74.

of the thirteenth century.<sup>74</sup> Nissankamalla (A.D.1187-1196) in one of his inscriptions mentions that he enjoyed the position of āpā (āḍipāda) and himiyā prior to his accession to the throne.<sup>75</sup> The latter evidence seems to favour the view of Paranavitana that the title himiyāna meant lord in Sinhalese. The only suggestion that we could make towards the identification of Kurugama Himiyāna is that he may have been the chief of Kurugama in the Galapata Kōralē of the Kandy District.<sup>76</sup>

The third person Garavi, according to the Kalyani inscription, was an amātya (minister), possibly of the late King Jayavīra.<sup>77</sup> The inscription shows that he was in possession of the area between Kotte and Vāligama. We do not know whether it was his province of administration or the area which he captured after the revolt began.

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74. UHC, p.631.

75. EZ, ii, pp.109-110; EZ, v, pp.199-205 (Āpa himiyā tanaturu raja isuru viṇḍimin<sup>1</sup> Having enjoyed the positions of Āpa, himiyā and king), EZ, ii, p.109.

76. Kurugama = location:07.18N-80.33E.

77. IA, xxii, p.42.; EB, iii, pp.228-9.

One fact, however, seems certain, viz. that these rebel leaders were high officers of the kingdom during the reign of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu. Although we do not have definite evidence to prove that these personages were out of office when the throne was captured by Prince Sapumal, their personal grievances undoubtedly played an important role in the revolt.

According to the Rājāvaliya, Prince Sapumal was accompanied by his chiefs and his army from Jaffna when he set out for Kōṭṭē.<sup>78</sup> The chronicle names these chiefs paḍattalavaru. There is hardly any doubt that some of them were Tamil dignitaries. According to the Yavarājasimhavalīya these paḍattalavaru who came with Prince Sapumal from Jaffna supported him in the war of succession which cost Jayavīra Parākramabāhu his life.<sup>79</sup> The Rājāvaliya

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78. Rājāvaliya(G), p.48; Alekēśvarayuddhaya, p.24.; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.77. Paṭai-t-talaiivān (Tamil) means leader of troops. Tamil Lexicon, vol.iv, p.2446.

79. Or.6606-88, fol.2.

alludes to the numerical strength of the paḍattalavaru in the army of the Satara Kōralē under <sup>the</sup> Ambulugala-raja.<sup>80</sup> This leaves us in no doubt that under Bhuvanekabāhu VI a large number of dignitaries who came from Jaffna held important positions in the kingdom.<sup>81</sup> It is quite possible that some of the Sinhalese dignitaries did not look upon these developments with a favourable eye.

The Kuḍumirissa Inscription of Vīra Parākramabāhu (A.D.1478-1489) testifies to the influential position of these Tamil dignitaries.<sup>82</sup> It is, therefore, natural that the Sinhalese dignitaries, who had enjoyed privileges during the previous reign, looked upon these new rivals with envy. This also must have provided support to the rebelling courtiers.

It is unfair to assume that the revolt was due to a national sentiment against Bhuvanekabāhu VI, for we have the evidence of the Kalyani inscriptions

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80. Rājāvaliya(G), p.49; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.77.

81. Yavarājasinhavalliya, Ob.6606-88, fol.2

82. JRAS(CB), x, pp.96-102.

which alludes to the support the king received from influential theras such as Vīdāgama Mahathera, Vanaratana Saṅgharāja and Pañca Parivenavāsi Maṅgala Thera.<sup>83</sup> Besides it is known that such eminent courtiers as Ēkanāyaka Mudaliyā and Vikramasiṅha Adhikāra were loyal to Bhuvanekabāhu VI.<sup>84</sup>

At the outset the revolt was the work of Kurugama-Himiyāna and Siri Vardhana Patirāja. The Rājāvaliya informs us that they managed to occupy the entire area between the Kalu-gaṅga and the Valave-gaṅga.<sup>85</sup> According to the Kalyani inscriptions Garavi-Amātya was in control of the area just outside the port of Vāligama.<sup>86</sup> The region south of the city of Kotte, particularly the Pasyodun, Hēvagam, Valallaviṭi, Vāligam, and Kolonnā Kōralēs soon came under the control of the rebels, so that there did not remain to the king of Kōṭṭē any territories to the south of Kōṭṭē

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83. IA, vol. xxii, pp. 45-49.; EB, iii, p. 231.

84. Yavarājasimhavalīya, Or. 6606-88, fol. 2.; EZ, iii, pp. 281-286.

85. Rājāvaliya (G), p. 48; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 23.

86. IA, vol. xxii, pp. 29-53.; EB, iii, p. 228.



except Salpiti Kōralē.

The first step of the king on hearing of the turmoil in the southern part of his country was the withdrawal of the forces stationed in the outlying areas of Kanda-uda-pas-raja under his brother, the Āmbulugala-Raja, so that they could be used for the suppression of the revolt. According to the Rājāvaliya, the king, having heard of this revolt among his subjects, immediately sent for his younger brother to Āmbulugala in Satara Kōralē, and when he arrived with chiefs and forces, sent him out to attack the insurgents.<sup>87</sup> They offered stiff resistance, but <sup>the</sup> Āmbulugala-Raja managed to penetrate into the headquarters of the rebels in Pasyodun Kōralē and to capture the two leaders of the revolt alive.

However, the revolt was far from being over. The Kalyani inscriptions of Dhammaceti inform us that the brother of the king (Āmbulugala-Raja) was ordered to go by sea to the port of Vāligama to engage in operations against the rebels under the leadership of Garavi-amātya, who occupied the coastal region between Kōṭṭē and Vāligama.<sup>88</sup> The fact that the prince did

87. Rājāvaliya(G), p.48; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.77; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.24.

88. IA, vol.xxii, p.42; EB, iii, p.228.

not take the overland route either from Kōṭṭē or from Pasyodun Kōralē may imply that it was too risky for the prince to do so, because the rebels dominated the intervening region. The inscriptions allude to the fact that a religious mission from Pegu which landed at Vāligama in their storm-tossed ships, had to break their journey to Kōṭṭē, owing to the risk involved in the journey; for the rebels were maltreating the supporters of the king during this time. The mission was thus forced to remain at Vāligama for over three months until the revolt was suppressed.<sup>89</sup>

The withdrawal of the forces from Satara Kōralē to concentrate on Pasyodun Kōralē was helpful for the king in achieving his purpose in the south. Soon, however, it led to trouble elsewhere. Since the greater part of the royal army was placed in the area which had been occupied by the rebels Satara Kōralē was left unprotected. This was especially dangerous in a period when the ruler of Uḍaraṭa, Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu, was awaiting a chance to arouse a commotion. The Dādigama inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu VI, issued in the ninth regnal year of the king, is a record issued to proclaim a grant of amnesty by the king to the inhabitants of Satara Kōralē who had recently rebelled against their

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89. Ibid.

sovereign and had just been reduced to subjugation.<sup>90</sup> The inscription states that the king had to personally lead the expedition as the inhabitants of the border provinces were acting in a hostile manner. The king arrived at the city of Dādigama in Beligal Kōralē and brought Satara Kōralē under his authority. According to this epigraph, the inhabitants of Satara Kōralē were seeking pardon from the king when the affair of Uḍaraṭa (Uḍaraṭa kāriya) had also been settled entertaining the suspicion that punishment would follow on account of the acts of lawlessness committed in times past by each and every one. The epigraph further records that in order to remove this suspicion the king granted an amnesty. In this record we are informed of an uprising in Satara Kōralē which the king managed to suppress. We have also an allusion to some trouble in Uḍaraṭa of which we have no details in the inscription. From the trend of the inscription we may suspect that the revolt in the Satara Kōralē, which has been referred to as a part of the Simhala-saṅge (the war of the Sinhalese) in the inscription, was just another in the series of revolts that took place during the

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90. EZ, vol.iii, pp.278-286; RKD, p.85.

reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI. Since the affair in Uḍaraṭa is connected with this revolt we may assume that the rebels were stirred up by Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu, the ruler of Uḍaraṭa.<sup>91</sup>

The Alutnuvara slab inscriptions of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu seem to have a bearing on the revolt in Satara Kōralē mentioned in the Dādigama inscription.<sup>92</sup> In one of these inscriptions at Alutnuvara there is a declaration of allegiance to Kanda-uda-kattuva (the kingdom of Highlands) by the inhabitants of Satara Kōralē. The record embodies an undertaking of Senasammata Vikramabahu, the ruler of Udarata, that he or any other member of the Udarata royal house would not cause loss of property, or damage to the life of the people of Satara Kōralē, as long as they remained loyal to the king of Uḍaraṭa. The inscriptions of Alutnuvara thus include Satara Kōralē in the territories of Uḍaraṭa. This suggests that Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu captured Satara Kōralē, perhaps as a consequence of his participation in the Siṃhala-saṅge. In view of the fact

91. Paranavitana translates the term 'Udarata kāriya', as the 'affair of Uḍaraṭa'. (EZ, iii, p.281). It should be remembered that the term kāriya in this particular instance did not have its usual meaning 'duty'. From the trend of the inscription it seems as if the king had been forced to do some act in connexion with Udarata owing to some trouble there. (kāriya, Pali, Sinhalese = karya, Sanskrit)

92. EZ, iv, pp.261-270.

that Bhuvanekabāhu's brother<sup>the</sup> Āmbulugala-Raja, was ruling Satara Kōralē as yuvaraja, we may assume that the king of Uḍaraṭa captured Satara Kōralē some time during the absence of <sup>the</sup> Āmbulugala-Raja from the principality; before the march of Bhuvanekabāhu VI to Satara Kōralē, mentioned in the Dadigama inscription, took place. In order to recapture the lost territories Bhuvanekabāhu VI had to lead the army himself with a view to dealing with the unlawful rulers of Satara Kōralē. The Gaḍaladeniya inscription of the eighth regnal year of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu, does not mention Satara Kōralē among the territories of the king of Uḍaraṭa, although the Alutnuvara inscriptions mentioned above have done so.<sup>93</sup> The former contains a promise that no loss of life shall be inflicted on the people of certain provinces of Uḍaraṭa, and provides that the property of those who fell in warfare shall in the absence of an heir be devoted to the restoration of vihāras which were in ruins. The fighting mentioned in this inscription was undoubtedly the same as that recorded in the Dadigama inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu VI as Uḍaraṭa kāriya. The latter inscription issued in the ninth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu VI records the conciliatory attitude adopted by the king to the

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93. EZ, iv, pp. 8-15.

people of Satara Kōralē. It is difficult to say whether Bhuvanekabāhu VI acted in this manner towards the inhabitants of Satara Kōralē owing to his natural generosity, or whether he was forced to do so by political necessity since Uḍaraṭa was under a hostile ruler.<sup>94</sup>

This brings us to the relations of Bhuvanekabāhu VI with the newly ascended king of Uḍaraṭa, Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu. As we have seen in an earlier chapter the people of Uḍaraṭa made a bid for independence during the last part of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, and later during the reign of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu. These two attempts proved abortive, for the king of Kōṭṭē had sufficient power to deal with the rebels successfully. But during the war of succession which cost Jayavīra Parākramabāhu his life the baṇḍaras of Uḍaraṭa found an opportunity to select Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu as their king; thus conditions in Uḍaraṭa were different during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI.<sup>95</sup>

The leniency shown by the king of Kōṭṭē to the people of Satara Kōralē was probably due to the troubles in Uḍaraṭa which were not settled until the time of the issue of the inscription. As we have seen earlier Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu,

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94. See the chapter on the kingdom of Uḍaraṭa.

95. Ibid.

acting as an opportunist, seems to have invaded Satara Kōralē, the appanage of the yuvaraja, when the forces stationed in this area under the yuvaraja were removed by the king, to be directed to the area around Pasyodun Kōralē. According to the seventeenth century Alutnuvara-dēvāle-karavīma, Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu, having gone to Satara Kōralē, would have brought the area under his authority.<sup>96</sup> This may be the reason why the Alutnuvara slab inscription includes Satara Kōralē among the territories of Uḍaraṭa. Bhuvanekabāhu probably wished to proceed to Uḍaraṭa, for we find some allusion to that effect in the Dādigama inscription. From the trend of that inscription it seems as if the king did not proceed to Uḍaraṭa. Yet it appears from the Gaḍaladeniya inscription of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu that the king of Uḍaraṭa gave up the conquered territory of Satara Kōralē. It may be that Bhuvanekabāhu VI was prevented from adopting a warlike policy, perhaps by the submission of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu. We can see during the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D.1489-1513) that Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu followed a policy of reconciliation when he failed to achieve his aim.<sup>97</sup> The settlement of the dispute is vaguely hinted at in the account of De Couto where it is stated that the king of 'Candea' (Kanda Uḍaraṭa) gave his adopted daughter in

96. Alutnuvara-dēvāle-karavīma, Or.6606-145, fol.10.

97. See the chapter on the kingdom of Uḍaraṭa.

marriage to Bhuvanekabāhu Pandar.<sup>98</sup> Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu adopted a similar policy during the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX.<sup>99</sup> We may suspect that this attitude of the king of Uḍaraṭa was due to political necessity for he could not overcome the opposition of the king of Kōṭṭē.

There is no doubt that Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu submitted to Bhuvanekabāhu VI and remained faithful during the rest of the latter's reign. In fact, we are not informed of any attempt of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu to secure independence during the next two decades. It was only towards the middle of the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D.1489-1513) that we get notice of such an attempt. It may not be inaccurate to assume that the ruler of Uḍaraṭa remained faithful to Kōṭṭē during the intervening period between the above mentioned revolts.

With the fall of two leaders of the revolt, and the recapture of Satara Kōralē, the source which inspired the revolts dried up, thus ending a nine year period when revolts had dominated the political scene of the Island.

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98. JRAS (CB), xx, p.70.

99. See below, pp. 327-335



The king of Kōṭṭē seems ultimately to have succeeded in suppressing the revolt and establishing his authority over the entire kingdom of Kōṭṭē with the exception of Jaffna, before the end of his reign, for we find his brother, <sup>the</sup> Ambulugala-Raja, in his appanage in Satara Kōralē.<sup>100</sup>

We may now turn to the role of the king of Kotte in Jaffna, the territory which was administered by Prince Sapumal until his arrival in Kōṭṭē. Some modern writers hold that the Sinhalese rule in Jaffna was obliterated by Kanakasūriya Singei Ariyan immediately after the death of Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>101</sup> According to the Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai Kanakasūriya Singei Ariyan returned after seventeen years in exile and recovered the throne after assassinating a person called Vijayavāku (Vijayabāhu) who had occupied the kingdom during the interval. We have pointed out that the duration of Sinhalese rule in Jaffna exceeded seventeen years contrary to what has been recorded in the Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai.<sup>102</sup>

100. Rājāvaliya(G), p.49; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.25.

101. Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai, pp.44-46; Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai, tr. by C. Britto, pp.23-24; Mudaliya Rasanayagam, Ancient Jaffna, Madras, 1926, pp.273-283; C.S.Navaratnam, Tamils and Ceylon, Jaffna, 1958, pp.291-292; S.C.Paul, 'The Overlordship of Ceylon in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', JRAS(CB), vol.xxviii, pp.121-123; Wickremasinha, Kōṭṭē yugayē Siṁhala-sāhi tyaya, p.68.

102. See above, pp. 228-229

Although it is widely thought that Jaffna ceased to submit to the authority of the Sinhalese ruler, there are good and valid reasons to show that Jaffna was under Prince Sapumal till the end of the reign of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu (A.D.1466-1469). The Arankāle-sannasa mentions that Bhuvanekabāhu VI was in Yāpāpaṭuna when he listened to a sermon from Vīdāgama Thera.<sup>103</sup> The presence at Yāpāpaṭuna of Prince Sapumal, with his royal title was one reason of his disapproval of the accession of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu to the throne of Kotte. A formula called kattiyaṃ which is still recited by the Brahmanas in the Nallur temple refers to a person named Śrī Saṅghabodhi Bhuvanekabāhu.<sup>104</sup> The Yālppāna-

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103. D.B. Jayatilaka, Siṃhala-sāhityaya-lipi, Third Edition, Colombo, 1965, pp.145-146. Yāpāpaṭuna mentioned in this document has sometimes been regarded as a place other than Jaffna by some scholars. (Svadēśamitrayā of 3rd August 1924). It is true that we have reference to a place known as Yāpāpaṭuna in the Jinakālamālī in connection with the ordination of Siamese and Cambodian monks in B.E.1968. (Jinakālamālī, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta Thera, p.77). This particular Yapapatuna was in the vicinity of Kālaṇiya (Kalyaniyan Yāpāpaṭune). There is another sannasa which purports to have been issued by King Jayabāhu (Jayavīra Parākramabāhu) while the king was residing at Yāpāpaṭuna. This document states that Yāpāpaṭuna mentioned therein was in Pihiṭi-raṭa. There is, therefore, no reason to conclude that Yāpāpaṭuna in this sannasa was a place near Kālaṇiya.

104. JRAS(CB)NS, vol.vii, pp.192-193; Ancient Jaffna, p.332.

vaipava-mālai also credits a person called Puvanekavaku (Bhuvanekabahu) with the building of the Skanda temple at Nallur.<sup>105</sup> Besides a verse found in the Kailaya-mālai attributes the building of the Skanda temple at Nallur and of Yālpāna-nakarei to a certain Puvanekavāku (Bhuvanekabāhu).<sup>106</sup> As Indrapala correctly points out the title Sri Sanghabodhi used in the kattiyam for Bhuvanekabahu indicates that he was a ruler of the Sinhalese kingdom, for this title, as far as we know, was used by the Sinhalese kings as their consecration name.<sup>107</sup> This title must have been assumed by Prince Sapumal only after the death of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466) for he was not entitled to use it while the latter was alive. We may, therefore, assume that Prince Sapumal remained in Jaffna after the death of Parākramabāhu VI. He must have expressed his ambitions by assuming the title Śrī Saṅghabodhi Bhuvanekabāhu, for he was dissatisfied at the accession of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu. In fact, Prince Sapumal always regarded himself as the rightful successor of Parākramabāhu VI for he, as we shall see, computed his regnal years from the year of the latter's death even though he could not occupy the throne of Kōṭṭē at that time. It seems, therefore, certain that Prince Sapumal was in Jaffna till A.D.1469, when

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105. Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai, (Tamil text), pp.31-32; Yālpāna-vaipava-malāi, tr.p.23.

106. Kailaya-mālai, p.23.

107. K. Indrapala, Dravidian Settlements in Ceylon, Unpublished Thesis, pp.526-527.

he left to contest the throne of Kōṭṭē; Kanakasūriya Singei-Ariyan on his part could not recapture his former kingdom until Prince Sapumal left Jaffna.

There is no reason to believe that Kanakasūriya immediately took control of Jaffna after the departure of Prince Sapumal. The Yālppāna-vaipava-mālai would have us believe that the person directly confronted with Kanakasūriya was Vijayavāku (Vijayabāhu).<sup>108</sup> Although the account recorded in this work is found in a garbled state we cannot rule out the fact that it was based on some earlier Tamil writings of Jaffna.<sup>109</sup> Queyroz, who also gives some sort of a garbled account regarding this period, states that 'Ariaxaca Varati' (Āryacakravarti) took the life of the one who governed 'Jafanapatāo' after Chamba-pera-Mali (Sempahap Perumal).<sup>110</sup> We may, therefore, conclude that Vijayavāku (Vijayabāhu) was the person who was left in charge of the administration of Jaffna by Prince Sapumal on his departure to Kōṭṭē. It was he who was assassinated by Parārajasēkaran, the son of Kanakasūriya Singei Ariyan, most probably in about A.D.1469/70. The presence of Prince Sapumal in Jaffna kept at bay the threat

108. Yālppāna-vaipava-mālai, p.45.; Yālppāna-vaipava-mālai, tr, p.24.

109. Fr. S. Gnanaprakasari, 'Sources of the Yalppana-vaipava-malai', CALR, vol.vi., pp.135-141.

110. Queyroz, book i, p.49. Sempahap-Perumal was the Tamil name for Sapumal Kumārayā (Prince Sapumal).

of a reconquest of Jaffna by the Āryacakravarti for over two decades. The removal of this able prince left the province vulnerable in a period when the deposed Āryacakravarti was awaiting a chance to win back his kingdom. We cannot rule out the possibility that he may have sought assistance from the Vijayanagara feudatories in South India in order to achieve his purpose.<sup>111</sup>

Paranavitana holds that the reason why Jaffna was lost to the kingdom of Kōṭṭē was the Vijayanagara invasion to which some allusion is made in the Parijātāharana of Muggu Timmana.<sup>112</sup> If the vague reference found in this work applies to an actual invasion it must have occurred some time after 1485, for, according to this work, the invasion took place during the reign of Immadi Narasiṃha (A.D.1485-1490).<sup>113</sup> Although the Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai records that Kanakasūriya Singei Āriyan recaptured the kingdom from Vijayavāku (Vijayabāhu), the Sinhalese ruler, when the fact that Kanakasūriya lived away from his kingdom for a considerable time and the fact that the Sinhalese rule was not unpopular, are taken into consideration it is reasonable to question the

111. UHC, pp.683,689 and 700-701; Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai, p.46.

112. UHC, pp.683 and 689.

113. The Delhi Sultanate, pp.302-303.

Āryacakravartī's ability to launch an invasion without aid from South India. It is, however, certain that the capture of Yāpāpaṭṭana was successfully completed by Kanakasūriya during the early part of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI.<sup>114</sup>

There is some confusion regarding the duration of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI. The Rājāvaliya assigns him only a seven years' reign.<sup>115</sup> There is no discrepancy on this point among the various versions of the Rājāvaliya.<sup>116</sup> The Dādigama inscription, however, alludes to a longer reign than this for the record is dated in the ninth regnal year of the king.<sup>117</sup> Paranavitana has advanced two possible reasons for this discrepancy. He writes: "there need not be a discrepancy between these two sources if we take that the Rājāvali has given the expired year. In that case, Bhuvanekabāhu must have died very soon after the Dādigama inscription was set up; it may be as a consequence of the 'Affair in the Uḍaraṭa' taking a turn which was not expected.

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114. Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai, pp. 45-46.

115. Rājāvaliya(G), p. 48; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 25; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p. 77.

116. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 25; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p. 77; Upham, vol. ii, p. 272; Rājāvaliya(G), p. 48.

117. EZ, iii, pp. 281-282.

It is also possible that while the Rājāvali computes the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI from the date of his coronation, the king himself, claiming to be the rightful heir of Parākramabāhu VI, reckoned his regnal years from the death of that monarch".<sup>118</sup> We cannot accept the first explanation advanced by this eminent scholar, for we have evidence to prove that the king did not die soon after the Dādigama inscription was set up.<sup>119</sup> According to the narrative of the Rājāvaliya it seems clear that the king was at Kotte for a considerable time after this expedition for we find him, while at Kōṭṭē, taking measures to secure the succession for his son Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu.<sup>120</sup> His brother, who was away at the time of the setting up of the Dādigama inscription, was back in Satara Kōralē before the death of the king. Although neither of these factors necessarily rules out Paranavitana's explanation, they do, taken together, render it very unlikely that Bhuvanekabāhu VI should have died so soon after the Dādigama inscription was

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118. UHC, p.682.

119. Paranavitana has allowed two years between the time of the issue of the Dādigama inscription and the death of Bhuvanekabāhu VI. UHC, p.847; Concise History, p.345.

120. Rājāvaliya(G), p.48.

promulgated.

As we have established earlier, Jayavīra Parākramabāhu, the predecessor of Bhuvanekabāhu VI, ruled after the death of Parākramabāhu VI until his third regnal year as the king of Kotte.<sup>121</sup> The contemporary poem Buduguna-alankāraya regards the third regnal year (expired) of the king as equivalent to B.E.2015 (expired).<sup>122</sup> Codrington, by mistake, has regarded the year B.E.2015 (expired) as the initial year of the reign of this monarch.<sup>123</sup> From the poem we gather that King Bhuvanekabāhu VI began his reign in B.E.2012 (expired); this, in fact, was the year in which Jayavira Parakramabahu died.<sup>124</sup> We may, therefore, assume in agreement with Paranavitana's second suggestion, that the Rājāvaliya computes the regnal years of this monarch from the date of his coronation at Kōṭṭē in B.E.2012 (expired) i.e. A.D.1469. On this assumption we may place the end of this king's reign in B.E.2021 (current). We have arrived at this conclusion after having taken the seven years of reign attributed to him in the Rājāvaliya as expired. The Arankālē-Sannasa of this monarch is dated in the full moon day of the month of Mādin

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121. See above, p.257

122. Buduguna-alankāraya, v.609.

Samatās muniñdu pirinivi vasa paṭan lada  
Dedahās pasalosak avuruḍu pirunu saṅḍa  
Diyagos pāvati Bhuvanekabuja nirinḍu saṅḍa  
Pirivas tunehi Sirilaka raja bisev lada.

123. SHC, p.93.; UHC, p.849.

124. See above, pp.256-257



in the year of B.E.2021 (current).<sup>125</sup> On the basis of the evidence of the Rājāvaliya, Bhuvanekabāhu VI died some time after promulgation of this sannasa, for the chronicle attributes to the king only seven years which would have ended in B.E.2021 (A.D.1477).

One might ask why the king used a different reckoning of his regnal years in his official documents. As we know, the Dādigama inscription is dated the ninth regnal year, while in actual fact, the king had only seven complete years' rule at Kōṭṭē. This sort of discrepancy in respect to regnal years, is often found in the royal records of the Kōṭṭē period. Often historians have been puzzled by the fact that the chronicles are frequently at variance with the contemporary inscriptions and the other royal documents as far as the duration of the reign of many kings of this period is concerned. As we have noted earlier, although we possess fairly detailed accounts of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, historians have had difficulty in accounting for the additional three regnal years attributed to this monarch.<sup>126</sup> In respect of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI it was concluded that the discrepancy is based on the fact that the king ruled in two different capitals. It has also been

125. Svadēśamitrāya of July 27th and August, 30th, 1924. Siṃhala-sāhitya-lipi, pp.144-145; JRAS (CB), xxxii, no, 85, 1932 p.209.

126. See above, pp.173-184

noticed that the same sort of discrepancy is encountered in the reign of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu. In this case a difference of two regnal years was due to the fact that the king ruled as yuvaraja before he became maharaja.<sup>127</sup> But neither of these explanations is possible in the case of the regnal years of Bhuvanekabāhu VI.

It should be noted that Bhuvanekabāhu considered himself to have reigned before his accession to the throne at Kōṭṭē even though he was not yuvaraja during the previous reign, as he claimed to be the rightful heir of Parākramabāhu VI. Probably the year in which Parākramabāhu VI died has been considered the initial regnal year of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI in his Dādigama inscription, thus omitting about three years of the reign of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu. In fact, we do not come across any document of Bhuvanekabāhu VI's reign issued before the third regnal year of this monarch for he did not occupy the throne of Kōṭṭē during this time. We may, therefore, conclude that the actual reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI lasted from A.D.1469, the year in which Jayavīra Parākramabāhu died, to A.D.1477. We should, however, remember that this king had a reign of two years in Jaffna from the time of the death of Parākramabāhu VI

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127. See above, pp. 253-257

in A.D.1466, during which period the king of Kōṭṭē was Jayavīra Parākramabāhu.

As we have noticed earlier in this chapter, Bhuvanekabāhu treated the rebels with leniency. He showed clemency to the people of Satara Kōralē after they submitted to him. The two rebel leaders of the Siṃhala-peraliya, viz. Sirivardhana Patirāja and Kurugama Himiyāna, begged that they might be put in prison for the crime they had committed. The king acted with some measure of leniency and put them in prison instead of putting them to death for their offence. According to the Rājāvaliya the king released these two persons from prison shortly before his death, and entrusted his favourite prince to their care, requesting that they might protect the prince.<sup>128</sup> Valentijn leads us to believe that the king released these two dignitaries only on condition that they would protect the prince.<sup>129</sup>

There is some confusion regarding the relationship of this prince to Bhuvanekabāhu VI. Paranavitana assumes that he was the adopted son.<sup>130</sup> His authority is the Rājāvaliya, which uses the term ātikala kumārayā (adopted son) to denote the relationship.<sup>131</sup> According to the

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128. Rājāvaliya(G), p.49.

129. Valentijn, p.74.

130. UHC. p.682.

131. Rājāvaliya(G), p.49; Rājāvaliya, tr, p.70.

account of Couto this prince named 'Caipura Pandar' was the son of Bhuvanekabāhu VI by the princess who was given to him in marriage by the king of 'Candea' (Uḍaraṭa).<sup>132</sup> It is very doubtful whether the offspring of this union could have been old enough to succeed to the throne immediately after the death of his father, for Bhuvanekabāhu reigned little more than seven years and, as we know, the king was offered the hand of the princess of Uḍaraṭa during his period of reign as king of Kōṭṭē. In addition, the account of Valentijn alludes to the successor of Bhuvanekabāhu VI as one who had three queens at the time of his death which took place shortly after his accession.<sup>133</sup> The Rājāvaliya and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya are in agreement with Valentijn.<sup>134</sup> Hence, we cannot but be sceptical, about the authenticity of the evidence of De Couto. On the other hand, we find it somewhat strange that Bhuvanekabāhu VI should have wished to see an adopted son of his succeeding him, thus nullifying the claims of his brother, who at this time was regarded as the heir-apparent (yuvaraja).<sup>135</sup> Or can

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132. Couto as translated in JRAS(CB),xx,p.70.

133. Valentijn,p.74.

134. Rājāvaliya(G),p.49; Alakēśvarayuddhaya,p.24;Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya,p.77; Upham,vol.ii,p.272.

135. Kalyani Inscriptions, ed. Buddhadatta Thera, (Pali text), p.71, IA,xxii,p.44.

it be that an adopted son managed to impress the king so much that the latter went to the extent of being ungrateful to his own brother, who was his main support during the time of Siṃhala-peraliya? Yet we cannot give a negative answer to this question for the Rājāvaliya and other sources specifically mention that the prince was an adopted son of Bhuvanekabāhu VI.<sup>136</sup>

No doubt Bhuvanekabāhu VI expected opposition to the accession of this prince, who is referred to as Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu VII in the chronicles.<sup>137</sup> He knew that the yuvaraja was a more efficient soldier and that he would react violently to the accession of Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu. Bhuvanekabāhu must also have been conscious of the fact that his brother, as yuvaraja, was the person who should rightfully succeed him. Under these circumstances the yuvaraja would normally get the support of the people, for he had better claims to the throne. Bhuvanekabāhu VI was not unaware of this sort of opposition to his favourite prince. Having foreseen this danger he released the two leaders of the Siṃhala-peraliya who were half way through their prison sentences. We should not assume that the king

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136. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.70; Rājāvaliya(G), p.49.

137. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.70; Rājāvaliya(G), p.49; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.25; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.78; Upham, vol.ii, p.273; Rājaratnākaraya, p.43; Cv., 92:3; Valentijn, p.74.

released them out of clemency as some scholars seem to believe. The Rājāvaliya mentions that King Bhuvanekabāhu VI, before his death released Patirāja and Kurugama Himiyāna from prison, and entrusted to them his favourite prince.<sup>138</sup> While in their charge, the prince was raised to the throne under the title of Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu VII.<sup>139</sup>

The short reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI was a troubled one. He was unable to maintain the esteem that he had won as the conqueror of Jaffna. He proved an able general under the guidance of Parākramabāhu VI; but once the power was secured in his hands he did not prove to be a suitable person to bear the burdens of kingship. During his short and belligerent reign he could not contribute to the consolidation of the kingdom. At the beginning of his reign the whole of the Island was in revolt, and there did not remain to the king of Kōṭṭē any territories except in the immediate vicinity of the city of Kōṭṭē. Even his policy of clemency towards his opponents did not prevent the kingdom from disintegrating. All these points indicate a want of

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138. Rājāvaliya(G), p.49; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.25.

139. Valentijn names him Jaya Wira Praccram Bahu (p.74). This seems to have been a mistake caused by confusing the two names of the favourites of Bhuvanekabāhu VI and Parākramabāhu VI. In the subsequent account Valentijn has corrected the error giving the name Maha Pandita Praccram Bahu Raja.

popularity which reveals a defect in the character of the ruler, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that his character and policy largely contributed to the decline of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē.

Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu VII (A.D.1477).

As Bhuvanekabāhu VI expected, his favourite prince ascended the throne. He is designated variously as Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu, Caipura Pandar or simply Parākramabāhu.<sup>140</sup> Following the practice of the Rājāvaliya it is convenient to refer to him as Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu. Never was a ruler a greater misfit in his time than the successor of Bhuvanekabāhu VI to the throne of Kōṭṭē. His guilty conscience for having deprived the yuvaraja of his right, combined with his weakness in handling his own affairs, made him unduly dependent on Sirivardhana Patirāja and Kurugama Himiyāna for his safety.

The Rājāvaliya states that <sup>the</sup> Āmbulugala-Raja, on hearing the news of the death of Bhuvanekabāhu VI collected a large force from Satara Kōralē in order to launch an attack on the city of Kōṭṭē.<sup>141</sup> In the meantime, the forces of the

140. Rājāvaliya(G), p.49; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.25; JRAS(CB), xx, p.70.

We do not know his name as used in the inscriptions, for no inscriptions issued by this king is available to us.

141. Rājāvaliya(G), p.49.

king of Kōṭṭē were prepared to deal with any hostile attempt on the part of the yuvaraja, for Bhuvanekabāhu VI, before his death, had made arrangements for such an event. Patirāja and Kurugama Himiyāna were entrusted with the task of protecting the king; when they heard the news of <sup>the</sup> Ambulugala-Raja's advance they made the necessary arrangements to check it. The authorities of Kōṭṭē made every possible attempt to see that the enemy was repelled before he could reach the capital. The Ambulugala-Raja, with veteran soldiers of Satara Korale, encamped somewhere in Siyanā Kōralē. The forces of the king of Kōṭṭē failed to check the progress of the yuvaraja until he managed to encamp at Kālaṇiya before the final battle. The forces led by Kurugama Himiyāna and Sirivardhana Patirāja advanced towards Kālaṇiya in order to make the final attempt to protect their king. The two advancing armies met at a place called Inkendavela about four miles from Kālaṇiya.<sup>142</sup> The battle was decisive; Kurugama Himiyāna and Sirivardhana Patirāja, on whom the king had placed too much hope for his safety, lost their lives. Following his victory <sup>the</sup> Ambulugala-Raja marched towards the city of Kōṭṭē. The king was murdered in the

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142. Inkendavela- location: 07.01N-79.55E.



palace and <sup>the</sup> Āmbulugala-Raja ascended the throne with the name of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII.

The course of events narrated in the Rājāvaliya does not permit us to assume that Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu VII had even one year's reign. The chronicle is silent on the precise length of time during which he ruled as the king of Kōṭṭē. This is probably because the king's period of rule was so short as not to be worthy of mention. Couto, as usual, is totally at variance with the Sinhalese chronicles in assigning to this king a reign of more than three years.<sup>143</sup> Although we have no independent evidence to prove that Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu VII ruled only for a short time, it is interesting to point out that all the Rājāvaliya versions and recensions are in favour of this view. We should once again recollect that Couto is not a reliable source when he stands alone. We may, therefore, presume that the reign of Vīra Parākramabāhu (Āmbulugala-Raja) began not later than a few months after the demise of Bhuvanekabāhu VI.

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143. JRAS(CB), xx, p.70.

Couto says that Caipur Pandar was crowned more than four times (because those kings were accustomed to be crowned once every year on the same day as that on which they were first crowned; and for this reason the years of their rule are counted by the number of times that they were crowned).

Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII (A.D.1477-1489).

Probably shortly after the death of Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu the royal canopy was placed over the head of <sup>the</sup> Ambulugala-Raja, who was proclaimed king with the name Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII. The Rājāvaliya does not record any significant event as taking place during this reign, but merely states that he reigned happily for twenty years and obtained a place in heaven.<sup>144</sup> The Alakēśvarayuddhaya also is in agreement with the other Rājāvaliya versions in mentioning that this reign was a peaceful one.<sup>145</sup> We cannot expect the authors of the chronicles to have recorded every important event that took place during the reign of every sovereign. They may have omitted some events which, in our view, are noteworthy, although they were not considered important by the chroniclers of the medieval age.

A striking story is narrated by Queyroz regarding a serious disturbance of the peace which took place towards the end of this reign.<sup>146</sup> Recording this king's construction of a deep and broad canal of six leagues connecting Kōṭṭē with

144. Rājāvaliya(G), p.49; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.78.

145. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.25; Valentijn, p.74; Upham, vol.ii, p.273,

146. Queyroz, book i, pp.25-26.

Negombo and showing how harmful the result proved to be for the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, Queyroz accuses him of being 'slack and negligent' regarding the grievances of the people. Whatever the purpose of the king was, the people of the neighbouring lands had to suffer great hardship, for the lands bordering the canal were flooded with salt water by the tides which entered from the Bay of Negombo. This created a grave situation which throws an unfavourable light on the king's judgement in the planning of the whole affair. Queyroz gives a picture of the whole event which leaves on the mind of the reader a deep impression of the tragic plight of the people. He states that the inhabitants of the County of Alicur (Alutkuru Kōralē) and the seven Corlas (Sat Kōralē) rose against the king. Queyroz' statement that the rebels laid siege to Kotte for three months cannot be regarded as an exaggeration of the event. The king was saved because of the loyalty of the rest of his subjects, for they assisted the king to defeat the rebels, many of whom were slain.<sup>147</sup>

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147. Ibid.

Queyroz does not stand alone in his account of this disturbance which occurred during the reign of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII. The information supplied by this writer is confirmed by a Dutch Resolution of Council, dated 3rd June 1767, according to which reports preserved among the 'natives' stated that the fertile fields of Muturājavela had been rendered sterile by the salinity of the soil due to flooding caused by the construction of a canal through it.<sup>148</sup> From a letter of the disave C.L. de Coste, dated 1st May 1767, we are informed that this canal was found in a neglected state by the Dutch, when they made an attempt to repair it.<sup>149</sup> A Sinhalese manuscript known as the Vittipatraya, which may be attributed to the early part of the seventeenth century, bears a vague memory regarding the opening of this canal.<sup>150</sup>

With the limited information that is available to us we are unable to explain the reasons that encouraged Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII to build this canal.<sup>151</sup>

148. CLR, ii, pp. 87-88.

149. The writer of the letter wrongly attributes the canal to the Portuguese. CLR, ii, pp. 87-88

150. Tri Simhale Kaḍa-im saha Vittti, p. 73

151. For map reference see, Ceylon: One Inch Sheet L6, 11, Colombo.

The duration of the reign of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII is not reported consistently in all our sources. The Rājāvaliya(G), Alakēśvarayuddhaya, and Valentijn assign him a twenty years' reign as king of Kotte.<sup>152</sup> The Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya and the Rājalēkhanaya allude to a reign of twenty-two years.<sup>153</sup> Queyroz, however, attributes to Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII an extremely long reign of seventy-three years.<sup>154</sup> We cannot take this writer too seriously for he is not sure of the regnal years which he assigned to the kings of Kotte.<sup>155</sup> Similarly, the statement of Couto, that Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII ruled for only two years, may also be rejected as unreliable.<sup>156</sup> In fact, the Kudumirissa Inscription, which is attributed to this monarch, is dated the tenth regnal year, which proves that the king must have reigned

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152. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.25; Rājāvaliya(G), p.49; Valentijn, p.74; Upham, vol.ii, p.274.

153. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.78. In a foot note the editor has pointed out that some manuscripts of the chronicle bear the figure twenty. Rājalēkhanaya, Or.6606-104, fol.4.

154. Queyroz, book i, p.25.

155. Ibid.

156. Couto as translated in JRAS(CB), vol.xx, p.70.

for at least ten years.<sup>157</sup>

According to the Kālaṇi inscription of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX, the successor of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII, the nineteenth regnal year of the former was B.E.2051.<sup>158</sup> From this date one may be able to calculate the initial year of the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX. There is no absolute certainty that A.D.1489 (B.E.2032), the initial year of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX, was the same as the last year of Vira Parākramabāhu VIII, since all the Kōṭṭē kings calculated their regnal years from the day on which they were appointed yuvaraja. The events that took place during the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX, however, lead us to believe that his reign began in the year deducible from the data found in the Kālaṇi inscription. With a certain amount of precision, therefore, the closing year of the reign of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII may be placed in B.E.2032 (A.D.1489).

For the date of accession of this king we have to turn to the last year of Bhuvanekabāhu VI, as the interval between the demise of Bhuvanekabāhu VI and the accession of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII amounts to not more than one year, since Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu VII was immediately ousted by Vīra

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157. JRAS(CB), vol.x, p.97.

158. UCR, vol.xix, p.23.

Parākramabāhu VIII. The commencement of the reign of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII may, therefore, be placed in A.D.1477, which, as we concluded earlier, was the termination of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI. This would show that the duration of Vīra Parākramabāhu's reign was about twelve years, which is contrary to the twenty years' reign assigned to him in the chronicles. The latter evidence, however, cannot be completely rejected for the chronicles included the period in office as yuvaraja in recording the duration of a king's reign. This may well be the case with regard to the reign of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII, for we find evidence to prove that he was the yuvaraja from the beginning of the reign of his brother, Bhuvanekabāhu VI, in A.D.1469. The Kalyani inscriptions of Dhammaceti mention that Bhuvanekabāhu's brother was the yuvaraja when the upasampadā ceremony recorded in the inscriptions was performed in A.D.1476.<sup>159</sup> Even the Rājāvaliya supports the idea that <sup>the</sup> Ambulugala-Raja was the yuvaraja from the beginning of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI. Therefore, it should be noted that the regnal years of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII may go as far as the twelfth, although the king ruled only for eleven years as the king of Kōṭṭē.

159. IA, vol.xxii, p.44.; Kalyani Inscriptions, (Pali text),  
ed. Buddhadatta Thera, p.71.

Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D. 1489-1513)

Vīra Parākramabāhu was succeeded by his eldest son who is one of the important figures in this period. We owe to the Rājāvaliya our knowledge of the name Dharma Parākramabāhu, which is generally adopted. The accession of Dharma Parākramabāhu was not challenged by any other pretender to the throne. Being the eldest of the sons of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII, he was the legitimate successor to the throne, for the latter had no younger brother.<sup>160</sup> Dharma Parākramabāhu IX had four brothers, but none of them showed any dissatisfaction at the accession of their elder brother. On the contrary, we notice a commendable unity among these five brothers.

It should first be determined who these five brothers were. The Rājāvaliya gives us the following account

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160. This does not imply that, as a rule, the throne was handed over from the elder brother to the younger. What is meant here is that a younger brother of Vīra Parākramabāhu could have contested the throne with or without legitimate claims.



regarding them.<sup>161</sup>

"On his (i.e. Vira Parākramabāhu VIII's) death his eldest son was raised to the throne under the title Dharma Parākramabāhu. Vijayabāhu Raja and Rājasinha Raja built the city of Māṅikkadavara, and whilst young men, lived in one place and cohabited with one woman; one young prince lived at Rayigama. The younger sister of the queen, who was the mother of Dharma Parākramabāhu, was also given in marriage to the Aṃbulugala-Raja (Vira Parākramabāhu VIII) as the lesser queen, and bore him two princes. They were Sakalakalāvalla-Raja who lived at Uḍugampala and Taniyavalla-Raja who lived at Mādampe."

The account found in the Alakēśvarayuddhaya, however, is somewhat different from the other Rājāvaliya versions. The

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161. This translation of the Rājāvaliya account is based on the Gunasekara version, p.71. By comparison with the Sinhalese text, I have made certain minute changes in order to give the same idea as that found in the Sinhalese work.  
Rājāvaliya(G), pp.49-50; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.78.

report found in the Alakēśvarayuddhaya is as follows:<sup>162</sup>

"Hereupon the eldest raja among the five princes of that maharaja (i.e. Vira Parākramabāhu VIII) ascended the throne as Dharma Parākramabāhu. Erecting the city of Kaṭupiṭi Mādampe one raja named Taniyavalla resided therein. One raja called Sakalalakāvalla founded the city of Uḍugampala and lived there. A raja named Rājasinhā and a raja named Vijayabāhu built the city of Māṅikkaḍavara and cohabited with one wife; the younger raja stayed at Rayigama."

The interesting point that we notice in the Rājāvaliya passage is that the name of the prince who was dwelling at Rayigama is withheld. This is the case also with the other Rājāvaliya versions including the Alakēśvarayuddhaya.<sup>163</sup> This vagueness on the part of the chroniclers has brought some disagreement among modern scholars with respect to the name of this prince.<sup>164</sup> Since the five princes played

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162. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, pp.25-26.

163. Upham, vol.ii, p.274; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.78; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, pp.25-26; Rājāvaliya(G), p.49; Valentijn, p.74.

164. S.G. Perera, History of Ceylon, p.15; P.E. Pieris, Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol.i, pp.43-45; Paranavitana in UCR, xix, p.15.

an important part in <sup>the</sup> political affairs during the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX, some clarification of this point is required. As the total number of brothers was only five, he must be one of those mentioned by name.

As appears from the account of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya the prince residing at Rayigama was the youngest of this family.<sup>165</sup> According to the Rājāvaliya(G) he was the youngest son of the chief queen. Valentijn, in agreement with the Alakēśvarayuddhaya, gives the impression that he was the youngest of all the sons of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII.<sup>166</sup> Valentijn further indicates that Vijayabāhu was the raja of Rayigama before his accession to the throne after the death of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX. In view of the fact that the Alakēśvarayuddhaya refers to the raja of Rayigama as the youngest, coupled with Valentijn's information that the raja of Rayigama was Vijayabāhu, we may conclude that this prince was the youngest son of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII. The other three princes, viz. Śrī Rājasiṅha, Sakalakalāvalla, and Taniyavalla were rajas of Māṅikkāḍavara, Uḍugampala, and Mādampe respectively.

165. Rājāvaliya(G), p.50, anikut kumārayā (other prince); Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.74, bala kunaraya (younger prince). Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.26. (Bāla raja tema Rayigam-nuvara vāda unnaha).

166. Valentijn, p.74

While recording the events following the arrival of the Portuguese in the port of Colombo the Rājāvaliya states that a brother of king Dharma Parākramabāhu IX known by the name of Cakrāyudha-Raja, offered to go and make investigations about the new arrivals.<sup>167</sup> Who could this prince be ? The Rājāvaliya makes it clear that he was one of the four brothers of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX.<sup>168</sup> Many modern scholars have been <sup>un</sup>able to identify this prince, although this is essential for a clear view of the later events as well. The statement of Queyroz that 'Vigia Bau' (Vijayabāhu) was elevated to the throne after the death of Dharma Parākramabāhu because he was better suited to govern than the elder, 'Chakraude Bau', has been taken as evidence to prove that Cakrāyudha was identical with Śrī Rājasiṅha of Māṅkkaḍavara.<sup>169</sup> It is not quite safe to rely on Queyroz who had only very vague ideas of the names of the Sinhalese princes of this period. The Rājāvaliya makes it clear that Śrī Rājasiṅha was not alive when Vijayabāhu was elevated to the throne.<sup>170</sup> From the Alakēśvarayuddhaya we know that the choice was between Sakalakaḷāvalla and Vijayabāhu when the throne fell vacant after the death of

167. Rājāvaliya, tr.73.

168. Rājāvaliya, tr.p.73; Rājāvaliya(G), p.51 "...sahōdara malvū satara kaṭṭuva.." (the four younger brothers)

169. Queyroz, book ii, p.197; P.E. Pieris, Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol.i, p.56.

170. Rājāvaliya(G), p.52; Rājāvaliya, tr.p.73.

Dharma Parākramabāhu IX.<sup>171</sup> Fr. S. G. Perera, therefore, has made an attempt to prove that Sakalalakāvalla was the prince known as Cakrāyudha. But this view is contradicted by Queyroz on a later occasion, for he states that Bhuvanekabāhu, Rayigam Baṇḍara and Māyādunnē were the sons of the elder brother of Vijayabāhu, who was also known as Cakrāyudhabahu.<sup>172</sup> There need not be any doubt about the parentage of the above mentioned three princes, since we know for certain that they were the sons of Vijayabāhu and Śrī Rājasīṅha from the same queen. We may, therefore, leave out the contradictory evidence of Queyroz identifying the prince known as Cakrāyudha. We cannot blame Queyroz for this error, for he openly cast doubt on the reliability of the records he utilized in writing the account of the history of this period. An important piece of evidence is found in the Rājalēkhanaya (Register of kings) where it is said that the prince who was known as Cakrāyuddha was elevated to the throne under the name of Vijayabāhu.<sup>173</sup> This work, in addition, states clearly that Cakrāyudha was the youngest prince of the family. We may, therefore, conclude

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171. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.29.  
 172. S.G. Perera, A History of Ceylon, p.15; Queyroz book ii, p.203.  
 173. Or.6606-104, fol.2. ... "Mē satara-denā aturen bāla Cakrayudha kumārāyā tema Vijayabāhu namin raja vūha." (Out of these four princes, the youngest prince, Cakrayudha, became king by the name of Vijayabāhu.)

that Cakrāyudha was identical with Vijayabāhu who was the raja of Rayigama during the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX.<sup>174</sup>

It would be of interest to examine what position these petty kings held in relation to the king of Kotte. As we have seen from the account of <sup>the</sup> Rājāvaliya there were five rajas in the kingdom of Kotte when Dharma Parākramabāhu IX ascended the throne in 1489. Although the sources are silent about it, it is possible that the kingdom was divided among the five sons of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII before he died. As we shall see in the next chapter the Portuguese arrived in the Island for the first time during the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX. Most of the early Portuguese writers have noticed that the Island was administered by many rulers. A Sinhalese tradition regarding the first arrival of the Portuguese says that the strangers, having made their landfall in Kolon-toṭa, made enquiries about the king of the Island. The people said that they had five kings in their kingdom and asked the strangers to which one they would like to pay homage. Then the Portuguese wanted to know who was the chief; "the king of Kotte" was the answer.<sup>175</sup> According to King Manuel's letter

174. Valentijn states "..... de koning van Reygam, met den Titel van Viga-Bahu,.....". (p.75).

In EZ, vol.iii, p.43 Wickremesinhe also has identified this Cakrāyudhabāhu with Vijayabāhu VI. (He, however, wrongly

175. calls him Vijayabāhu VII).  
Purāvr̥tta, p.33.

to the Pope dated 25th, September 1507, the reigning monarch of the Island of 'Ceilão' was suzerain over six others.<sup>176</sup> According to Rãbeiro, a Portuguese soldier who stayed in the Island in the seventeenth century, there were seven kings in the Island when the flotilla of Dom Lourenço de Almeida visited the kingdom in 1505.<sup>177</sup> Apparently these two writers included the kings of Jaffna and Uḍaraṭa in the number of kings of the Island. This, taken along with the Sinhalese sources, demonstrates that there were five kings in the kingdom of Kōṭṭē.

As we have pointed out earlier there was, surprisingly enough, a remarkable unity among the five brother kings. They acted in unison in most important matters. Whenever the elder brother, who was the chief of them, was challenged by an external or internal threat the help of the four brothers was always readily rendered. The formalities regarding the superior position of the eldest, who was the king of Kōṭṭē, were always maintained by the others. When Śrī Rājasinha died no other brother made an attempt to annex the deceased raja's territory to his principality.<sup>178</sup> The

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176. JRAS(GB), xix, p. 340.

177. Rãbeiro's History of Ceilão, tr. by P.E. Pieris, Colombo, 1909, p. 1.

178. Rājāvaliya(G), p. 51.

position of yuvaraja which was held by Śrī Rājasiṅha was conferred at his death on the next senior prince by Dharma Parākramabāhu IX. Sakalakalāvalla, therefore, became the yuvaraja during the latter part of Dharma Parākramabāhu's reign.<sup>179</sup> We have a fascinating account regarding the refusal of the offer of the throne of Kōṭṭē by this yuvaraja in favour of his younger brother Vijayabāhu, which will be told later.<sup>180</sup>

The position of these five brother kings undoubtedly varied according to the office each of them held and according to the territory that he administered. Rôbeiro's History of Ceilão, which was written during the seventeenth century, mentions that the king of Kōṭṭē was regarded as emperor by the others.<sup>181</sup> All the Sinhalese sources support Rôbeiro's evidence.<sup>182</sup> The next in command was the yuvaraja, a post which was normally held by the eldest of other rajas.<sup>183</sup>

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179. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.29.

180. See below, pp. 339-346

181. Rôbeiro's History of Ceilão, tr. by P.E. Pieris, p.2.

182. Rājāvaliya(G), p.51; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.28.

183. We come across some land grants purporting to have been issued by Taniyavalla Raja of Mādampe. But careful examination of these documents will show that they are not genuine ones. They have been condemned as forged documents by the Negombo courts. For further information see: H.C.P.Bell's article entitled 'Prince Taniyavallabahu of Madampe' contributed to the JRAS(CB), xxviii, no.73, 1920, pp.36-53.



Only the king of Kōṭṭē had the power to issue grants; when the others issued them permission had to be applied for.<sup>184</sup> We notice in the Rājāvaliya that Taniyavalla Raja had no power to take action when the Yon (Muslim) forces attacked Salāvata, even though his palace at Mādampe was only about six miles from the target of the invaders.<sup>185</sup> He did not act until messengers arrived from Kōṭṭē. Similarly, Śrī Rājasin̄ha did not invade Uḍaraṭa, even though the ruler of Uḍaraṭa harassed his officers, until Dharma Parākramabāhu IX gave permission to attack.<sup>186</sup> We may not be far wrong if we assume that the rajas other than the king of Kōṭṭē held only a nominal title. They depended on the co-operation of the others, especially on that of the king of Kōṭṭē, who was quite clearly the most powerful.

Dharma Parākramabāhu IX, on his accession directed his attention to the people of Alutkuru Kōralē who suffered during his father's reign owing to the opening of the previously mentioned canal.<sup>187</sup> According to Queyroz, the king, out of sympathy, pardoned the guilty, and rewarded those

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184. Rājāvaliya(G), p.50; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.26.

185. Rājāvaliya(G), p.50; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, pp.26-27.

186. See below, p.328

187. See above, pp.306-308

who had been loyal to his father during the uprising of the people of Alutkuru Kōralē and those of Sat Kōralē.<sup>188</sup> According to the Yāpānuvara-vistaraya the king built a high wall between the rock near the south gate of Kālaṇi Vihāra and the Kālaṇi-Gaṅga in order to protect the paddy cultivation of the neighbouring area.<sup>189</sup> Another Sinhalese work called Vittipatraya refers to a canal built by this king after the construction of the dam.<sup>190</sup> Most probably this new canal was built with a view to providing some relief to Alutkuru Kōralē where many inhabitants had lost their cultivated lands during the reign of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII (A.D.1477-1489).<sup>190a</sup>

It was on the north-west that Kōṭṭē's hold was most seriously threatened by some invaders called 'Yon-golla' in the Rājāvaliya. In the medieval Sinhalese writings the term 'yon' has been used in referring to the Muslim community in coastal Ceylon.<sup>191</sup> The Mayura-sandēśaya and the Kōkila-sandēśaya use this term in connexion with the trading community in the port of Vāligama, while the Girā-sandēśaya

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188. Queyroz, book ii, p.26.

189. Yāpānuvara-vistaraya, Or.5042.fol.16.

190. Marambe, Tri Siṃhale Kaṭṭim saha Vitti, p.73.

The canal mentioned here is probably the Ran-mudu-ala of Kālaṇi inscription of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX. CALR, vol.i, p.168

190a. See above, pp.306-308

191. Śrī Sumaṅgala Śabdakōśaya, vol.ii, p.781.

uses it to that at Bēruvala.<sup>192</sup> Valentijn, who used a version of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya, employs the term 'Mooren' in place of the Sinhalese term Yon-golla found in the latter.<sup>193</sup> Thus it is clear that the invasion mentioned in the Rājāvaliya was undertaken by Muslims. The title attributed to the leader of this invasion, in the account of the Rājāvaliya, seems Hindu rather than Muslim even though his forces may have consisted of Muslims. But the contemporary Roteiro of Vasco da Gama mentions that Kāyal was a great city which was the capital of a 'Moorish' king.<sup>194</sup> In view of the fact that there are other contemporary Portuguese accounts to support the view that the king of Kāyal was a Muslim the title rāyan attributed to the leader of the expedition in the Rājāvaliya cannot be taken as evidence to support the view that he was a Hindu.<sup>194a</sup> The Sinhalese chroniclers inform us that an armada landed in the port of Salāvata (Chilaw) under the leadership of a certain Adirāsa Rāyan from the seaport of 'Kāyalapaṭṭināma' (Kāyalpaṭṭinam); they began to fish for pearls in the neighbourhood of Salāvata (Chilaw) and captured elephants in

192. Girā-sandēśaya, v, 104; Kōkila-sandēśaya, v. 91; Mayura-sandēśaya, v. 53.

For further information about the term Yona see: Wilhelm Geiger, Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times, Edited by Heinz Bechert, Wiesbaden, 1960, pp. 108-110.

193. Valentijn, p. 74; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 26.

194. Yule, H., The Travels of Marco Polo, vol. ii, p. 372

194a. Arunachalam, S., The History of the Pearl Fishery of the Tamil Coast, Annamalai Nagar, 1952, pp. 66 ff.

the king's (i.e. of the king of Kōṭṭē) territory.<sup>194b</sup>

Kāyal is a very ancient port which had a history going back to the early medieval period. It is situated at the mouth of the Tamraparni river. Dr. Caldwell identified this port with a small village called Palayakāyal situated at the mouth of river Tamraparni, on the authority of the finds at Korkai and Palayākāyal.<sup>194c</sup> From foreign as well as local accounts available regarding the pearl fishery of the Gulf of Mannar it seems clear that the port of Kāyal flourished because of the trade in pearls and other commodities through this port.<sup>194d</sup> Marco Polo who visited South India at the end of the thirteenth century describes 'Cail' (Kāyal) as a great and noble city which was visited by ships from various parts of Asia, laden with merchandise. With reference to the king of Kāyal he states that the king had upon his person a large store of rich jewels.<sup>195</sup> Most probably the ruler of Kāyal controlled a part of the pearl fishery in the Gulf of Mannar. Part of it, before the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, was controlled by the ruler of Madurai. The king of Jaffna also owned some parts of it in the neighbourhood of the Isle of Mannar, while the Sinhalese king presumably

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194b. Rājāvaliya(G), p.50; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.74.

194c. Caldwell, Rev.Dr. The History of Tinnevelly, pp.282-288.

194d. S. Arunachalam, The History of the Pearl Fishery of the Tamil Coast, pp.66-87.

195. The Book of Ser Marco Polo, tr. and ed. by Sir Henry Yule, revised by H. Cordier, London, 1926, vol.ii, p.370.

controlled over only a small portion of it near Salāvata.<sup>196</sup> According to Wassaff Kāyal was the chief emporium of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. He says that at his time as many as 10,000 horses were imported into Kāyal for trade in India. Muslim historians refer to this port as a trade centre established by an Arab chieftain.<sup>197</sup> It seems certain that this port enjoyed the prestige of an important port even during the last part of the sixteenth century. The main purpose of the raid mentioned in the Rājāvaliya thus seems to have been economic rather than political. As we know the trade in elephants and that in pearls were among the major items in Ceylon's foreign commerce during this time. Ceylon elephants were in demand both in the North and in South India for the forces of Muslim rulers even during the Portuguese period. We are informed that they were taken from Ceylon to Cambaya and to Kāyal.<sup>198</sup>

196. Codrington, Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon, Colombo, 1938, p.53.

197. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, The Pandyan Kingdom, London, 1929, pp.191-192. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, South India and her Mohamadan Invaders, Madras, 1921, pp.70-71.; Yule, Marco Polo, vol.ii, p.372.

198. Abeyasinghe, Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, pp.159-160  
The Portuguese sold twenty to thirty elephants to the Mughal emperors. During the period of Azevedo's captaincy the Nayaks of Tanjor bought a number of elephants from Ceylon. The Portuguese had one of their main elephant auctions in Mannar. The Sinhalese works known as Vittipotat have many stories regarding the manner how the elephants were caught in the Vanni area. The closest port to the places where elephants were caught in this time was Salavata.

See also, Duarte Barbosa, A Description of East Africa and Malabar, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Hakluyt Society, London, 1866, pp.167-168

In the opinion of P.E.Pieris the invasion of the Muslims under Adirāsa-Rāyan was launched at Salāvata after the arrival of the Portuguese in the Island.<sup>199</sup> The Rājāvaliya and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya record this event before the report of the first landing of the Portuguese in the Island.<sup>200</sup> Valentijn also places this invasion of 'Adirācarajan' before the arrival of the Portuguese.<sup>201</sup> It seems, therefore, very probable that the invasion took place before the arrival of the Portuguese.

As we have seen Taniyavalla Raja did not use force even when he heard of an attack on the port which was situated about six miles from his capital. No doubt the news of the aggression was conveyed by this raja to the king of Kōṭṭē through a messenger. The two aims of the invader, viz. the pearl fishery and the capture of elephants, were regarded as royal privileges from the early Anurādhapura period. This, therefore, was a direct challenge to the power of the king, and retaliatory measures had to be taken if the king's position was to be safeguarded. We learn from the Alakēśvarayuddhaya that Dharma Parākramabāhu IX equipped a large force under the leadership of Sakalakalāvalla Raja in order to repel the invaders.<sup>202</sup> The latter, having arrived

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199. Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol.i, pp.43-44.

200. Rājāvaliya(G), p.50; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.26.

201. Valentijn, p.74.

202. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.26.

at Mādampe on his way to Salāvata, requested his brother Taniyavalla Raja to join in the onslaught. The forces led by these two brothers battered the invaders in an open battle. According to the Rājāvaliya they charged into the midst of the Muslim army on opposite sides, killed many of them, stabbed to death the leader, Adirāsa Rāyan, and seized a number of soldiers as captives. Their catamarans and other sailing vessels were destroyed and nine horses were taken to Kōṭṭē. The author of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya gleefully adds that the people who had come to capture elephants were not permitted to secure even a dog.<sup>203</sup>

Of the problems which had accumulated through all these years after the death of Parākramabāhu VI, one of the most serious was the increasing tendency among the princes of Udarata to flout the authority of the king of Kōṭṭē. When the king of Kotte was engaged in military activities in Salavata the ruler of Uḍaraṭa took steps to put an end to the overlordship of the Kōṭṭē king. We have seen how, earlier on, Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu, the ruler of Uḍaraṭa, taking advantage of the geographical features of his area with which the rulers of Kōṭṭē were unfamiliar, behaved independently, and not seldom openly defied the authority of Kōṭṭē. The last

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203. Rājāvaliya(G), p.50; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.26.

serious attempt of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu was repressed by Bhuvanekabāhu VI (A.D.1469-1477), and the kingdom of Uḍaraṭa remained calm for over two decades until the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX.<sup>204</sup> But the situation had become so serious by this time that Queyroz points to this part of the country as the most vulnerable spot in the kingdom of Kōṭṭē during the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX.<sup>205</sup>

The ruler of Uḍaraṭa was not slow in taking advantage of Dharma Parākramabāhu's preoccupation in Salāvata. As a result Sakalalakāvalla, was despatched to Salāvata with a large section of the Kōṭṭē army. The ruler of Uḍaraṭa being aware of this ceased to comply with the formalities of allegiance. According to the Alakēśvarayuddhaya the tributary king of Uḍaraṭa prepared a crown for himself, coined money, and refused to send the annual tribute to his sovereign. The Uḍaraṭa ruler also openly declared independence by watching aṅgam-pora and mallava-aṅgam in public.<sup>206</sup> Dharma Parākramabāhu IX, though engaged in a conflict at Salāvata, immediately took measures to check the aspirations of his tributary. The king's brother Śrī Rājasinhā, who was residing at Maṅikkavara, was

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204. See above, pp. 327-335

205. Queyroz, book ii, p. 185.

206. For further information regarding Aṅgam-pora and mallava-aṅgam see note. 157 of the chapter four



requested to head the expedition.<sup>207</sup>

Śrī Rājasiṅha took the most direct and easiest approach to the Kandyan plateau which ran through Satara Kōralē and the mountain pass of Balana.<sup>208</sup> Having begun the march from Māṅikkaḍavara he encamped in Galbada Kōralē and handed over a part of the army to his brother-in-law, Kīrivālle Maharālahāmi, who was to proceed to the capital of Uḍarata via the Kaḍugannāva pass. Although the Sinhalese chronicles are silent about the further movements of the army we may assume that Śrī Rājasiṅha intended to take his own forces along the Balana pass.<sup>209</sup> In the meantime, however, the situation was altered when Kirivalle Maharālahāmi captured Yaṭīnuvara and proceeded to Kunukohupīṭiya about ten miles from Senkaḍagalanuvara. Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu, acting as usual with far-sighted prudence, laid down his arms, and sent messengers to sue for peace. According to the Alakēśvarayuddhaya the raja of Uḍarata sent three lakhs of fanams, three elephants, and especially his own daughter to Kīrivālle Maharālahāmi, for the purpose of securing peace.<sup>210</sup>

207. Rājāvaliya(G), p.50; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.26; Valentijn, p.74.

208. Raven-hart, R., 'The great road', JRAS(CB)NS, vol. iv, pp.153 ff.

209. Rājāvaliya(G), p.50; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.26; Valentijn, p.74.

210. For information regarding fanam see: Codrington, Ceylon Coins and Currency, Colombo, 1924, pp.80. ff.; EZ, iv, p.23.

On these terms the campaign came to an end. We cannot interpret this agreement as a decisive victory for the king of Kōṭṭē. Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu did not lose much by the war, although he did not gain anything noteworthy. But the fact that he was left in his former position as the ruler of Uḍaraṭa gave him a chance to make a fresh attempt for independence within a few years after this defeat. The most important characteristic of the policy of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu was that he never continued a war against Kōṭṭē to the bitter end. He was cautious, and did not take the risk of losing the privileges that he enjoyed as the tributary king of Uḍaraṭa. He realized that the power of Kōṭṭē prevented him from obtaining independence. He further made it a point to rebel whenever the king of Kōṭṭē was involved in some other conflict. On all these occasions he sued for peace when the odds were against him, and thereby, maintained himself in power.

The marriage of the daughter of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu to Kirivālle Maharālahāmi helps us to fix the approximate date of the rising in Uḍaraṭa. From the Rājāvaliya we know that this princess, the daughter of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu, had seven children by Kirivālle Maharālahāmi.<sup>211</sup> Their

211. The names of these seven children are Vālikola Rālahāmi, Butgamuve Rālahāmi, Obbēriye Rālahāmi, Vahalageyi Rālahāmi, Annoruve Rālahāmi, Kirivālle Rālahāmi (. jr.) and the queen of Jayavīra of Uḍaraṭa. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.27; Rājāvaliya(G), p.50.

daughter was given in marriage to King Jayavīra, the son of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu when the princess attained marriageable age.<sup>212</sup> This princess, the daughter of Kīrivālle Maharalahami, was Jayavīra's queen in A.D.1521 and was in the palace of Sen/kaḍagala-nuvara when Māyādunnē, the youngest son of Vijayabāhu VI (A.D.1513-1521), visited them in that same year. According to the Rājāvaliya, Māyādunnē addressed this princess as 'akka' (elder sister) owing to the fact that they had lived and played together in their young days at Uḍugampala where Sakalakālavalla-Raja lived.<sup>213</sup> The chronicles inform us that this princess was adopted by Sakalakālāvalla-Raja after the death of her father, Kīrivālle Maharālahāmi, and was later given in marriage to King Jayavīra by him when she attained marriageable age.<sup>214</sup> We also know from the Kadirāna-sannasa that Sakalakālāvalla-Raja was not alive in A.D.1517, for Vijayabāhu VI was residing in his newly built palace at Uḍugampala.<sup>215</sup>

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212. This is an occasion when the brother married his sister's daughter (niece).

213. Rājāvaliya(G), p.53.

214. Rājāvaliya(G), p.50.

215. If Sakalakālāvalla had then been living, it is very unlikely that Vijayabāhu VI should have been in residence at Uḍugampala. The Kadirāna-sannasa was issued in the ninth regnal year of Vijayabāhu VI. The exact date of the sannasa is 18th June 1517. We arrive at this date since the sannasa records a grant made to a Brahmin on the new moon day of Poson in the ninth year on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Codrington draws our attention to two solar eclipses which took place in the lunar month of Poson on 18th June 1517 and 8th June 1518. The second eclipse was not visible in Ceylon. The Kadirāna-sannasa, therefore, must have been issued on the former date, i.e. in A.D.1517. This sannasa is published in JRAS(CB), v, (1873?) pp.75-79; Muller, Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, no.162. For Codrington's view see: EZ, iii, p.58.

Further, according to Queyroz, Māyādunnē, who died in A.D.1581, was 85 years old at the time of his death, and was, therefore, about twenty-five years old in A.D.1521; thus the princess who was older to him must have been born sometime before A.D.1496.<sup>216</sup> We may, therefore, place the upheaval in Uḍaraṭa approximately between A.D.1489, the year of Dharma Parākramabāhu's accession, and A.D.1496.

The affairs in the kingdom of Kōṭṭē ran smoothly for some time after the suppression of the revolt in Uḍaraṭa. Dharma Parākramabāhu IX was once again fortunate enough to reign for some time without disturbance to his authority. But before very long, more serious problems arose. In 1505, about a decade after the uprising in Uḍaraṭa, the Portuguese arrived in the port of Colombo.<sup>217</sup> A little later the king's younger brother, Śrī Rājasin̄ha, died at Māṅikkaḍavara. His death, though it was for Dharma Parākramabāhu a loss, turned out to be an advantage for Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu. The fact that Śrī Rājasin̄ha lived at Māṅikkaḍavara was some check on the ambitions of the ruler of Uḍaraṭa, since the former could control the most important route to Uḍaraṭa from Māṅikkaḍavara in Beligal Kōralē. Śrī Rājasin̄ha was alive in 1505 and was present at the crucial meeting of the king's

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216. Queyroz, book iii, p.438; Rājāvaliya(G), p.61.

217. See below, pp. 409-415

council which decided the official policy towards the Portuguese arrivals.<sup>218</sup> But Varthema, writing in 1510, indicates that there were then only four kings in the kingdom of Kōṭṭē.<sup>219</sup> We may, therefore, conclude that Śrī Rājasiṅha was dead by that time. This information may be of some use for us in ascertaining the date of the second revolt of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu during the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX, for we learn from the Alakēśvarayuddhaya that the revolt took place after the death of Śrī Rājasiṅha.<sup>220</sup> In fact, on this occasion Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu not only declared independence, but also repeated the course of action which he followed during the absence of <sup>the</sup> Ambulugala-Raja in Satara Kōralē in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI by ravaging that kōralē. In addition, he stopped the formalities of allegiance to the king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>221</sup>

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218. Rājāvaliya(G), p.51; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.28; Valentijn, p.75.

219. The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, 1503-1508. tr. for the Hakluyt Society, by Winter Jones, London, 1863, p.188. It is rather doubtful whether Varthema was ever in Ceylon. His description of Ceylon may have been based on information picked up from the narratives of the native merchants at Calicut. The original Italian version of this work was published in A.D.1510.

220. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.27. Queyroz refers to this uprising in 'Candea' (Kanda-Udarata). According to this writer it took place when Dharma Parakramabahu was very old. (Queyroz, book.ii, p.185).

221. Rājāvaliya, p.51; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.27. These two works do not mention the name of Śrī Rājasiṅha of Māṅikkaḍavara in connection with this expedition. If he was alive he would certainly have been the person who led the campaign owing to the geographical position of his principality.

Dharma Parākramabāhu IX entrusted the forces to Sakalakalāvalla Raja of Uḍugampala. The campaign was led through Satara Kōralē, which was evacuated by Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu when he learnt that Sakalakalāvalla was on his way to Uḍarata. Moving swiftly through the Balana Pass, Sakalakalāvalla Raja occupied Yaṭīnuvara.<sup>222</sup> Once Balana was taken, no other point could offer successful resistance owing to geographical reasons. The occupation of Balana was not easy as it required an invading army from the west to make an ascent of about five hundred feet in approximately a half mile. Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu once again gave up hope when he realized his inability to check the advancing army before passing Balana. He voluntarily surrendered to Sakalakalāvalla Raja, and in token of homage sent emblems of royalty which were the mutu-kuḍaya (pearl parasol), the sak-palisaya (round shield) and the derisana mālaya (royal necklace).

The Alakēśvarayuddhaya sarcastically states that Sakalakalāvalla Raja, behaving in the manner of a warrior (yīrakkala), tied the royal necklace of the ruler of Udarata around his feet in contempt and later placed it around the neck of Ekanāyaka-Mudaliyā, and severely warned the rebel

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222. Yaṭīnuvara:location 07.15N-80.31E.

king not to repeat his 'foolish act'. According to Valentijn the ruler of Uḍaraṭa was pardoned on very much harder conditions than before. We do not know how far this humiliation led to the death of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu some time before A.D.1511.<sup>223</sup>

The lengths of the reigns of this period have often been determined on the basis of the Rājāvaliya. The duration of Dharma Parākramabāhu's reign is, however, by no means the same in different Rājāvaliya versions. The version edited by Guna<sup>s</sup>ekara assigns twenty-two years to this reign, whereas the Vatuvatte version makes it only twenty. The other version of this chronicle known as the Alakēśvarayuddhaya attributes a longer reign to this monarch. According to it the reign lasted twenty-five years.<sup>224</sup> Couto attributes him a reign of twenty-eight years.<sup>225</sup> Queyroz, however, seems uncertain as he attributes to this king forty-six years on one occasion, while on another he gives him forty years.<sup>226</sup>

223. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.26; Rājāvaliya(G), p.50; Valentijn, p.75; See also below, p.385

224. Rājāvaliya(G), pp.52 and 55.; Add.19,886, fol.50. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, pp.81 and 85. Upham's translation of the Rajavaliya assigns sixty-two years to this king. Upham, vol.ii, p.279. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.29; Or.4971, fol.12; Or.6606-91, fol.10. Valentijn, p.75.

225. Couto as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.71.

226. Queyroz, book ii, pp. 195 and 197.

The really important clue to the riddle is found in one of the contemporary inscriptions. As we have noticed earlier, the Kālaṅgi inscription of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX equates the nineteenth regnal year of this king with B.E.2051.<sup>227</sup> According to Paranavitana the precise date mentioned in this inscription, the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Navam in 2051, is equivalent to 31st January 1509.<sup>228</sup> Another important piece of information is recorded in a letter of the Portuguese Viceroy of India to King Manuel dated 30th November 1513, in which reference is made to the death of

227. This inscription has been edited and published by Louis de Zoysa in JRAS(CB), vol.v, (1871-72), pp.36-44. The same inscription has been published by H.C.P.Bell in CALR, vol.i, pp.155-158. Paranavitana has correctly pointed out that the readings given by the above mentioned two scholars are erroneous. In UCR, vol.xix, pp.22-23 he has indicated that the date should be 2051, which was the same as the 19th regnal year of the king mentioned therein, contrary to the view of Zoysa and Bell, who think that B.E.2051 was the year in which the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX began. This latter view is against the information supplied in all the versions of the Rājāvaliya that the king of Kōṭṭē in A.D.1505 was Dharma Parākramabāhu IX. (see below, pp. ). It is interesting to note that the inscription published by Giradara Rotanajoti Swami with the help of an ola copy found in the Kālaṅgi Vihāra has the same reading as that of Paranavitana. (G. Ratanajoti Swami, Kalani Vihara Varnanava, Colombo, 1890, pp.18-19). See also Muller, E. Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, no.162, pp.139-140; J.B.Perera, Nitiṭatnāvali, Dahiwela, 1914, pp.114-115.

228. UCR, xix, p.24.



king of 'Ceilam'.<sup>229</sup>

Many scholars of Ceylon history found it hard to believe that this was a reference to the death of Dharma Parakramabahu IX, for according to Queyroz, who wrote his work in the seventeenth century, the death of Dharma Parākramabāhu took place in A.D.1518.<sup>230a</sup> P.E. Pieris having taken the information supplied by Queyroz as accurate argued that this was not a reference to the death of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX, and took for granted that the letter refers to the death of the king of Jaffna.<sup>230</sup> This argument seems unconvincing for two important reasons; firstly, the Portuguese got no chance to come into contact with the king of Jaffna as early as the second decade of the sixteenth century; secondly, we have strong evidence to prove that the king of Jaffna, Pararājasēkaran, who ascended the throne in A.D.1469, reigned till A.D.1519.<sup>231</sup> As we already noticed, the information supplied by Queyroz regarding the duration of this reign is contradicted by the writer himself. On the other hand, if we assume that either of the dates given by him are correct, we not only have to reject the evidence of the Kālani inscription, but it is hard to account for the reigns of Pandita and Vira Parakramabahus who

229. This document is translated and published in English by Donald Ferguson in JRAS (CB), xix, p.373, Alguns Documentos, p.297

230. P.E. Pieris, Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol. i, pp.442-443.

230a. Queyroz, book ii, p.197.

231. Mud. Rasanayagam, Ancient Jaffna, 1926, pp.359 and 374 ff.

reigned from A.D.1477 to 1489.<sup>232</sup> As Paranavitana correctly points out, the account of Queyroz is not trustworthy owing to the fact that this author while having some knowledge of Ceylon history drew on his imagination as well.<sup>233</sup> Until one is satisfied about the authenticity of the sources on which Queyroz based his information, all interesting accounts given by the writer in connexion with the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX have to be treated with caution. On the other hand, there are strong reasons for taking the death of the king of 'Ceilam', recorded in the letter of Al<sup>b</sup>querque dated 30th November 1513, as a reference to the death of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX, king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>234</sup> When we equate the nineteenth year of the réign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX with B.E.2051 (1509), we find that the death of the king mentioned in the letter of A.D.1513 took place in the twenty-fifth regnal year of the king. This is in accordance with the Alakēśvarayuddhaya and the account of Valentijn, which attribute to this king a reign of twenty-five years.<sup>235</sup> We may, therefore, reject the evidence of Couto since, as usual, his account does not give the correct number of regnal years. The twenty and the twenty-two years assigned to this king in some versions of the Rājāvaliya may be explained as clerical

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232. Rājāvaliya(G), pp.48-49.

233. UCR, xix, p.17.

234. JRAS(CB), xix, p.373; Alguns Documentos, p.297

235. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.29; Valentijn, p.75.

errors since there are other manuscripts of the same chronicle which assign a twenty-five years' reign to this monarch.<sup>236</sup> On these grounds we conclude that the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX lasted from A.D.1489 to 1513.

Vijayabāhu VI (A.D.1513-1521).

Dharma Parākramabāhu IX was succeeded by his youngest brother, Vijayabāhu VI. He was the sixth of that name, not the seventh as reckoned earlier by some scholars.<sup>237</sup> On an earlier occasion we have explained the reasons for this conclusion.<sup>238</sup>

A fascinating story with regard to the accession of Vijayabāhu VI is found in the Rājāvaliya. The story is that at the death of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX the councillors (mantrin), and the army (sēnāva), having decided that Sakalakalāvalla Raja was the worthiest to inherit the throne, went in procession to Uḍugampala, brought him to the city of Jayavardhanapura (Kōṭṭē), and begged him to become their king. Sakalakalāvalla Raja stipulated several conditions that had to be taken into account before such an offer could be accepted. He pointed out that of the two uterine brothers of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX

236. Rājāvaliya(G), pp.52 and 55 record two different numbers of years as the duration of this reign.

237. Wickremanghe in EZ, vol.iii, p.43; Codrington in SHC, p.100; Bell in RKD, p.85; Fr.S.G.Perera in A History of Ceylon, p.15; P.B.Sannasgala in Siṃhala-sāhitya-vamsaya, p.264.

238. See above, pp. 21-22

the elder, Śrī Rājāsīnha, had already died, but that the younger Vijayabāhu, was still alive, and, therefore, would be the legitimate successor to the throne. Then, having convinced the people that Vijayabāhu should succeed, he brought this prince to Kōṭṭē, and elevated him to the throne, naming him Vijayabāhu Maharaja.<sup>239</sup> According to Valentijn, Vijayabāhu was raja of Rayigama when the throne was offered to him.<sup>240</sup> After his brother was enthroned Sakalalakāvalla Raja returned to his abode at Udugampala.

Numerous explanations have been put forward as to why Sakalalakāvalla Raja renounced his title to the throne.<sup>241</sup>

P. E. Pieris, relying too much upon the seventeenth-century account of Queyroz, expressed the view that Vijayabāhu carried out the administration of the kingdom in the latter part of the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX. P.E. Pieris, has given credit to the statement of Queyroz that Vijayabāhu was in charge of the government during this time, because Dharma Parākramabāhu's mental faculties were weakened as apparent from his inability to prevent the Portuguese

Viceroy, Lopo Soarez Albergaria, who arrived in the Island

239. Rājāvaliya(G), p.52; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.29; Valentijn, p.75; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.81.

240. Valentijn, p.75.

241. Paranavitana in UCR, vol.xix, p.25, P.E.Pieris in Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol.i, pp.56 and 458.

in A.D.1518, from building a fortress in Colombo.<sup>242</sup>

From many of Vijayabāhu's inscriptions we know that

he was already the king of Kōṭṭē in A.D.1518, contrary

to the statement of Queyroz.<sup>243</sup> Moreover, Paranavitana

has conclusively proved that this particular part of the

work of Queyroz is erroneous, as the reign of Dharma

Parākramabāhu IX could not have lasted till A.D.1518.<sup>244</sup>

In fact, from the Kadirāna-sannasa of 1517 it seems clear

that Sakalakalāvālla Raja, who made Vijayabāhu VI the

king of Kōṭṭē, was not alive in that year. Since, according

to the Sinhalese chronicles Sakalakalāvālla Raja outlived

Dharma Parākramabāhu IX by a few years, this can be taken

as additional evidence to support the view that Dharma

Parākramabāhu was not alive in 1518.<sup>245</sup> According to

Fr.S.G.Perera, Vijayabāhu was ruling at Dondra in the south,

and was in opposition to his brother Dharma Parākramabāhu IX.<sup>246</sup>

Fr.Perera further states that of the sons of Vīra

Parākramabāhu VIII, the eldest, the later Dharma Parākramabāhu

IX, ruled at Kōṭṭē; another Vijayabāhu, was at Dondra in

the south, Rājasinha was at Maṅikkaḍavara; and another,

242. Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol.i, p.56; Queyroz, book ii, p.197.

243. UCR, xix, pp.16-18.

244. UCR, xix, pp.16-18.

245. The Kadirāna-sannasa is edited and published in JRAS (CB) vol.v, no.18, (1873), pp.75-79 by Mud.L. de Zoysa. His

reading has been adapted by Muller in his AIC, no.172, pp.72-73.

246. S.G.Perera, A History of Ceylon, p.15; Bell in RKD, p.86; Codrington SHC, p.100.

whose name is not known, at Rayigama.<sup>247</sup> This reconstruction of the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu seems erroneous, for we have conclusive evidence to show that the four brothers of this king ruled in places different from those indicated by Fr.Perera.<sup>248</sup> There is no evidence to prove that Vijayabāhu VI ever resided at Devinuvara (Dondra). The documents that are available at the vihāra of Devundara do not refer to Vijayabāhu as a king who ruled there.<sup>249</sup> There is not a vague reference to the authority of Vijayabāhu at Devundara even in a legend. The Rājāvaliya on the other hand, mentions on more than one occasion that Vijayabāhu was the associate husband of the consort of his brother Śrī Rājasin̄ha, who was dwelling at Māṅikkāḍavara.<sup>250</sup> As we know, Valentijn clearly indicates that Vijayabāhu was the prince who, in younger days, lived at Māṅikkāḍavara, and later became the raja of Rayigama before his accession to the throne of Kōṭṭē.<sup>251</sup> The Dondra slab inscription, which was the primary source for the assumption of Fr.Perera, does not give even an indirect indication that he was

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247. S.G.Perera, A History of Ceylon, p.15.

248. See above pp.313-318 for the principalities of these five brother kings.

249. Most of the important records concerning Devundara have been published in Paranavitana's The Shrine of Upulvan at Devundara (ASCM), vol.vi); L.M.Lilasena, Pāraṇi Devnuvara (in Sinhalese), Matara, 1949; P.D.S.Virasuriya, Devundara-Itihāsaya, Colombo, 1962.

250. Rājāvaliya(G), pp.49 and 52.

251. Valentijn, pp.74 and 75

residing at Dondra.<sup>252</sup> For this reason, Fr.Perera's view that Sakalakalāvalla was chosen by the councillors (mantri) and the army (sēnāva), because Vijayabāhu who ruled from Dondra (Devundara) was in opposition to the king Dharma Parākramabāhu IX of Kōṭṭē, cannot be considered true. We have, therefore, to look elsewhere for a satisfactory explanation of the problem.

According to Valentijn, the reason why the choice fell on Sakalakalāvalla Raja was that he was the 'wisest' of the remaining three brothers of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX.<sup>253</sup> This cannot, however, have been the real reason although Queyroz also gives a somewhat similar explanation for the ultimate choice of Vijayabāhu by suggesting that he was elevated to the throne because he was better fitted than his elder brother 'Chacraude Bau'.<sup>253a</sup> The Alakēśvarayuddhaya seems to give a more plausible explanation according to which Sakalakalāvalla-Raja was requested to occupy the throne by the councillors and the army because he was the rightful heir as being the yuvaraja.<sup>254</sup> In view of the fact that the yuvaraja was regarded as the heir-apparent during the

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252. This inscription was first published by T.W.Rhys Davids in JRAS (CB), vol.v, no.17 (1870-71), pp.57-62, and in IA, vol.i, (1872), pp.329-331; Muller, AIC, pp.61-62; ASCM, vol.vi, pp.74-78.

253. Valentijn, p.75.

253a. Queyroz, book ii, p.197.

254. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.29; Ikbīti yuvaraja tanaturu lat Sakalakalāvalla Raju maharajakamaṭa sudusu heyin (Thence for Sakalakalāvalla Raja, who held the title of yuvaraja, was the most suitable to occupy the throne).

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the explanation given in the Alakēśvarayuddhaya seems more convincing.

One may ask the question why if Sakalakalāvalla-Raja had been the yuvaraja and was regarded as the most suitable person to succeed to the throne when Dharma Parākramabāhu IX was alive, he refused the offer of the throne. The Alakēśvarayuddhaya suggests a possible reason for this refusal; unlike Vijayabāhu and Dharma Parākramabāhu he was not a son of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII's chief queen.<sup>255</sup> On the other hand, if there was any such discrimination, it is difficult to understand why the councillors and the army should have invited him to the throne. Moreover, the mother of Sakalakalāvalla, though not the chief queen, was her younger sister. The status of his mother, therefore, was not an obstacle to Sakalakalāvalla succeeding to the throne of Kotte.

Alfonso de Albuquerque's letter to King Manuel, which refers to the death of a king of Ceylon, states that the deceased king had two sons and there was a struggle between them over the succession to the throne.<sup>256</sup> This letter records that one of them sent messengers to 'Cochim' to

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255. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 25.

256. JRAS (CB), xix, p. 373; Alguns Documentos, p. 297  
Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, vol. i, p. 138



seek help saying that if the Portuguese wanted a fortress he would grant them a site. We have no evidence to show that Dharma Parākramabāhu IX had sons who were capable of quarrelling over the throne. It is possible that Albuquerque misunderstood the relationship of these two princes, one of whom sought assistance from the Portuguese to intervene in his favour. The Alakēsvarayuddhaya, however, suggests that there was a move to deprive Vijayabahu of the succession. Vijayabāhu, faced with such a situation, may well have sought Portuguese intervention.<sup>257</sup> The yuvaraja having realized the consequences of any interference by the Portuguese, must have gracefully withdrawn from the contest. In fact, the Rājāvaliya refers to Sakalalakāvalla's arrival in the city of Kotte when the people begged him to occupy the vacant throne.<sup>258</sup> There

257. It is possible that Vijayabāhu assisted his brother Dharma Parākramabāhu for some time in the administration. Queyroz records that Vigiā Bau looked after the government when Dharma Parakramabahu was incapable of doing so in the latter part of his reign. (Queyroz, ii, p. 197). This must have been for a short time, for we know that Vijayabāhu was not at Kōṭṭē in A.D. 1513 when the king died. Possibly it was about A.D. 1508 that Vijayabāhu was assisting the king in the administration, for Barros says that the king of Ceilao was very ill in that year (Barros as translated in JRAS (CB), xix, p. 366).

258. This suggestion is made by Prof. Paranavitana, UCR, vol. xix, pp. 26-27.

could have been no reason for him to go to Kōṭṭē at that particular time, unless he had the intention of occupying the vacant throne. It is possible that Vijayabāhu may have taken some hostile steps against Sakalakalāvalla-Raja because he feared that he would be kept out of the succession.

With a rare self-denial Sakalakalavalla declined the honour, and at his suggestion his half-brother, Vijayabāhu, was elevated to the throne. After returning to Udugampala Sakalakalāvalla-Raja took little part in the administration. He most probably died some time before 1517, for the Kadirāna-sannasa was issued by Vijayabahu from his new palace at Udugampala in that year.<sup>259</sup> Sakalakalāvalla-Raja apparently gave his support to his half-brother during the rest of his life after the accession of Vijayabāhu VI in 1513.

The internal political situation seems to have been peaceful during the reign of Vijayabāhu VI. The long drawn-out struggle with the Portuguese in Colombo was unsuccessful. The more serious threat to the life of the king, however, came from within his own palace.<sup>260</sup>

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259. JRAS(CE), vol.v, pp.75-79; AIC, no.162.

260. See below pp.350-366

According to the chronicles Vijayabāhu was the associate husband of Kīrivālle Mahabisō Baṇḍāra who was the mother of Maharayigam Baṇḍāra, Bhuvanekabāhu, Pararajāsīnha and Māyādunnē.<sup>261</sup> The other husband of this princess, Śrī Rājasīnha, died some time after the arrival of the Portuguese in A.D.1505.<sup>262</sup> According to the Kadirāna-sannasa and the Devundara Dēvāle Sannasa Vijayabāhu assumed the title raja in A.D.1509.<sup>263</sup> This year cannot be taken as that in which Vijayabāhu VI ascended the throne of Kotte for we know that Dharma Parākramabāhu IX was still alive when his Kālaṇi inscription was issued in BE.2051 (A.D.1509) while the

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261. See note 275.

262. See above, p.333

263. JRAS (CB), vol.v.no.18 (1873), pp.75-78; AIC, no.612; EZ, iii, p.58; UCR, xix, pp.18-19.

king was in his palace at Kōṭṭē.<sup>264</sup> We also know that  
 Dharma Parākramabāhu IX died in A.D.1513.<sup>265</sup> During the  
 same period Sakalakalāvalla-Raja was residing at

264. This inscription was first published by Mudaliyar Louis de Zoysa in JRAS(CB), vol.v, (1871), pp.36-44; Later H.C.P. Bell published the same inscription with some modifications in CALR, vol.i, pp.155-158. These two scholars have read the third and the seventh lines of the inscription as: "...sarvajña rājōttamayānan vahansēta dedās ekp̄nas vanuva Laṅkā rājjaśriyāṭa" and "...svāmīnvahansēta dasa navavanu pura ekolosvaka...." and translated these two lines as "on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Navam, in the 19th year of the reign" and "who ascended the throne of Lanka in the year 2051 of the Era of omniscient and supreme Gautama Buddha". Parānavitana recently pointed out that this translation was erroneous in a scholarly article entitled 'The Emperor of Ceylon at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505' contributed to the UCR, vol.xix, pp.10-29. His reading and translation of the above mentioned two lines are: "Gautama sarvajña rājōttayānan<sup>na</sup>-vahansēta de-dās-ek-paṇas-vanu Laṅkā rājja-śriyāṭa.....svamin-vahansēta-dasa-nava Navama pura ekolosvaka....."; "On the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Navam (of) the year two thousand and fifty one"....., and "the year nineteenth unto his majesty.....". According to Parānavitana's reading the year B.E.2051 and the 19th regnal year of this monarch (Dharma Parākramabāhu IX) were the same contrary to the translation of the two earlier scholars according to which the year B.E.2051 was the year in which the king ascended the throne while the document was issued in the nineteenth regnal year. This error apparently has been taken place because these two scholars have read the vanu found in the third line as vanuva. The reading done by Parānavitana is in agreement with two Sinhalese writers who have utilized the ola copy of the inscription found at the Kālaṇi-Vihāra.G.Ratanajoti Swami Kalyāni-Vihāra varnanāva, Colombo, 1890, pp.18-19; J.B.Perera, Nītiratnāvali, Dehiwela, 1914, pp.114-115. The Photograph of the inscription published by Bell also supports Parānavitana's reading.  
CALR, vol.i, plate, IX.

265. See above, pp. 335-339.

Udugampala as yuvaraja of the kingdom.<sup>266</sup> What, therefore, puzzles us is that Vijayabāhu VI computed his regnal years from A.D.1509 about four years before his accession to the throne of Kōṭṭē. What reason can there have been for this? We are in possession of some contemporary epigraphs which have been issued during this reign.<sup>267</sup> The Dondra slab inscription is of his

266. Alakesvarayuddhaya, p.29.

267. The following documents belong to the reign of Vijayabāhu VI.
- a. The Dondra slab inscription of the fifth regnal year. First published by Rhys Davids in JRAS (CB), vol.v, (1870-71) pp.25-28. This has been finally edited by Paranavitana in ASCM, vol.VI, pp.74-78;
  - b. The Kuḍāgama-sannasa of the sixth regnal year RKD, p.87;
  - c. The Vēragama-sannasa of the seventh regnal year issued from Kōṭṭē. Saparagamuvē Pāraṇi Liyavili, pp.61-62 (in Sinhalese); Edited and published with an English translation by C. Godakumbura in EZ, vol.v, pp.447-472;
  - d. The Kadirāna-sannasa of the ninth regnal year while at the new palace in Udugampala. JRAS (CB), vol.v, no.18, (1872), pp.329-331;
  - e. The Dondra inscription of the tenth regnal year. Edited by Rhys Davids in IA, vol.i, 1872, pp.329-331. Paranavitana has published this inscription recently in ASCM, vol.vi, pp.78-79. According to this new reading of Paranavitana the tenth regnal year is not found in the epigraph;
  - f. The Devundara Dēvāle Sannasa of the tenth regnal year. This was first published by Bell in RKD, pp.96-97; and by Paranavitana in ASCM, vol.vi, pp.83-84;
  - g. The Kappagoḍa pillar inscription of the thirteenth regnal year. RKD, pp.86-87.

fifth regnal year.<sup>268</sup> The Kappagoḍa pillar inscription was issued in his 13th regnal year.<sup>269</sup> The Vēragama-sannasa, which purports to have been issued while the king was in his palace in Kōṭṭē, belongs to his seventh regnal year.<sup>270</sup> As we shall see the reign of this king ended in A.D.1521.<sup>271</sup> The king, therefore, was in his palace at Kōṭṭē six years before his death. He must, therefore, have started to reign immediately or very shortly after the death of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX in 1513, for we have no reason to assume that Sakalalakāvalla-Raja actually ascended to the throne of Kōṭṭē even though the people begged him to do so.<sup>272</sup> On the other hand, if we take 1509 found in the Kadirāna-sannasa as the initial regnal year of Vijayabāhu, then his thirteenth regnal year, the date of the Kappagoḍa inscription, would correspond to 1521, the year of his death.<sup>273</sup> In this case the fifth

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268. ASCM, vol.vi, pp.74-78.

269. RKD, pp.86-87.

270. EZ, vol.v, pp.447-462.

271. P.E.Pieris, 'The date of King Bhuvanekabahu VII', JRAS(CB) vol.xxii (1912), no.65, pp.267-276.

272. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.29.

273. JRAS(CB), vol.v, (1873), pp.75-78; RKD, pp.86-87.

The attestor of the Kappagoḍa inscription of the thirteenth regnal year of Vijayabāhu VI was Vijayasimha Ekanāyaka Perumālu. This person is undoubtedly identical with Ekanāyaka Mudaliyā of the Rājāvaliya who conspired to kill the three sons of Vijayabāhu VI in 1521.

Rājāvaliya(G), p.52; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.29.

regnal year recorded in the Dondra slab inscription must have been the first year of the king as ruler of Kotte. The king had, therefore, already reigned for four years. It is interesting to note that there is no inscription or any other document issued by this king before the fifth regnal year, for he was not the king of Kōṭṭē until then. The initial regnal year of Vijayabāhu, therefore, may be defined as that in which he assumed the title raja at Rayigama. As we noticed in the account of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya and in the work of Valentijn, Vijayabāhu was dwelling at Rayigama before he was offered the throne.<sup>274</sup> When Vijayabāhu ascended the throne of Kōṭṭē he continued to compute his regnal years from the date he began to exercise his authority as raja of Rayigama.

As we have pointed out earlier, Vijayabāhu VI was living at Māṅikkaḍavara during the early part of the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX and shared with him one

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274. Location: Rayigama:06.43N-80.01E.; Māṅikkaḍavara:07.11N-80.57E,

queen by whom they had four sons.<sup>275</sup> Some time before the second revolt of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu of Uḍaraṭa Śrī Rājasiṅha died at Maṅkkaḍavara. Perhaps at the death of Śrī Rājasiṅha, Vijayabāhu would have shifted to Rayigama with the family in 1509 and remained there until he ascended the throne of Kōṭṭē in A.D.1513. According to the account of Valentijn the eldest son of this family who was known as Maharayigam Baṇḍāra, died at the age of ten.<sup>276</sup> Subsequently, his mother, Kīrivālle Mahabisō Baṇḍāra died after an illness.<sup>277</sup> Vijayabāhu

275. Some scholars have taken for granted that Vijayabāhu VI had only three sons from this queen (S.G.Perera, A History of Ceylon, p.15; Abeyasinghe, Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, p.9; C.R. de Silva, The Portuguese in Ceylon, Unpublished thesis, 1968, p.30.) According to these writers the three sons of Vijayabāhu were Bhuvanekabāhu, Māyādunnē, and Madduma Baṇḍāra. None of the original sources refer to the last prince by the name of Madduma Baṇḍāra. According to the Alakēśvarayuddhaya (pp.29-30) Valentijn (p.75) and Rājāvaliya (Or.6606-104, fol.2), there were four sons to Vijayabāhu VI. Their names were Maharayigam Baṇḍāra, Bhuvanekabāhu, Pararājasiṅha, and Māyādunnē. The eldest prince, Maharayigam Baṇḍāra died at the age of ten (Valentijn, p.75). The Rājāvaliya has recorded the names of the three princes who were alive till they reached their adolescence. (Rājāvaliya(G), p.52). According to this work, the names of the three princes were Bhuvanekabāhu, Maharayigam Baṇḍāra and Māyādunnē. Queyroz, book ii, gives the reason why the second prince was so named. (Queyroz, book ii, p.205).

276. Valentijn, p.75. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, pp.29-30. Rājāvaliya(G), p.52. The two latter works do not mention the death of the prince.

277. Rājāvaliya(G), p.53; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.30; Valentijn, p.75.



thereupon contracted another marriage with another princess of the Kīrivālle royal house, and adopted prince Dēvarājasiṅha whom she had brought with her.<sup>278</sup>

Presumably the second marriage of Vijayabāhu was contracted after he ascended the throne of Kōṭṭē in A.D.1513, for prince Dēvarājasiṅha, the adopted prince, was only seven years old in 1521.<sup>279</sup>

In the meantime, Sakalakalāvalla-Raja died and the office of yuvaraja which he held fell vacant.<sup>280</sup> The

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278. See above note 277.

279. Rājāvaliya(G), p.52; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.31.

These chronicles do not mention that the prince was not Vijayabāhu's own son from this queen.

280. The exact date of this raja's death is not known. From the evidence embodied in the Kadirāna-sannasa of A.D.1517 it seems clear that Sakalakalāvalla-Raja was not alive when the sannasa was issued by Vijayabāhu VI while residing at Uḍugampala. It is unlikely that Vijayabāhu VI would have been residing at Uḍugampala if Sakalakalāvalla-Raja was still alive. One Vittipota known as Rājāvalikatāva (Or.6606-77, fol.65) attributes twenty-eight years' rule to this raja as the local ruler of Uḍugampala. We know that he was entrusted with the administration of Uḍugampala area in A.D.1489 when Dharma Parākramabāhu IX ascended the throne. The twenty-eighth year of this ruler thus ended in A.D.1517 in agreement with the Kadirāna-sannasa.

question arose as to who should be the next yuvaraja. We do not know whether this title was given to any prince after the death of Sakalākālāvalla, for there is no evidence to prove the existence of a yuvaraja in the latter part of the reign of Vijayabāhu VI. The new queen wanted to persuade the king to appoint her son, Prince Dēvarājasinhā, as the heir-apparent.<sup>281</sup> The tradition tells us that she at last obtained this favour from the king.<sup>282</sup> The king would not have liked the idea, but was forced to pledge to the queen and did not wish to go back upon his word. But it was not an easy task to appoint a young prince such as Dēvarājasinhā to the office of yuvaraja for the king's other three living sons were in their adolescent age. If this office were to go to Prince Dēvarājasinhā, the king would have had to take further steps in order to keep the prince out of danger, for it was certain that the three brothers would react harshly. These developments in the royal family form the background to a sad episode of Ceylon history during the next few years. Conspirators and plotters were at work during this period; murder and bloodshed stained the history of the kingdom.

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281. Rājāvaliya(G), p.52.

282. This information is taken from a legend.

In this connexion the king consulted two ministers with a view to murdering the three princes. No doubt the queen who was the mother of Dēvarājasinhā took an active part in the plot to kill the princes. According to Valentijn the conspiracy was inspired by the new queen, who wished to see her son being consecrated as the king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>283</sup> She conspired with Kaṇḍure Baṇḍāra and Ēkanāyaka Mudaliyā who were two chief courtiers of Vijayabāhu VI, and consequently these underground developments led to a split in the royal family in connexion with which ultimately the courtiers and the army also took sides.<sup>284</sup>

Queyroz seems to connect the quarrel in the royal family with an entirely different event.<sup>285</sup> According to this writer 'Vigia-Bau Code' (Vijayabā-kollaya) was a result of the king's failure to deal with the Portuguese in Colombo. Although it is true that Vijayabāhu had an unsuccessful dealing with the Portuguese, we have evidence to show that the Vijayabā-kollaya (the spoliation of Vijayabāhu VI) was entirely a palace revolution which did not have much to do with the people, for it was an act of three princes who were threatened with being disinherited. No doubt Queyroz

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283. Valentijn, p.75.

284. The name of Kaṇḍure-Baṇḍāra occurs in a document known as Nītiyē-pota (Col.Mus.MS.no.AR,11,fol.1.). He was granted some lands by Dharma Parākramabāhu IX in Śaka Era 1413 (1491). For further information about Ēkanāyaka Mudaliyā see note 273 of this chapter.

285. Queyroz, book ii, p.203.

interpreted the event from a different point of view, as he wished to attribute the failures of the kings of Kōṭṭē to their unsuccessful dealings with the Portuguese.

We learn from the Rājāvaliya that the three princes learnt in time, about the secret plot.<sup>286</sup> The chronicle does not precisely say what the particular plan of the queen was. It mentions, however, that the princes immediately took refuge in the temple of Kālaṇiya, as it was the accepted Sinhalese custom to grant asylum to those entering a temple after having committed an unlawful act.<sup>287</sup> The fact that the princes took refuge in a temple is an indication of the danger which threatened them. They, thereafter, fled from the temple via Boralāssa and made for Negombo where they took shelter in the house of a chief

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286. Rājāvaliya(G), p.52; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.30; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.82.

287. During the later Anurādhapura period (9th and 10th centuries) we come across many immunity grants (attani perahar). For example the Sīgiriya pillar inscription of Mahapā Kassapa (EZ, v, pp.330-351) grants immunity to those who entered the temple premises after committing the five great sins (pas maha sāvaddan). See for further information: SHC, pp.43-44.

known as Yapapatuna-karuṇādhīpatirāja.<sup>288</sup> Prince Māyādunnē,  
 having left his two elder brothers at a house of another  
 dignitary known as paṭabānda, left for Uḍaraṭa with a view  
 to seeking assistance from King Jayavīra to deal with  
 their father.<sup>289</sup>

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288. We are not in a position to state more about this dignitary. Some scholars are under the impression that he was the king of Jaffna. (D. Ferguson in JRAS(CB), xx, p.72). In view of the fact that we only have the evidence of the Rājāvaliya and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya concerning the name of this personage we are not able to identify him. Perhaps it is not unlikely that it was a titular name of an officer rather than a personal one. Possibly he was in charge of the port of Negombo since according to the Rājāvaliya this personage was residing at Mīgamuva (Negombo). As a matter of special interest it should be remembered that the king of Jaffna during this time was Saṅkili (A.D.1519-1561).

289. Paṭabānda was the name used in connexion with the occupiers of paṅguva lands during this period. (EZ, vol.iv, p.23; Rājāvaliya(G) p.53; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.31).

The route that was taken by Māyādunnē to reach Uḍaraṭa was not the popular one during that period. The most popular route ran across Satara Kōralē via the Balana Pass. But the prince did not take this route since it was easy for him to travel to Uḍaraṭa from Mīgamuva (Negombo) via the Galagedara Pass, through Vāuḍavili Hatpattuva. In the three decades after the Vijayabā-kollaya the Kandyan rulers such as Jayavīra Astāna (1511-1552) and Karalliyaddē Baṇḍāra (1552-1581) sent their missions through this route to the Portuguese as a result of the fact that the normal route through Satara Kōralē was controlled by the kings of Sītāvaka.

See: P.E.Pieris and M.A.H.Fitzler, Ceylon and Portugal, part, i, Leipzig, 1927, pp.249-250; Schurhammer and E.A.Voretzsch, Ceylon, vol.i, Document, no.123.; Rājāvaliya(G), p.53; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.30; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.85.

The king of Uḍaraṭa, during this time, was Jayavīra, son of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu.<sup>290</sup> The chief queen of Jayavīra was the daughter of Kīrivālle Maharālahāmi.<sup>291</sup> The statement of the Rājāvaliya is that Māyādunnē used to address this princess as akka (elder sister).<sup>292</sup> They were quite acquainted with each other since they lived at one time with Sakalalakāvalla at Uḍugampala after the death of Kīrivālle Maharālahāmi. Owing to the mediation of this queen, King Jayavīra promised his support to the cause of the three princes. He placed the army of Satara Kōralē at the disposal of Māyādunnē.<sup>293</sup>

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290. See the chapter on the kingdom of Uḍaraṭa for further information of these two kings, and the article entitled 'Notes on the Kandyān Dynasty in the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth centuries' contributed to <sup>the</sup> CLR(TS), vol.ii, pp.289-296, 341-351 by H.W. Codrington.
291. Rājāvaliya(G), p.53; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.30; Couto in JRAS(CE), xx, p.72.  
The name of this princess occurs in the family history of the Kīrivālle Royal family called Kīrivālle Rajamūla Paramparāva Or.6606-50, fol.1.
292. The word akka in Sinhalese means elder sister. But it also is used in order to refer to any elder female relation of the same generation.
293. So says the Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.30.  
The name of the queen according to Queyroz was Antana Dio Pandar (Hanaṭāna Devī Baṇḍāra). Queyroz, book iv, p.704. CLR(TS), vol.ii, pp.343 ff.

This brings us to the role of Jayavīra in relation to the political affairs of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē. No doubt the three princes appreciated the aid rendered to them by Jayavīra on this occasion; but the ulterior motive of the king of Uḍaraṭa seems to have been based on self-interest. His father, as ruler of Uḍaraṭa, pursued an opportunist policy. But the latter's attempts to declare independence when the king of Kōṭṭē was in some sort of danger, often turned out to be a failure, for the Kōṭṭē rulers could overcome their difficulties without allowing Uḍaraṭa to be independent. But the policy of the ruler of Uḍaraṭa changed with the change of monarchs when Jayavīra succeeded his father. Perhaps he realized that only a weakened Kōṭṭē would allow him to retain independence. Jayavīra was aware that if a trial of strength between him and the king of Kōṭṭē came about, his was the weaker side. He, therefore, preferred a policy of weakening Kōṭṭē with greater finesse when Māyādunnē requested his assistance against their father. The very fact that Jayavīra rendered support to a rebel prince who was against the king of Kotte violated his duties as a sāmanta-raja. On the other hand, we note that the forces which were handed over to Māyādunnē were those of Satara Kōralē. It was Satara Kōralē which was often the bone of contention between the kings of Kōṭṭē and Uḍaraṭa.

The fact that Jayavīra sent the forces of Satara Kōralē therefore, implied that the Uḍaraṭa ruler had already taken complete control of that province.

Māyādunnē returned from Udarata with the forces of Satara Kōralē. He marched via Piṭigal Kōralē, where he clashed with some partisans of Vijayabāhu VI, and camped at Kālaṇiya until the other two brothers joined him.<sup>294</sup> When the three brothers had got together their immediate aim was to lay siege to the city of Kōṭṭē and force the king to surrender the conspirators. In the meantime, the king's forces in Kōṭṭē declined to fight against the three princes. The king, was, therefore, compelled to lay down arms and to sue for peace. Messengers were sent to Kālaṇiya with the king's proposals for peace with his sons. The princes suggested that the two leaders of the conspiracy, viz. Kaṇḍure Baṇḍāra and Ēkanāyaka Mudaliyā, ought to be handed over to them for punishment before any discussion regarding peace could begin. The king, though reluctantly, granted the demand owing to the pressure of the grave situation that he faced. In fact, the surrender of these courtiers was a defeat for the king, for his position was further weakened with the removal of these two loyal supporters. Ēkanāyaka Mudaliyā managed to escape, and later found sanctuary in a temple in

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294. Rājāvaliya(G), p.53; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.30.



the city of Kōṭṭē.<sup>295</sup> The unfortunate Kaṇḍure Baṇḍāra was flogged to death by order of the princes. One might have thought that the chance for a compromise were more favourable, as the two main supporters of the queen were removed. But this was far from being the case.

The king's messengers invited the princes to the royal palace in Kōṭṭē for a direct negotiation with the king. The princes, having stationed their army just outside the city wall (Piṭakōṭṭē), advanced to the palace. As they did not suspect the treacherous plot laid by the king for them, they entered the city gates unattended by their forces. The king had laid an ambush of sixty chosen men to assassinate the princes as they approached the palace. The inner chambers of the palace had been locked in order to force the princes to stay outside the palace for some time.

The princes just managed to save their lives when Māyādunnē heard of the plans of the king from Prince Dēvarājasinḥa, whom he casually met. This prince who was then seven years of age, being unaware of the aim of the king, innocently informed Māyādunnē that some men were waiting to kill them.

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295. See note 287.

The situation was aggravated by these latest plots of the king. The princes informed the army of what occurred and proclaimed that the king must die. According to the Alakēśvarayuddhaya their forces attacked the city and captured the palace without bloodshed, for the king's forces were not willing to fight.<sup>296</sup> In connexion with the victory the Alakēśvarayuddhaya refers to a game known as 'nirōhi' which was organized by the princes.<sup>297</sup> The king's army, that refused to fight, also

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296. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.31; Valentijn, p.75.

297. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.31.

The Rājāvaliya does not refer to this game. In connexion with the Vijayabā-kollaya. P.E.Pieris incorrectly calls it nirogi (good health) while the correct name is nirōhi. (P.E.Pieris, Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol.i, pp.62 and 462-463. We are unable to state the exact meaning and purpose of this game. It appears to have been some kind of martial sport performed on the occasion of a victory. This is the first reference to this particular game, although it is mentioned several times in the Sinhalese writings in the next century. The word occurs in the Rājāvaliya(G) in connexion with the history of the Sītāvaka kingdom after the death of Rājasinha I in A.D.1592 (Rājāvaliya(G), p.68). According to the Paraṅgi-haṭana the Sinhalese celebrated their victory of defeating Constantino da Sa in A.D.1530 by performing a game of nirōhi. Paraṅgi-haṭana, Or.6606-64, v.211.

See also Marambe, Tri Sinhale Kada-im saha Vitti, p.25. The word seems to have been taken from the Tamil nir-osei which meant festive celebration.

joined the forces of the princes in the game of nirōhi. Māyādunnē having realized the strength of the support that they received gave orders to break into and plunder the locked palace. The gates were battered in and the mob rushed into the inner chambers of the palace where the great treasures of the king were hidden. The author of the Rājāvaliya dolefully writes that the army that had turned out to be looters broke into the king's stores, forced open the chests, and made themselves masters of all the king's treasures; his clothes of silk, and his pearls and everything else were plundered. The magnificent gems, gold coins and jewellery of the royal family were tossed about from hand to hand. The miserable king remained in the upper chambers of the palace while his treasures were looted and his palace was ransacked. The chief queen and prince Dēvarājasiṅha and another prince were in the palace with the king. They were, however, left unmolested and were allowed to remain in the upper chambers.

Owing to lack of statistics we are unable to make an estimate of the loss from the plunder. There is no doubt that the treasures which fell into the hands of the looters, were never replaced in the royal treasury. The wealth that had been collected by the kings of Kōṭṭē for over a century was lost for/ever. The later kings of Kōṭṭē were not able to

replace the treasures because of the interference by the Portuguese in the commercial matters of the kingdom in the next six decades. When, in 1551 the Portuguese Viceroy, Affonso de Noronha, sought to obtain the accumulated wealth of the deceased King Bhuvanekabāhu VII, he was much disappointed by the fact that he had to be content with the gold spittoon of this king since there was hardly anything valuable in the palace.<sup>298</sup> No doubt the emptiness of the treasury was caused by the looting of the palace which took place about thirty years before the arrival of the Viceroy in the Island.

In the meantime, the mob, after plundering the palace, was proceeding to loot the prosperous streets of the city. The prosperity of the streets of Kōṭṭē is often illustrated in the contemporary sandēśaya poems.<sup>299</sup> There may have been more wealth for the looters to obtain from these streets than from the royal palace. They could not, however, carry on their disgraceful deeds, for the princes gave strict orders by beat of tom-tom that not a single citizen was to be molested by the looters. Severe punishments were to be meted out to those who did not obey these orders. This looting was kept in the memory of the people by the name of Vijayabā-kollaya (Spoliation of

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298. P.E.Pieris, Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol.i, pp.120-123; Queyroz, book ii, pp.299-305. G.Schurhammer and E.A.Voretzsch, Ceylon, vol.i, pp.583-584. P.E.Pieris and M.A.H. Fitzler, Ceylon and Portugal, part i, pp.257-258.

299. Sālahihini-sandēśaya, vv, 6-19; Hamsa-sandēśaya, v.16; Gira-sandēśaya, vv.12-26; Kōkila-sandēśaya, vv.121-135.

Vijayabāhu). It was known to Queyroz in the seventeenth century by the name of 'Vigia-Bau-Code',<sup>300</sup>

At night the three brothers decided to do away with Vijayabāhu, and sought for someone who could carry out this murderous act. The Sinhalese were not willing to lay a hand on their king for the law of the country forbade it.<sup>301</sup>

300. Rājāvaliya(G), p.54; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.32; Queyroz, book ii, pp.203. Queyroz also refers to lootings and robbings by the mob.

301. This idea that the king was separate from the rest of the community has its origin in an early period. According to the Samantapāsādikā, King Dharmāśoka was offered the hand of a Buddhist thera to come up from a certain pit that the king descended to. A minister who saw that the thera was trying to touch the king drew his sword to punish the thera. The touch of the body of the king, therefore, was considered an act of profanation at least at the time of the writing of the Samantapāsādikā in Ceylon (c.A.D.5th Century). We have a legend about Rājasiṅha II (A.D.1658-1687) who wished to test the law-abiding nature of two of his courtiers, and pretended to be in danger of being drowned while bathing in the Mahavāli-Gaṅga. One courtier rushed into the water and took the king to the land. When the king returned to the palace the courtier was rewarded for saving the life of the king, but at the same time severely punished for the injudicious act of laying hands on the king, instead of the king laying hands on him.

For further information see: A.M. Hocart, King and Councillors Cairo, 1936.; Samantapāsādikā, ed. by T. Takakusu and M.Nagal, London, 1924, vol.i, p.58; Knox, R., A Historical Relation of Ceylon, London, 1681, p.46.

Since the king's subjects refused to incur the odium of shedding royal blood, the princes had to look for a foreigner. The princes were also not willing to kill their own father, for the Buddhist teachings include the killing of the father among the five unpardonable sins. At last one foreigner named Salaman, probably a Muslim trader, agreed to assassinate the king.<sup>302</sup>

According to the Alakēśvarayuddhaya the three brothers arrived in the city next morning with cavalry and infantry (perumbada sēnāva).<sup>303</sup> There was no doubt that Bhuvanekabāhu was entitled to succeed his father. But it was Māyādunnē, the youngest prince, who had conducted the struggle. It was he, who had saved the lives of the two elder brothers on several occasions. It was, therefore, felt that the two younger brothers of the king should be given their due share. The brothers having arrived at a compromise, placed the eldest on the throne under the name Bhuvanekabāhu. The next day the palace was decorated for the coronation ceremony, and a proclamation was made by beat of tom-tom and Bhuvanekabāhu was introduced to the people as the king of Kōṭṭē.

Queyroz would have us believe that the king of Uḍaraṭa played an important part in the subsequent division of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē among the three brothers.<sup>304</sup> The Rājāvaliya

302. Rājāvaliya(G), p.54; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.32; Valentijn, p.75; Rājālēkhanaya, Or.6606-104, fol.2; Purāvr̥tta, p.106.

303. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.32.

304. Queyroz, book ii, p.204.

does not allude to any interference of King Jayavīra in the affairs of Kōṭṭē after the death of Vijayabāhu VI.<sup>305</sup> Judging from the attitude of Jayavīra regarding the kingdom of Kōṭṭē we have reason to believe that he was happy about the partition which was to his interest. It is, therefore, possible that what Queyroz states about the assistance given by him to divide the kingdom of Kōṭṭē is based on fact.

The eldest prince was given the administration of the sea ports and the control of foreign trade. The prestige and power held by the previous kings of Kōṭṭē were vested in him.

The next prince, Pararājasin̄ha, was entrusted with the administration of the areas where Vijayabāhu VI had ruled before his accession to the throne of Kōṭṭē. His principality included the kōralēs of Rayigam, Valallāviṭi, and Pasyodun with the exception of the administration of the seaports. According to Queyroz, he was known as 'Raypam Bandar' because he took up residence in the city of Rayigama.<sup>306</sup> This prince was not given the title yuvaraja although he should have received it. For this reason Pararājasin̄ha is better known as Rayigam Baṇḍāra among modern writers.

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305. Rājāvaliya(G), p.54; Alakēsvarayuddhaya, p.32.

306. Queyroz, book ii, p.204.

The youngest prince took up his abode at the city of Sītāvaka. He obtained the lands of Sītāvaka, Denavaka and Satara Kōralēs for administration. An interesting point that we notice about the principality of Māyādunnē is that these were the areas which were most difficult to administer owing to the fact that the king of Uḍaraṭa often disturbed the peace by invading them.

A word should be said about another ruler who held the title of raja in the territories of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē. He was Taniyavalla Raja, the youngest son of Vira Parākramabāhu VIII. We have no contemporary evidence regarding the date of his death, but the seventeenth century Kurunāgala Vistaraya alludes to his death in 1538 at the hands of his grandson Vīdiye-Baṇḍāra.<sup>307</sup> The Rājāvaliya and the Alakesvarayuddhaya refer to Taniyavalla Raja's existence in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century when the forces of Māyādunnē and Bhuvanekabāhu VII clashed near Kōṭṭē.<sup>308</sup> We notice that among the names of the territories that were under the control of the three brothers that of Pitigal Kōralē is missing. It is likely that Taniyavalla Raja was allowed to remain the ruler of this area

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307. Kurunāgala-vistaraya, Or.5042, fol.10.

308. Rājāvaliya(G), pp.55-56; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.33; Rājālekhanaya, Or.6606-104; For traditions concerning Taniyavalla Raja see: JRAS(CB), xxvii, no.73 (1920), pp.36-53. Mādampāpuvata, Or.6606-59, fol.4-5, vv.30-34; Puravṛtta, pp.29-33;



until his death. Tradition also says that Taniyavalla Raja was killed some time before the death of Bhuvanekabāhu VII.<sup>309</sup>

The account of Queyroz states that the 'Vigia-Bau-Code' (Vijayabā-kollaya) took place in A.D.1521.<sup>310</sup> This writer declares that the date given by Couto in this connexion, A.D.1517, is incorrect.<sup>311</sup> Since there is this discrepancy, we have only a vague idea about the date of the event to help us to ascertain the length of the reign of Vijayabāhu VI. The successor of Vijayabāhu VI who ascended the throne immediately after this king was Bhuvanekabāhu VII. From the contemporary Portuguese sources we know that this monarch died in A.D.1551.<sup>312</sup> His Demaladūva Sannasa, the Ganēgoda Sannasa and the Goḍagama Sannasa bear the tenth, the twenty-sixth and the twenty-ninth regnal years respectively.<sup>313</sup>

Unfortunately, the Sinhalese chronicles do not state the exact duration of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu but a letter written by Bhuvanekabāhu VII to the Portuguese governor of India clearly supports our view that the reign of this king began in A.D.1521, for this letter dated 18th February 1546 mentions

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309. JRAS(CB), xxvii, pp.36 ff.

310. Queyroz, book ii, p.204.

311. JRAS(CB), xx, p.73.

312. Schurhammer and Veretzsch, Ceylon, vol.i, Leipzig, 1928, Document, 121; CLR(TS), ii, p.296; P.E.Pieris, Ceylon and Portugal, pt.i, pp12, 13 and 258.

313. RKD, pp.91-94. Bell has wrongly attributed the Ganēgoda-sannasa to Bhuvanekabāhu V. Codrington for the first time made it clear that the sannasa belonged to the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VII. EZ, iii, pp.63-64; JRAS(CB), xxii, pp.267-271.

that the king had already reigned for twenty-five years as king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>314</sup> The chronicles do not mention the duration of the reign of Vijayabāhu VI as well.<sup>315</sup> The account of Valentijn, however, attributes to him a reign of eight years.<sup>316</sup> As we learn from Queyroz who had sufficient evidence to contradict the report of Couto, the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VII commenced in 1521.<sup>317</sup> Further, we saw that Dharma Parākramabāhu IX died in A.D. 1513.<sup>318</sup> On these grounds it can now be concluded that the reign of Vijayabāhu lasted eight years from A.D. 1513 to 1521.

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314. Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol. i, pp. 439-443; JRAS (CB)., xxii, pp. 267-271; P.E. Pieris and H.A.H. Fitzler, Ceylon and Portugal, part i, Document no. 24, pp. 121-122.

315. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 32; Rājāvaliya (G), p. 54. The Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya (pp. 84-85) mentions that Vijayabāhu reigned for twenty-five years. One version states that Vijayabāhu had dealings with the Portuguese for fifteen years. We do not possess evidence to support that this evidence is true. Possibly this is a clerical error caused by the similarity of the words pasalos (15) and dolos (12). The twelve years was the period that Vijayabāhu VI ruled both as local raja and maharaja, i.e. from A.D. 1509-1521.

316. Valentijn, p. 76

317. Couto as translated in JRAS (CB)., xx, p. 1517  
Queyroz, book ii, p. 204.

318. For the date of accession of Bhuvanekabāhu VII to the throne see: P.E. Pieris, 'The date of Bhuvanekabāhu VII' JRAS (CB)., xxii, pp. 267-302

With the death of Vijayabāhu VI the political history of the Island entered a different course. The state of affairs resulting from the partition of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē will have to be dealt with in a separate work as it requires the examination of a number of source materials.

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CHAPTER SIX

The Foundation of the Kingdom of Uḍaraṭa

The establishment of a separate kingdom in the Central Highlands of Ceylon in the fifteenth century is a landmark in the history of the Island. No doubt it was helped by the weakness within the kingdom of Kōṭṭē during the period after Parākramabāhu VI. At the same time it was also the culmination of centuries of migration of the Sinhalese from the dry to the wet zone after the fall of Polonnaruva. At an early stage, small groups of immigrants penetrated to the fertile lands of the central highlands which were still covered by thick jungle at that time. More intensive immigration in the post-Polonnaruva period resulted in concentration of the population in a number of areas in the central highlands.

When Bhuvanekabāhu IV (A.D.1341-1351) took up his residence at Gampala in the Central Highlands in the middle part of the fourteenth century, that area was well populated for the Tisara-sandēśaya, written about ten years after the death of this monarch, bears testimony to this.<sup>1</sup> Even the

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1. Tisara-sandēśaya, vv.107-151  
See also Mayura-sandēśaya, vv.6,24-30.

Kaḍayim-potas that were written in the fourteenth century give us the impression that the Upcountry was well populated in comparison with the other parts of the Island.<sup>2</sup>

The Central Highlands of the Island, which were usually known as Uḍaraṭa in the medieval Sinhalese writings, are sometimes denoted as Kanda-uḍa-pas-kaṭṭuva (the confederation of the five provinces of the hill country), Kanda-uḍa-pas-raṭa (the five raṭas in the mountains) or simply Kanda Uḍaraṭa (the country on the mountains).<sup>3</sup> The name Kanda-uḍa-pas-raṭa as a separate administrative unit, occurs for the first time in the Gampala period. From the Maḍavala Rock Inscription of Vikramabāhu III (A.D.1357-1374) it seems clear that the five raṭas known as Siṅḍuruvāna, Balaviṭa, Maṭāle, Duṃbara and Sagamatunraṭa already formed a territorial unit.<sup>4</sup>

According to the Rājāvaliya these territories were called

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2. Neville, H. 'The Divisions of Laṅkā or Sirilaka Kaḍayuru' Taprobanian, vol.iii, pp.1 ff.

3. 'Alutnuvara Devale Inscription' EZ, iv, pp.226 and 269.; Col.Mus.MS, no.M4.

4. EZ, v, p.464.

Kanda-uḍa-pas-raṭa during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D. 1371-1408), before his flight to Rayigama.<sup>5</sup>

From the Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya we learn that during the same time the Alakēśvaras were ruling over the southern and western coastal regions of the Island.<sup>6</sup>

Since we know that the Alakēśvaras were virtual rulers of the latter area it seems clear that the name Kanda-uḍa-pas-raṭa may be traced back to the period during which the Alakēśvaras ruled the southern and western coastal region of the Island.<sup>7</sup>

The usual pas-raṭa (five provinces) are reckoned as Uḍunuvara, Yaṭinuvara, Dumbara, Hēvāhāṭa and Hārasiyapattuva.<sup>8</sup> This was the recognized pas-raṭa in the latter part of the eighteenth century under the Nayakkar kings of Kandy. But the pas-rata in the fifteenth century, according to the contemporary inscriptions, were the de-nuvara (two provinces) of Gampala and Siṅduruvāna, Balaviṭa, Mātalē, Pansiyapattuva

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5. Rājāvaliya(G), p.47; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.20.

6. Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.74.

7. See above pp.78 ff.

8. Colvin R. de Silva, Ceylon under the British Occupation, p.293.

and Ūva.<sup>9</sup> The seventeenth-century Portuguese historian, Queyroz, describes this kingdom of 'Candea' (Kanda Uḍaraṭa) as composed of Arciapatu (Harasiyapattuva), Panciapatu (Pansiyapattuva), Huvuvara (denuvara, i.e. the two provinces of Gampala and Siṅḍuruvana) and Hetanura (Yaṭṭinuvara).<sup>10</sup> It would be wrong, however, to assume that the kingdom of Uḍaraṭa was limited to the above mentioned five provinces - although the old name was maintained, the kingdom, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, extended beyond these territorial limits.

The territorial limits of the kingdom of Uḍaraṭa can be determined with the help of the Gaḍaladeniya inscription of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu (A.D. 1469-1511). The territories administered by this king, according to the above mentioned inscription, included the provinces of Siṅḍuruvāna, Denuvara, Balaviṭa, Sārasiyapattuva,

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9. EZ, iv, pp. 21 ff.; CLR(TS), vol. ii, p. 292.  
 10. Queyroz, book i, p. 58.

Mātalē, Aṭasiyapattuva, Dumbara, Pansiyapattuva, Gaḍaraṭa, Maturaṭa, Ūva, Aṭapeḍiya, Sorambara, Kōṭṭalē, Gampala, Dolosbāge, Bulatgama, Mahatoṭa, Trincomalee and Batticaloa.<sup>11</sup> This list of provinces shows that the kingdom stretched as far north as Trincomalee. We can see that the kingdom had by this time covered the territory of the entire modern Eastern, Central and Uva provinces, and the Tamankaduva District. However, it should be noted that these boundaries were by no means stable, for, coastal areas of the eastern part of the Island sometimes came under the administration of the king of Kōṭṭē.

The royal family of Gampala was not extinguished after Bhuvanekabāhu V had shifted his capital to Kōṭṭē. It would be wrong to assume that all the members of the royal family deserted Gampala and settled down in Kōṭṭē. In fact there is substantial evidence to support the view that some descendants of the Gampala royal family lived

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11. 'Gadaladeniya Rock Inscription of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu' EZ, iv, pp. 16-27.



on in the neighbourhood of Gampala.<sup>12</sup> There is little doubt, however, that Bhuvanekabāhu V did not have sons of his own, but his other relatives would have resided in the Central Highlands. The Kīrivālle princess, who became the chief queen of Parākramabāhu, was probably a scion of this royal family.<sup>13</sup> The person known as Gampala Perumāl (the prince of Gampala), mentioned in the Beligala sannasa of Parākram<sup>ma</sup>bāhu VI, also most probably belonged to this royal family.<sup>14</sup> There is conclusive evidence in the Rājāvaliya to substantiate our view that some members of the Gampala royal family continued to exist even during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466) since the chronicle states that in the fifty-second year of the king the administration of Uḍaraṭa was handed over to a prince of the ancient Gampala royal family.<sup>15</sup>

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12. Gunalankara Varasambodhi, A History of Gampala (in Sinhalese) p.77.; RKD, p.94;  
 13. Rājāvaliya(G), p.47; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.22; Valentijn, p.72.  
 14. RKD, p.94.  
 15. Rājāvaliya(G), p.48; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.23.

One interesting piece of evidence regarding the organization of the administration of Uḍaraṭa is revealed in the Maḍavala Rock inscription of the forty-sixth regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI. It is evident from this inscription that the responsibility for matters of administration was in the hands of two persons called Jōtiya Siṭāṇa and Āpāṇa. Their personal names, as found in the body of the inscription, are Divānavattē Laṅkā Adhikāri and Dantotaṭavaturēdēva respectively.<sup>16</sup> The title borne by the latter, Āpāṇa, would certainly suggest that he was a royal prince since this title was given only to the princes of royal blood.<sup>17</sup> From the Rājāvaliya we learn that the rulers of Uḍaraṭa during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D. 1411-1466) were expected to pay an annual tribute (avurudupatā evana ayabaḍu) and supply labourers for the service of the king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>18</sup> Uḍaraṭa was under this administrative set-up until the fifty-second regnal year of Parākramabāhu VI. In this year Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa

16. 'Maḍavala Rock Inscription of Parākramabāhu VI', EZ, iii, pp. 235-240.

17. UHC, p. 732.

18. Rājāvaliya(G), p. 48; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, pp. 22-23.

made an attempt to set up an independent kingdom by throwing off the allegiance to Kōṭṭē. This attempt, however, proved abortive since Parākramabāhu VI succeeded in putting down the revolt. As a result of this the administration of Uḍaraṭa was handed over to a prince of the Gampala royal family.<sup>19</sup>

A new era in the history of Uḍaraṭa begins after the death of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D. 1411-1466). As we have noticed earlier the successor of this king had to face a widespread rebellion in Uḍaraṭa, which he ultimately succeeded in bringing under control. But Jayavīra Parākramabāhu (A.D. 1466-1469), the successor of Parākramabāhu VI, was not sufficiently stable in his position to dictate terms regarding Uḍaraṭa, for, he was threatened by Prince Sapumal over the throne of Kōṭṭē.<sup>20</sup> For this reason Jayavīra Parākramabāhu was forced to grant amnesty to the rebels and devote his attention towards the north where prince Sapumal was in the process of marching towards Kōṭṭē.

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19. For further information see above, pp. 239-240

20. See above pp. 265-266

The Gaḍaladeṇiya slab-pillar inscription was thus erected in the fifth regnal year of this king in order to proclaim this amnesty.<sup>20a</sup>

From the above-mentioned Gaḍaladeṇiya slab-pillar inscription of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu we learn that the leader of Uḍaraṭa at that time was a person called Meṇavara Tunayan.<sup>21</sup> As the interval between this event and the revolt of Jōtiya Siṭāṇa was only five years we may not be wrong in assuming that Meṇavara Tunayan of the Gaḍaladeṇiya slab-pillar inscription is possibly identical with the prince of the Gampala royal family who, according to the Rājāvaliya, was entrusted with the administration of Uḍaraṭa by Parākramabāhu VI in his fifty-second year (A.D.1463/4).<sup>22</sup>

The name Meṇavara Tunayan is not mentioned immediately after the amnesty proclaimed in the Gaḍaladeṇiya slab-pillar inscription of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu (A.D.1469). Owing to the lack of sufficient information we are unable to give the exact date of his death. From the evidence available

20a. 'The Gaḍaladeṇiya Slab-pillar Inscriptions', EZ, iv, pp.16-27

See also above pp 257ff. for further information.

21. EZ, iv, pp.16-27.

22. EZ, iv, pp.16-27; Rājāvaliya(G), p.48.

in a number of inscriptions supplemented by the tradition recorded in some Vittipotās the next ruler in Uḍaraṭa was known as Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu.<sup>23</sup>

The information that we possess regarding the genealogy of this ruler is mostly obtained from the later writings since no contemporary record regarding his ancestry has so far become available to us.

Although the Rājāvaliya apparently referred to this king on a number of occasions even his very name ~~this king~~ is withheld.<sup>24</sup> The vague reference given by the authors of the Rājaratnākaraya and the Cūlavaṃsa is the only evidence that we find with regard to this king's ancestry in literary works.<sup>25</sup>

According to the Rājaratnākaraya, this king of Udarata belonged to the family of the kings of Kōṭṭē. This work does not give the name of the monarch but according to the epithets attributed to him it seems

23. H.W. Codrington, 'Notes on the Kandyan Dynasty in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', CLR(TS), vol.ii, pp.289-296

24. Rājāvaliya(G), pp.50-51; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, pp.26-27.

25. Rājaratnākaraya, pp.43-44; Cūlavaṃsa, 92:6.

clear that the name of the king should either be Vīra Vikrama or Vikramabāhu.<sup>26</sup> The former is the name given to this king in the Cūlavāṃsa.<sup>27</sup> Since these two works credit Vīra Vikrama with making Kandy (Senkaḍagalanuvara) the capital of Uḍaraṭa we may identify him with Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu of the contemporary inscriptions, for one of his inscriptions is issued from his palace at Senkaḍagalanuvara.<sup>28</sup>

The Rājaratnākaraya referring to this king, indicates that he was a munuburu (grandson or descendent) of King Jayamahālā Savulu Parākramabāhu on the maternal side, while his paternal ancestor was a king called Vikramabāhu.<sup>29</sup> The ~~former~~ Parākramabāhu mentioned in this genealogy, if it records the truth, may be identified with Parākramabāhu VI for he is given an epithet Savulu by the contemporary writers while his father and grandfather were both called Jayamahālāna.<sup>30</sup>

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26. Rājaratnākaraya, pp.43-44.

27. Cūlavāṃsa, 92:6

28. Vannipola Sannasa published in JRAS(CB), xxxii, p.67.

29. Rājaratnākaraya, p.49.

30. See above pp.46-49 for further information.

Unfortunately, the Rājaratnākaraya does not give the name of the mother nor that of the father of this king. How he became a munuburu (grandson or descendent) of Parākramabāhu VI cannot be determined. As far as we know this king had only one daughter who was the mother of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, we do not know whether Jayavīra Parākramabāhu had any brothers or sisters. Thus the lack of sufficient information remains a barrier to ascertaining the parentage of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu.

There are a number of inscriptions, issued by this king during his reign, which may help us in determining the duration of his reign. The earliest inscription belonging to this reign that we possess is the Gaḍaladeṇiya inscription of the eighth regnal year of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu.<sup>32</sup> According to this inscription it seems clear that Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu was ruling Satara-Kōralē, among other provinces. As we know Satara-Kōralē was the appanage of the yuvaraja of

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31. Sālahihini-sandēśaya, vv. 96-111

32. EZ, iv, pp. 8-15.

the king of Kōṭṭē. The yuvaraja who lived in Satara-Kōralē during this time was the Aṃbulugala Raja, the brother of Bhuvanekabāhu.<sup>33</sup> But, as we noticed earlier, the Aṃbulugala Raja was required by Bhuvanekabāhu VI to subjugate the people of Pasyodun Kōralē who were, at that time, in revolt against the king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>34</sup> From the Kalyani inscriptions of Dhammaceti we learn that the yuvaraja, the brother of Bhuvanekabāhu VI, was still engaged in subjugating the rebels when in A.D.1476 the bhikkhus from Rāmañña-desa arrived in the port of Weligama.<sup>35</sup> Thus it seems clear that the conquest of Satara Kōralē undertaken by Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu took place approximately during this time since as we know the Dādigama inscription of the ninth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu VI (i.e.A.D.1476) mentions that Satara-Kōralē was recaptured by the king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>36</sup> Thus it seems clear that the eighth regnal year of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu must correspond to

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33. UHC, pp.679-680.

34. Rājāvaliya(G), p.49.

35. IA, xxii, p.42; EB.iii, pp.228-229.

36. EZ, iii, pp.278-286.



A.D.1476 or a little earlier.

There are two sannasas of this king issued in his 21st and 37th regnal years.<sup>37</sup> The Galganē Viḥāre Sannasa of this king mentions 10th regnal year but is dated B.E.2052 (expired), i.e. A.D.1509/10.<sup>38</sup> A fragmentary inscription found at the Gaḍaladeṇiya temple shows that in B.E.2054 (A.D.1511) the king of Uḍaraṭa was Jayavīra.<sup>39</sup> Thus it seems clear that the reign of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu came to an end before B.E.2054. If we are to assume that Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu's eighth regnal year mentioned in the Gaḍaladeṇiya inscription corresponded to the ninth regnal year of Bhuvanekabāhu VI (i.e.1476), we can place the beginning of the reign of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu in A.D.1469 since the eighth regnal year mentioned in the Gaḍaladeṇiya inscription is 'current'.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, we may place the beginning of this reign in A.D.1469 and the end in about A.D.1510. His reign thus lasted for just over forty years.

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37. JRAS(CB), xxxii, pp.66-70.

38. JRAS(CB), xxxii, p.68.

39. JRAS(CB), xxxii, p.66.

40. EZ, iii, pp.278-286; See also above, pp.296

Reference has been made above to the growing resistance against Bhuvanekabāhu VI in the entire country to the south of the Kalu Gaṅga and in Uḍaraṭa.<sup>41</sup> This wide-spread rebellion known as the Siṃhala-sange lasted from the beginning of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu to about his ninth regnal year. From the evidence available in the Dādigama inscription we learn that the people of Uḍaraṭa also took part in this rebellion.<sup>42</sup> According to the tradition embodied in a work called Baṇḍāravākkīyava, which was probably written in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the rise of a strong leader among the people of Uḍaraṭa, Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu, gave an opportunity for them to set up a kingdom under the leadership of this king. The forces of the king of Kōṭṭē could not penetrate to the central highlands owing to the prolonged fightings in the south where Sirivardhana Patirāja and Kurugama Himiyāna gave stout resistance to the Kōṭṭē forces.<sup>43</sup> According to

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41. See above pp.269 ff.

42. EZ,iii,pp.278-286.

43. Baṇḍāravākkīyava,Or.6606-146,fol.7

the Baṇḍāravākkīyava the baṇḍāras of Uḍaraṭa gave up their umbrellas and <sup>received</sup> mudali titles from the new king, Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu, thereby acknowledging their submission to him.<sup>44</sup>

Some vittipotās, however, give us the impression that Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu was already recognized as a tributary ruler of Uḍaraṭa by a king named Parākramabāhu of Kōṭṭē who sent paṇḍitavarū (experts) to prepare a throne and other necessities for him as the sāmanta-raja.<sup>45</sup> As it appears from the chronological data which we constructed regarding Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu's reign, he seems to trace back his regnal years to as early as A.D.1469, which was the last year of Jayavīra Parākramabāhu as the king of Kōṭṭē. Possibly the amnesty granted to the people of Uḍaraṭa by Jayavīra Parākramabāhu in his Gaḍaladeniya slab-pillar inscription of the fifth regnal year (A.D.1469) was followed by his recognition of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu as the sāmanta-raja of Uḍaraṭa.<sup>46</sup>

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44. Ibid; See also Lawries Gazetteer, vol.ii, p.971; CLR(TS), ii, p.293.

45. H.W.Codrington, 'The Kandyan Navandanno', JRAS(CB), xxi, pp.228-229.

46. EZ, iv, pp.8-15.

The title borne by this king 'Sēnāsammata' (approved by the army) may be taken as an evidence to prove that he was the first king of Uḍaraṭa. As we noticed earlier, the baṇḍāras of Uḍaraṭa voluntarily offered him their submission, thus accepting him as their king. Sēnāsammata's connection with the Kōṭṭē royal family must certainly have weighed in favour of his claims to be the king of Uḍaraṭa. The legend that there was no king in Uḍaraṭa before the accession of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu and that the state elephant was let loose to find one, and discovered a young prince with his mother at Asgiriya must have originated in order to show the rightful claims of the king towards the throne of Uḍaraṭa a long time after the king had ascended the throne.<sup>47</sup>

Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu is credited with making the Senakaḍagalanuvara (Kandy) the capital of Uḍaraṭa.<sup>48</sup>

The reasons for this king to leave Gampala and take up

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47. CLR(TS), vol.ii, p.293.

48. Ibid; See also Lawries Gazetteer, vol.ii, p. 971.

his residence at Seṅkaḍagalanuvara on the Kandyan plateau are not apparent. The Uḍaraṭa tradition says that Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu went from Gampala to Pērādeṇiya seeking a place to build a new city and a new palace. The narrative recorded in some vittipotas would have us believe that the king, having come to Pērādeṇiya, decided to proceed to a plot of land where dwelt a brahmana known as Seṅkhaṇḍa.<sup>49</sup> There, on a 'victorious plot of land' (viḷayabhūmi bhāga) he made his capital. Possibly this story owes its origin to a later period when Seṅkaḍagalanuvara was well established as the capital of Uḍaraṭa. The fact that Seṅkaḍagalanuvara already existed as an important town is proved by the Ampitiya rock inscription of Vikramabāhu III (A.D.1357-1374) and the Sagama inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D.1371-1408).<sup>50</sup>

The exact date on which Seṅkaḍagalanuvara became the capital cannot be determined. The Vannipola-Sannasa

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49. CLR(TS), vol.ii, p.293.

50. EZ, iv, pp.271-273; EZ, iv, pp.296-312.

of the twenty-first regnal year of this king (i.e., c. A.D.1490), however, records that the king was already in his palace at Señkaḍagalanuvara.<sup>51</sup> The Siṅduruvānarata-Kaḍayimpota, which can be attributed to the early part of the eighteenth century, seems to connect the foundation of the royal palace with the suppression of the bandaras in the early career of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu.<sup>52</sup> The absence of contemporary sources with regard to the making of Señkaḍagalanuvara the capital of Uḍarata, does not help us to confirm or to reject the evidence available in the later writings. What we can say with certainty is that so far we have not come across any inscription or a sannasa issued by this monarch from his palace at Gampala, and this may favour the evidence available in the Siṅduruvānarata Kaḍayimpota that Señkaḍagalanuvara became the capital

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51. JRAS(CB),xxxii,p.67.

'....visiyannen matu avurudu....' (year after the twentieth) The Vannipola sannasa now extant only in an ola copy. But the document seems to be a tuḍapata made from the genuine original sannasa for the names and titles attributed to the king tallies with the Gaḍaladeniya inscription of the same king. EZ,iv,pp.8-15.

52. Lawries Gazetteer,vol.ii,p.971; Bandāravākkīyava,Or.6606-146, fol.7.

of Uḍaraṭa in the early part of the reign of  
Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu.<sup>53</sup>

Although Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu exercised his  
authority in the kingdom of Uḍaraṭa with a sufficient  
amount of freedom he was expected to pay tribute to  
the king of Kōṭṭē. According to the Alakēśvarayuddhaya  
the ruler of Uḍaraṭa was not permitted to issue coins  
with his name: cast on them or to watch angāmpora and  
mallava angam in the manner of an independent king.<sup>54</sup>  
Further, he was expected to send annual tribute to the  
king of Kōṭṭē in order to show his submission to the  
latter.<sup>55</sup>

Reference has been made above to the attempts made  
by Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu in the direction of throwing  
off his allegiance to the king of Kotte. As we have seen  
he was unsuccessful in all his attempts that were made  
during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI (A.D.1469-1477) and  
during that of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D.1489-1513).<sup>56</sup>

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53. Lawries Gazetteer, vol.ii, p.971.  
54. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.27.  
For further information about angāmpora see below p.<sup>237</sup>foot  
55. Rājāvaliya(G), p.50. note.<sup>157</sup>  
56. See above pp.327-335

Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu kept on trying to become an independent king, but he could not realize his dream during his reign.

Nevertheless, the real credit for the foundation of the kingdom of Uḍaraṭa goes to Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu. His authority, as we notice from the Gaḍaladeṇiya inscription of the eighth regnal year of this king, extended to the entire five provinces of Uḍaraṭa, Kanda-uḍa-pas-raṭa, viz., the de-nuvara (Gampala and Siṅḍuruvāna), Balaviṭa, Paṅsiyapattuva, Mātalē and Ūva.<sup>57</sup> The other dependent territories such as the provinces of Aṭapeḍiya, Soraṃbara, Vela-assa, Kotāmalē, Bulāgama, Mahatoṭa, Trincomalee and Batticaloa were also under his control.

Although he was never regarded as an independent king and was subject to the king of Kōṭṭē, he enjoyed a considerable extent of authority in matters of government within his own territories. He granted land to various

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57. EZ, iv, pp. 8-15.



institutions and had his own regnal years recorded in royal documents. The supremacy of Kōṭṭē was, however, acknowledged by the payment of an annual tribute. The king of Kōṭṭē was regarded as the rightful sovereign over the lands of Udarata even though Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu exercised actual control in this area. We may, therefore, conclude that Vikramabāhu was more than a feudatory, rather a semi-independent ruler.

After the death of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu the throne of Uḍaraṭa was occupied by a king named Jayavīra. It is known from the seventeenth century poem

Rājasimhasirita that Jayavīra was the son of Vikramabāhu.<sup>58</sup>

Another work of lesser historical value known as

Kadiradikaviya also would have us believe that this relation recorded in the Rājasimhasirita is true.<sup>59</sup>

Since this evidence is confirmed by the Palkumbura Sannasa

we may conclude that Jayavīra succeeded to the throne of

Uḍaraṭa on the strength of the fact that he was the son

58. Rājasimhasirita, ed. by C. Karunatilake, Colombo, 1916, no. B. v. 10.

59. Kadiradikaviya quoted in Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol. i, p. 476.

of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu.<sup>60</sup>

As we noticed earlier, the fragmentary epigraph of Gaḍaladeniya indicates that Jayavīra was the king of Uḍaraṭa in B.E.2054 (A.D.1511).<sup>61</sup> This must have been his first regnal year since we know that his father was still king of Uḍaraṭa in B.E.2052 (expired), i.e.A.D.1509/10.<sup>62</sup>

The exact date of the end of this reign cannot be determined. The name Jayavīra, however, occurs in the Sinhalese and Portuguese writings when they refer to the king of Uḍaraṭa during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VII (A.D.1521-1551) in Kotte. In the Rājāvaliya this name occurs for the first time in the account of the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D.1489-1513). According to this account Kīrivālle Maharālāhami, the brother-in-law of Sakalakalāvalla Raja, married a daughter of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu. This princess gave birth to seven children one of whom was the daughter who was later

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60. EZ,iii,p.241.

61. JRAS(CB),xxxii,p.66.

62. JRAS(CB),xxxii,p.72.

given in marriage to Jayavīra, the son of Sēnāsammata  
Vikramabāhu.<sup>63</sup>

The Rājāvaliya again informs us that this princess,  
the daughter of Kīrivālle Maharālahāmi was at Uḍugampala,  
for she was adopted by Sakalakalāvalla Raja after the  
death of her father.<sup>64</sup> The chronicle says that during  
this time the princess came into contact with the sons  
of Vijayabāhu and Śrī Rājasīṅha by a polyandrous marriage,  
for those princes lived at Uḍugampala during this time.  
According to this account Māyādunnē, the youngest son  
of Vijayabāhu and Śrī Rājasīṅha, used to address the  
daughter of Kīrivālle Maharālahāmi as akka (elder sister).  
This princess was the chief queen of Jayavīra in 1521  
when Māyādunnē went to seek military assistance from  
Jayavīra.<sup>65</sup> Thus Jayavīra was the king of Uḍaraṭa in  
A.D. 1521 as well. This evidence is supported by the  
account of Queyroz.<sup>66</sup>

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63. Rājāvaliya, tr. p. 72; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 27; Valentijn, p. 75.  
64. Rājāvaliya, tr. pp. 75 and 82; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, pp. 30 and 36.  
65. Rājāvaliya(G), p. 53; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 30.  
66. Queyroz, book ii, p. 203.

The next time that we come across the name of Jayavīra in the chronicle is towards the end of his reign. It mentions that of the two children born to King Jayavīra by the Kīrivālle princess the son was called Karalliyadde Baṇḍāra while the daughter was later given in marriage to Dharmapāla, the king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>67</sup> Subsequently, the queen of Jayavira, the Kīrivālle princess, died; after this Jayavira married a princess from the Gampala royal family mistaking the degree of relationship. Karalliyadde Baṇḍāra having taken offence at the act of his father rebelled against him, gaining control over Paṅsiyapattuva, and later on managed to expel Jayavīra from the throne of Udarāṭa. Jayavīra, having no place of abode, left for Sītāvaka, where Māyādunnē bestowed upon him several villages and allowed him to live on them.<sup>68</sup> According to Couto, however, the reason for Karalliyadde's revolt was his father's inclination toward Catholicism and not

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67. Rājāvaliya(G), p. 58      Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 36  
 68. Rājāvaliya(G), p. 58      Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 36

merely the marriage.<sup>69</sup> Couto further informs us that Jayavīra fled to the territories of Mayadunne because the latter was Jayavīra's first cousin.<sup>70</sup> This fact is in agreement with the evidence available in the Rājāvaliya as well.<sup>71</sup> The Alakēśvarayuddhaya mentions that Karalliyadde Baṇḍāra, the son of Jayavīra, had an uncle called Obbēriye Rālahāmi.<sup>72</sup> This, in fact, was the name of one brother of the Kīrivālle princess, the mother of Karalliyadde Baṇḍāra.<sup>73</sup>

From all this evidence it seems certain that the king who was called Jayavīra after ascending to the throne in about A.D.1511, continued to reign throughout the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VII (A.D.1521-1551) of Kōṭṭē. The Kandy Nātha Dēvāle inscription issued by this king in B.E.2085 (A.D.1542) shows that Śrī Jayavīra Maha-vāḍavun-tāna was still the king of Uḍaraṭa.<sup>74</sup> Frey Sīmao de

69. Couto, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.124.

70. Couto, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.124.

71. Rājāvaliya(G), pp.51-2; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, pp.29-30.

72. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.39.

The word used in this connexion is āvassa māmā which in Sinhalese means the mother's brother.

73. Rājāvaliya(G), p.50; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.27.

74. EZ, iv, pp.27-34.

Coimbra, in a letter dated 25th December 1546, informs Dom João III that the king of 'Candea' was about sixty years old at that time.<sup>75</sup> According to the date that can be deduced from this letter the birth of this king may be placed in about A.D.1486 and thus it is possible to identify this king with Jayavīra, the son of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu (A.D.1469-1511). Therefore, it seems certain that Jayavīra who ascended the throne in about 1511 was still the king of Uḍaraṭa in 1546. The last regnal year of this king is not clear, although we have evidence to show that he was alive in 1551 when Bhuvanekabāhu VII died. According to the Rājāvaliya it seems clear that Jayavīra's daughter was given in marriage to Dharmapāla (A.D.1551-1597) sometime before the latter ascended the throne.<sup>76</sup>

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75. Ceylon and Portugal, pt.i, pp.245-254; Schurhammer and Vontzsch, Ceylon, Leipzig, 1928, Documents 92 and 95.

76. Rājāvaliya(G), p.58.

The contemporary Portuguese letters indicate that the throne of Uḍaraṭa was occupied by one and the same king at least till A.D.1552.<sup>77</sup>

We do not possess information about any important event that took place during this king's reign at Uḍaraṭa until about A.D.1521, when he was invited by Māyādunnē at the time when Vijayabāhu VI threatened his three older sons with disinheritance. At the request of Māyādunnē he supplied an army for the three princes to attack the forces of their father. When the princes succeeded in defeating Vijayabāhu VI Jayavīra assisted them to divide the kingdom among the three ~~two~~ brothers, thus making his kingdom, that of Uḍaraṭa, the largest ~~kingdom~~ in the Island.<sup>78</sup> The consequences of the partition of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē and its influence on the kingdom of Uḍaraṭa become clear <sup>in</sup> the period after 1521 and therefore, this whole question falls beyond our period.

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77. G. Schurhammer, E.A. Voretzsch, Ceylon, Documents, nos, 29,64,79,92 and 95.  
P.E. Pieris and M.A.H. Fitzler, Ceylon and Portugal, part.i, pp.5,7,8, and 9.

78. See above, pp.357-360

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Portuguese in Colombo, 1505-1521.

The Portuguese first landed on the Indian coast in 1498. These were the men who sailed under the leadership of Vasco da Gama. From that time till 1505 the Portuguese authorities pursued a policy of despatching an annual expedition to the east in search of trade in oriental commodities. Thereafter, the Portuguese king adopted the new policy of appointing a viceroy who would reside in India, normally for three years. The appointment of Dom Francisco de Almeida as the viceroy was made necessary by the bitter conflict which had by this time begun with the Muslim shipmasters and traders on the Malabar coast; a conflict in which the Zamorin, the ruler of Calicut, had joined although he was a Hindu, so as to save his long established trade with the Muslims. When Almeida arrived in September, 1505, he found that the raja of Cochin had sustained a long siege in defence of his Portuguese allies against the Zamorin, and that a new danger threatened from the Muslim ruler of Gujarat. He, therefore, opened hostilities by seizing Muslim ships at sea, while in November his son



Dom Lourenço bombarded Quilon and burnt other ships sheltering there in revenge for the massacre of the Portuguese factors ashore there.<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese officials in Malabar then received the news that some enemy vessels from Malacca laden with spices were on their way to the Red Sea by way of the Maldives. The choice of the latter route was the result of the Muslim sailors' attempt to avoid sojourning in the ports of the Malabar coast in order not to clash with the Portuguese there. Dom Lourenço was, therefore, entrusted with the task of preventing the Muslims taking this route. The unfavourable currents, however, carried the vessels of the Portuguese off their course and brought them to the coast of Ceylon.

Most of the Portuguese writers reiterate the fact that Ceylon was discovered by the Portuguese by pure chance. However, before the Portuguese arrived in the Island they

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1. The account of the Portuguese in this chapter is primarily based on F.C. Danvers, The Portuguese in India, vol.i; CHI, vol.v. chapter.i; C.R. Boxer, 'The Portuguese in the East', Portugal and Brazil, ed. by H.V. Livermore, Oxford, 1953, pp.185-247; I.A. Macgregor, 'Europe and the East', The New Cambridge Modern History, vol.ii, pp.591-614.

had heard mythical accounts of the inhabitants of the country; and, more important they were aware that Ceylon was prosperous and suitable for their trade.<sup>2</sup>

Even such pioneer Portuguese sailors as Vasco da Gama knew that Ceylon, which was famous for cinnamon, was within easy reach of Cochin.<sup>3</sup> In 1500 Pedralvares

Cabral captured a large vessel on its way to Cambay with some elephants from Ceylon on board.<sup>4</sup> As Barros puts it Ceylon was universally regarded as the source of cinnamon.<sup>5</sup> Nearly all the Portuguese writers agree in

attributing to Ceylon the production of elephants, gems, and the finest cinnamon.<sup>6</sup> The Portuguese ships were able to get their supplies of cinnamon at Calicut and Cochin, brought thither by Muslim vessels from Ceylon.<sup>7</sup> Thus soon

2. Donald Ferguson, 'The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506', JRAS(CB), xix, pp. 321 and 326.

3. R.G. Ravenstein, First Voyages of Vasco da Gama, quoted in JRAS(CB), xix, p. 321.

4. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, pp. 21 and 23.

5. JRAS(CB), xx, p. 35.

6. JRAS(CB), xix, pp. 287 ff.

7. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, tr. by M.L. Dames, Hakluyt Society, London, 1866, pp. 167 ff.; Tome Pires, Suma Oriental, Hakluyt Society, London, 1944, vol. i, pp. 80 ff.

after their arrival in India the Portuguese authorities became aware of the fact that the Muslims of Malabar had a flourishing trade with Ceylon.

King Manuel of Portugal (A.D.1495-1521) seems to have had the discovery of the Island in his mind for some years, and in March 1505, in his instructions to Dom Francisco de Almeida, who was going out to become the first viceroy of the Portuguese possessions in India, he gave him a distinct command that he was to send out vessels under a suitable commander to discover 'Ceylam', Pegu and Malacca as soon as possible.<sup>8</sup> In any case the discovery would have been inevitable once Albuquerque had begun to move east of India to strike at the roots of Muslim trade in Malacca and Spice Islands.

When the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon, the country was politically weak, for the unity of the Island achieved by Parākramabāhu VI (A.D.1411-1466) had been shattered after the assertion of independent status by the king of Jaffna and

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8. Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, ed. by R.A. de Bulhão Pato, Lisbon, vol.ii, pp.272 ff.; JRAS(CB), xix, p.332.

the foundation of the kingdom of Udarata (Kandy) by Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu (A.D.1469-1511) during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI (A.D.1469-1477). The king of Kōṭṭē, however, claimed suzerainty over the entire Island, though the king of Uḍarata being dissatisfied with his position as a tributary, made several attempts to put an end to the supremacy of Kōṭṭē. These troubles seriously strained the Kōṭṭē king's resources. In addition, the territories of the king of Kōṭṭē were further divided after the death of Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII (A.D.1477-1489) since the already reduced kingdom of Kōṭṭē was shared by the five sons of this king.<sup>9</sup> These brother kings together with the kings of Uḍarata and Jaffna made the number of rulers in the Island seven. This multiplicity of kings in the Island at the time of Dom Lourenço's arrival was noticed by a number of

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9. For the names of these five brother kings and their territories see above pp.313-318  
I am indebted to Mr.J.B.Harrison for his help in translating into English the Portuguese works consulted in this chapter.

Portuguese writers.<sup>10</sup> This division would certainly have been favourable to the Portuguese had they wished to obtain political control over the Island.

The king of Kōṭṭē with whom the Portuguese came into contact was regarded as the suzerain of the Island. It was in his kingdom that most of the important trade and commodities were produced from his ports that they were exported.<sup>11</sup> But the king of Kōṭṭē did not possess a navy which could be compared with that of the Portuguese and even the trade of his kingdom was carried out through Muslim ships. Furthermore, the army of the king of Kōṭṭē was not an organized one. It was usually composed of Sinhalese peasants and some South Indian mercenaries. In respect of the weapons which were used by the Ceylonese kings we cannot be sure whether at this time they knew of

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10. Edmond Peiris, 'The Earliest printed account of the Portuguese in Ceylon', JRAS(CB)NS, viii, p.216; Tome Pires says that there were five kings. (Suma Oriental, vol.i, p.84) Barbosa also supports this information. (Book of Duarte Barbosa, p.170). Varthema seems to have noticed only four kings. (Travels of Ludovici di Varthema, p.188). Correa also seems to support this view. (Lendas da India, vol.i, p.650 See also: Ribeiro's Historical Tragedy of Ceilão, tr. by P.E.Pieris, 1909, p.2 (seven kingdoms); Faria y Sousa, The Portuguese Asia, tr. by J. Stevens, vol.i, p.219, (nine kingdoms).

11. T. Abeyasinghe, Portuguese rule in Ceylon, p.9 ff.

and used fire arms. The account of the Rājāvaliya dealing with the Portuguese arrival shows that the Sinhalese were not used to such powerful fire arms as the Europeans possessed.<sup>12</sup> Two later Portuguese writers, possibly with reason, also state that the Sinhalese were not used to fire arms before the Portuguese arrived in the Island.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, it seems clear that the king of Kōṭṭē was far weaker than the Portuguese in military strength.

While the position of the king of Kōṭṭē was thus, politically and militarily vulnerable, the trade of the country as we noticed, was in the hands of the Muslim traders who were living in the coastal towns and ports of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē. Although in Ceylon all trade with foreign countries was always theoretically regarded as a royal prerogative, during this time, in practice such trade was in the hands of the Muslim traders. The king of Kōṭṭē, however, seems to have been dissatisfied with the Muslims after the attack on the pearl fishery made

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12. Rājāvaliya, tr. p. 73.

13. Couto, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p. 72  
Queyroz, book, ii, p. 177.

by the Muslims of Kāyal a few years before the arrival of the Portuguese in the Island. Thus, the king was perhaps glad to see a rival trading community present in the port of Colombo.<sup>14</sup>

One who reads the account of the Rājāvaliya concerning the arrival of the Portuguese may perhaps rush to the conclusion that all the inhabitants of the port of Colombo were surprised at the spectacle of the sailing vessels of quite unusual design at anchor in their harbour manned by <sup>a</sup> strange white-skinned people unknown to them.<sup>15</sup> But it seems unlikely that the Muslim traders in the port of Colombo and the king of Kōṭṭē had not heard of these new-comers. If we may trust the statement of Queyroz, Parākramabāhu IX had already heard about the Portuguese when they landed in his port.<sup>16</sup> In view of the fact that seven years had passed since the appearance of the flotilla of Vasco da Gama on the Malabar coast, we can assume with Queyroz that in 1505 the king of Kōṭṭē already knew who these visitors were.

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14. Queyroz, book, ii, p. 177.

15. Rājāvaliya, tr. p. 73.

16. Queyroz, book, ii; p. 177.

Correa's statement that "the Moors of the ships anchored in the port of Colombo at the time of Lourenço's arrival had told the king of Ceylon great evils of the Portuguese; that they went about the sea robbing and murdering and that whatever they did not want, in order that it might be of service to no one, they burnt; and that on land they took merchandise by force and paid what they liked; and that they carried off children" is not reported by the other Portuguese writers.<sup>17</sup> But Barros also says that the 'Moors' disliking the presence of the Portuguese took measures to deceive them by taking them by a long and circuitous route from Colombo to the king.<sup>18</sup> Queyroz, though he does not say that it was the Muslims who took the Portuguese in this round about way to Kōttē, supports the evidence of Barros.<sup>19</sup> Even the Sinhalese tradition connected with a proverb elaborates a vague memory of this event.<sup>20</sup>

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17. Gaspar Correa, Lendas da India, vol.i, p.647.

18. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.24.

19. Queyroz, book ii, p.178.

20. JRAS(CB), xix, p.360.



In any case it is reasonable to believe that the Muslims who stood to lose at the arrival of the Portuguese tried to prejudice the mind of the king against the new rivals.

Early Portuguese writers as well as modern historians do not agree with each other regarding the date of the arrival of Dom Lourenço in the Island. They also do not agree with each other on the identity of the place where the Portuguese made their first landfall.<sup>21</sup>

Unfortunately, the early Portuguese correspondence among the Portuguese authorities which is available to us does not lend substantial support in our attempt to elucidate either of these problems.

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21. Fr. S.G. Perera in his A History of Ceylon expresses the view that it was Galle where the Portuguese made their first landfall. (A History of Ceylon, p.12). P.E. Pieris is of the opinion that it was Colombo. (Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol.i, p.35). With regard to the date of the arrival of the Portuguese, however, most writers agree that it was in 1505. One scholar, Donald Ferguson, in a learned article contributed to JRAS(CB), xix, no.59, entitled 'The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506' maintains that the true date ought to be 1506 and not 1505. See also: Paranavitana, 'The Emperor of Ceylon at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505', UCR, xix, pp.10-29.

The earliest writer who touches upon this point, Barros, does not state a date for the arrival of Dom Lourenço de Almeida, but says that the ships sailed when it was 'the monsoon weather for that passage'.<sup>22</sup> Barros presumably does not mean that Almeida sailed during the height of the monsoon during June-August, but rather during the succeeding months when the winds are still blowing steadily but moderately and shipping is active along the Malabar coast.<sup>23</sup> Gaspar Correa also does not give a date, but places this event among the achievements of Dom Francisco de Almeida in the early part of the year 1506.<sup>24</sup> Castanheda too, does not state the exact date of the event, but he does mention that the ships of Dom Lourenço left Cochin for Ceylon on the 2nd of November 1505.<sup>25</sup> The fact that there so early existed a doubt regarding the exact date of this event is evident from

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22. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB),xx,p.22.  
 23. E.K.Cook,Ceylon, Its Geography, Its Resources & Its People, pp.111-112.  
 24. Gaspar Correa, Lendas da India,vol.i,pp.634-658.  
 25. Castanheda, História da India,book ii,pp.262-264.

the account of Antonio Galvano, who was in Goa in 1527, since according to him Almeida arrived in Ceylon either at the end of 1505 or at the beginning of the next year.<sup>26</sup> Two later Portuguese writers, Diogo do Couto and Fernão de Queyroz, however, place the event firmly in 1505.<sup>27</sup> The latter, who wrote his account in the seventeenth century, mentions that the arrival of Dom Lourenço took place on November 15th in the year 1505.<sup>28</sup>

The Ceylonese tradition recorded in the Rājāvaliya is of hardly any help in order to unravel this problem. The date assigned to this event in most of the manuscripts of this work, A.D.1322, and the A.D.1522 given in the printed versions of it is certainly an error.<sup>29</sup> The fact that the date is mentioned in the Christian Era may perhaps be taken as evidence to support the idea that the information

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26. Antonio Galvano, The Discoveries of the World, Hakluyt Society, London, 1862, p.104.
27. Couto, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.71; Queyroz, book ii, p.177.
28. Queyroz, book ii, p.177.
29. See above pp.23-24 for further information about this date mentioned in the Rājāvaliyas. There we concluded that 1522 was an attempt made by the editors of the printed versions in the direction of correcting an error found in the manuscripts.

was taken from a Portuguese source.<sup>30</sup> However, the information given by the Rājāvaliyas that it was during the reign of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX (A.D.1498-1513) is corroborated by the account of Queyroz as well.<sup>31</sup> Valentijn, writing in the 1720's though he used a Sinhalese chronicle to reconstruct the early and medieval history of the Island, mentions that A.D.1505 should be taken as the correct date, although the Sinhalese chronicle (which he utilized) says that it was A.D.1530.<sup>32</sup> It should also be noted that the year 1505 given by Valentijn was most probably taken from a Portuguese account. The Tamil tradition recorded in the Yālpāna-vaipavamālai mentions that the Parañkis (Portuguese) first came to the Island of Lankā in the Śaka year 1428 (A.D.1506) during the reign of Parākramabāhu IX.<sup>33</sup> We should remember that this work was

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30. There is substantial evidence in the Rājāvaliyas that Portuguese writings were used by the authors. See for example the names of some of the countries of the world mentioned at the beginning of the chronicle. Pratikāli dēśaya (Portugal), Spaññaya (Espanha), Alamaññaya (Almanha), Taliyānāya (Italia) Rōmaya (Rome) and etc. Rājāvaliya(G), p.3.

31. Rājāvaliya(G), p.51; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.80; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.28.

32. Valentijn, pp.73,75 and 90.

33. Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, pp.82 ff.  
Yālpāna-vaipavamālai, tr. pp.33 and 48.

written in the eighteenth century although we know that the Yālpāna-vaipavamālai depended on earlier traditions.<sup>34</sup>

In the light of this information procurable from the historical sources, it seems clear that the Portuguese visited Ceylon, for the first time, either in 1505 or in 1506.<sup>35</sup> Further, when we take the chronological data given by Castanheda according to which the ships of Lourenço left Cochin on the second of November 1505 we cannot be far wrong in accepting that they landed in Ceylon towards the end of the year 1505.<sup>36</sup> Further, Correa mentions that the ships of Dom Lourenço took 18 days to reach Ceylon from the day they left Cochin.<sup>37</sup> These two data, however, do not agree with the 15th November 1505 given by Queyroz as the date of the Portuguese arrival but it seems clear that the event took place during this time of the year.<sup>38</sup> Further, the Sinhalese tradition connected with the above mentioned proverb records that the

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34. UHC, p.62.

35. JRAS(CB), xix, pp.321 ff.

36. Castanheda, Historia da India, book ii, p.120.

37. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.i, p.646.

38. Queyroz, book ii, p.177.

Portuguese ambassadors took a few days to reach Kōttē since the people who took them to the presence of the king led them through a long and circuitous route.<sup>39</sup> The latter fact as we have seen is confirmed by Barros and Queyroz.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, it seems clear that the Portuguese remained in the port for some time exchanging messengers with the king and therefore, their stay in the Island must have lasted for a month or two.

However, we possess evidence which seems certainly to prove that Ceylon was discovered before the end of the year 1506. A letter of Gaspar da India to king Manuel dated 16th November 1506 refers to the visit of Ceylon as having happened a considerable time ago.<sup>41</sup> This evidence is confirmed by another letter, written by the viceroy, Dom Francisco de Almeida, on 27th December 1506 which refers to Dom Lourenço's leaving of the cross of Christ, and the royal arms and device on a padrão in Ceylon.<sup>42</sup> The erecting of a padrão at

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39. JRAS(CB), xix, p. 360.

40. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p. 24. Queyroz, book ii, p. 178.

41. Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, vol. ii, pp. 371-380. for an English translation see: JRAS(CB), xix, p. 337.

42. Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, vol. ii, pp. 391-397. See also JRAS(CB), xix, p. 338.

the place of their first landing is mentioned by most of the Portuguese writers in dealing with the visit of Dom Lourenço de Almeida to the Island.<sup>43</sup> This letter of the viceroy supplies an interesting piece of evidence which may also assist in unravelling the problem. According to this letter after the discovery of the Island, the Portuguese ships had gone to Ceylon once again in order to obtain cinnamon at the end of the month of September. Since the letter of the viceroy is dated 27th December 1506 it seems reasonable to believe that the month of September referred to in the letter is of 1506. Thus it seems quite clear that the Island was discovered before September 1506. This letter also shows that Dom Lourenco was back in Cochin when it was written. On this evidence, supplemented by the above mentioned records of the Portuguese writers, we may attribute the arrival of the men who sailed under the leadership of Dom Lourenço to the Island to the end of the year 1505, adding that possibly they were there during the early part of the next year as well; strictly, between November 1505 and August 1506.

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43. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, pp.23 and 27.  
Castanheda, Historia da India, book ii, p.262.  
Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, p.540.

The place where the Portuguese first set foot on the Island is given by different Portuguese writers either as Galle or as Colombo. Two historians, Barros and Castanheda, mention that Dom Lourenço landed in Galle and do not refer to a subsequent visit to Colombo or to Kōṭṭē during the same voyage.<sup>44</sup> According to Barros the storm-tossed ships of Almeida made landfall in the port of Galle where he found many 'Moors' who were engaged in loading cinnamon and elephants to be taken to Cambaya, and having landed in the port, Almeida erected a stone padrão on a rock, upon which was ordered to be cut some letters stating how he had arrived there and had discovered the Island.<sup>45</sup> Then the Moors not wishing to see the Portuguese coming into contact with the king, pretended to have come with a message of the king and offered 400 bahars of cinnamon as a gift to them by the king in token of the peace and amity which he desired to have with the king of Portugal. Then Barros says that Dom Lourenço insisted on sending an ambassador to the king but the 'Moors' took them by a long and circuitous route to a person who pretended to be the king of 'Ceilam'. According to Barros the person that

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44. Castanheda, Historia da India, book ii, pp. 258 ff.

45. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS (CB), xx, pp. 22-25.



they met was not the king of 'Ceilam' but rather 'what they said was the lord of the port of Galle'. Having reported all these events in his first decada stressing that the crew of Dom Lourenço's ships visited only Galle on their first arrival in the Island, in the next decada Barros contradicts himself by mentioning that Nuno Vaz, who arrived in Colombo in 1508 to obtain cinnamon, states that he found the padrão that Dom Lourenço had left standing in the port of Colombo.<sup>45a</sup> This clearly shows that Barros, who never visited the 'Estado da India', had contradictory evidence with regard to the exact place of Dom Lourenço's arrival.

The other writer who says that Almeida arrived in Galle is Castanheda. According to his account Dom Lourenço set sail for the Maldives, but his pilots, who were as yet new to that course, did not allow for the currents, which were strong in that latitude. As a result the fleet missed the Islands and was carried to within sight of Cape Comarin whence Dom Lourenço directed his course for the Island of Ceylon, whither the viceroy had ordered him to go.<sup>46</sup>

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45a. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.27.

46. Castanheda, Historia da India, book ii, p.258.

Dom Lourenço directing his course towards that Island made landfall at the port of Gabaliquamma, later, in Castanheda's day, called 'Gale'. Then Castanheda gives a graphic account of the appearance of the king and how the ambassador of Dom Lourenço was received by him. According to this writer the king that they met was the Lord of Gale (Galle) whom the ambassadors at that time believed to be the true king of Ceylon. The account of Castanheda regarding the first visit of the Portuguese to Ceylon seems to bear a resemblance to two other accounts known to us. This description of the ports of Ceylon and their products seems to have been taken from the book of Barbosa,<sup>47</sup> while his account of the palace and of the Sinhalese king resembles very closely that of a Latin tract which was printed in Rome in 1507. This Latin account, however, mentions that the ambassador of Dom Lourenço was received by the chief king of the Island who ruled over six other kings of the Island.<sup>48</sup> If

47. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, tr. by M.L.Dames, Hakluyt Society, London, 1866, p.170.; See also for further information Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, p.162.

48. See Castanheda, Historia da India, book ii, p.258 ff. Edmond Peiris, 'The Earliest printed account of the Portuguese in Ceylon', JRAS(CB)NS, vol.viii, 1963, pp.213-224.

If Castanheda actually borrowed information from this work it seems probable that he misunderstood the information possibly mixing it with another story which said that Dom Lourenço visited Galle. However, as we can see from the Latin tract it seems clear that the king whom the Portuguese met was the king of Kōṭṭē since he was the chief king of the Island and the lord over the other petty kings. It is also interesting to note that as far as we can gather there is no evidence to support the idea that there was a king in Galle.<sup>49</sup> In the light of this evidence we cannot be certain that Barros and Castanheda were aware of the true events. Possibly they had before them a vague tradition which said that Dom Lourenço landed in Galle.

On the other hand, there are other early Portuguese writers who favour the view that it was Colombo where the Portuguese first landed and that the king they met was the ruler of Kōṭṭē. Correa, who was a contemporary of Barros and Castanheda, gives a convincing account as to how Dom Lourenço landed in Colombo and met the king of Ceylon. This writer was perhaps in a better position to gain information regarding this point since he was in India for over fifty years.

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49. See above pp. 343 - 348 for further information about the petty kings and their principalities.

Further he was one of the secretaries of Affonso de Albuquerque, and acted, after Albuquerque's death, as Inspector of works, and then as a writer in the Cochin factory, dying still in subordinate office after serving in India for over fifty years.<sup>50</sup> According to Correa, Dom Lourenço landed in Colombo after eighteen days, sailing from Cochin on his way to the Maldives. His account regarding the behaviour of the Muslims and the meeting of the king's council on the subject of the new-comers is supported by the Rājāvaliyas and the account of Queyroz.<sup>51</sup> Further, Dom Lourenço's reply to the king's messengers as recorded in the Lendas, that the Portuguese had landed in the Island by mistake and that they were traders who wished to purchase and sell things from and to other countries, is partly corroborated by the eighteenth-century Mukkara-haṭana where it is said that the Portuguese presented themselves as traders.<sup>52</sup> However, on the strength of the evidence supplied by Correa we cannot say that the Portuguese did not visit Galle on

50. This information is taken from the article entitled 'Five Portuguese Historians', by J.B. Harrison contributed to the Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, p.156. See also: A.F.G.Bell, Gaspar Correa, Oxford, 1924, p.2.

51. Rājāvaliya(G), p.51; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p.81. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.28.; Queyroz, book ii, p.181. Gaspar Correa, Lendas da India, vol.i p.647.

52. Mukkara-haṭana as translated in Raghavan's The Karava of Ceylon, pp.19-20.

their first arrival to the Island. But Correa is precise as to the fact that it was the king living near the harbour of Colombo who gave audience to the ambassador of Dom Lourenço.<sup>53</sup> This evidence is supported by the above mentioned Latin account.<sup>54</sup>

Queyroz, however, gives a different story according to which the flotilla of Dom Lourenço came in sight of the port of Gale (Galle) after they had been carried off course by bad currents. They went coasting along up to the port of Colombo where they anchored on November 15th 1505.<sup>55</sup> As the account of Queyroz was written during the latter half of the seventeenth century there is no reason for us to prefer it to the others even though it supplies an interesting and intelligible sequence of events. On the other hand, a careful examination of this account would seem to show that this is an attempt of a writer who has had two contradictory accounts before him and with no way to decide which is true, has, therefore, made up a story to fit in both accounts. We cannot, therefore, take the evidence of Queyroz as the most reliable and denounce

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53. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, pp.643 ff.

54. JRAS(CB)NS, vol.viii, p.216.

55. Queyroz, book ii, p.177.

the earlier writers as untrustworthy.<sup>56</sup> How the early historians such as Barros and Castanheda got the idea that Dom Lourenço arrived in Galle and signed a treaty with the king there, we cannot definitely say. Possibly the idea that Dom Lourenço arrived in Galle owes its origin to the events of a later period when in 1518 Albergaria made landfall at Galle on his way to Colombo.<sup>57</sup> In any case we can accept the information given by Queyroz that the Portuguese met the Kōṭṭē ruler (Dharma Parākramabāhu IX - A.D.1489-1513) on their first arrival to the Island for this fact is corroborated by the Sinhalese tradition.<sup>58</sup> In view of the fact that it was the king of Kōṭṭē alone who had the power to deal with a foreign mission and to make a treaty with them, we may surely assume that Dom Lourenço visited the port of Colombo, even if he first

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56. Not only regarding the place of the Portuguese arrival but even regarding the name of the ambassador who went to the presence of the king of Kōṭṭē Queyroz has made an attempt to fit in two stories. According to Barros the ambassador was Payo de Sousa; according to Castanheda it was Fernao Cotrim and according to Correa it was Diogo D'Almeida. But Queyroz says that Payo de Sousa was sent first but did not have an audience with the king, but prepared the way for a formal meeting and that later the ambassador named Fernão Cotrim met the king and had a treaty signed.

Queyroz, book ii, pp.177-183.

57. Queyroz, book ii, pp.177.

Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), p.23.

58. Queyroz, book ii, p.177. Rājāvaliya(G), p.51.

landed at Galle. Further, according to all the Portuguese historians Dom Lourenço erected a padrão in the port where they landed; this padrão is still found in Colombo.<sup>59</sup>

The Sinhalese reaction to the presence of the Portuguese ships in the port of Colombo has been recorded as something very important in the Rājāvaliya. According to this account the king of Kōṭṭē, as soon as he had received the news of the arrival of the Portuguese, summoned a meeting of the king's council which the four brothers of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX, then king of Kōṭṭē, attended.<sup>60</sup> The story about the meeting of the king's council recorded in the Rājāvaliya, as we noted earlier, is confirmed by the accounts of Correa and Queyroz as well.<sup>61</sup> It seems, therefore, certain that the Sinhalese king regarded the arrival of the Portuguese to the Island as a matter of importance to his kingdom. This fact is clearly seen since according to the Rājāvaliya the council could not decide whether to wage war or to make friends with the new arrivals.<sup>62</sup>

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59. SHC, pp. 94-95.

60. Rājāvaliya(G), p. 61; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, pp. 80-81. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 28.

61. Correa, Lendas da India, vol. i, p. 647. Queyroz, book ii, p. 181; Rājāvaliya(G), p. 51.

62. Rājāvaliya(G), p. 51.

The Sinhalese as well as the Portuguese sources are unanimous regarding the fact that it was the king who took the initiative of sending an envoy to the new arrivals to his kingdom.<sup>63</sup> The reason for this according to the Rājāvaliya was that Prince Cakrāyudha, who went in disguise to the port of Colombo in order to learn about the foreigners, suggested to the king that a warlike policy in respect of these new-comers would be disastrous and that it would be wiser to make friends with them.<sup>64</sup> According to Castanheda the king of the Island, whom he erroneously identifies with the lord of Galle, fearing that Dom Lourenço would burn the ships in the port, and not having sufficient troops to venture to defend the country sent a message to Dom Lourenço offering peace and friendship, promising to do for him all that was within reason.<sup>65</sup> According to Correa when the 'Moors' informed the king that the armada of the Portuguese was in his port he at once took council thereon what to do, and when it was resolved by the advise of the 'Moors' he sent a message to ask what they wanted in the king's port.<sup>66</sup>

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63. Rājāvaliya(G), p.51; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.28. Queyroz, book ii, p.177.

64. Rājāvaliya(G), p.51.

65. Castanheda, Historia da India, book ii, p.262. English translation in JRAS(CB), xix, p.347.

66. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.i, p.647. English translation in JRAS(CB), xix, p.353.



Whether Correa's information about the instigation by the 'Moors' is true or not it seems certain that the king of Kōṭṭē offered peace in view of the fact that he could not do otherwise.

According to the Portuguese writers who wrote about this event the king of Kotte promised an annual tribute to the king of Portugal after the formal meeting between the king and the Portuguese ambassador.

According to Barros, however, the amount of cinnamon, i.e. 400 bahars, that the Portuguese received was given

by the 'Moors' who acted without the knowledge of the king.<sup>67</sup> According to Castanheda the king whom they met

promised to give an annual tribute of 150 quintals (about 50 bahars) of cinnamon.<sup>68</sup> Correa does not mention

the amount of cinnamon promised, as annual tribute in bahars, but says that the king promised to give a ship-

load of cinnamon and two elephants to the Portuguese every year.<sup>69</sup> Correa also refers to a treaty which was

written and signed by both parties. This writer qualifies his statement by stating that Diogo D'Almeida,<sup>70</sup> the

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67. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.23.

68. Castanheda Historia da India, vol.ii, p.263.  
English translation in JRAS(CB), xix, p.347.

69. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.i, p.650.  
English translation in JRAS(CB), xix, p.355.

70. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.i, pp.649-650.; JRAS(CB), xix, p.355.  
This is the name given by Correa to the ambassador of Dom Lourenço; but the other Portuguese writers mention some other names. See note 56

ambassador of Dom Lourenço, wanted to get the king's bond on what was said and promised, signed with the king's own hand. And the king subsequently signed a treaty on a strip of gold stating what he promised to give every year. Dom Lourenço on his part, wrote his bond, which is not specifically mentioned by Correa, on a strip of silver, and because the ink would not adhere to the silver it was written on a piece of paper and pasted on the strip of silver.<sup>71</sup> Although we are not in a position to explain how Correa obtained this information or whether he made up the story in order to please his readers, which seems rather unlikely, since Correa showed impartiality throughout his narrative, we find this account convincing.<sup>72</sup> Even the Sinhalese chronicles such as the Rājāvaliya and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya refer to this meeting as giving and receiving gifts on both sides.<sup>73</sup> The seventeenth century poem Mahahaṭana also mentions that the Portuguese gave presents to the king of Kōṭṭē for the right of trade which the king offered to them. This work, however, ignores the fact that the king gave tribute to the Portuguese.<sup>74</sup>

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71. Correa, Lendas da India, vol. i, p. 650.  
JRAS (CB), xix, p. 355.

72. A.F.G. Bell, Gaspar Correa, p. 21 ff.

73. Rājāvaliya (G), p. 51; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p. 81;  
Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 28.

74. Mahahaṭana quoted in Abeyasinghe's Portuguese rule in Ceylon, p. 10.

Barros and Castanheda do not make mention of a written document but the seventeenth century Queyroz says that the king signed the treaty on an ola of beaten gold.<sup>75</sup> Unfortunately, we cannot take the evidence of Queyroz to confirm the information supplied by Correa for Queyroz possibly had drawn his material from Correa, although he does not say that he did. One piece of evidence against the existence of a written treaty is found in the writings of Simão Botelho, the collector of revenue in Goa, who writing in 1551 complains that although many treaties and contracts had been concluded with the kings of Kōṭṭē, he could not obtain any of the written documentation.<sup>76</sup> This may show that Queyroz possibly did not have an opportunity of seeing the treaty but obtained his information from an earlier writer. However, even Simão Botelho accepts the fact that the Portuguese concluded treaties with the king of Kōṭṭē although he was unable to see any of them.

The earliest documentary material that we possess regarding the tribute promised by the king of Ceylon is the letter written by Gaspar da India to Lisbon, according to which the king of Ceylon promised to give the Portuguese an annual tribute of 150 measures of cinnamon, the best

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75. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, pp.22-25. Castanheda, Historia da India, book ii, pp.262-263.

Queyroz, book ii, p.181.  
76. Simão Botelho, O Tombo Estado da India, p.240

found in the Island.<sup>77</sup> The letter which was written to King Manuel on November 16th 1506, also reports the collection of tribute from Ceylon, valued at that time at only two hundred and fifty crusados.<sup>78</sup>

According to a letter written by King Manuel of September 1507 to the Pope, the amount of cinnamon promised was 150 quintals (about 50 bahars) which is the amount recorded in the above mentioned Latin account and that of Castanheda.<sup>79</sup> Therefore, we cannot understand why Barros and Queyroz mention that the tribute consisted of 400 bahars of cinnamon while the contemporary letters mention it as only 150 quintals.<sup>80</sup> The only explanation that we can suggest, if Barros is reporting the truth, is that this was the amount that the Portuguese received when they first arrived in the Island.

77. JRAS(CB), xix, p. 337.

JRAS(CB)NS, viii, p. 216.

See also Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, vol. ii, pp. 371-380.

78. Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, vol. ii, pp. 371-380.

English translation, JRAS(CB), xix, p. 337.

79. See for the Pope's letter JRAS(CB), xix, pp. 340-341.

Latin account in JRAS(CB)NS, viii, p. 216.

Castanheda, Historia da India, book ii, p. 263.

English translation in JRAS(CB), xix, p. 347.

80. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p. 23.

Queyroz, book ii, p. 181.

Bahar was a measure of weight in use during this period almost everywhere in the East. Value of a bahar is not very certain since it varied from time to time and place to place. According to Tome Pipes bahar was equal to three quintals and thirty arrates (pounds). (Suma Oriental, vol. ii, p. 86). Quintal usually weighed 120 pounds.

Some modern scholars have been rather reluctant to admit the fact that the Sinhalese king sent tribute to the Portuguese after their meeting with the king in 1505. Abeyasinghe, for his reluctance to admit this fact, gives the following plausible reason: 'there is no ground to believe that the king of Kōṭṭē in 1505 was sufficiently impressed with the white strangers who came to his shores in a few storm-tossed ships to promise a tribute of 400 bahars of cinnamon (the quantity Queyroz mentions) a year'.<sup>81</sup> It is possible that Queyroz may have exaggerated the amount of cinnamon promised, but as we have noticed earlier in our discussion the Portuguese writers agree with each other regarding the fact that the king of Ceylon promised a tribute to the Portuguese, although they do not agree with regard to the quantity of cinnamon promised by the king. Even the author of the Alakēśvarayuddhaya has accepted, though reluctantly, the grim reality that Dharma Parākramabāhu IX sent tribute to the king of Portugal.<sup>82</sup> Further, if we take into consideration the behaviour of the Portuguese in Ormuz and Malacca we cannot be sceptical about the fact that the Portuguese

81. Abeyasinghe, Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, p.10 foot note.

82. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.29.

would have demanded tribute from the king of Ceylon as well.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, the sending of tribute to a king living so far away would in no way have diminished the position of Parākramabāhu IX among his subjects. Even Parākramabāhu VI had sent tribute to the king of China in the preceding century. Furthermore, as the Alakēśvarayuddhaya and the Rājāvaliya mention, gifts from the king of Portugal also reached the court of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX.<sup>83a</sup> According to Correa, Dom Lourenço sent to the king a piece of scarlet cloth and another of black velvet, as a gift.<sup>84</sup> The tribute might thus be explained as part of an interchange of gifts, even if the word tribute more closely corresponded with the realities of power.

The terms of the treaty were certainly advantageous to the Portuguese since they could obtain the major part of the quota of cinnamon they needed from Ceylon. But the treaty, according to Queyroz, was signed with the promise on the part of the Portuguese to defend the ports of the kingdom.<sup>85</sup> This information supplied by Queyroz may be correct since Correa also supports this view.<sup>86</sup>

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83. The New Cambridge Modern History, vol.ii, p.596; Winstedt, A History of Malaya, p.65 ff.

83a. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.29 ; Rājāvaliya(G), p.51.

84. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.i, p.650.

85. Queyroz, book ii, p.181.

86. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.i, pp.649-650.

However, it would be an exaggeration if we were to assume that the king of Kōtṭē submitted to the Portuguese as a vassal king as a result of the treaty. In fact, the Portuguese, during the first few decades of their stay in Asia did not attempt territorial conquests for they were content to buy or obtain spices peacefully, although they did aim at a monopoly of the trade. In Ceylon, what really happened was not strictly a submission to the Portuguese, but the taking out of an insurance policy against loss at sea, an element comparatively of minor importance to the king. During the period between 1505 and 1518 the Portuguese traded peaceably with Ceylon. From the information we can gather from the Portuguese writings it seems clear that the ships visited the Island every year in order to collect the tribute of cinnamon and the other items which they purchased.<sup>87</sup> Correa, writing about the Portuguese connexions with the Island, mentions that when the ships arrived in Ceylon in 1507 the king, not having an exact copy of the treaty of tribute, ordered to give cinnamon at his own free will; the rest that the Portuguese wanted was to be purchased from the king at one gold portuguez for every five bahars that they purchased.<sup>88</sup>

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87. Cartas de Affonco de Albuquerque, vol.i, pp.99-100.

88. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.i, p.718.

According to Barros in the next year when Nuno Vaz came to collect cinnamon from Ceylon, he could obtain none, for the king of the country was seriously ill.<sup>89</sup> Certainly the illness of the king was no reason for the ships to return empty since the king had promised them an annual supply of cinnamon. Most probably the reason for this was that the Muslims had, before the arrival of the Portuguese ships, taken the whole crop of cinnamon out of the country. Castanheda referring to this event, says that in 1508 Nuno Vaz could not even make a purchase as the king was against it through the instigation of the 'Moors' of Calicut.<sup>90</sup> The view that the Muslims traded with Ceylon on equal terms with those of the Portuguese during this time is confirmed by Queyroz who informs us that the Portuguese captured four large junks of the Muslims which were taking cinnamon to Calicut to pass thence to Arabia.<sup>91</sup> Queyroz further records that there was a section of the Portuguese, who favoured the idea of a conquest of Ceylon since, the Muslims had a flourishing trade with the Island; but Albuquerque did not have an opportunity of conquering the Island for he was deeply involved in affairs elsewhere.

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89. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.26-27.

90. Castanheda, Historia da India, book ii, p.419.

91. Queyroz, book ii, p.184.



However, he was satisfied with the amount of cinnamon he received as annual tribute from Ceylon.<sup>92</sup>

In the meantime Dharma Parākramabāhu IX, the king of Kotte, died in 1513.<sup>93</sup> As we noticed earlier, at the death of this king, there was one section of the courtiers who wished to keep Vijayabāhu VI, the uterine brother of Dharma Parākramabāhu IX, out of the succession, in favour of Sakalalakāvalla, the elder half brother of the late king.<sup>94</sup> A letter of Albuquerque written on November 30th 1513 addressed to King Manuel mentions that the king of Ceylon was dead and there was a division between the two sons (possibly a misunderstanding for two brothers) of the king over the succession to the throne. One of them had sent envoys to Cochin asking for help, promising to give a site if the Portuguese should want one for a fortress.<sup>95</sup> As we also

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92. Ibid.

93. Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, vol.i, p.138.  
Alguns Documentos, p.297.

94. Rājāvaliya(G), p.52; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.29.

95. "....El rey de Ceilam he morto; avia hy dous filhos e devisam antre eles sobre ho socedimento do rreyno; disseram me que hum deles mandara dizer a Cochim que lhe desem ajuda, e se quysesem forteleza, que daria lugar pera iso."  
Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, vol.i, p.138; Alguns Documentos, p.297.

noted earlier, the dangers of Portuguese intervention in the internal matters of Kōṭṭē politics was averted by the fact that Sakalakalāvalla the opponent of Vijayabāhu, probably realizing the ill effects of such an event, withdrew from the contest.<sup>96</sup>

Friendly dealings between the Portuguese and Vijayabāhu VI (A.D.1513-1521) seem to have been continued during the latter's reign even though he did not require the military assistance of the Portuguese to secure his accession. According to Barros, the king of Colombo wrote to Albuquerque expressing his desire to have peace and friendship with the viceroy.<sup>97</sup> Barros further says that the king's interest in maintaining friendly relations with the Portuguese was due to the inspiration he gathered from the fortress of the raja of Cochin who had become very rich by now owing to the commerce with the Portuguese. The king had discussed with Albuquerque the question of building a fortress in Ceylon with a view to carry on commerce with the Portuguese.<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, the matter was not given due consideration by Albuquerque for he did not consider that a fort was needed in Ceylon.<sup>99</sup> However, it seems clear

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96. See above, pp. 339-346

97. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p. 38.

98. Barros Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p. 40.

99. Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, vol. i, pp. 423-425.

that Vijayabāhu VI was friendly with the Portuguese and gave<sup>a</sup> preference to them over the Muslims with regard to the trade during the early part of his reign.

The idea of building a fortress in Ceylon was given a good deal of thought by the Portuguese authorities. King Manuel having realized the strategic value of the Island, as early as 1508, had pointed this out to the viceroy.<sup>100</sup> However, the building of a fortress was not carried out by Dom Francisco de Almeida for he was opposed to the idea of multiplication of Portuguese fortresses in the east.<sup>101</sup> According to Barros Albuquerque was also instructed by the king to visit the Island and to erect a fortress at Colombo, but this task again was not attended to by him during his viceroyalty.<sup>102</sup> The reason for this is apparent in Albuquerque's letter dated November 4th 1510 where he had explained that building a fort was needless.<sup>103</sup> As regards cinnamon, they could obtain a sufficient amount since cinnamon was brought to Cochin by Portuguese or Muslim vessels for the loading of ships bound for Portugal.<sup>104</sup> In 1515, when

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100. Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, vol.ii, pp.403-419.

101. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.i, p.906.

102. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.38.

103. Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, vol.i, pp.423-425.

104. Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, vol.iii, p.401.

Lopo Soares Albergaria left Portugal to replace Albuquerque he was also given instructions by the king to undertake the same task.<sup>105</sup> Nevertheless, Albergaria had neither the time nor the ability to devote his attention to Ceylon as he was deeply involved in a clash with the Muslims at the mouth of the Red Sea.<sup>106</sup> It was only towards the end of his viceroyalty that he focussed his attention on the instructions given by the king with regard to building a fort in Ceylon.

The Governor sailed in a large fleet which included three galleys and several vessels laden with material for the construction of a fort in the Island.<sup>107</sup> During this voyage also the Portuguese ships were driven by the bad currents to the port of Galle where the governor was forced to remain for about a month. According

105. Barros, Da Asia, as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.38. Queyroz, book ii, p.187.

106. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.38. Whiteway, Rise of Portuguese Power in India, pp.179-189.

107. All the Portuguese writers do not agree with the number of ships that were taken by the Governor on this voyage. The information which is trusted in this connexion is taken from Correa for he was possibly the most trustworthy person with regard to this event. Gaspar Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, p.539. Castanheda, Historia da India, book iv, p.449. Faria y Sousa, vol.ii, p.219. Queyroz, book ii, pp.187-188.

to Queyroz the Governor considered Galle as the site for the building of the fort.<sup>108</sup> But this idea did not materialize since Colombo attracted the Portuguese better. The fleet thus reached the port of Colombo in the month of September 1518.<sup>109</sup>

The viceroy's visit was greatly appreciated by the king of Kōṭṭē who so far maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese. However, the statement of Queyroz that the king personally went to the port of Colombo to greet the viceroy seems to be an exaggeration.<sup>110</sup> If the event recorded by Queyroz in the seventeenth century is true, we find it difficult to understand why the earlier Portuguese writers such as Barros, Castanheda and Correa do not mention this important event.<sup>111</sup> In fact, Correa,

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108. Queyroz, book ii, p.188.

109. The date given by Queyroz for this event is at variance with that of the earlier writers. According to Queyroz the Governor arrived in the Island in 1517, Sept. 10th, (Queyroz, book ii, p.188). But the account of Correa mentions that the event took place in September 1518. This information is confirmed by Barros, Castanheda Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.39.

Historia da India, book iv, p.449.

Lendas da India, vol.ii, p.539.

110. Queyroz, book ii, p.189.

111. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, pp.40 ff. Castanheda, Historia da India, book iv, pp.449 ff. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, pp.539-547.

who is believed to have visited the Island with the viceroy on this expedition is silent regarding this point.<sup>112</sup> Further, according to Queyroz the king who visited Colombo in 1517 was Parākramabāhu.<sup>113</sup> But as we have seen earlier, Dharma Parākramabāhu IX, who was the last Sinhalese king to bear this name, died in 1513 and the king ruling at this time was Vijayabāhu VI.<sup>114</sup> Therefore, unless one is satisfied with the sources utilized by Queyroz the interesting account given by him regarding the visit of the king should be regarded as fiction. However, the fact that the king welcomed the viceroy with great pleasure and that the idea of building a fortress was approved by him is mentioned by Barros as well. According to Barros, the king's welcome was motivated by the fact that he desired to carry on trade relations with the Portuguese for which he assumed that the presence of a fortress would be an advantage.<sup>115</sup> According to Correa, when the king had heard the message of the viceroy about the latter's arrival and his desire to build a fortress the king sent the chief minister

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112. Bell, Gaspar Correa, p.8; Lendas da India, vol.ii, p.539 ff.

113. Queyroz, book ii, p.189.

114. See above pp.335-339.

115. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.40.

(Principal regedor do Reyno) to meet the viceroy.<sup>116</sup>

The king's idea that the presence of a Portuguese fortress would promote trade must certainly have favoured the suggestion of the viceroy that they ought to build a fort in Colombo in order to protect the trade and the ports of the Island from the 'Moors'.<sup>117</sup> Thus the construction work was immediately begun, since the viceroy had to be back in Cochin, before the next viceroy arrived there.

In the meantime, the Muslims who were thoroughly alarmed by the new developments in the port, receiving the sympathetic support of some of the Sinhalese inhabitants, created an uproar in spite of the king's injunctions. Correa, who can be trusted with regard to this particular event, owing to the probability of his having been in the Island at this time, mentions an interesting event that inspired the Muslims who were fighting. According to this account, a brother of the

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116. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, p.541.

This person was most probably Ekanāyaka Mudaliyā of the Rājāvaliya for he was the chief minister of the realm during the last part of the reign of Vijayabāhu VI (A.D.1513-1521). Rājāvaliya(G), p.52.

117. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, pp.40 ff.  
 Castanheda, Historia da India, vol.iv, pp.449 ff.  
 Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, pp.541 ff.  
 Queyroz, book ii, pp.189-192.

king, who ruled in another part of the Island, being greatly annoyed when he knew of this agreement between the Portuguese and the king with regard to the building of the fortress, arranged with the Moors that they should upset the mind of the king, saying that like a man without sense and without counsel the king had consented to build a fortress there for the Portuguese, who had come with a lie, since they had the trade and the tribute which the king paid them every year quite safely.<sup>118</sup>

Correa, on another occasion says that this brother of the king, who sent a large body of men to take part in the fighting, was prepared to come to an understanding with the Governor, if, in the course of fighting, the Governor destroyed the king and made this prince the king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>119</sup>

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118. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, pp.541-542.

119. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, p.543.

This prince, the brother of the king, could either be Sakalakalāvalla of Uḍugampala or Taniyavalla of Mādampe. (Rajavaliya(G), p.50). But judging from the evidence available in Kadirāna-Sannasa which was most probably issued in 1518, we may assume that Sakalakalavalla was not alive at that time. (Kadirāna-Sannasa published in JRAS(CB), vol.v, pp.75-79). From the Rājāvaliya on the other hand, we learn that Taniyavalla was alive even during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VII (A.D.1521-1551). (Rājāvaliya(G), p.55) In view of the fact that Taniyavalla was residing at Mādampe which was a city populated by rich merchants, among whom there were Muslims, we may not be wrong in assuming that it was he, who made an attempt to destroy the king on this occasion.

For traditions regarding Taniyavalla see Bell's article in JRAS(CB), xxvii, no.73, pp.36-53. See also for further information UCR, xix, pp.26-27.



During the uproar some of the Portuguese lost their lives and some others were taken prisoners by their enemies.<sup>120</sup> According to Barros and Queyroz the Sinhalese and the Muslims used fire arms against the Portuguese in addition to bows and arrows.<sup>121</sup> According to Queyroz, these arms were supplied by the 'Moors'.<sup>122</sup> The commotion was so great that the Governor was forced to use his full forces to expel the attackers in spite of the fact that he did not wish to hurt the feelings of the king.<sup>123</sup>

The opposition, however, was crushed by the Portuguese forces, led by the viceroy. There is no reason for us to assume that the king's forces were in the fight against the Portuguese since we learn from the four Portuguese historians, Barros, Castanheda, Correa and Queyroz, that the king denied from the beginning that he had anything to do with the fight against the Portuguese whom he considered as friends.<sup>124</sup> The statement of Queyroz that 'like an Egyptian wonder there appeared to the natives

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120. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.42.; Castanheda, Historia da India, book iv, pp.449-451; Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, pp.543-544; Queyroz, book ii, pp.193-194.

121. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.42; Queyroz, book ii, p.193.

122. Queyroz, book ii, p.193.

123. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, p.544.

124. Barros, Da Asia, as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.43  
 Castanheda, Historia da India, book iv, pp.449 ff.  
 Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, p.544.  
 Queyroz, book ii, p.194.

a roaring smoke of artillery, and to the Portuguese a column of fire which guided them to the sea, hindering the progress of the one and encouraging the other to resistance', seems to be confirmed by the report of the Rājāvaliya where it is said that 'during the reign of Vijayabāhu another ship arrived from Portugal; thereupon, a number of men went to attack (it)'. When the Portuguese saw them armed, and fired a cannon from the ship, the ball struck a branch of a jack tree and broke it. The Sinhalese, having seen that, were afraid and going to the city of Jayavardhana, reported to King Vijayabāhu.<sup>125</sup>

The Rājāvaliya reports another important factor which is confirmed by the Portuguese writings. It says that when the people fled to the king, he caused some Portuguese to be brought into his presence in the city of Kōṭṭē and sent them away having given them presents.<sup>126</sup> The Alakēśvarayuddhaya explaining the event further states that the king received the Portuguese with much honour and remained an intimate friend with the great king of Portugal.<sup>127</sup>

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125. Queyroz, book ii, p.194.

Rājāvaliya(G), p.52.

126. Rājāvaliya(G), p.52.

127. Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p.29.

But these two sources do not mention what kind of a present the king granted to the Portuguese. According to Barros the king, having been rather disheartened by the uproar and the Portuguese retaliation, sent his chief minister to Colombo to explain that the king had nothing to do with the fight and to show that he wished to be in peace and amity with the king of Portugal.<sup>128</sup> Correa says that the Governor sent Diogo Pereira and João Flores as envoys to re-establish peace with the king.<sup>129</sup>

As to the outcome of this meeting between the two parties, Queyroz gives a long account and includes in it a document which is said to have been signed by a king named Parākramabāhu. As the report of Queyroz has been utilized by many eminent scholars for the reconstruction of the history of this period, a careful consideration of this account is essential.<sup>130</sup> The

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128. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.43.

129. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, p.544.

130. Codrington in SHC, pp.94 and 100; S.G.Perera in A History of Ceylon, pp.12 and 15; P.E.Pieris, Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol.i, p.53.

following is the document which is said to have been signed by the king:

"Rightful Lord of the world, fortunate descendant of the Kings of Anu-Raja-Pure, the greatest of all on earth, scion of the Gods in this Island of Ceylon, Rightful Lord of the Empire of Cota and of the Realms of Jafanapatão and Candea, God of War in conquering Rebels who are more like women than men, Rightful heir of the Kings of Dambaden and of the great peak of Adam; preserver of the law of Buddhuas, vanquisher of the Kings styled Ariavanca, for they are traitors; descendant of the son of the Sun with the star on the head; true Master of all sciences, Legitimate descendant of Vigia Bau, I., the Emperor Paracrame-Bau, in the heart of my Empire 40 years called Segara, am content and it pleases me mightily to give to the Kings of Portugal each year as tribute 400 bahars of Cinnamon and 20 rings set with rubies that are found in this my Island of Ceylao, and tusked elephants on condition that the present Governort and the Viceroyes and Governors who shall succeed Lopo Soarez de Albergaria in the State of India, shall be obliged to favour me and assist me against my enemies as the Vassal that I am of the Crown of Portugal." 131

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Queyroz mentions that "this is the purport of the writing preserved in the Archives of Colombo from which original this translation was made and it was approved by all the kings who succeeded to Cota. " <sup>132</sup>

P.E. Pieris trusting the genuineness of the document has made an attempt to give the Sinhalese equivalents for the terms found in it by comparison with the Dambulla Samnasa of the twelfth century. Unfortunately, the attempt of this scholar does not seem to be successful since the Sinhalese words given by him receive no corroboration from the contemporary sannasas issued by the kings of Kōṭṭē. <sup>133</sup> Parnavitana, who is well acquainted with the sannasas of this period is rather sceptical about the genuineness of the document mentioned by Queyroz. <sup>134</sup> However, the document of Queyroz shows such an intimate knowledge of Sinhalese institutions that most scholars seem to have been misled by it. The Portuguese in the latter part of the seventeenth century were well acquainted with the modes and manners of the Sinhalese kings and especially Queyroz who devoted most of his time to the writing of the history of the Portuguese activities in Ceylon and undoubtedly familiar with such documents of the Sinhalese kings for his work shows that such documents were used by him.

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132. Queyroz, book ii, p.196.

133. P.E.Pieris, Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol.i, pp.457-458.

134. UCR, xix, p.17.

There are a number of reasons why the document professed to have been used by Queyroz should be looked upon as fictitious. We know for certain that the name of the Sinhalese king mentioned in this document is an error and that Parākramabāhu was not the king of Kotte in 1518 for his death, as we noticed earlier, took place in 1513 and the king in 1518 was Vijayabāhu VI (A.D. 1513-1521).<sup>135</sup> Moreover, the epithets assigned to the king in this document are not those found in the genuine documents of the kings of Kōṭṭē. The epithets such as 'the preserver of the law of the Budduas' were never used by the Sinhalese kings before or after the sixteenth century. This is undoubtedly based on what Fr. Fernão de Queyroz knew about the kings of Portugal since European kings often used the title 'defender of the faith'. This seems to have been, therefore, an epithet invented by the Portuguese writer owing to his unfamiliarity with the titles in vogue among the early kings of Kōṭṭē. Parānavitana in respect of the authenticity of this document quoted by Queyroz, says that "many of the titles given to Parākramabāhu in it such as 'Fortunate descendant of the kings of Anu Raja Pure', 'Rightful heir of the kings of Dambadeni and of the great peak of Adam' are of a type quite

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135. See above, pp. 339.

unlike those given to sovereigns in genuine documents emanating from the Court of Jayavardhanapura (Kōṭṭē), and seems to have been invented not without the idea of ridiculing the king, by a Portuguese writer not acquainted with the formulae in use among the scribes of Kōṭṭē, but with some knowledge of the history of the Island". Thus we cannot accept the document mentioned by Queyroz as one which was signed by the king of Kōṭṭē in 1518.<sup>136</sup>

We cannot, however, totally discard the fact that the king gave a sannasa allowing the Portuguese the use of some land to build a fortress in Colombo. Barros mentions that the treaty was written on leaves of beaten gold according to the usage of the Sinhalese.<sup>137</sup> Castanheda and Correa do not refer to a treaty signed on this occasion.<sup>138</sup> Thus one may suspect that Queyroz based his fabricated account on the report of Barros which he utilized without an acknowledgement.

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136. UCR, xix, p17.

137. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p.44.

138. Castanheda, Historia da India, book iv, pp.449-452.  
Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, pp.540-546.

The Sinhalese tradition recorded in the Mahahaṭana and the Mukkarahaṭana mentions the building of the first Portuguese fortress in Colombo but does not mention a treaty signed in this connexion. These writings, however, cannot be taken too seriously for, owing to their bias against the Portuguese, they overlook the failures<sup>e</sup> of the king of Kōṭṭē.<sup>139</sup> Their evidence that the king also received gifts from the Portuguese for giving them a plot of land for the building of the fort is supported by Correa as well.<sup>140</sup>

The Portuguese writings dealing with this subject unanimously mention that the king of Kōṭṭē promised to give an annual tribute to the Portuguese after an agreement in 1518. The earliest among the records mentioning such a tribute is a letter dated December 22nd 1518 which was written by Dom João de Lima to King Manuel. This letter mentions that Lopo Soarez before his return to Cochin built a fortress in Ceylon and imposed a tribute.<sup>141</sup>

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139. Mahahaṭana quoted in Abeyasinghe's Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, p.10.

Mukkarahaṭana tr. in Karava of Ceylon, pp. 16 ff.

140. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, p.542.

141. Alguns Documentos, p.421.



In respect of the value of the tribute Barros and Couto mention that it was composed of 300 bahars of cinnamon, twelve rings set with rubies and sapphires dug from the gem pits of Ceylon, and six elephants for the service of the factory in Cochin.<sup>142</sup> Castanheda and Queyroz, however, mention that the tribute was 400 bahars of cinnamon and twenty rings set with rubies and sapphires and ten elephants which had to be paid to the king of Portugal annually.<sup>143</sup> Correa agrees with these two writers regarding the amount of cinnamon but says that the promised number of rings were only six. With regard to the elephants he says that the Governor demanded four more elephants than that which the king used to give earlier which according to him was only two, thus making the total number six.<sup>144</sup> Faria y Sousa writing on this point mentions that the yearly tribute was twelve hundred quintals of cinnamon, twelve rings set with rubies and sapphires, and six elephants.<sup>145</sup> The Rājāvaliyas do not

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142. JRAS(CB),xx,p.44; and JRAS(CB),xx,p.73.  
 143. Castanheda, Historia da India, quoted in JRAS(CB)xx,p.44. Queyroz, book ii,pp. 195-196.  
 144. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii,p.542.  
 145. Faria y Sousa, The Portuguese Asia or the Discovery and Conquests of India, by the Portuguese, tr. by John Stevens, vol.ii,p.219.

record the king's granting of a tribute to the Portuguese, but one version of this chronicle which was probably written in the eighteenth century mentions that Vijayabāhu gave the Portuguese ten tusked elephants after he was defeated by them.<sup>146</sup> Nevertheless, the Rājāvaliyas imply that Vijayabāhu's policy towards the Portuguese was a failure.<sup>147</sup>

Although we cannot account for the discrepancy among the Portuguese writers with regard to the value of the tribute it seems certain that some cinnamon, rings set with sapphires and rubies and some elephants were promised by the king. It is regrettable that we are not so far in possession of any information from contemporary correspondence with regard to the value of the tribute. The discrepancy may be explained if we assume that the same quantity of cinnamon was given every year because, as Correa once explained, the king of Ceylon had no habit of keeping a record of the tribute and gave according to his free will.<sup>148</sup>

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146. Abhinava Sula Rājāvaliya, Or. 6606-74

147. Rājāvaliya(G), p. 52; Vatuvatte Rājāvaliya, p. 82; Alakēśvarayuddhaya, p. 29 ; Valentijn, p. 75

148. Correa, Lendas da India, vol. i, p. 718

When one compares the tribute which was promised by Dharma Parākramabāhu IX in 1505, that which was annually given by him and Vijayabāhu VI (A.D.1513-1521) and that which was promised by Vijayabāhu in 1518, one finds hardly any difference between the two, except for the rings and the number of elephants granted on the second occasion.<sup>149</sup> As we have noticed the tribute promised in 1505 was given regularly except for one year.<sup>150</sup> Thus we find it difficult to understand why the Governor made an attempt to get a signed document from the king of Ceylon for the promised tribute. The reason for this could be deduced from the account of Barros, where he mentions that Lopo Soarez wished to achieve something before his period as the viceroy of India expired and thus he selected Ceylon in order to get some sort of success.<sup>151</sup> Thus the treaty signed by the king of Ceylon was obtained mostly for the sake of proving the Governor's success in Ceylon. The journey of the Governor to Ceylon, therefore, was an empty boast apart from his building the fortress in Ceylon. Even the fortress, however, was considered useless by the Portuguese authorities and, as we shall see, it was dismantled by them in 1524.<sup>152</sup>

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149. See above p. 428

150. See above pp. 430-436

151. Barros, Da Asia as translated in JRAS(CB), xx, p. 38.

152. See below, p. 455

The fortress which was built in 1518 was a flimsy structure for it consisted merely of the erection of a wooden palisade. In the fort, according to Correa, the Governor left 200 men and arms, ammunition and provisions that seemed necessary.<sup>153</sup>

The fort provided the Portuguese with some advantages which they had hoped for since they could collect their cinnamon and such other items in the factory inside the fort until the ships arrived in Colombo, thus avoiding a repetition of what happened in 1508. The development of trade being the immediate object of the Portuguese, the Muslims were affected by it to a considerable extent. In 1519 the captain of the fort, João de Silveira writing to Portugal gives information about the trade of elephants which they had succeeded in shipping regularly from Ceylon to India for trade.<sup>154</sup> A person named D'Azevedo communicating to king Manuel in September 1519 showed a great interest in the pearl fishery in the North-west coast of the Island.<sup>155</sup> There is also

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153. Correa, Lendas da India, vol.ii, p.646 This is the figure given by Ribeiro as well. (Ribeiro's History of Ceilão, p.8) Queyroz mentions that the number of soldiers were 100 and the rest were servicing men. (Queyroz, book ii, p.196).
154. Alguns Documentos, p.435.
155. Alguns Documentos, p.436.

some evidence to prove that at the request of King Manuel a certain amount of cinnamon which they received from the king of Kōṭṭē was set apart for the expenses involved in converting the heathen in the Island.<sup>156</sup> There is no doubt that the number of the converts during this time was just a handful.

The presence of a fortress with some armed foreign soldiers was undoubtedly disliked by the inhabitants of the country. The explanation given by the Muslims that the Portuguese had come not only for the purpose of trade but with the idea of conquering the Island seems to have appeared true to the Sinhalese.<sup>157</sup> The account of Queyroz mentions that the king, Vijayabāhu VI, was also discontented with the Portuguese and sought means to expel them.

The next Governor, Diogo Lopes de Siquera sent Lopo de Brito as the captain of the fort of Colombo with orders to build the fort more strongly. He brought with him men and materials for the erection of a stone fort in place of the wooden palisade which was constructed by Albergaria. The building operations were completed amidst considerable opposition.

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156. Alguns Documentos, p.454.

157. Castanheda, Historia da India, book iv, pp.449-451.  
Correa, Lendas da India vol.ii, p.541.

Vijayabāhu VI appears to have entertained apprehensions as to the real object behind the construction of a stronger fortress. His idea that the trade with the Portuguese would make his kingdom richer must have appeared to him as an illusion for the fort seemed heavily guarded by armed soldiers. The Portuguese writers do not mention that Brito sought permission from the king in strengthening the construction of the fort. Thus the king's mind seems to have been prejudiced against the Portuguese by this time.

Queyroz mentions that the Sinhalese with the assistance of the Muslims besieged the fort. According to this writer, the besiegers had artillery and 600 muskets, some as big as berços and also used fire bombs.<sup>158</sup> The siege continued for five months until reinforcements arrived from India. The king was again forced to make terms but the position seemed rather difficult for the Portuguese, for they had to strain their resources in order to maintain the fort which became the cause for all these troubles.

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158. Queyroz, book ii, p.200.

In the meantime, the imperial policy of the Portuguese changed to some extent with the accession of John III (A.D.1521-1557). He adopted a more cautious policy than Manuel I (A.D.1495-1521) owing to the continued danger from Spain. Thus, the viceroy of the Estado da India received orders to demolish the fort in Ceylon among three other forts in the east. Queyroz suggests, that it was decided that since the only profit in Ceylon was from cinnamon, a fort was not worthwhile, since no major conquest could be contemplated at that time. For trade and tribute, a factory and naval power was enough.<sup>159</sup> Thus the fort was demolished in 1524. However, it was too late for the king of Kotte to make use of this opportunity to strengthen his position owing to the disturbing events that followed in the palace. The palace rebellion known as Vijayabākollaya that took place in 1521 had disturbed the unity of the kingdom and caused much confusion thus allowing the Portuguese to consolidate their position on a better footing.

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159. Queyroz, book ii, p.206.

### CONCLUSION

During the period between 1400 and 1521 the kingdom of Kōṭṭē came into being , became powerful and disintegrated. This kingdom had become the heir to the classical Sinhalese kingdoms and the kings of Kōṭṭē claimed to be the descendants of the ancient kings of the Island. These kings claimed overlordship over Uḍarata and indeed over the entire Island, the latter claim being more superficial than the former, after the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. The supremacy of Kōṭṭē , however, remained the chief factor in the political history of the Island during this entire period.

In the study of the history of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē we found that the Rājāvaliya and the Alakēśvarayuddhaya were authentic as historical records although they have some shortcomings. In this respect these two chronicles fill the gap in the history of the Island left by the authors of the Cūlavamsa.

As Paranavitana correctly points out , the reign of Parākramabāhu VI was the last glorious period of the



history of Ceylon with notable achievements in peace as well as in war. The most important achievement of this reign in the political field was the conquest of Jaffna by which the entire Island was brought under the authority of one ruler for the first time after the reign of Parākramabāhu I (A.D.1153-1186). In fact this unity was never achieved since that time until the British conquest of the Kandyan kingdom in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless the unification of the entire Island was the dream of most Ceylonese kings. Thus until the end of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē the conquest of Jaffna by Parākramabāhu VI was reflected in the epithets of the later Kōṭṭē kings.

Although we cannot accept Parānavitana's view that Parākramabāhu VI was the ruler who was nominated by the Chinese emperor this king's relations with that country were in agreement with the standards expected of a king of his calibre. His policy of sending tribute to the Chinese court did not in any way depreciate his position as the king of Kōṭṭē; on the contrary it must have strengthened his prestige in the eyes of his enemies and it may further have stimulated the trade between the two countries.

The close proximity of the Island to the Indian subcontinent did not cease to influence the history of Ceylon. We are informed of several invasions undertaken by South Indian kings with a view to conquering Ceylon. Inscriptions of South India during this period, just as in the earlier times, continue to include Ceylon among the areas that were to be brought under the authority of South Indian rulers. However, the kings of Kōṭṭē were able to keep Vijayanagara invaders away from the Island during this period although the latter made several attempts to invade the Island.

The emergence of Uḍaraṭa as a separate kingdom is an important event in this period. Although the origins of this kingdom may go back to the periods of Gampala rulers it became a separate kingdom only towards the end of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. In fact Parākramabāhu VI should be given a part of the blame for this development since this king installed a prince of the Gampala royal family in control of Uḍaraṭa after the revolt of Jōtiya-Siṭāṇa had been suppressed. When Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu became king of Uḍaraṭa the authority of the king of Kōṭṭē in respect of Uḍaraṭa was further shaken.

Although Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu was not in the position of an independent ruler and was expected to pay tribute to the king of Kōṭṭē he enjoyed considerable freedom of action within his kingdom and was able to bequeath the throne to his son after his death. Thus he became the real founder of Uḍaraṭa, which later developed into the only independent kingdom of the Island.

The position of the kings of Kōṭṭē became rather weak after the death of Parākramabāhu VI (1411-1466). The revolt known as the Siṅhala-saṅge, which took place during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI, brought chaos to the entire Island. Although Bhuvanekabāhu was able to put down most of this revolt, the result was that the king of Kōṭṭē lost control over the Jaffna Peninsula and Uḍaraṭa. Thus, at the end of the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI (1469-1477), only the south-western, southern, western and the north-western parts of the Island remained under the control of Kōṭṭē. This already reduced kingdom was further divided after the death of Vira Parākramabāhu VIII (1477-1489), since his five sons carved out among themselves parts of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē for administration. Thus the Island was ruled by seven rulers

when the Portuguese arrived in the first decade of the sixteenth century.

The arrival of the Portuguese in the Island was one of the most important events in the history of Ceylon. Although the Portuguese may not have had great direct influence upon the changes in the political history of this period, the developments in later times have their roots in what happened during this period. The Portuguese by this time had a fair idea of the strategic importance of Ceylon, as the Island was favourably situated to protect their trading establishments in the East. They were also aware of the profitabilities of such commodities as cinnamon. They had, however, as yet, no territorial ambitions. In 1524 they demolished the fortress they built in 1518 although the kingdom of Kōṭṭē was already weakened after the Vijayabā-  
kollaya and the division of the kingdom among the sons of Vijayabāhu VI in 1521.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE KINGS OF KÖTTĒ

Bhuvanekabāhu V (the king of Gampala in the early part of his reign)	1371-1408
Parākramabāhu VI	1411-1466
Jayavīra Parākramabāhu	1466-1469
Bhuvanekabāhu VI	1469-1477
Pañḍita Parākramabāhu VII	1477
Vīra Parākramabāhu VIII	1477-1489
Dharma Parākramabāhu IX	1489-1513
Vijayabāhu VI	1513-1521
Bhuvanekabāhu VII	1521-1551

KINGS OF UDARATA

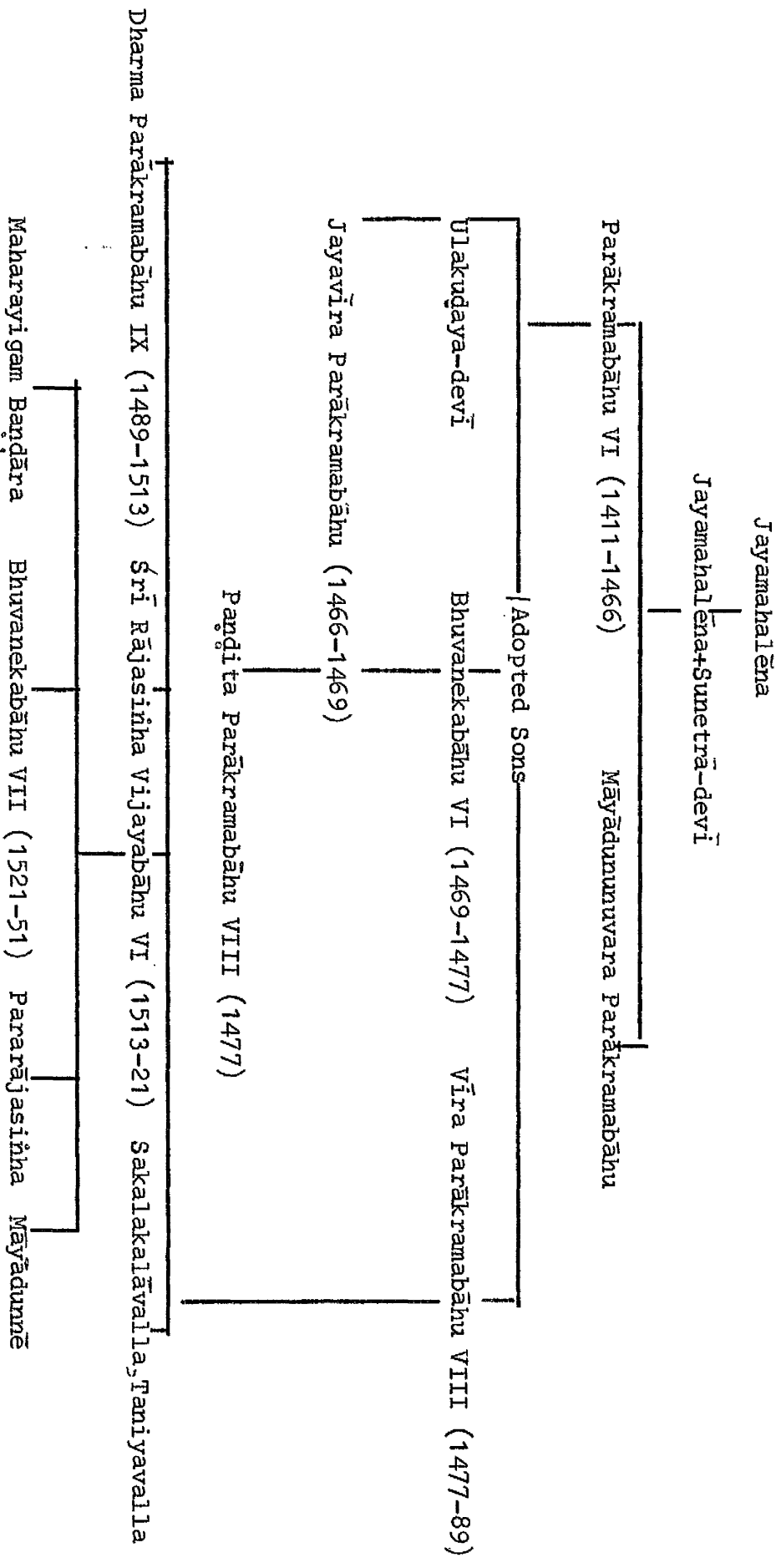
Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu	1469-1511
Jayavīra	1511-1552

## PRABHURĀJAS

Nissaṅka Alagakkōṇāra	1360-1386/7
Kumāra Alakēśvara	1386/7-1391/2
Vīra Alakēśvara	1391/2
Vīrabāhu Āpāṇa	1391/2-1399/1400
Tunayesa and Vijaya Āpāṇa	1399/1400
Vīra Alakēśvara	1400-1411
Parākramabāhu Āpāṇa	1414

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(C.A.D. 1400-1521)



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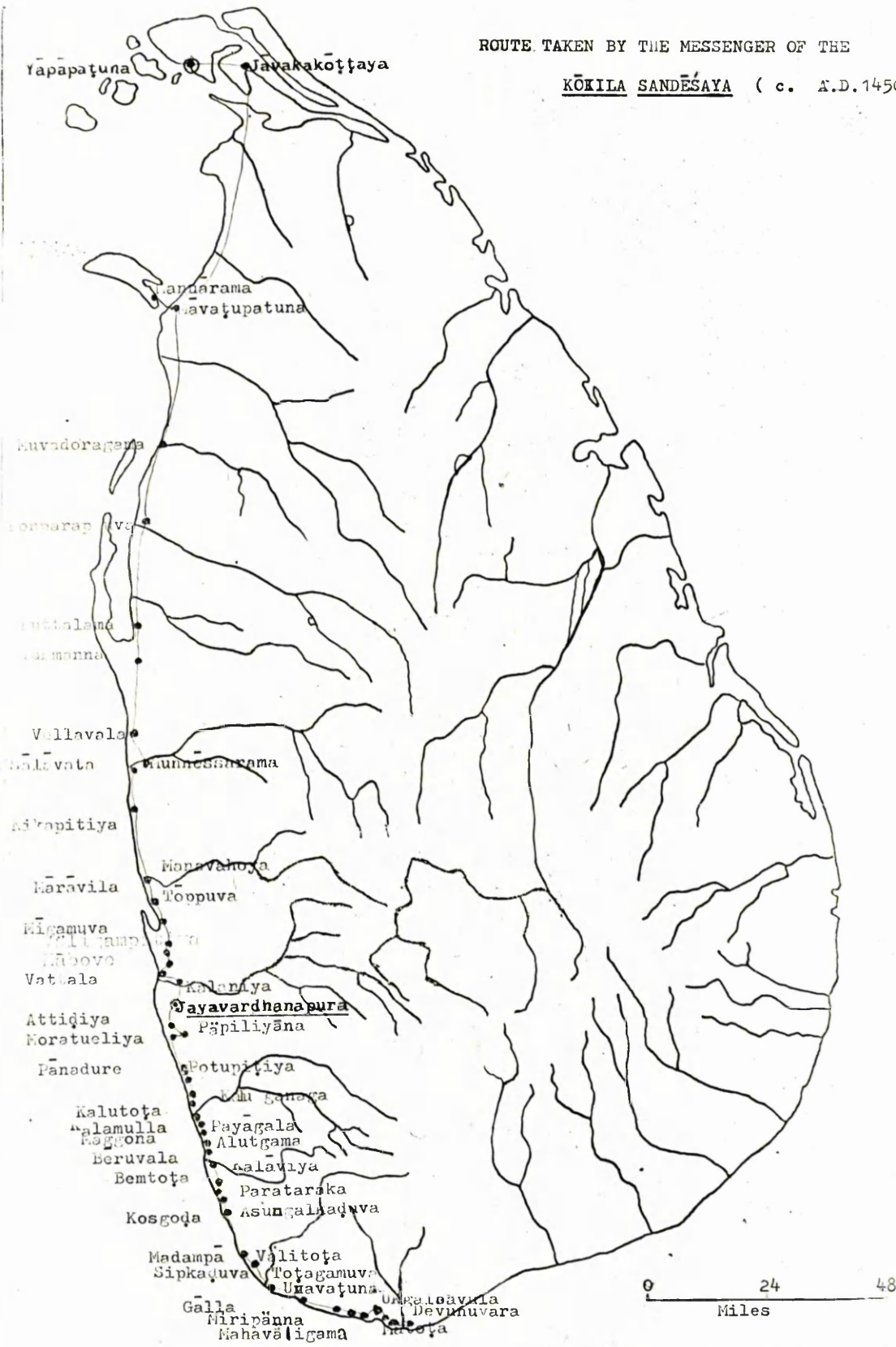
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Further references will be found in the footnotes to the text.

ROUTE TAKEN BY THE MESSENGER OF THE

KOKILA SANDESAYA ( c. A.D. 1450-1466)

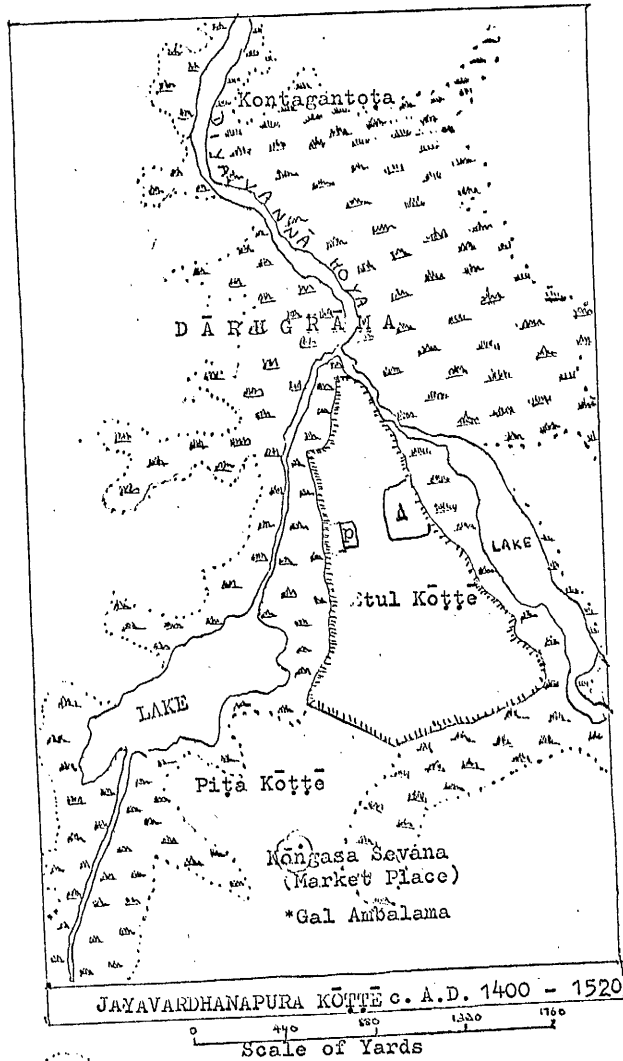






The outline of this map is from Codrington's A Short History of Ceylon, at and of Vol.

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Fig. 1.



-  Marsh
-  Ramparts
-  The Temple of Tooth Relic
-  King's Palace

The outline of this map is taken from P.E.Pieris'

Ceylon: The Portuguese Era, vol. i, p. 143





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