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## *Ceylon and Malaysia: A Study of Professor S. Paranavitana's Research on the Relations between the Two Regions\**

### I

THE geographical position of Ceylon in the Indian Ocean which commands the entrance to the Bay of Bengal from the west helped its development as an important entrepôt in the extensive sea-borne trade which linked Europe in the west with the Chinese empire in the east. In the sixth century, Cosmas Indicopleustes recorded that merchantmen from Ethiopia and Persia called at this emporium which he described as "the greatest in those parts" to purchase its products and other merchandise brought from lands as far away as China in the east and Male, Kalia, Sindh and Adule in the west. He also noted that ships from Ceylon were sent to these lands to trade in cloth, spices, metal-ware, precious stones and elephants.<sup>1</sup>

It becomes clear from other sources, too, that Ceylon had begun by this time, to take a growing interest in the trade with the east. The first embassy sent from Ceylon to the court of the Eastern Tsin in the reign of I-hi (405—419 A.D.) was fifty years earlier than the first embassy sent by the Persians to China. The *Pien-i-tien* refers to three subsequent missions in 428, 430 and 435 and another in 527 to the court of the Sung and six missions in 670, 711, 742, 746, 750 and 762 when the T'ang dynasty was in power. Usually, the envoys are said to have brought, in addition to Buddhist manuscripts and sacred objects, "products of the country". Only in a few instances are these "products" specified. In these instances, mention is made of pearls, precious stones, ivory, golden

\* This paper was read before the Ceylon Studies Seminar, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, on March 28, 1969.

1. Cosmas Indicopleustes, *The Christian Topography*, (trsl. J. W. Mc Crindle), Hakluyt Society Publications, 1st series, Vol. 98, 1897, pp. 363-373.

filigree work and "very fine shaggy stuff of white colour".<sup>2</sup> Probably, like the Sumatrans who had begun to send diplomatic missions to the Imperial Court, the Sinhalese were vying for a share in the carrying trade between China and the West.

Participation of the Sinhalese in the trade of the Indian Ocean would have been an important factor in strengthening their ties with South East Asian lands. An eleventh century inscription issued by the Javanese king Airlāṅga mentions Sinhalese among the communities of foreign merchants residing at the Javanese ports.<sup>3</sup> The interests that Ceylon had in the trade in elephants with Burma was one of the causes which led to hostilities between the two countries in the reign of Parākramabāhu I.<sup>4</sup> As late as in the sixteenth century, Tome Pires, the Portuguese envoy to China, noted the presence of merchants from Ceylon at Malacca.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, the active role that the Malaysians—and particularly, as O.W. Wolters has pointed out<sup>6</sup>, the Sumatrans—played in the carrying trade of the Indian Ocean would have often brought them to Ceylonese ports. It seems reasonable to postulate that this close contact between the two regions would have led to the expansion of the cultural influences of each region upon the other.

The late Pierre Dupont was one of the first scholars to consider this interesting possibility in suggesting that some of the sculptural works from South East Asia, grouped under the Amarāvati school, could have come from Ceylon. In his examination of two Buddha images from Western Java and another from Celebes, Dupont has traced evidence of the influence of Sinhalese sculptural traditions. He dated the image from Celebes to the second or the third century, and the two images from Western Java to the sixth or the seventh century.<sup>7</sup> Mirella Levi d'Ancona, too, in her examination of these images, has suggested the

2. John M. Senaveratne, 'Chino-Sinhalese relations in the early and middle ages', *JCBRAS*, Vol. XXIV, 1917, pp. 74-105. The "shaggy stuff of white colour" was probably cloth. A variety of fine cloth imported from Ceylon finds mention in the *Rājatarāṅginī* (ed. R. S. Pandit, p. 35). Perhaps, it was a similar fabric imported from Ceylon which was referred to as *vaḍḍhan sinhal* in the Old Javanese inscriptions from the end of the ninth century (*Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXIV, p. 245). A fabric called 'Laṅkā cloth' is mentioned also in Siamese annals (C. Notton, *Histoire du Dhammarāja et notre Seigneur*, *Annales du Siam*, Vol. 1, 1926, p. 75).

3. G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, Paris, 1964, p. 268.

4. *Cūlavamsa*, 76. 17-21.

5. Tome Pires, *Suma Orientalis*, (ed. A. Cortesao), Hakluyt Society Publications, Second Series, No. XC, 1944, Vol. II, p. 628.

6. O.W. Wolters, 'The "Po-ssu Pine trees"', *BSOAS*, Vol. XXIII, 1960, pp. 323-350.

7. Pierre Dupont, 'Les Buddha dits d'Amarāvati en Asie du Sud-Est', *BEFEO*, Vol. XLIX, 1959, pp. 632-636.

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possibility of their origin in Ceylon. However, she disagrees with Dupont in assigning the image from Celebes to the early fifth century and those from Java to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century.<sup>8</sup> Another scholar, Deva Prasad Ghosh, suggested, in a discussion on an image of Avalokitesvara found at Bingin in the Palembang district in Sumatra, the possibility that the inspiration came from Ceylon, comparing it with a statue of the same Bodhisattva found at Situlpavva, and ascribed it to about the seventh century.<sup>9</sup> More recently, J. G. de Casparis has published an eighth century inscription from the Ratubaka Plateau in Central Java which points to contact between the communities of Buddhist monks in Java and Ceylon.<sup>10</sup> It is relevant to note here that this evidence on cultural contact between Ceylon and Malaysia comes from the same period when, as suggested earlier, Ceylon appears to have taken an increased interest in commercial contact with the regions in the eastern half of the Indian Ocean. Evidently, relations between these two regions continued into, or were resumed in, a later period when Ceylon had become the source of inspiration for the expansion of Theravada Buddhism in South East Asia. The researches of Dupont have further brought out that a group of Buddha images from the northern parts of the Malay Peninsula, which he terms the 'Jaiya school' and dates to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, "appears to have been subject in particular to influences from Ceylon."<sup>11</sup>

Modern historical writings on ancient Ceylon have, with characteristic Indo-centrism, tended largely to ignore the implications raised by this evidence. The over-emphasis on the role of Indian influences in the ancient history of Ceylon, an extreme example of which may be found in the attempt of one historian to divide the history of Ceylon up to the coming of Europeans into North Indian and South Indian periods, has made historians blind to the significance of relations that Ceylon maintained with lands other than India. To some extent the modern writer seems to have inherited this tendency from the chroniclers of the past. The chronicles of Ceylon written by Buddhist monks tend to over-emphasise relations between Ceylon and the home of Bud-

8. Mirella Levi D'Ancona, 'Amarāvati, Ceylon and Three Imported Bronzes', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, 1952, pp. 1-17.

9. Devaprasad Ghosh, 'Two Bodhisattva Images from Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya', *Jnl. of the Gr. Ind. Soc.*, Vol. IV, 1937, pp. 125-127.

10. J. G. de Casparis, 'New Evidence on Cultural Relations between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times', *Felicitation Volume presented to Prof. G. Coedès on his seventy fifth birthday, Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXIV, 1961, pp. 241-248.

11. Pierre Dupont, 'Le Buddha de Grahi et l'Ecole de Caiya', *BEFEO*, Vol. XLII, 1942, pp. 105-113.

dhism. Little evidence is found in them about the brisk trade that Ceylon maintained with Rome or the lands of East and South East Asia. Surprisingly enough, not even the Buddhist missions sent from Ceylon to China and South East Asia find mention in these chronicles. They contain only one clear reference to contact with the Malaysian region.

It is in this context that the researches of Professor S. Paranavitana on the relations between Ceylon and Malaysia occupy an important place in the historiography of Ceylon. He approached this problem first at a seminar held at Dambadeniya in 1958<sup>12</sup>. A more systematic development of his ideas are to be seen in an article, "Ceylon and Malaysia in Mediaeval Times", published in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1960. In a paper entitled "The Aryan Kingdom in North Ceylon", published in the same journal in the following year, Paranavitana presented evidence on Malaysian activities in the Jaffna Kingdom. He returned to the subject in a paper entitled "Princess Ulakuḍaya's Wedding" published in the *University of Ceylon Review* for the year 1963. He brought forth further evidence on the same topic in two public lectures delivered at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, one of which was published in the *Transactions of the University of Ceylon Linguistic Society* of 1964. In the following year, the text of the *interlinear writing* on an inscription from Aturupolayagama, read and translated by Paranavitana, and containing material relevant to the subject, was published in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. More evidence was presented in 1966 in the special volume of *Essays Offered to G.H.Luce* where Paranavitana gave his reading of the slab inscription No. 1 of Mahinda IV from the site of the Abhayagiri monastery. The same year saw the publication of *Ceylon and Malaysia*, in which work Paranavitana brought together new information as well as material published in earlier papers but with certain noteworthy omissions which will be discussed in due course.<sup>13</sup>

12. See *Dambadeni Sāhitya Sammelanaya*, *Sammelana Saṭathan*, Department of Cultural Affairs, Colombo, 1959, pp. 23-27, 33-34.

13. S. Paranavitana, 'Ceylon and Malaysia in Mediaeval times', *JCBRAS* (New Series) Vol. VII, 1960, pp. 1-43.

'The Arya Kingdom in North Ceylon', *JCBRAS* (New Series) Vol. VII, 1961, pp. 174-224.

'Princess Ulakuḍaya's Wedding', *UCR*, Vol. XXI, 1963, pp. 103-137.

'Linguistic Studies in Ancient Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya', *TUCLS*, 1964, pp. 79-100.

*Newly Discovered Historical Documents Relating to Ceylon, India and South East Asia*, Mimeographed paper dated 4th Nov., 1964, pp. 1-22, subsequently published in *Buddhist Yearly 1967*, *Jahrbuch für Buddhistische Forschungen*, (ed. Heinz Mode), Buddhist Centre Halle, German Democratic Republic, pp. 26-58.

Appendix to the 'Giritale Stone-seat inscription', *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. V, Pt. 3, 1965, pp. 440-443.

'Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya', *Essays offered to G. H. Luce by his colleagues and friends in honour of his seventy fifth birthday*, *Artibus Asiae*, 1966, Vol. 1, pp. 205-212.

*Ceylon and Malaysia*, Colombo, 1966.

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The publication of the first of the papers that Paranavitana wrote on this subject drew forth a polemical article by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, where he challenged the conclusions that Paranavitana drew from his evidence.<sup>14</sup> The value of the criticisms made by this pioneer in the study of relations between South and South East Asia was somewhat impaired by his inadequate knowledge of Ceylonese sources. Paranavitana used this shortcoming effectively to his advantage in the reply he wrote in the following year.<sup>15</sup> The radical conclusions that Paranavitana draws from his evidence should, if they are accepted, involve the re-writing of a substantial portion of the ancient and mediaeval history of Ceylon.<sup>16</sup> He argues for a relationship between Ceylon and Malaysia extending beyond the economic and cultural spheres that earlier writings postulated and the single military expedition recorded in the chronicle into a close connection between the two ruling houses of Śrī Vijaya and Ceylon. According to the information he cites, this relationship played a significant role in the politics of the two regions as well as of the Indian sub-continent during a considerably long period. Even in his very first paper he held this relationship to be so important in the period between the demise of Parākramabāhu I and the accession of the second king of that name that he suggested that "we may call this the Malay Period of Ceylon History". Hence it is singularly unfortunate that, in spite of the interest that Paranavitana's writings initially created among the community of scholars, particularly historians, in Ceylon, the publication of his subsequent researches has drawn few comments, favourable or critical, at least in print. The only publication in which an attempt has been made so far to examine the conclusions drawn by Paranavitana is a critical review by K. Indrapala of *Ceylon and Malaysia*.<sup>17</sup>

14. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya', *JCBRAS* (New Series), Vol. VIII, Pt. I, 1962, pp. 125-140.

15. S. Paranavitana, 'Ceylon and Malaysia: A Rejoinder to K. A. Nilakanta Sastri', *JCBRAS* (New Series), Vol. VIII, 1963, Pt. 2, pp. 330-337.

16. In fact, what some might call a premature revision has already been made of the relevant periods of Ceylon history in certain text-books. See e.g. C.W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana, *A Concise History of Ceylon*, 1961.

17. *JCBRAS* (New Series), Vol. XI, 1967, pp. 101-106. In 1963, A. Liyanagamage read a paper at a seminar at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in which he critically examined the conclusions that Paranavitana drew in his initial contribution on the subject. This study was a part of the researches undertaken by Dr. Liyanagamage for the Ph.D. degree. But it has not been included in the thesis he finally presented. It does not appear even in *The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya*, a work based on this thesis, published in 1967. After this paper was read before the Ceylon Studies Seminar, Dr. Liyanagamage very kindly made his unpublished study available to the present writer. For some comments on this study, see also n. 38.

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The extensive and impressive array of evidence that Paranavitana marshals to support his theories may be broadly categorised under two heads: re-interpretation of evidence found in well-known literary and epigraphic sources and material from recently discovered epigraphic records

As Paranavitana himself pointed out, his study based on these sources is mainly one of nomenclature; and here he relies heavily on controversial linguistic evidence. The dangers involved in drawing important historical conclusions from the similarity of place-names becomes clear when one recalls the attempt made by a famous scholar to identify Nikumbha mentioned in the *Milindapañha* with Negombo, a modern place name in Ceylon.<sup>18</sup> Further, exactitude and consistence in the use of terms is an important rule to be followed in research of this type. Unfortunately, Paranavitana uses place-names very loosely. For instance, *Malaya*, a key-term he uses often, is sometimes identified as the Malay peninsula, but sometimes it is located in Sumatra.<sup>19</sup> One often wishes that Paranavitana had included a map in his *Ceylon and Malaysia*, where the places he identified could have been marked. If this elementary precaution had been taken, some of the mistakes he has made could easily have been avoided. Further, as Nilakanta Sastri has pointed out, some of the literary sources like the *Rājāvaliya*, *Malalakathāva*, Kedah annals and the Portuguese accounts that Paranavitana uses to base his arguments on are too removed in time from the events they mention to yield any reliable conclusions. Paranavitana makes no attempt to test their historical validity.

The bulk of the material that Paranavitana utilises in his *Ceylon and Malaysia* is drawn from new evidence which, in his lecture before the University of Ceylon Linguistic Society, he claimed to have discovered. According to him, extracts from a number of chronicles, the *Sundarivṛttānta*, *Paramparāpustaka*, *Māgharājāvṛttānta*, *Suvarṇapuravaṃsa* and the *Rājāvāṃsa*, are to be found on about twenty five inscriptions that he has re-examined or discovered recently at places scattered all over the Island and at Ramesvaram in South India. They include a slab inscription from Vessagiriya, the Rambāva slab and the slab inscription No. 1 of Mahinda IV at the Abhayagiri monastery which have already been published.<sup>20</sup> In his account of the nature and extent of the contents of these records Paranavitana points out that they should prove extremely important to students of the history of Ceylon as well as of India and South East Asia.

18. G. E. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, London, 1909, p. 92, n. 3.

19. See *Ceylon and Malaysia*, pp. 2, 17, 26.

20. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, pls. 10, 28; Vol. II, pl. 12.

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However, these documents present the scholar who attempts to use them for historical purposes with problems as formidable as the information they yield is important. Roughly the documents fall into three categories: (i) writing executed in minute letters in between the lines of original inscriptions (ii) inscriptions with letters of normal size and (iii) records indited in both normal and minute writing. The great majority of the records fall within the first category. A few records like the Mādirigiriya inscription belong to the second while the Abhayagiri inscription which falls into the third is said to contain information of great significance.

The presence of interlinear writing, though unusual, is not a unique phenomenon. For instance, interlinear writing of a late date is to be found on the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. But this is perhaps the first time that interlinear writing is used to draw conclusions which would involve the re-writing of the history of a period. The observations that Paranavitana himself made on the nature of these records would underline the problems of decipherment and authentication that their utilisation involves: "There are to be seen on a large number of inscribed slabs and pillars of different dates found in various parts of the Island, writing superficially incised in minute characters, crowded together in between the lines of the original inscription and also going over them. These writings are of such nature that they may be totally overlooked when one's attention is focussed on the original inscription. If the estampage of the inscription is not prepared with the particular purpose of showing them, the writing may not appear on the estampage. . . . This later writing has been written over and over again and at first sight, appears as a mere jumble of criss-cross lines, but concentrated observation makes it possible for writings of different periods to be discriminated from the rest."<sup>21</sup> Apart from being indited in minute interlinear writing, some records are said to reveal other 'eccentric' features. According to Paranavitana, in some of the records which provide genealogical information on Ulakūdayadevi and her bridegroom, "the pedigree of the bridegroom is written over that of the bride, or *vice versa*." To add to the confusion, some of the records are engraved over a layer of the word *svasti* which had been indited previously. "In an area measuring 15 in. by 2½ in.," Paranavitana comments, "I have counted more than 250 repetitions of the word *svasti*. . . . The whole of the Abhayagiri slab (*Ep.Zey.* Vol. 1,

21. See *Buddhist Yearly*, 1967, p. 26.

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No. 20) measuring 8 ft. by 3 ft. 3 in., is covered with this word, written not only in the empty spaces between the lines of the original writing, but also over that writing.”<sup>22</sup>

The difficulties involved in the decipherment of the writing are enhanced by the fact that some of the slabs have suffered badly from weathering. In certain instances, Paranavitana has supplied the lacunae on the basis of his comparison with copies of the same record found on other slabs. But in other instances, they have been restored conjecturally. Here one has to constantly keep in mind that one is dealing with what is perhaps the least scientific branch of the discipline of archaeology. The reading of a word as well as the interpretation thereof could be most open to the subjective bias of the scholar. Hence strict care has to be taken by the epigraphist to indicate separately the clear letters, the doubtful readings and the conjectural restorations. It is most unfortunate that, in giving the readings of the relevant inscriptions, Paranavitana fails to follow the system he had constantly adhered to in his previous publications in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* and other journals of indicating doubtful readings with simple brackets and conjectural restorations with square brackets. His efforts are directed merely at giving a continuous reading. The usefulness of his reading for historical purposes is severely affected by this regrettable omission.

In order to test the reliability of the given readings, the present writer chose the Abhayagiri slab inscription No. 1 as a sample as it is supposed to contain both normal and interlinear writing. This inscription had been in a bad state of preservation even at the time D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe decided to publish it in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. The lower right portion of the record was extremely weathered and Wickremasinghe could get a continuous reading only up to the eighteenth line and that too with a number of doubtful readings and conjectural restorations. From there up to the fiftieth line where the main part of the inscription which is in Sinhalese ends he found it progressively more difficult to read the right portions of the lines. From the fiftieth to the fifty fifth line Wickremasinghe could read only a word or a letter here and there of the continuation of the record in Sanskrit.<sup>23</sup> Today the slab is in a worse condition after having been exposed to the elements for a further half century.

22. UCR, Vol. XXI, 1963, p. 127.

23. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, pp. 213-229. See comments on p. 213.

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In his paper on 'Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya', published in the special volume of essays offered to G. H. Luce, Paranavitana not only reads the portion from the fiftieth to the fiftyfifth line but also traces seven more lines in smaller letters in continuation of the record. He leaves only a few *mātrās* of a strophe unread, and that in the portion executed in larger letters. He further states that this slab and another discovered in the same vicinity<sup>24</sup> are both "covered from top to bottom with writing in very small characters, inscribed in the spaces between the lines of the original Sinhalese writing, as well as going over them." "In some places," he continues, "there are about four lines of writing within the space of about one inch in height. At the top of the second slab is a statement that these are extracts from a book named *Paramparāpustaka* (the Book of Lineages), written in the reign of Vikramabāhu (1111—1132), by a monk named Bhadra who was the pupil of the Sthavira (the Head of the Sangha) of Suvarṇapura (Śrī Vijaya), and had received his education at the Abhayagiri Vihāra of Anurādhapura."<sup>25</sup> Paranavitana has drawn heavily on these interlinear writings, some of them yet unpublished, for his *Ceylon and Malaysia*.

Photographs of the Abhayagiri slab inscription No. 1 and the Bōlāna inscription have been published. However, they are not clear enough to enable verification of the given readings. For the purpose of testing the readings, the present writer used two estampages of the Abhayagiri inscription used by Professor Paranavitana. He is grateful to the Professor for the most kind gesture of placing them at his disposal. The main lines of the inscription are separated by horizontal lines drawn 1.6 in. from each other. The area in which Paranavitana traced seven more lines is a portion 6.5 in. in height and is one of the most weathered sections of the slab. One would expect 'superficially incised minute letters' to be easily defaced by being exposed to the elements. But Paranavitana gives a continuous reading of this portion. What the present writer, without the 'trained eye of the epigraphist', could see in this portion, was a jumble of criss-cross lines and blotches, evidently the marks of erosion. Here and there, while looking for the writing that Paranavitana speaks of, one may sometimes notice what appears like the form of a letter. But it could easily be one's imagination. However, an examination of the slab and the two estampages makes it quite clear that it is impossible, even for a trained epigraphist, to get a continuous reading

24. The Abhayagiri slab inscription No. 2, *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. I, pp. 230-241.

25. *Essays offered to G. H. Luce* . . . Vol. I, p. 207.

as Paranavitana has done. This portion of the slab is completely weathered away in a large number of places and leaves only white blotches on the estampages. (See Fig. 1). A further attempt was made to ascertain the presence of interlinear writings by taking 'pencil rubbings' of the better preserved portions of the two relevant slabs at Abhayagiri; but this, too, did not yield affirmative results.

The attempts of the present writer to verify the given readings were, therefore, necessarily restricted to the first five lines of the Sanskrit portion of the record. According to Paranavitana's reading, key terms relevant to the discussion, Jāva, Suvarṇapura and Malaya, occur in six places within this portion. Of these, four are said to occur in those sections of the slab which are the most badly weathered. The phrases *mala-yānīla-kāmikā* and *j-jāva-mahīpāla* which occur, according to Paranavitana's reading, at the beginning respectively of the lines 53 and 54 are in a relatively well preserved part of the slab. (See Fig. 2). Wickremasinghe assumed that line 53 started with *la* and read the passage as *lasi. .kāmikā*. The word *kāmikā*, on which both Wickremasinghe and Paranavitana agree, is quite legible. The same could be said of *la* and its position seems to indicate that there was another letter before it. But it is impossible to recognize this letter, quite apart from reading it as *ma*. The third letter could be either *sa* or *ya* as read by Wickremasinghe and Paranavitana; but one would find it difficult to rule out the possibility that it represents the form *ha*, with a medial *i* or *ī* attached to it. The space between this letter and *kā* is too weathered to enable a clear reading. Of the reading *j-jāva-mahīpāla*, Wickremasinghe had read only the last two letters which he rendered as *pālo*. One may find it possible to agree with Paranavitana's reading of the letter before *pa* as *ha*. But one cannot trace the sign of the medial *ī* above it. Further this letter is below the second letter in line 53. Hence it is rather doubtful whether all the characters *j-jāva-ma* could have been inscribed in the small space preceding it. Thus the present writer could not obtain satisfactory results of an affirmative nature in his attempts to verify the readings published by Paranavitana.

Certain serious defects are noticeable in the technique that Paranavitana adopts to develop the theses he presents in his *Ceylon and Malaysia*. Even if one were to accept Paranavitana's readings, it is evident from his own comments that the inscriptions belong chronologically to a number of different layers, the latest of which has to be dated in the seventeenth century or a period subsequent to it. Paranavitana makes no attempt



Fig. 1. Abhayagiri Slab No. 1. Enlarged photograph of a section of the lower portion. The white blotches indicating weathering testify to the difficulties in verifying the minute writings read by Professor Parnavitana.

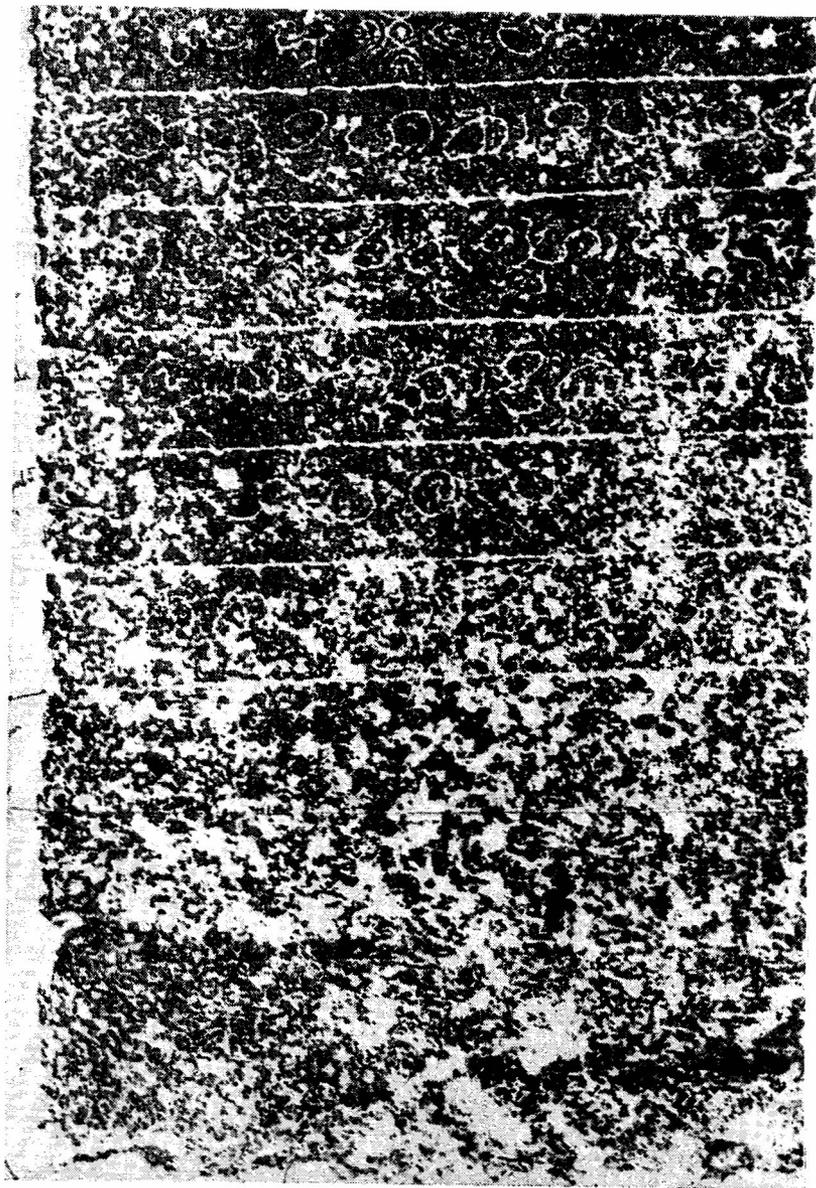


Fig. 2. Abhayagiri Slab No. 1. Photograph showing left portions of lines 51-55.

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to separate these layers. Nor does he try to test his evidence or even to separate the more reliable evidence from the less reliable. All effort is directed at presenting a continuous narrative and an ostensibly flawless thesis.

It is difficult to understand why these records, containing such vital information, were indited between the lines of older inscriptions, and not on separate slabs and pillars. Not many would be satisfied with Paranavitana's explanation that the authors were taking precautions against their works being destroyed by opposing factions. It is not very easy to believe that these opposing factions seeking to destroy the records were expected to spare them because they dared not damage inscriptions which had been set up several centuries earlier. To do so the authors should have attributed to their opponents a very high degree of respect for historical sources. The motive of the scribes in inditing a document in such a fashion that one layer of writing was carved over another, as in the case of the Bōlāna inscription, is also a feature which defies explanation and comprehension. Further, it is important to note that not even the names of the chronicles that are extensively used by Paranavitana occur outside the interlinear writings on inscriptions he claims to have discovered. Hence, in the absence of adequate corroborative information in the historical sources of both South and South East Asia, the authenticity of these sources is open to serious doubt.

The preceding inquiry into the source material that Paranavitana utilised reveals that the foundation on which he has built his theories is most unreliable. In the next part of this paper, the arguments put forward by Paranavitana will be examined with a view to testing their validity against other known historical evidence.

### II

“When the eleventh year of the reign of this king had arrived, a king of the Jāvakas known by the name of Candabhānu landed with a terrible Jāvaka army under the treacherous pretext that they were also followers of the Buddha.” Thus the author of the *Cūlavamsa* recorded, in his account of the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1236—1270 A.D.), the only definite instance of relations between Ceylon and Malaysia to be found in the chronicles of Ceylon.<sup>26</sup> The *Hatthavanagalla-vihāravamsa*, (*Hvv.*), a work written not long after the event, also mentions the

26. *Cv.* 83. 36, 37.

incident and refers to the invader as the king of Tambalinga.<sup>27</sup> The question of the identity of the invader was settled with the publication by Coedès of the Sanskrit inscription from Vat Hva Vian in Jaiya. This record mentions a king of Tāmraliṅga named Śrī Dharmarāja and bearing the title Candrabhānu. It is dated in 1230 A.D.<sup>28</sup> The Malay Peninsula was known by the name Jāvakadvīpa. According to the information in the Ceylon annals, the invasion of Candabhānu has to be dated to about 1247 A.D. Hence there is little reason to doubt Coedès' conclusion that the Jaiya inscription and the *Cūlavamsa* refer to the same person.

The first invasion of Candabhānu was unsuccessful and, according to the *Cūlavamsa*, a second attempt to conquer the Island was made by this ruler in about 1260 A.D. This, too, was unsuccessful. Paranavitana has pointed out that the second invasion could have been led by a son of the first invader as the term Candabhānu was a title and not a personal name.

Apart from these references in the Ceylon chronicles, the *Jinakālamālī* mentions a mission sent to Ceylon by Rocarāja of Sukhodaya and his friend Siri Dhammarāja of Siri Dhammanagara to obtain an image of the Buddha which was said to possess miraculous powers.<sup>29</sup> Siri Dhammanagara has been identified with Nakhon Si Tammarat. The incident is dated in the year 718 of the Siamese Saka era and the year 1800 of the Buddhist era i.e. 1256/7 A.D. If the authenticity of this account is accepted, it may be taken as evidence corroborating the account in the *Cūlavamsa*.

In his attempt to prove close and prolonged contact between these two regions, Paranavitana cites the reference in the *Cūlavamsa* to two missions that Parākramabāhu II sent to foreign lands to obtain monks to help organize the Sinhalese *saṅgha*.<sup>30</sup> One of these missions was sent to the Coḷa kingdom. The other was sent to Tambaraṭṭha for the specific purpose of inviting Dhammakitti, a monk who had earned a wide reputation for his virtue.

27. *Hvv.* (PTS), London, 1956, p. 32.

28. G. Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, Bangkok, 1924-9, Vol. II, p. 41.

29. *Jinakālamālī*, (PTS), 1962, p. 87.

30. *Cv.* 84. 9-16.

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Geiger was inclined to believe that Tambaraṭṭha should be located in South India.<sup>31</sup> Paranavitana points out that the *Pūjāvāliya* substitutes Tamaliṅgam for Tambaraṭṭha in the account of the arrival of Dhammakitti.<sup>32</sup> The *Ehu-attanagalawaṃsa* (*Eav*), the fourteenth century translation of the *Hvv*, gives Tamaliṅgamu in place of Tambaliṅga in its account of the invasion of Candabhānu.<sup>33</sup> On the basis of this evidence, Paranavitana identifies Tambaraṭṭha with Tambaliṅga and locates it in the Jaiya region.

The term Tambaraṭṭha finds mention in three other sources. A strophe in a fragmentary inscription from Polonnaruva, probably issued in the reign of Vikramabāhu I (1111—1132), mentions a hierarch by the name Ānanda who is compared to “a banner raised aloft in the land of Laṅkā”. The last two *pādas* of the strophe, which are readable only in part, refer to his connections with the *saṅgha* of Tambaraṭṭha and of the Coḷa land.<sup>34</sup> The second reference occurs in the *Paramatthavinicchaya* (*Pmv.*) written by Anuruddha. According to its colophon, the author was born in “the township of Kāvira in the land of the city of Kāñci” and was living at the time of writing at the town of Taṅja in Tambaraṭṭha.<sup>35</sup> Malalasekera is of opinion that this monk would have lived at the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>36</sup> Buddharakkhita, the author of the *Jimālaṅkāra*, speaks in the colophon of this work about his reputation among the learned men of *coliyatambaraṭṭha*.<sup>37</sup> This phrase could be interpreted as ‘the Coḷa land and Tambaraṭṭha’ or as ‘Tambaraṭṭha of the Coḷas’. It is very tempting to accept the second interpretation and to identify Taṅja of the *Pmv.* with Taṅjāvūr, the capital of the Coḷas.<sup>38</sup> But the context of the reference in the *Cūlavāṃsa* precludes such an interpretation; it is clear from this that, at least in the thirteenth century, Tambaraṭṭha was distinct from the Coḷa country. For separate missions were sent to these two places. The evidence in the Polonnaruva inscription cited above, too, would suggest that Tambaraṭṭha and Coḷaraṭṭha were distinct from each other.

31. *Cv.*, (trsl.), Vol. II, p. 155 n.2.

32. *Pjv.*, (ed. A. V. Suravīra), Colombo, 1961, p. 118.

33. *Eav.*, (ed. Muniḍāsa Kumāraṇatuṅga), 1925, p. 47.

34. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. IV, pp. 71—72.

35. *Pmv.*, (Devānanda ed.), Colombo, 1926, p. 337.

36. G. P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1958, p. 169.

37. *Jimālaṅkāra*, (ed. R. Pālita), 1955, p.31.

38. In his unpublished paper, Liyanagamage follows Geiger in attempting to locate Tambaraṭṭha in the Coḷa kingdom by identifying Taṅja with the capital of the Coḷas. However, he seems to have subsequently changed his views. For in *The Decline of Polonnaruva and the Rise of Dambadeniya* (p. 137), he accepts the identification proposed by Paranavitana.

And if Parānavitana's identification of Tambarat̥ṭha is accepted, these instances would point to close cultural contact between Ceylon and the Jaiya region during a considerably long period.

Parānavitana's identification is based on the equation Tambarat̥ṭha = Tamaliṅgam (Tamaliṅgamu) = Tambaliṅga. A closer examination reveals that it is not as dependable as it would seem at first sight because there appears to be a certain amount of confusion in the use of the key term Tamaliṅgam in Sinhalese literary works. The *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* relates a story about sixty Sinhalese monks who reached the roadstead of Tamaliṅgamu in Daṁbadiv and headed for the city of Pāḷalup (Pāḷali-putra) on their way to visit the sacred Bo tree<sup>39</sup>. Similarly, the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* describes how the ship bearing the Bo sapling sent by Asoka to Devānampiyatissa came down the Ganges and touched at Tamaliṅgamtoṭa (the port of Tamaliṅgam) on its way to Ceylon.<sup>40</sup> In both these contexts, Tamaliṅgamu could hardly be any other place but the port of Tāmralipti. In fact, certain ancient literary works translated into Sinhalese give Tamaliṅgam in place of Tāmralitti (Tāmralipti) in the Pali originals. The Sinhalese gloss<sup>41</sup> on the *Dāḷadhāvaṁsa* gives Tamaliṅgam in place of Tāmralitti while the *Daḷadāsīrita* retains the latter form without change.<sup>42</sup> It would thus be clear that Sinhalese translators have used the term Tamaliṅgam and its variants Tamaliṅgamu and Tamaliṅgomu to refer to three places: Tambarat̥ṭha, Tambaliṅga and Tāmralipti. Hence it seems unwise to argue that Tambarat̥ṭha should be identified with Tambaliṅga as the same term Tamaliṅgam is used to refer to both these places in Sinhalese works.

Apart from Tāmralipti and Tāmraliṅga, names beginning with *tāmra* meaning 'copper' were used to denote several other places. These will have to be examined before any conclusion is arrived at about the identity of Tambarat̥ṭha. Tambadīparat̥ṭha was a name used to denote a part of Burma. Dhammasenāpati, the Burmese monk who wrote the *Kārikā*, the Pali grammar, states in its colophon that he lived at Arimaddanapura (Pagan) in Tambadīparat̥ṭha. The *Sāsanavaṁsa* dates its composition to the year 1601 of the Buddhist era.<sup>43</sup> It could be somewhat later.

39. *Saddharmālaṅkāraya*, (ed. Bentōṭa Saddhātissa), Pānadura, 1934, p. 361.

40. *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, (ed. Kosgoḍa Ñānavimala), Colombo, 1931, p. 361.

41. Halvegoḍa Silālaṅkāra edition, p. 81, quoted by Parānavitana, *JCBRAS* (New Series), Vol. VII, Pt. 1, p. 20.

42. *Daḷadāsīrita*, (ed. V. Sorata), Colombo 1955, p. 32.

43. A. P. Buddhadatta, *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, 1962, pp. 480-481.

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The *Nighaṇḍuṭīkā* or the *Abhidhānappadīpikāsaṃvaṇṇanā* was composed by a Burmese minister called Caturaṅgabala in about the fourteenth century. He mentions that he lived in the reign of Sīhasūra, the king of Tambadīparaṭṭha.<sup>44</sup> G. H. Luce has quoted the *Jambudīpa Uchavi* to point out that the region to the east and south of the Irrawaddy was known as Tambadīpa while the region to the north and west of this river was called Sunāparānta.<sup>45</sup> This is supported by an inscription from the Shwezayan *pagoda* at Thatön which mentions a king called Makuṭarāja who is described as the lord of “the whole of Tāmbāvisēya”.<sup>46</sup> Luce has identified Makuṭarāja with Manuhā, the contemporary of Anawrahta (1044—1077 A.D.), who ruled over Lower Burma.<sup>47</sup> As Dupont has suggested, Tāmbāvisēya may be compared with Tāmraviṣaya;<sup>48</sup> the latter is a term synonymous with the Pali Tambaraṭṭha.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions an island called Tāmra.<sup>49</sup> The *Divyāvadāna*, too, refers to a certain Tāmradvīpa.<sup>50</sup> Edgerton has suggested that they denote Ceylon which was known at one time as Tāmraparṇṇīdvīpa.<sup>51</sup> The name of the South Indian river Tāmraparṇṇī goes back very much into the past and finds mention in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.<sup>52</sup> It is possible that the land round this river was also known by the same name. In fact, in the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Tāmraparṇṇa occurs as one of the nine divisions of the Bhāratavarṣa.<sup>53</sup> Hence the possibility that Tambaraṭṭha could have been a region in South India has also to be kept in mind.

The foregoing discussion demonstrates the difficulties involved in identifying Tambaraṭṭha with Tambaliṅga on the similarity of names: There were several other regions round the Bay of Bengal which could have borne or did bear similar names. It might have been possible to accept Parānavitana's identification if the *Cūlavamsa* and the *Pūjāvāliya* which speak of Tambaraṭṭha and Tamaliṅgamu as the home of Dhammakitti used these names also to denote the kingdom of Candabhānu.

44. A. P. Buddhadatta, *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, p. 535.

45. *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. XLII, p. 39.

46. Pierre Dupont, *L'archéologie Mōns du Dvāravatī*, Paris, 1959, Vol. I, p. 9.

47. G. H. Luce, *Mons of the Pagan Dynasty*, p. 9.

48. See n. 46.

49. *Mbh.*, Poona, 1940-61, 2.28.46.

50. *Divyāvadāna*, (Cowell and Neil), p.525.

51. Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, London, 1953, Vol. II, p. 251.

52. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Poona, 1905, 77. 24—25.

53. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Poona, 1907, 114. 8, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1961, 2. 36.

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But this is not so; in these works he is merely referred to as the king of the Jāvakas. Unfortunately, the *Hvv.* and *Eav.*, which refer to Candabhānu as having come from Tambaliṅga or Tamaliṅgam, are silent about the arrival of Dhammakitti.

By way of supporting his identification, Paronavitana remarks that there was “a Tanjongpura somewhere in the Malay peninsula which would very well have been the Tañjanagara referred to in the *Paramatthavinicchaya*”. “There is also,” he adds, “a Tanjong Tembeling.”<sup>54</sup> Chau-ju-kua mentions a certain Tan-jong-wou-lo as one of the dependencies of Java.<sup>55</sup> This has been interpreted by Coedés as a transliteration of Tanjong-pura.<sup>56</sup> Tanjung-puri, described as a principal city is listed among the tributaries and neighbours of the kingdom of Majapahit in the *Nāgara-Kērtāgama*.<sup>57</sup> Pigeaud who edited this Javanese chronicle located Tanjungpuri in the Island of Borneo.<sup>58</sup> Internal evidence from the chronicle supports this identification which has found general acceptance among scholars.

It is true that many places in the Malay peninsula have the term *tanjong* as a part of their conjoint names. For *tanjong* in the Malay language means ‘cape’ or ‘promontory’. Tanjong Tembeling, the toponym which Paronavitana cites to support his identification, merely means ‘the headland of the river Tembeling’. Had the author of the *Pmv.* lived at one such place, it is very unlikely that he would have stated that he lived at Tañja without giving the actual name of the place.

No place bearing the name Tañja is known from Burma. On the other hand, there were at least two places by this name in South India. One of these was Tañjāvūr, modern Tanjore, which was the capital of the Coḷas for some time. But, as pointed out earlier, Tambaraṭṭha seems to have been outside the Coḷa country, at least in the time of Parākrama-bāhu II. However, another city by this name finds mention in the Sinnamannūr plates issued in the sixteenth year of Rājasimha, the Pāṇḍya ruler. In this record, Rājasimha claims to have “defeated the king of Tañjai at Naippūr, fought a battle at Koḍumbai, the seat of one of the

54. *Ceylon and Malaysia*, p. 81.

55. F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau-ju-kua, His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi*, Amsterdam, 1966, p. 83.

56. *Les états...*, p.340.

57. Rekawi Prapañca, *The Nāgara-Kērtāgama*, translated into English as *Java in the 14th century, A Study in Cultural History* by Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, The Hague 1960-4 Vol. III p. 16.

58. *Ibid.* Vol. IV p. 31; see also pp. 128, 230.

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powerful Coḷa subordinates, burnt Vañji and destroyed the king of Southern Tañjai at Nāval.”<sup>59</sup> If the first Tañjai is identified with the Coḷa capital, it is seen that another city by the same name, evidently to the south of the former, finds mention in the inscription. Presumably, a prince independent of Pāṇḍya authority was ruling there. This city finds mention also in the *Tañçaiṅānankōvai*, a literary work dated to the twelfth century by the scholar who edited it, but possibly about two centuries later than this date. The hero of this poem was a feudatory of the Pāṇḍyas who ruled from ‘Tañçai of the south’. According to the poem, this city was situated near the Poḍiyil hills by the river Vaikai.<sup>60</sup> Evidently, the principality which had been independent earlier had, by this time, accepted the suzerainty of the Pāṇḍyas.

The difficulties involved in identifying Tambaraṭṭha with the Ligor area of the Malay peninsula induces one to consider other possibilities. Tambaraṭṭha occurs in all its known contexts in association with South India. In one instance a person born in the city of Kāvira goes to live in Tambaraṭṭha while in the other three instances it is mentioned together with the Coḷa country. This would suggest that it was situated near the Coḷa kingdom. The Tañja of the *Puv.* could, therefore, be very well identified with ‘Tañjai (or Tançai) of the South’ mentioned in the Sinnamannūr plates and the *Tañçaiṅānankōvai*. Hence it appears, on the evidence available to us, that Tambaraṭṭha of the Pali sources has to be located in South India rather than in South East Asia.

Central to Paranavitana’s thesis is the radically new interpretation he proposes in the fifth and sixth chapters of his book for the term Kaliṅga which occurs in the literary and inscriptional works of Ceylon. Reference to Kaliṅga occurs for the first time in the *Mahāvamsa*, where the ancestry of Vijaya is traced back to a prince from Vaṅga and a Kaliṅga princess.<sup>61</sup> The *Cūlavamsa* records that, in the reign of Sirimeghavaṅga (301—328 A.D.), the Tooth Relic of the Buddha was brought to Ceylon from the Kaliṅga country.<sup>62</sup> In the reign of Aggabodhi II (604—614), a ruler of Kaliṅga “whose mind was disturbed on seeing the death of living beings in war” fled to Ceylon with his queen and a minister.<sup>63</sup> By the beginning of the tenth century, nobles belonging to a Kaliṅga clan

59. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III p. 449.

60. *Tañçaiṅānankōvai*, (ed. S. R. Ramasami Pillai), Madras, 1952, pp. 11, 16, 20, 27, 31, 310, 339.

61. *Mv.* 6. 1.

62. *Cv.* 37. 92.

63. *Cv.* 42. 44—49.

could be found holding responsible positions in the administrative hierarchy. Certain officials of both Kassapa IV (898—914) and V (914—923) are referred to by the term *Kiliṃ*, probably derived from *Kaliṅga* as the editor of the inscriptions supposed.<sup>64</sup> Ceylon came into closer contact with *Kaliṅga* in the reigns of Mahinda IV (956—972), Vijayabāhu I (1055—1110) and Vikramabāhu I (1111—1132) all of whom married princesses from *Kaliṅga*. The issues of these unions seem to have been supposed to belong to the *Kaliṅga* clan. Mahinda V refers to himself as “the pinnacle of the *Kaliṅga* clan”.<sup>65</sup> The *Cūlavamsa* describes Gajabāhu II (1132—1153), son of Vikramabāhu I by the *Kaliṅga* princess Sundarī, as a scion of the *Kaliṅga* clan.<sup>66</sup> It is possible that Vikramabāhu I, who was the son of Vijayabāhu I by the *Kaliṅga* princess Tilokasundarī, was likewise supposed to belong to this clan.

This close relationship between *Kaliṅga* and Ceylon reached its climax when, for the first time, a prince born in *Kaliṅga* ascended the throne in the person of Nissaṅkamalla (1187—1196) who claims, in an inscription found at Polonnaruva, that he was a *bānaṇuvan* (‘nephew’, ‘son-in-law’) of Parākramabāhu I.<sup>67</sup> He was brought from *Siṃhapura* in *Kaliṅga*, where he was born, and groomed for kingship by Parākramabāhu. The period of turbulent political activity which followed the death of Parākramabāhu saw a number of scions of the *Kaliṅga* clan ascending the Sinhalese throne, some though for a short time. Nissaṅkamalla, who ruled for nine years was followed by his son Virabāhu (1196), his brothers Vikramabāhu II (1196) and Sāhassamalla (1200—1202), his queen Kalyāṇavatī (1202—1208) and his nephew Coḍagaṅga (1196—1197). The last ruler to come from *Kaliṅga* was Māgha. The *Cūlavamsa* describes how he invaded Ceylon with twenty four thousand soldiers and ruled from Polonnaruva, oppressing the local population with unprecedented cruelty. His soldiers are referred to as *Keraḷas* and sometimes as *Damiḷas*.<sup>68</sup> The *Pūjāvaliya*, which was written not long after the event, mentions that Māgha of *Kaliṅga* came with twenty four thousand *Malalas* to conquer the Polonnaruva kingdom and to rule with the assistance of *Damiḷas* for nineteen years.<sup>69</sup>

64. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. IV, p. 64. l. A. 18. Another interpretation of the term *Kiliṃ* is possible. It may be connected with *Kuliṅga*, a clan-name which occurs in the *Mahāvamsa*. *Mv.* 19.2.

65. See *infra* p. 44.

66. *Cv.* 63.8

67. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. V, p. 205 ll. A 15-19.

68. *Cv.* 80. 54-79

69. *Pjv.*, pp. 108-9.

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Till the time Paranavitana's first article was published, there was no doubt about the identification of Kaliṅga with the Indian region by this name. Evidence from the contexts where this term occurred seemed to support this identification. The *Cūlavamsa*, for instance, mentions three kinsmen of the queen Tilokasundarī, Madhukaṇṇava, Balakkāra and Bhīma, who came to Ceylon in the time of Vijayabāhu I. It was their sister that Vikramabāhu I chose as his queen.<sup>70</sup> Paranavitana himself has pointed out in an earlier article the similarity between the names Madhukaṇṇava and Madhukāmārṇava. The latter was the name of a Gaṅga king who ruled in the eleventh century.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, Nissaṅkamalla's nephew who followed him to the throne shared the name Coḍagaṅga with another king of the Gaṅga line. Kalyāṇa Mahādevī, one of the queens of Nissaṅkamalla, is specifically referred to as a member of the Gaṅgavaṃsa.<sup>72</sup> This information suggests that the Kaliṅga rulers of Ceylon had a close connection with the Orissa region where the Gaṅgas were in power.

However, Śrī Jayagopa, who is mentioned as the father of three of the Kaliṅga rulers of Ceylon, cannot be identified with any of the known rulers of the more important dynasties which ruled over Orissa during this period. Nor was Siṃhapura the capital of Kaliṅga at this time. The capital had been located there at a time between the fourth and the sixth centuries when the Komarti plates of Candravarman and the Br̥hatpros̥tha grant of Umavarman were issued. These two rulers refer to themselves by the title Kaliṅgādhipati and issue their edicts from Siṃhapura or Siḥapura. Hultzsch who edited these records identified Siṃhapura with modern Singapuram which is situated between Chicacole and Narasennapēṭā.<sup>73</sup> But, by the period under discussion, the capital had been shifted to Kaliṅganagara.

Sircar tries to explain this difficulty away by suggesting that the authors of the *Cūlavamsa* were merely continuing an older tradition in referring to Siṃhapura as the capital of Kaliṅga.<sup>74</sup> But, as Paranavitana points out, Sinhalese inscriptions of this period, too, refer to Siṃhapura as the home of the Kaliṅga princes. This discrepancy prompted Paranavitana to look for a Kaliṅga and a Siṃhapura elsewhere. On the other hand, these

70. *Cv.* 59.46

71. S. Paranavitana, 'The Kaliṅga Dynasty of Ceylon', *Jnl. of the Gtr. Ind. Soc.*, Vol. III, pp. 57-64.

72. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 106 11. B2-3.

73. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142ff.; Vol. XII, pp. 4-6.

74. *The Struggle for Empire*, (ed. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker), pp. 267-8.

princes who willingly left their homeland to come over to Ceylon could very well have belonged to a minor ruling family. It is also possible that they were the descendants of the old dynasty of Siṃhapura who continued to live there after their fall from power.

Professor Paranavitana adduces a number of arguments to support his hypothesis that when the Sinhalese *literati* of the period between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries refer to Kaliṅga, "it is not the region of that name in Eastern India that was meant, but a region in Malaysia" and that it was from this Malaysian region that the rulers of the Kaliṅga dynasty came to Ceylon.

Firstly, he proposes to identify Māgha as an invader from Malaysia. The main evidence on which Paranavitana bases this hypothesis is drawn from the *Rājāvaliya* which was written in about the eighteenth century. According to the *Pūjāvaliya* and the *Cūlavamsa*, the bulk of the soldiers who fought under Candrabhānu were Jāvakas.<sup>75</sup> But in the *Rājāvaliya* the soldiers of this king are referred to as Malalas.<sup>76</sup> On the basis of this evidence, Paranavitana equates the term Jāvaka with Malala. Then he goes on to point out that in the *Pūjāvaliya* Malala is the term used to refer to the soldiers in Māgha's army.

In support of his identification of Malala as a reference to Malays, Paranavitana cites evidence from the *Kāvyaśekhara* of the fifteenth-century poet Rāhula. Among princes from various regions who came to pay their respects to the Bodhisattva at Benares, this work mentions a Malala prince who brought presents which included *takul*.<sup>77</sup> The term Malala, probably derived from Malaya, is applicable to the Malabar region as much as it could be connected with Malaiyūr which most scholars agree in locating in Sumatra.<sup>78</sup> Paranavitana relies in his identification of Malala in the *Kāvyaśekhara* with the South East Asian region on the argument that *takul* (Skt. *tarkola*) "is included in ancient Tamil literature among the commodities brought in ships to South India from the regions in the Malay Peninsula". This statement is made on the authority of Nilakanta Sastri<sup>79</sup> but an attempt to verify the sources would reveal that it is based

75. *Pjv.*, p. 117; *Cv.*, 83. 36, 37.

76. *Rājāvaliya*, (ed. B. Gunasekara), 1953, p. 45.

77. *Kāvyaśekhara*, (ed. Ratmalānē Dharmāramā), Canto 10, v. 118.

78. See Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, Kuala Lumpur, 1961, p. 200.

79. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'The Tamil Land and the Eastern Colonies', *Jnl. of the Ctr. Ind. Soc.*, Vol. XI, 1944, pp. 26-28.

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on a number of surmises. The relevant statement in the *Çilappadikāram* refers to ships bringing spices entering the emporium of Madura with the eastern wind.<sup>80</sup> It is noteworthy that there is no reference at all to South East Asian lands. It is on the basis of reference to the eastern wind that a surmise has been made that the ships came from South East Asia; but this need not necessarily be so. On the other hand, the *Çilappadikāram* makes no mention of *takkola* being imported to Madura. It was only in the fourteenth-century commentary by Aḍiyārkkunnalar that the term *vāsam* which occurs in the original verse is explained as referring among other things to *takkoli*.<sup>81</sup> Thus it becomes evident that the belief that *takkola* was imported to South India from Malaysian regions rests on rather unreliable and indefinite evidence.

*Takkola* has been taken to mean 'cubeb' by Paranavitana. Even if cubeb was imported to South India, this does not of course mean that it was not grown in India, just as much as a rice-producing country like Ceylon may have to import rice to meet her excessive internal demand. In his review of *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Indrapala<sup>82</sup> has drawn attention to the fact that in 1504, not long after the time of the writing of the *Kāvya-śekhara*, cubeb was among the cargoes sent to Lisbon from the Malabar coast. Moreover, the accounts of Garcia written in the sixteenth century and of Valentyn written in 1675 mention cubeb as an export from the Malabar region. It is quite likely that this commodity had been exported from the Malabar coast for quite some time before the sixteenth century. For certain versions of the travels of Marco Polo also mention this fact.<sup>83</sup> In trying to determine the meaning of *takul*, it is relevant to note that in Tamil the term *takkolam* was also used in other senses to denote betel leaf, arcanuts and long pepper.<sup>84</sup> The *Piṅkala-nikaṇṭu* gives *takkolam*, together with *akil*, *milaku*, *kōṭṭam* and *kuṅkumam*, as the five products of the hilly regions.<sup>85</sup> It is also noteworthy that the *Dharmapradīpikā*, a Sinhalese work written in about the twelfth century, refers in its commentary on the *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka* to *takul* as a plant found in the Hima-

80. *The Çilappadikāram*, (ed. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar), Madras, 1939, Canto 14, vv. 106-112.

81. See *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 182-3.

82. JCBRAS (new Series), Vol. XI, 1967, p. 105.

83. Garcia de Orta (Garzia dall'Horto), *Dell'Istoria dei semplici ed altre cose che vengono portate dall'Indie Orientalie...* (Trad. dal Portuguese da Annib. Briganti), Venezia, 1589, pp. 39-403; Francois Valentyn, *Keurlyke Beschryving van Choromandel, Pegu, Arrakan, Bengale...*, Amsterdam, 1726, p. 243; See *The Travels of Marco Polo*, New York, 1958, pp. 305, 391.

84. *Tamil Lexicon*, University of Madras, 1928, Vol. III, p. 1764.

85. *malai-paṭu-tiraviyam. Piṅkala-nikaṇṭu*, Madras, 1917, p. 72. It is clear from a later entry that the text is using *malai* to denote 'hill'. (p. 90.)

Malaiyūr mentioned earlier. However, it is doubtful whether this equation could be applied to the passage in the *Pūjāvaliya* as both these terms Malala and Malayuru occur in this work evidently with two different meanings.<sup>94</sup>

The sense in which the term Malala is used in the *Pūjāvaliya* becomes clear if the relevant passages are compared with the parallel passages in the *Cūlavamsa*. In the latter work, Māgha is said to have come from Kaliṅga, bringing with him twenty-four thousand soldiers who roamed about announcing that they were Keraḷas and cruelly oppressing the people. Later on, it is stated that Parākramabāhu II had to fight against forty thousand Keraḷas and Damiḷas in his struggle against Māgha and Jayabāhu.<sup>95</sup> It becomes evident from this that the two chronicles agree closely in their accounts of these events and that it was in place of Keraḷa in the *Cūlavamsa* that the *Pūjāvaliya* uses the term Malala.

However, Paranavitana prefers not to accept the obvious meaning of Keraḷa i.e. the Malabar region. He argues that if Keraḷas were Malayalis, they would not have been content to win political power for a foreigner. Secondly, he maintains that the term Keraḷa occurs in the *Cūlavamsa* when the influence of the Kaliṅgas, whom he identifies as Malaysians, was dominant in Ceylon politics. On the basis of these arguments, Paranavitana proposes to identify Keraḷa as derived from Kirāṭa, a term used, according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, to denote the peoples who dwelt to the east of the Bharatavarṣa.<sup>96</sup>

It may be pointed out here that the practice of using South Indian mercenaries was not rare. As evident from the *Cūlavamsa*, Candrabhānu himself drew heavily from the Coḷa and Pāṇḍya territories for military recruits for his second invasion of Ceylon.<sup>97</sup> Mercenaries from the Karṇāṭa and the Keraḷa regions were employed not only by adventurers seeking power and prestige but also by well-established dynasties in their imperial armies as in the case of the Coḷas of South India and the Pālas in the North.<sup>98</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, for Māgha to employ the inhabitants of Malabar for his invasion of Ceylon.

94. *Pjv.*, (ed. Saddhātissa), 1930, p. 106.

95. *Cv.* 80, 58-62; 83.50-1. Geiger's translation of *Cv.* 83.20 is inaccurate.

96. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Canto 45, v. 82.

97. *Cv.* 88, 62, 63.

98. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Coḷas*, Madras, 1955, p. 134; *The Struggle for Empire*, (ed. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker), 1957, p. 257.

An inscription issued by Nissaṅkamalla provides a strong argument against Parānavitana's interpretation of Keraḷa as denoting the 'eastern regions' including the home of Māgha. Nissaṅkamalla, whom Parānavitana identifies as a Malaysian prince, indulges in one of his usual propaganda outbursts in his slab inscription at the northern gate of the citadel at Polonnaruva. While extolling the virtues of the Kalinga line and its right to the kingdom of Ceylon, he states that royal princes from the non-Buddhist regions of Coḷa and Keraḷa were unfit to occupy the throne of a Buddhist country like Ceylon.<sup>99</sup> It is evident from this that the Kalingas considered the presence of Keraḷa princes to be a threat to their power. Secondly, the Keraḷas occur in association with the Coḷas. There is no doubt that it is the Malabar region which is meant in this passage and it reveals the dangers involved in an attempt at another interpretation of the term Keraḷa on grounds of its association with Kalinga. Thus the arguments that Parānavitana adduces to prove the Malaysian origin of Māgha do not appear to be sufficiently convincing.

Parānavitana cites the story of the bringing of the Tooth Relic from Kalinga by Danta and Hemamālā as further evidence for his identification of this region. He points out that in the *Dāṭhāvamsa* and the later Sinhalese works Danta is said to have gone southwards from the city of Dantapura and argues that Tāmalitti from where he took ship to Ceylon could not, therefore, be the same as Tāmralipti in Bengal. He further shows that the *Daladāpūjāvāliya* and the Sinhalese *sanne* to the *Dāṭhāvamsa* give Tamaliṅgam and Tamaliṅgamu in place of Tāmalitti in the Pali original.<sup>100</sup> Citing his earlier identification of Tamaliṅgam with Tāmraliṅga, Parānavitana maintains that, if the Kalinga that these writers had in mind was in Eastern India, they would have been guilty of *deśavirodha*, geographical inconsistency. He identifies Dantapura with a place named Tandaforti and situated "just south of Mergui" according to a Portuguese(?) map of 1595.<sup>101</sup> This would imply that the Kalinga mentioned in the *Dāṭhāvamsa* and the later literary works as the region from which the Tooth Relic was brought has to be located in the southern part of modern Thailand. It is important to note here that Parānavitana's arguments have to be taken in a 'phenomenalist' sense; he does not deny that the actual region from which the Tooth Relic was brought was

99. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 159 ll. B8-10.

100. *Daladāpūjāvāliya*, (ed. Kaṇadulle Ratanaraṃsi), 1954, p. 50, *Dāṭhāvamsa* and *Sanne* edited by Āmbha Tissa, Kelaniya, 1883, p. 81.

101. L. Fournereau, *Le Siam Ancienne*, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Vol. 27, 1895, pl. vi.

the Indian Kaliṅga. In fact he seems to admit this was so.<sup>102</sup> But the identification he proposes for the Kaliṅga of *Dāthāvamsa* contradicts the arguments he put forward earlier to locate Kaliṅga in Southern Sumatra.<sup>103</sup>

The presence of a Dantapura in Kaliṅga in Eastern India is attested in an inscription from Purle which records a grant of land by a certain Mahārāja Indravarman of Kaliṅga. It was issued from the city of Dantapura in the year 149 of an unspecified era.<sup>104</sup> The editor of the inscription believes that it was probably the Gaṅga era, in which case the record may be dated to the end of the ninth century.<sup>105</sup> He also suggests the identification of Dantapura with modern Dantavaktam on the way from Chicacole to Siddhāntam. It is quite possible that this Dantapura was the city that the authors of the literary works had in mind when they wrote about the bringing of the Tooth Relic. Parānavitana is right when he says that Dantakumāra is said to have fled southwards from the city. The invasion of Kṣīradhāra who had earlier attacked Pāṭali would have obliged a fugitive fleeing from him to proceed southwards from the city. But the *Dāthāvamsa* adds that he crossed a river and lived on its banks for some time after having hidden the Relic in the sand.<sup>106</sup> Apparently, he was waiting till conditions of political turmoil abated. Later on, he starts on his journey which brings him and his wife to Tāmralipti. Parānavitana's assertion that they "continued their journey southwards" finds no support in the *Dāthāvamsa* or the other literary works which carry this legend. This is important as it is the point on which Parānavitana's main argument is based. The use of the term Tamaliṅgam(u) in the other two sources does not present any obstacle against the identification of the port of departure with Tāmralipti in Bengal, as the term has been used in other instances explicitly to denote this very same port.<sup>107</sup> Further, if it was really the Tāmraliṅga region that the authors had in mind, it is not very likely that Dhammakitti, who wrote the *Dāthāvamsa*, would have used the term Tāmalitti in preference to Tambaliṅga which was in vogue at the time. Thus the legend of the bringing of the Tooth Relic in Pali and Sinhalese literary works does not seem to bear out Parānavitana's claim that the authors had a Malaysian region in mind when they used the term Kaliṅga.

102. See for instance *A Concise History of Ceylon.*, p. 114.

103. See *supra* p. 22.

104. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 360-3.

105. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, (ed. R. C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker), 1964, p. 73.

106. *Dāthāvamsa*, v. 305.

107. See *supra*, p. 14.

The *Siyabaslakara*, a Sinhalese work on rhetoric based on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa* and datable to the tenth century, cites the following statement as an example of poetical description inconsistent with geographical facts: *Kaliṅga vene gaja rās piri* (The forests of Kaliṅga are teeming with elephants.)<sup>108</sup> It thereby implies that elephants were not in abundance in Kaliṅga. In fact, the gloss on this work, written in about the twelfth century, states in explanation that elephants are not as numerous in Kaliṅga as they were in Aramaṇa (Lower Burma).<sup>109</sup> Parānavitana argues that the Kaliṅga referred to in these two works cannot be the same as the Indian Kaliṅga which was well-known for its large elephants. And citing as another argument the fact that Aramaṇa is mentioned in this work in contradistinction to Kaliṅga, Parānavitana concludes that "the Kaliṅga known to the Sinhalese of the tenth to twelfth centuries was a region in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula."

This is a conclusion based on the assumption that the Malay Peninsula was not well known for its elephants. But the impression that one gets from works like the *Ling-wai Tai-ta* of Chou-chü-fei dating from 1178, the more well-known *Chu-fan-chih* compiled by Chao ju-kua in 1225 and the *Sung-shih* of 1345 on the Chinese trade in the Indian Ocean during the later Sung period is that such an assumption would also be inconsistent with geographical facts. These three works mention kingdoms like Tan-ma-ling, Ling-ya-ssu(-chia) and Fo-lo-an on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, Jih-lo-t'ing in its northern part, and the northern and eastern areas of Sumatra as important regions known for their ivory. The last two works include Java, too, in the list. But Java lies outside the natural range of the elephant, and it is possible, as Wheatley has suggested, that Java merely re-exported this commodity.<sup>110</sup> One could also cite the description of Qāqullah given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭah who found elephants to be "numerous" in this region. Qāqullah, which is described as a province under the rule of the king of Mūl-jāwa and on the way to China from India, has been located by different scholars in various parts of South East Asia; but Pelliot's identification of the place with a region on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula has found general acceptance among scholars.<sup>112</sup>

108. *Siyabaslakara*, Canto, 3, v. 42.

109. *Siyabaslakara* with *Samne* edited by H. Jayatilaka, 1901, p. 87.

110. Paul Wheatley, 'Geographical notes on some commodities involved in Sung Maritime trade, *Jnl. Malayan Br. of R.A.S.*, Vol. XXXII, pt. 2, 1959, See pp. 111-112; *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 67-69.

111. *The Golden Khersonese* p. 226.

112. P. Pelliot, 'Bulletin critique', *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XIII, 1912, pp. 453-455.

It is possible on the other hand that the increasing demand for elephants, which became an extremely popular instrument of warfare during this period, exhausted the supplies of Kalinga which had, in the more remote past, gained a reputation for its bellicose elephants. No references to the elephants of Kalinga are to be found in foreign sources after the time of Hiuen-tsang. Moreover, it is evident from the *Cūlavamsa* that Ceylon had started importing elephants from Rāmañña (Lower Burma) by the time of Parākramabāhu I.<sup>113</sup> On considering the difficulties involved in transporting elephants over a long distance by sea, it would seem unlikely that the Sinhalese would have brought elephants from Burma, if the Kalinga region had remained as abundant a source as it had been earlier. This would explain the statements in the *Siyabaslakara* implying that elephants were not abundant in the forests of Kalinga.

To support his identification of Kalinga with a region in South East Asia, Paranavitana also furnishes evidence to establish that Sundaramahādevī, the Kalinga queen of Vikramabāhu I, was born in Malaysia. He takes the phrase *devotunu mānda upan* which occurs in the Dimbulāgala inscription and compares *devotunu* with the Malay word *duawwatan* meaning 'two bridge land'. He also connects *voṭunu* with Skt. *vartma* meaning 'trade route' and suggests that *devotunu mānda* meant 'the land between two trade routes.' A kingdom called Ch'ih-tu is mentioned in the *Sui-shu* and the Tang annals as situated to the south of Tāmraliṅga and Langkāśūka. Its capital bore the name Shih-tzu-cheng or 'Lion City'.<sup>114</sup> Paranavitana suggests that Ch'ih-t'u is a derivation from Skt. *setu* ('bridge' 'causeway') and identifies it with the region referred to as *devotunu mānda* in the Dimbulāgala inscription. This would imply that the Kalinga region, from which Sundarī came, will have to be located in the Ch'ih-t'u region.

The term *duawwatan* is not attested in the Malay sources as the name of a kingdom but is only a conjectural restoration by Moens of the term *To-p'o-teng* which occurs in certain Chinese sources.<sup>115</sup> Evidence available is not adequate to locate it precisely. Some have located it in Bali and others in the region near the Trang river in the Malay Peninsula.<sup>116</sup> Various views have been put forward on the location of Ch'ih-t'u. Wheatley's location in the Malay Peninsula, immediately to the

113. *Cv.* 76.17-21.

114. See *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 26-36.

115. J. L. Moens, *Jnl. Malayan Br. of R.A.S.*, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, pp. 22-23.

116. G. E. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, London, 1909, pp. 473, 489.

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south of Ling-ya-ssu(-chia), fits in with most of the known evidence.<sup>117</sup> Evidently, a certain amount of confusion underlies the identifications proposed by Paranavitana as he identifies the home of Sundarī with both To-p'o-teng and Ch'ih-t'u.<sup>118</sup> Finally, it has to be pointed out that the identification of Kaliṅga with either To-p'o-teng or Ch'ih-t'u, and particularly the latter, would contradict the arguments put forward earlier by Paranavitana where he tried to convince the reader that Kaliṅga should be located to the north of Tāmraliṅga and that it was probably situated close to Mergui in the northern extremity of the Malay Peninsula.

The difficulties involved in the identification of a region called *devoṭunu mānda* in Malaysia directs one's attention to Paranavitana's interpretation of the term. The context of the passage suggests that it was more an epithet of Vikramabāhu than of Sundarī, though the latter interpretation is not impossible.<sup>119</sup> Both Bell and Wickremasinghe who studied this record were of the opinion that the phrase in question referred to the fact that Vikramabāhu was born of crowned parents i.e. son of a king by the chief queen.<sup>120</sup> Paranavitana rejects this interpretation on the ground that "such an expression in an eulogy of a king does not add anything to his prestige, for kings who were sons of crowned parents were the rule rather than the exception." The reason that Paranavitana gives does not seem to justify his rejection of the interpretation, for the eulogies which occur in Sinhalese inscriptions including the record in question refer usually to the descent of kings from the line of Okkāka and from the Solar dynasty. These were by no means special characteristics which marked out one king but were qualifications claimed by all kings of the main Sinhalese line. On the other hand, the claim that Vikramabāhu was born of annointed parents would in fact have been a qualification which brought political advantages to him. None of his rivals, Jayabāhu whom he had to fight to capture the throne of Polonnaruva, or Mānābharāṇa, Kittisirimegha and Śirivallabha who ruled over Dakkhinadesa and Rohaṇa in defiance of his authority, had this qualification. The use of such a title would have been a means of demonstrating the legitimacy of his claim to rule over the whole of Ceylon. Had the queen indeed wanted to refer to the land of her birth, it is more likely that she

117. For a discussion on various theories on this subject, see *The Golden Khersonese* pp. 26-36.

118. This would also contradict the Ho-ling = Kaliṅga equation. For To-p'o-teng is mentioned together with, and as distinct from, Ho-ling, in the Tang annals. See Gerini, *op. cit.*, p.473.

119. *okāvas rajakulen nīpan sudonā parapuren ā hirugokulen abhinnavā rūsirin siridinū (de)voṭunu (mānda upa)n vikumbā nirinduhaṭa agamehesuvvā gajabāhu devayan vādū sundara maha dev'n vahanse. Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 194 ll. 1-3.

120. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 189, 196; *Ceylon Antiquary*, 1917, pp. 4-12.

would have mentioned the kingdom of Kaliṅga like her other countrymen, without using a term which would have been unfamiliar to many who read her inscription. And if, on these grounds, we accept the original translation of the record, there would be no need to look for the home of Sundarī in the Malaysian region.

In a slab inscription at Polonnaruva, Nissaṅkamalla makes a grant of land to an official who is said to have guarded his person at Ruvandambu and 'thence onwards'.<sup>121</sup> Paranavitana equates Ruvandambu with Suvarṇṇa-Jāvaka which is taken to be an abbreviation of Suvarṇṇadvīpa-Jāvaka. Of course, it is very unlikely that Ruvandambu was the name of a person as Nilakanta Sastri suggested.<sup>122</sup> But neither of these two terms, Suvarṇṇadvīpa-Jāvaka or Suvarṇṇa-Jāvaka, is attested in sources dealing with the history of South East Asia. The Indian sources do not mention Jāvaka but refer to a Yāvadvīpa which may be its equivalent. The *Rāmāyana* distinguishes Suvarṇṇadvīpa from Yāvadvīpa.<sup>123</sup> The Jāvaka of the *Cūlavamsa* was in the Malay Peninsula while according to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Suvarṇṇadvīpa lay on the sea-route from Kaṭāha (Kedah) to India.<sup>124</sup> The term Suvarṇṇadvīpa-Jāvaka seems, therefore, to be an unlikely combination to denote any one South East Asian country. On the other hand, it is not stated in this record that Ruvandambu was the original home of Nissaṅkamalla or that it was outside Ceylon. It could very well have been a place in Ceylon, like Daṁbulla which is sometimes called Rangiri Daṁbulla, where the official concerned would have saved the king from bodily harm.

In its account of the period of political turmoil when Ceylon passed under the sway of the Coḷas, the *Cūlavamsa* refers to a princeling called Jagatīpāla from Ayojjhā who perished in a struggle against the Coḷas.<sup>125</sup> Hultzsch suggested that he might be identified with Vīra-Çalāmegana, a king of Ceylon but originally a resident of Kannakucchi, who is said to have died under similar circumstances.<sup>126</sup> This identification was accepted by Wickremasinghe and Geiger.<sup>127</sup> Another Coḷa inscription, issued by Rājendra II, also refers to a Vīra-Çalāmegana, king of the Kaliṅgas (*Kaliṅgar-man*), whom Rājendra claims to have defeated in Ceylon.<sup>128</sup>

121. *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. V, p. 205 l. A21.

122. *JCBRAS* (New Series), Vol. VIII, Pt. 1, 1962, p. 137.

123. *Rmy.*, Bombay, 1902, IV. 30. vv. 30, 31.

124. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, London, 1924, Taraṅga 123. v. 110.

125. *Cv.* 56. 13-5.

126. *SII.*, Vol. III, p. 52.

127. *Mv.*, (trsl), p. xxix.

128. *SII.*, Vol. III, p. 59.

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Paranavitana proposes to identify these three sources as referring to the same individual and, on the basis of this identification, he points out that "a king who is said to have come from Ayojjhā (Ayodhyā) in one account, is called the king of the Kaliṅgas in the other." And as there is no mention of a city called Ayodhyā in Kaliṅga in Eastern India, he proposes to locate the Kaliṅga of this record "in Tennasarim, close to Lower Burma."

The only evidence that Paranavitana has of the presence of a city called Ayodhyā in Tennasserim is the reference to a certain Ajota in a legendary tale quoted by Queyroz.<sup>129</sup> This seems hardly adequate. There is, of course, the well-known city of Ayuthia; but the identification of Ayodhyā in the *Cūlavamsa* with Ayuthia would imply the location of Kaliṅga in Thailand, to the north of the Malay Peninsula. A closer examination of the sources would show that the two identifications basic to Paranavitana's hypothesis do not rest on a firm foundation. The only fact common to Jagatipāla and Vīra-Çalāmegana was the similarity of their fortunes. But these unsettled times would have seen many others sharing similar fortunes. The difference of their areas of origin and as Hultzsch admitted, the difference of names make the identification uncertain. In fact, in a later paper, Hultzsch withdrew his identification.<sup>130</sup>

The second identification seems even less tenable. In an inscription found at Maṇimaigalam and dated in his 29th regnal year (1046 A.D.), Rājādhirāja I claims to have deprived Vīra-Çalāmegana and three other kings of Ceylon, Vikramabāhu, Vikrama Paṇḍya and Śrī Vallabha Mahārāja, of their crowns and to have decapitated the Paṇḍya king Mānābharaṇa. Vīra-Çalāmegana perished in battle and some members of his family fell into Coḷa hands.<sup>131</sup> Another inscription from the same area dated in the fourth year of Rājendra II (1055 A.D.) mentions that an army dispatched to Ceylon by this king captured and killed the Kaliṅga king Vīra-Çalāmegana and took two sons of king Mānābharaṇa as prisoners.<sup>132</sup> A comparison of the details of the two inscriptions makes it quite clear that they are not referring to the same invasion. Hence, though they shared the same name, the king from Kannakucci whose death is recorded in the inscription of 1046 has to be differentiated from the Kaliṅga ruler who perished resisting the later invasion launched by Rājendra II. Hence there would be no need to look for a Kaliṅga in the Malaysian region.

129. Fernao de Queyroz, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, Vol. I. (trsl. S. G. Perera), pp. 48-49.

130. E. Hultzsch, 'Contributions to Singhalese chronology', *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 517-531.

131. *SIL.*, Vol. III, p. 56.

132. *SIL.*, Vol. III, p. 59.

Finally, we may consider the passage from the *Vinayārthasamuccaya*, a sub-commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, that Parānavitana cites in support of his attempt to locate Kāliṅga in the Malay Peninsula. While commenting on the phrase *milakkhabhāsā*, 'barbarian languages', this work cites Demaḷa and Ijjāvaka (var. Jjāvaka) as examples. Then the author proceeds to explain *Andharaṭa* or Andha country in a passage which could be translated either as "Andha country is the same as Tamaliṅgamu country and the Ijjāvaka country" or as "Andha country is the same as Tamaliṅgamu country which is also called the Ijjāvaka country."<sup>133</sup> Parānavitana cites this statement to prove that Andharaṭa was a Malaysian region to the learned men of Ceylon in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But it is also possible that Medhaṅkara, the forest-dwelling monk who wrote the *Vinayārthasamuccaya* in the latter half of the twelfth century or in the early part of the thirteenth century, was at a loss to explain Andha which had by this time given way to the term Veṅgi, and confused it with the regions with which Ceylon had come into contact in his time. Further, even if we concede Parānavitana's interpretation of the passage it would only imply the presence of a region called Andha in the Malay Peninsula and is too flimsy a basis for his theory on the identification of Kāliṅga. It is noteworthy, however, that the passage raises the possibility of the prevalence of contact between Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula, even before the invasion of Candrabhānu.

It should be evident from the discussion in the preceding paragraphs that the evidence that Parānavitana presents does not necessarily prove his contention that the term Kāliṅga was used by the Sinhalese *literati* in the period between the tenth and the thirteenth century to denote a Malaysian region. Further his thesis depends to a large extent on the assumption that there was a South East Asian kingdom known by this name. Chinese sources refer to a region called Ho-ling during the period from 640 to 818 A.D. Of these sources, the *Sung-kao-seng-chuan* uses the term Po-ling with a note that the region is also called Ho-ling.<sup>134</sup> It was Mayers who first suggested in 1876 that the Indian name Kāliṅga might be recognized in the term Ho-ling.

133. *Vinayārthasamuccaya*, (Manuscripts at Dhammayuktikārāma, Viḡaḡa, Bemmulla.) folio *chau*. *Andharaṭa nam tamaliṅga raṭa ijjāvaka* (var. *ijāvaka*) *nam raṭayi*.

134. *Proceedings of the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Kuala Lumpur, 1966*, pp. 58-59.

Since that time, this identification was accepted without question by such savants like Takakusu, Chavannes, Pelliot and Coedès and found its way into text books. This Ho-ling=Kaliṅga equation formed the main prop on which hypotheses on the emigration of the people of Kaliṅga to South East Asia and the foundation of a new kingdom of Kaliṅga were based.<sup>135</sup> Even if this interpretation of the term were to be accepted, it is important to note that the term does not find mention after about 818-820 A.D. Hence there is absolutely no evidence on the existence of a kingdom by the name Kaliṅga in South East Asia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the Kaliṅga dynasty was ruling over Ceylon.

More recently, the lately lamented Louis-Charles Damais pointed out, after a deep and painstaking study of the problem of Ho-ling, that the Indian term Kaliṅga is usually transliterated in Chinese works as Kia-ling-k'ic(-k'ia), Kie-ling-kie(-k'ia) or Ko-ling-k'ie(-k'ia), all being renderings into Chinese of all the three syllables of the name. Damais has convincingly proved that on consideration of the number of syllables, the value usually attached to the first of the Chinese characters and the existence of a variant term Po-ling, the Ho-ling=Kaliṅga equation is untenable. He suggests, on the other hand, that Ho-ling was most probably the transliteration of Walain, the *nom du Palais (kadatuan)* of a royal family which ruled over the Ratu Baka plateau in Java from the seventh till about the middle of the ninth century, roughly the same period in which Ho-ling finds mention in the Chinese sources.<sup>136</sup> Yutaka Iwamoto, another scholar who has studied this problem, has also rejected the Ho-ling=Kaliṅga equation as unacceptable. He believes that Ho-ling represents the Chinese rendering of the term Śailendra.<sup>137</sup> The interpretation that Damais put forward has found greater acceptance among scholars and Coedès, one of the exponents of the earlier theory, has revised the latest edition of his well-known work on the history of South East Asia accor-

135. "On est d'accord pour considérer le nom du Ho-ling comme une équivalent de *Kaliṅga*, et l'on établit volontiers un rapport entre l'apparition d'un Etat de ce nom dans le mers du Sud au milieu du viie siècle, et les conquêtes des souverains hindous Pulakeçin II et Harsha, dans le Kaliṅga sur la côte orientale de l'Inde vers la même époque. Ces conquêtes auraient provoqué, comme précédemment celles des Indo-Scythes et de Samudragupta, un exode vers l'Inde extérieure ou des 'princes en exile' auraient fondé à Java (ou sur la Péninsule) un nouveau Kaliṅga". G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Inde-chine et d'Indonesie*, Paris, 1948, pp. 137-138.

136. Louis-Charles Damais, 'Etudes Sino-Indonesiennes : III. La transcription Chinoise Ho-ling comme designation de Java', *BEFEO*, Tome LII, Fasc. 1. 1964, pp. 93-141.

137. Yutaka Iwamoto, 'On the Ho-ling Kingdom', *Proceedings of the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies*, Kuala Lumpur, 1966, pp. 58-66.

dingly.<sup>138</sup> Thus it would seem that research by Damais and Iwamoto has removed the main basis on which Parānavitana's identifications had been founded; and hence his Kaliṅga theory will have to be rejected.

### III

Professor Parānavitana devotes four chapters in his *Ceylon and Malaysia* to an attempt to establish that the relations between the two regions can be traced back to the earliest times. He would have us believe that this relationship led to the extension of the suzerainty of Ceylon over a Malaysian kingdom and to the foundation of the ruling house of Śrī Vijaya by a scion of the Sinhalese royal family. According to him the relations between the two royal families were so close that they joined forces at certain times to play a decisive role in the politics of South and South East Asia.

An example of the type of argumentation that Parānavitana utilises to prove his theses is the interpretation that he gives to the term *pāra-samudda*. A story in the *Mahāvamsa* concerning the warrior Sūranimala refers to a Brāhmana at Anurādhapura who had in his possession *samudda-pārabhaṇḍāni*.<sup>139</sup> Geiger translated the term as 'merchandise from overseas'. The author of the *Vamsatthappakāsini*, while commenting on the passage, adds that the merchandise included sandalwood and camphor.<sup>140</sup> Parānavitana identifies *samuddapāra* as a term denoting South East Asian regions on the plea that sandalwood and camphor were well-known products of this region. But it is also possible that both the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Vamsatthappakāsini* are using the term in its literal sense and that the latter is merely giving examples of merchandise imported to the Island. The manner in which the commentator equates *samuddapāra* with its inverted form *pārasamudda* also supports this explanation. However, Parānavitana assumes that the evidence he has cited is adequate to identify *pāra-samudda* with Malaysia when it occurs again in a story in the *Papañcasūdanī*,<sup>141</sup> but the same story occurs in other works with *pārasamudda* having been replaced with Jambudīpa.<sup>142</sup>

138. Compare n. 135 with *Les états...* Paris, 1964. Coedès drops the earlier passage and adds with reference to Ho-ling, "... le royaume de Walaing dont le nom, suivant L. C. Damais, a toutes chances d'être a l'origine du nom chinois..." p. 151.

139. *Mv.* 23. 24.

140. *samuddapāre bhaṇḍānīti kappūracandanādāni pārasamuddabhaṇḍāni. Vap.* p. 449.

141. *Papañcasūdanī*, (P. T. S.), Vol. V, p. 75.

142. *Dharmapradīpikā*, p. 98. *Karmavibhāgaya*, (ed. Māda-uyangoḍa Vimalakīrti and Nāhinne Sominda), Colombo, 1961, p. 61.

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Paranavitana proposes a new interpretation of the Perimiyanakulam inscription of Vasabha to obtain more evidence of close relations between Ceylon and Malaysia in early times. This inscription records a benefaction made by a certain Naka who describes himself as the *navaka* of a personage called Ayi Sayi. In the original paper where he edited this inscription, Paranavitana equated the term *navaka* with Skt. *jñāpaka* which occurs in the *Pañcatantra* as the title of a royal official. And, following Monier Williams, he translated it into English as 'master of requests'. Ayi, Paranavitana pointed out, is the princely title commonly found in Sinhalese inscriptions, and as to the name Sayi, he suggested the possibility of it being derived from Śāta, Śāti or Svāti.<sup>143</sup>

In his *Ceylon and Malaysia*, where he sets out to prove a close relationship between the two regions, Paranavitana follows a different method of explanation. He reads *navaka* as a variant form of *navika*, 'mariner'. And Ayi Sayi is identified with Aji Saka, the legendary founder of the Javanese kingdom who brought civilization to that land. He accepts P.C. Bagchi's hypothesis that Aji Saka was a prince of Scythian descent from the western part of India<sup>144</sup> and concludes that the inscription records the fact that it was a Sinhalese mariner who transported him on his journey to Java.

This example is interesting as it illustrates some of the techniques that Paranavitana adopts in his book to arrive at very important conclusions. In this instance the basis of his conclusion is the alleged identity of the two names Ayi Sayi and Aji Saka. The historicity of Aji Saka and the validity of the legends about him for purposes of historical reconstruction are accepted without question. The Javanese legends which mention Aji Saka have been written down only in comparatively recent times. The earliest definite reference to this figure is in the Chinese annals of the fifteenth century which quote the legends. Moreover, there are many variations of these legends. According to some, Aji Saka was the first king. But according to others, Basu Keti was the first king while Aji Saka is mentioned as the tenth king and is dated to a period as late as the year 1002 of the Javanese era. Meanwhile lists of kings from Sumenap, Bali and the eastern parts of Java start the line with Tritresa and do not refer to Aji Saka at all.<sup>145</sup> An examination of the legendary material

<sup>143</sup> JCBRAS (New Series), Vol. V, Pt. 2, 1958, pp. 129-137.

<sup>144</sup> *A Comprehensive History of India*, (ed. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri), p. 772.

<sup>145</sup> Thomas Stanford Raffles, *The History of Java*, London, 1817, Vol. II, pp. 6-8.

on Aji Saka reveals that they do not provide adequate evidence to establish the historicity of this personage or to warrant his identification with the individual mentioned in the Sinhalese inscription.

In the next stage of the development his theory, Paranavitana cites the term *malayarāja* which occurs several times in the *Cūlavamsa* to argue for the expansion of Sinhalese suzerainty over the Malay peninsula. The term occurs for the first time in the account of the reign of Silākāla (518-531 A.D.), who is said to have invested his son Dāṭhāpabhuti with the title *malayarājagga* and placed him in the Dakkhinadesa, entrusting him with the task of 'protecting the ocean' (*rakkhanattham samuddassa*).<sup>146</sup> Aggabodhi I (571-604) appointed his nephew to the position of *malayarāja* and gave him his daughter in marriage. Later on this prince who was also called Aggabodhi rose to the rank of *mahādipāda* and eventually succeeded his uncle as king.<sup>147</sup> Moggallāna III (614-619) conferred this title on the general who helped him to usurp the throne.<sup>148</sup> The *malayarāja* at the time of Aggabodhi IV (667-683) is mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* as a wealthy patron of Buddhism who built a relic-house at the monastery of Maṇḍalagiri.<sup>149</sup> Kassapa V (914-923) had his son Siddhattha appointed to this position and, on the death of this prince, his revenues were assigned to an alms-hall built in his memory.<sup>150</sup> The *malayarāja* under Sena III (938-946) was a minister called Aggabodhi.<sup>151</sup> In the reign of Parākramabāhu I it was the commander of the Tamil mercenaries who had been assigned this title.<sup>152</sup>

Paranavitana identifies *malaya* in these instances as denoting the Malay Peninsula and proposes two interpretations for the term *malayarājagga*. Firstly, he suggests that the term was derived from the Sinhalese *malayarāja-ga*, 'going to the kingdom of Malaya', and interprets the passage as implying that Dāṭhāpabhuti was placed in charge of communications between Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula. The second interpretation that Paranavitana suggests is that Dāṭhāpabhuti "received this designation as the ruler, *de facto* or titular, of a region in the Malay Peninsula, over which the Sinhalese king(s) claimed sovereignty." The dual interpretation that Paranavitana puts forward is an indication of the difficulties that he is faced with. It is evident from the instances cited above that

146. Cv. 41.35.

147. Cv. 42. 6, 10.

148. Cv. 44. 43.

149. Cv. 46. 29.

150. Cv. 52. 68-69.

151. Cv. 53. 36.

152. Cv. 69. 6.

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the title *malayarāja* was current in Ceylon from the reign of Silākāla to that of Parākramabāhu I. Some of the princes who bore this title ruled over parts of the Island as provincial rulers and succeeded to the throne of Anurādhapura. In such instances, as in the case of the *malayarāja* of the reign of Aggabodhi IV, he cites the first interpretation while in certain other instances, as in the case of Siddhattha, he tries to maintain that the *malayarāja* enjoyed *de facto* authority over a part of the Malay Peninsula.

On examining the context of the passage recording the conferment of the title *malayarājagga* on Dāthāpabhuti, it is evident that the two strophes immediately preceding this passage mention Moggallāna, the eldest son of Silākāla, as having been invested with the rank of *ādipāda* and assigned to administer the Eastern Province (*puratthimaṃ desam*).<sup>153</sup> If it was the first of Paranavitana's interpretations that was really meant by the term *malayarājagga*, it is not very likely that the incumbent of this office would be appointed to rule over the Dakkhinadesa while some other person was placed in charge of the Eastern Province. For the eastern coast, as Paranavitana himself states, would have naturally been the most important area for communications with South East Asia. Further, this as well as the other hypothesis about Sinhalese princes ruling over a kingdom in the Malay Peninsula, or at least claiming suzerainty over it, depends on the meaning one attaches to the word *malaya*. One has also to consider the other possibility, which appears to be more likely from the contexts cited above, that *malaya* could connote the mountainous regions of central Ceylon. Moreover even if it is presumed that *malaya* in the *Cūlavamsa* denoted Malayadvīpa, this region will have to be located, as Sir Roland Braddell has convincingly shown,<sup>154</sup> in Sumatra and not in the Malay Peninsula as Paranavitana seems to presume. Mo-lo-yu, the phonetical equivalent of the term, is also used in the Chinese annals to denote a kingdom in Southern Sumatra.<sup>155</sup> And in the absence of any evidence in either Malaya or Sumatra to support Sinhalese rule over these areas, it would be more advisable to identify *malaya* in the title *malayarāja* as denoting the hilly region of central Ceylon.

Paranavitana uses this variant interpretation of *malaya* in another instance to argue for the prevalence of close relations between Ceylon and Malaysia. The *Cūlavamsa* refers to Sena I (833—853), whose army

153. Cv. 41. 33—4.

154. Roland Braddell, 'Malayadvīpa: a study in early Indianization', *The Malayan Journal of Physical Geography*, Vol. IX, 1956, pp. 1-20.

155. See *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 41-3, 54.

was routed by the Pāṇḍya king who invaded Ceylon, as having fled from Anurādhapura, heading for Malaya (*malayābhimukhaṃ*). Subsequently, he is found staying at the 'confluence of the two rivers' (*gaṅgādvayamukha*), evidently a place on the way to the Malaya region, after posting guards 'at various places along the high way'.<sup>156</sup> Geiger identified *gaṅgādvayamukha* with the confluence of the Amban and Mahavāli rivers.<sup>157</sup> Paranavitana argues that even if Geiger's identification is accepted, this place would be out of the way for one who was going to the Malaya highlands. He proposes to identify *gaṅgādvayamukha* with the delta of the river Mahavāli in Trincomalee and suggests that it was the Malay Peninsula that Sena was heading for. This does not seem to be a very strong argument. For a person who followed the banks of the river Mahavāli, along which a part of the well-known highway from Anurādhapura to Mahāgāma also lay, would have easily reached the jungle-covered foot-hills of the Malaya region. In fact, the author of the *Mahāvamsa* states that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi cleared the stretch of road through the Malaya region as a part of the preparations he made to attack the Tamil strongholds in the Rājaraṭṭha.<sup>158</sup> It is thus clear that Sena, if he was going to the Malaya highlands, could have taken this well-known route. The statement in the *Cūlavamsa* which refers to Sena posting guards along the highway (*mahāmagga*) would also support such an interpretation.

In addition to adducing new variant interpretations of the material in the chronicles, Paranavitana draws evidence from certain inscriptions to support his hypotheses. An inscription from Tissamahārāma, dated by Eduard Müller who edited it to about the fifth century, refers to two rulers: Budadasa Taripali Mahanamika Jeṭtisa Maharaja Apaya and Mahida Mahasena Tavakabāya Maharaja. It is evidently the latter who issued this inscription as he is mentioned in the first person. The inscription records a donation on behalf of the other king who is referred to as 'our diademed lord' (*apa cudi parumaka*). Both bear the title *maharaja apaya* usually associated with the sovereign ruler of the Island.<sup>159</sup>

Paranavitana reads the phrase *tavakabāya* as *tavakaboya*. He derives *tavaka* from Jāvaka, supporting his contention by pointing out that Śāvaka is the Tamil equivalent of Jāvaka, and giving instances of *sa > ta* change in

156. *Cv.* 50. 20, 37.

157. *Cv.*, (trsl), Vol. I, p. 141, n. 3.

158. *Mv.* 25. 5.

159. Eduard Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, London, 1883, pp. 76-77.

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Sinhalese. He connects *boya* with *bhoja*, meaning 'possessor' or 'ruler'. He thereby identifies Mahida Mahasena as a king of Jāvaka who accepted the suzerainty of the king of Ceylon.

Here it is necessary to remind ourselves that the weighty conclusion that Paranavitana draws on the extension of the sovereignty of the Sinhalese rulers over a Malayan kingdom is absolutely unsupported by evidence from South East Asia. It rests entirely on the highly suspect interpretation of the term *tavaka* which is not attested anywhere else in the sense of Jāvaka. This is too flimsy and uncertain a piece of evidence to support such a weighty conclusion. On the other hand, Budadasa Taripali Mahanamika Jeṭatisa in an inscription from Monarāgala has been identified with Mahānāma (410—432).<sup>160</sup> Buddhaghosa refers to him in his commentaries as Sirinivāsa and Sirikuḍḍa.<sup>161</sup> The king who issued the inscription could have been a descendant of Mahānāma who continued to rule over Rohaṇa after Anurādhapura had passed under Dravidian occupation.

An inscription from Vcherakema in the Pānama Pattu of the Ampārai District mentions a certain Vahaka Maharaja who built a *caitya* and made an endowment in its favour. Paranavitana who originally edited this record dated it to the seventh century.<sup>162</sup> Vcherakema is situated in the old principality of Rohaṇa where the rule of Anurādhapura was not always effective. Usually Rohaṇa declared its political independence in times of political turmoil; it was also the centre of resistance against foreign rule. It was probably on consideration of these facts that Paranavitana suggested in his introduction to the edition of the inscription that Vahaka should be identified as a prince "who, in the unsettled political conditions which prevailed at Anuradhapura during the greater part of the seventh century, set up himself as an independent sovereign of Rohaṇa."

In his *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Paranavitana proposes to set aside this plausible explanation that he himself put forward and to interpret this inscription as providing further evidence for his theories of closer relations with Malaysia. Against his previous view, he argues, "is the fact that neither in historical works nor in epigraphy has the name 'Vaha' or 'Vahaka', or its equivalent in Pali, been met with." But later on in the very same paragraph Paranavitana admits that the Sinhalese form of the

<sup>160</sup> *Cey. Jnl. of Sc.*, Sec. G., Vol. II, p. 18.

<sup>161</sup> *Samantapāsādikā*, (P.T.S.), Vol. VII, 1947, p. 1415.

<sup>162</sup> *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142-143.

name Vasabha occurs as Vahaba in some inscriptions and as Vahayaha in the genitive singular in the Vallipuram gold plate, "indicating that Vahaba had a variant form Vaha or Vahaya." But he maintains that the name went out of vogue after the time of Vasabha (65—109). After rejecting his earlier interpretation on these grounds, Paranavitana proceeds to identify Vahaka with the name of an island, given as Vṛṣa in Varāhamihira's *Vṛhat-saṃhitā* and as Vāruṣaka in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.<sup>163</sup> He points out that the terms Vahadū and Vāhadīpa find mention in a later period.<sup>164</sup> Vāruṣakadvīpa has been identified by Majumdar as a name for Baros in Sumatra.<sup>165</sup> This interpretation implies that the Vcherakema inscription records an instance of a ruler of a state in Malaysia patronising the Buddhist *saṅgha* in Ceylon.

Paranavitana does not sound convincing when he argues for the rejection of his earlier interpretation of the record. On considering that two variant forms of the name Vasabha were being used even during the reign of the king of Anurādhapura who bore this name, it is difficult to deny the possibility of the use of a third variant form at a later period. Similarly, the absence of the incidence of this name in sources preserved till modern times is not a necessary indication of its having gone out of vogue by the seventh century. On the other hand, if the term Vahaka in this record is understood as connoting the name of the country over which the king ruled, it would imply that the name of the king does not find mention in it. This would be most unusual. It would also raise the question as to how a king of a Malaysian state came to have the right to grant four *karīsas* of fields in Ceylon. In records found in Bengal and the Coromandel coast where kings of Śrī Vijaya make grants of a similar type, they state in great detail not only their name and line of descent but also the means by which they acquired the rights over the land they granted.<sup>166</sup> On considering these difficulties, it seems more probable that Vahaka was a Sinhalese king who ruled Rohaṇa as Paranavitana originally surmised.

Paranavitana cites an important piece of evidence from a yet unpublished record from Mādirigiriya. According to him, the record is in a badly weathered condition. He dates it to the eleventh century and quotes a passage from it which reads *malenā aḅboyā arak sayura yavakaren*

163. *Vṛhatsaṃhitā*, (ed. H. Kern), Calcutta, 1905, p. 89; *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, (ed. Gopinath Rao), Trivandrum, p. 332.

164. *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. I., p. 49 l. 47; *Cv.* 48. 65; 49. 38, 76.

165. R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Dacca, 1937, Pt. I, p. 75.

166. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-327; Vol. XXII, pp. 213-266.

*pat nāvi* and translates it as “the mariners arriving from Yavakara (the coast of Jāvaka) of the sea protected by Malenā Agboy.” Paranavitana draws two important conclusions from this evidence: firstly that it points to the existence of maritime relations between Ceylon and the Jāvaka country. As pointed out earlier, such a possibility is, of course, quite likely. Secondly, he states that it proves that “the dignitary whose duty it was to protect the sea was given the designation of Malayarāja.” One may not doubt the reading of the inscription that Paranavitana has given; but, unfortunately, the record is not yet published for one to be certain of it. One wishes the text and a photograph of this important inscription had been given in the appendix of Paranavitana’s book. Even if one were to rely on the sole authority of Paranavitana for the text of this inscription, one could question the validity and the adequacy of this evidence for his second conclusion. It has already been pointed out in an earlier context that it is very unlikely that Dāthāpabhuti, who was invested with the rank of *malayarāja* by Silākāla, had been placed in charge of communications with the Malayan regions. Further, even if we accept the present reading of the inscription, it would be difficult to presume that the term Malaya denoted the Malay Peninsula, if it was the same area (Jāvaka coast) that was denoted by the term Yava. Paranavitana tries to get over this difficulty by suggesting that the two terms were synonymous. Even if this were so, it is not very likely that two such variant forms would be used in the same sentence of an inscription. Hence it seems more advisable to interpret *malenā* as denoting a ruler of the Malaya highlands. And the fact that such official was placed in charge of the ‘protection of the ocean’ does not necessarily mean that this was the duty expected of all officials who bore this title.

An inscription from Mayilagastoṭa in Rohaṇa is also cited by Paranavitana as containing information bearing on the interpretation of the term *malayarāja*. It was issued by Āpā Mihindu who has been identified as the son of Kāśyapa V (914—923). The lines A23—28 of this record were read by Wickremasinghe who edited it as *Mahaveher nakāhi (dam) rad paṭṭa (vaṭṭu povas) tamā (kārū uḍa)tisa pīriven*. Some of his readings were doubtful and were as such indicated within brackets.<sup>167</sup> Paranavitana proposes a new reading of a part of this phrase as *dāva rad parapura vaḍṇa tamā kārū* and translates it as stating that Uḍa Tisa *pīrivena* was built by Āpā Mihindu “on account of (his) brother who makes the royal lineage *dāva* to increase.” He traces the derivation of the term *Dāva* to *Jāva*.

*Ep.Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 61.

“The words would be appropriate,” Paranavitana comments, “to the case of a Sinhalese prince espousing an heiress of the Jāvaka family, and being accepted as the king of the region over which the family ruled.” He proceeds to identify this personage with Siddhattha, the other son of Kassapa V, who, according to the *Cūlavamsa*, was appointed to the position of Malayarāja.

Paranavitana draws further evidence for his hypothesis from the *Sundarivṛttānta*, one of the documents he claims to have extracted from the interlinear writing on the Abhayagiri inscription mentioned earlier. According to this work, a Mahārāja of Jāvaka, Guṇārṇava by name and belonging to a line of rulers founded by a certain Siddhattha, was defeated by a Cambodian prince and was forced to flee to Ceylon. At this time a king called Sena was ruling over Ceylon with a *yuvārāja* called Mahendra. Mahendra led an expedition to help Guṇārṇava and succeeded in restoring Suvarṇapura to him. The Sinhalese prince was rewarded for his role of liberator with the hand of Sundarī, the grand-daughter of Guṇārṇava. Paranavitana identifies Suvarṇapura, which is also referred to as Suvarṇajāvapura in these records, as a reference to the Śrī Vijaya empire; Siddhattha, the founder of the Śrī Vijaya ruling house, with Siddhattha, the son of Kassapa V who was appointed *malayarāja*; Sena with Sena IV (954—956); Mahendra with the *yuvārāja* who later became king as Mahinda IV; Sundarī with the princess from Kaliṅga that Mahinda IV espoused<sup>168</sup> and the king of Kāmboja who reigned at the time of the defeat of Śrī Vijaya with Rājendravarman. He refrains from identifying the emperor of Śrī Vijaya.

The identifications that Paranavitana makes would imply that the powerful dynasty which ruled over the Śrī Vijaya empire was founded by a member of the Sinhalese royal family and that close relations were maintained between the two ruling houses. The account in the *Sundarivṛttānta*, if accepted, also points to the military power of Ceylon in the time of Sena IV and to the personal capability of Mahinda IV to have intervened in South East Asian politics and to have defeated the Cambodian forces to restore the emperor of Śrī Vijaya to his throne.

168. *Cv.* 54.9-10.

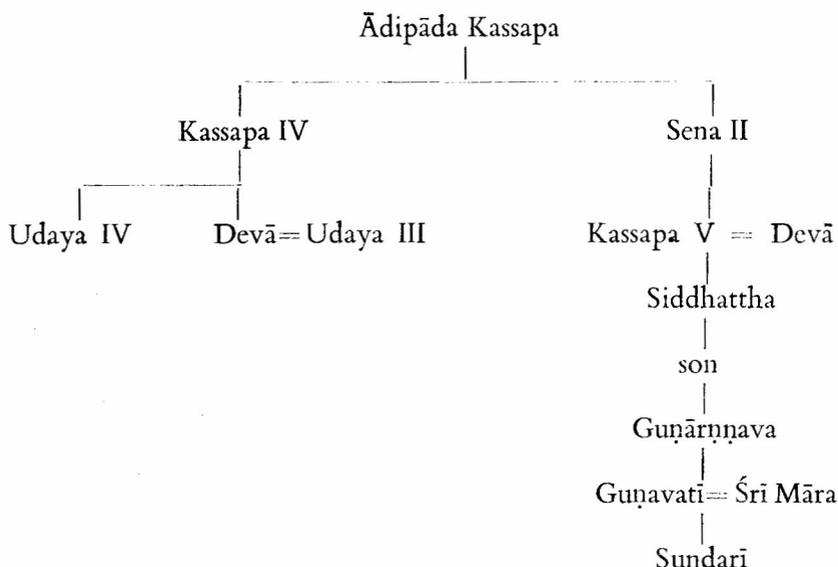
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These identifications seem to raise problems as weighty as the conclusions that Paranavitana draws from them. Firstly, the interpretation of the Mayilagastota inscription that Paranavitana gives is based on the assumption that two variant terms, Malaya and Dāva (Jāvaka), were used to connote the very same place. As has been pointed out earlier, Paranavitana's arguments are not sufficiently convincing to make one believe that the two terms were synonymous. Further, his new reading on which the whole interpretation is based is open to serious objection. The line A24 is too defective to enable one to determine precisely which of the two readings, *dam* or *dāva*, is acceptable. But it is quite clear that A26 reads *po* and not *bā*. There is a marked difference between this character and the form *ba* which occurs in lines A7, B6 and B7. Paranavitana himself admits the difficulties regarding the reading of this character in a footnote.<sup>169</sup> This is significant as this letter, or the word meaning 'brother' as Paranavitana reads it, is crucial to the whole interpretation.

The identifications that Paranavitana makes would also imply that Kassapa V was in a position to appoint one of his sons to rule over a South East Asian kingdom. If this were so, it is not likely that the *Cūlavamsa* would have dismissed the incident with a single stanza. The chronicler considered Kassapa V to be a model king, compared him to Kuvera and Brhaspati and devoted ten strophes to a description of the ill-fated expedition he sent to India to support a Pāṇḍya king against the Coḷas. If Mahinda IV did indeed succeed in defeating the forces of the Cambodian king and winning for the king of Śrī Vijaya the throne he had lost, as it is claimed in the *Sundarivṛttānta*, it is difficult to imagine why the author of the *Cūlavamsa*, who was by no means biased against him, failed to mention this episode which should have appeared to him as one of the most glorious in the annals of the Island.

The genealogical information in the *Sundarivṛttānta*, when collated with the information in the *Cūlavamsa* and the Sinhalese inscriptions, reveals discrepancies which, too, throw doubt on the identifications that Paranavitana has made. The following genealogical table could be prepared from the information in these sources:

<sup>169</sup> *Ceylon and Malaysia*, p. 23, n.80.



There are two hypotheses about the descent of Mahinda IV. Some believe that he was a son of Kassapa V while others hold that he was a son of Udaya III. It should be clear from this table that whichever hypothesis is accepted, Sundarī should have lived about four generations after Mahinda IV. Hence the possibility of a marriage between them or of their having been contemporaries does not seem likely.

The identification of Sundarī with the Kalinga queen of Mahinda IV is based on the assumption, proved to be unwarranted in the earlier part of this essay, that Kalinga in the *Cūlavamsa* denotes a Malaysian region. Objections may be raised against this identification on other grounds as well. Parānavitana himself seems to have been aware of these difficulties though he does not specifically say so. In a pillar inscription from Polonnaruva, a certain Mahārāja Sirisaṅgbo refers to himself as a son of King Mihind and his queen Saṅgā and also says that he was 'the pinnacle of the Kalinga clan' (*kaliṅgu kulakot*)<sup>170</sup>. Parānavitana, who edited this inscription, identified Mahārāja Sirisaṅgbo with Mahinda V, the son of Mahinda IV. It is evident from this inscription that the mother of Mahinda V, through whom he claimed descent from the Kalinga family,

170. *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. IV, p. 64, ll.A18-19.

was Saṅgā (Saṅghā) and in the circumstances it would not be possible to identify the Kalinga queen of Mahinda IV with the princess about whom the *Sundarivṛttānta* is said to have been written.

To get over this difficulty, Paranavitana adopts a new line of interpretation. He suggests that the term *kaliṅgu kulakot* "is more likely to have referred to Mahinda IV himself, than to his son Mahinda V." In support of this suggestion he points out that Udaya IV, the maternal uncle of Mahinda IV, refers to his mother as *Samudagon*. The term *Samuda*, Paranavitana argues, is derived from *Samudra*, a name for Sumatra. On the basis of this interpretation, Paranavitana suggests that Udaya IV was born of a princess from Sumatra. If this line of argument is accepted, both Udaya IV and Mahinda IV would be connected through matrilineal descent with the royal family of Sumatra.

However, there are, as in the case of the other arguments discussed earlier, serious difficulties about attributing the title *kaliṅgukulakot* in the Monnaruva inscription to Mahinda IV. In not a single of the numerous inscriptions of Mahinda IV does one find a reference to his belonging to the Kalinga clan. Nor has Udaya IV been described as such. It is in the Badulla inscription that Udaya IV mentions that *Samudagon biso* was his mother.<sup>171</sup> The term *gon biso rādna*, like in the case of *gon rājna* in another contemporary record, seems to denote the chief of a clan.<sup>172</sup> *Samuda*, like *Dev*, was more probably a personal name, derived from Sanskrit *Samudra*, rather than a term indicating the country of origin. The name *Samuda* is too flimsy a piece of evidence to postulate a marriage alliance between the ruling houses of Sumatra and Ceylon.

Paranavitana presents evidence from another work he claims to have discovered recently, the *Paramparāpustaka*, which, if accepted, would radically alter our understanding of the history of the period between the reigns of Mahinda V and Vijayabāhu I. According to this work, princes of Ceylon worked in close collaboration with the kings of Śrī Vijaya to resist the power of the Coḷas whose rise brought about in its wake the loss of independence and sovereignty of both these kingdoms, at least for a short period. The two royal families were linked by marriage. A prince, *Rāja Māra*, identified by Paranavitana as *Māravijayottuṅgavarman*, married a daughter of Mahinda IV and Saṅgrāma and Samara who succeeded the throne subsequently were the issues of this union.

<sup>171</sup> *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. V, p. 185, II. A 7-8.  
<sup>172</sup> *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. III, p. 222 II. B4-5.

According to the *Paramparāpustaka*, king Saṅgrāma was in Ceylon at the time Rājendra captured Mahinda V. He went back to Suvarṇapura with Kāśyapa, the son of Sena V. Parānavitana surmises that he would have been involved in the defence of the Island against the Coḷas. As soon as he had expelled Tamil forces from Śrī Vijaya, Saṅgrāma was back in Ceylon. Kāśyapa had returned earlier and was living in the Malaya highlands. The Śrī Vijaya forces drove out the Coḷas from Ceylon. The Anurādhapura kingdom was given over to Kāśyapa, Mahātittha to his brother Sena, while the Rohaṇa kingdom was placed under Maudgal-yāyana, Kāśyapa's son. Evidently, the king of Śrī Vijaya came to Ceylon for a third time when Mahendra, son of Sena, was on the throne of Anurādhapura. The two monarchs collaborated in organizing a successful campaign to place their protege, Sundara Pāṇḍya, on the Pāṇḍya throne. The resultant alliance of the three kingdoms was cemented by marriage. Sundara Pāṇḍya married a daughter of Mahendra while the latter himself married a daughter of the king of Śrī Vijaya. According to Parānavitana, the 84th chapter of the *Paramparāpustaka* is devoted to a description of a signal achievement of this triple alliance. It reports how Mānābharaṇa, son of Samara, successfully collaborated with Mahendra and Sundara Pāṇḍya in supporting the claims of Kulottuṅga to the Coḷa throne.

The information in the *Paramparāpustaka* would imply that the Coḷas did not succeed in maintaining a hold over the kingdom of Rājaraṭṭha for seventy eight years<sup>173</sup> as hitherto believed. It also implies that the lands round the Bay of Bengal which were adversely affected by the rise of the Coḷa power united against the Coḷa so successfully that they placed their own nominee on the throne of the Coḷa kingdom. This impressive achievement was due to a large extent to the initiative of the king of Śrī Vijaya.

This information, however, contradicts the evidence in the chronicles of Ceylon. To the authors of the *Cūlavamsa* and the *Pūjāvaliya* as well as to the later chroniclers, Vijayabāhu I was the hero who liberated Ceylon after a sustained struggle lasting a long period. But the *Paramparāpustaka* would have us believe that Vijayabāhu became the king of the whole Island by deposing Kāśyapa long after the Coḷas had been driven away. The *Cūlavamsa* mentions an embassy that Vijayabāhu sent to the king of Burma and the subsequent arrival of ships from Burma

173. 992-1070 A.D. The *Pūjāvaliya*, however, refers to eighty-six years of Dravidian rule. *Pju.* p. 105.

bringing various items of merchandise to Rohana.<sup>174</sup> Paranavitana argues that the reference to the arrival of ships occurs in the chronicle because there had not been any such contact for a long period. On the basis of this assumption he surmises that the fleet of the Śrī Vijaya empire would have blockaded Vijayabāhu's territory in retaliation for his antagonism towards their allies in Rājarattha. Paranavitana proceeds to cite a reference in the *Paramparāpustaka* to a certain Sūryanārāyana, a prince from the Śrī Vijaya kingdom who unsuccessfully fought against Vijayabāhu and was later reconciled with him. Subsequently, this prince became the Mahārāja of Śrī Vijaya and gave his daughter Tilokasundarī in marriage to Vijayabāhu. Paranavitana identifies this princess with Tilokasundarī mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* as the princess from Kaliṅga that Vijayabāhu espoused.<sup>175</sup> Needless to say, the reference in the chronicle to ships from Burma is too flimsy a basis for the conclusion that Paranavitana draws. The problem of Kaliṅga has been discussed earlier. It should suffice to point out here that the evidence in both the epigraphical sources and the chronicles point to the presence of a number of independent chieftains prior to the accession of Vijayabāhu. Hence it would be difficult to explain why Mahendra, the father of Kāśyapa, was not able to suppress these refractory elements and bring the whole Island under his firm authority if he was powerful enough to launch invasions to India and place his nominees on the thrones of the Pāṇḍya and Coḷa kingdoms.

In not one of his many inscriptions does Kulottuṅga Coḷa refer to any aid he received from the Śrī Vijaya, Pāṇḍya or the Sinhalese rulers to win the Coḷa throne. Nor do we find evidence in the records of the Pāṇḍya kingdom or of the Malaysian region to corroborate the information that Paranavitana presents. Paranavitana believes that certain inscriptions from Abhayagiri and Mihintale previously assigned to Mahinda IV were issued by Mahendra, the father of Kāśyapa. But, even if this identification is accepted, these records do not contain information on the events under consideration, at least in those portions where the readings are verifiable. Paranavitana claims that the 'hospital inscription' at Mādirigiriya contains information corroborating the *Paramparāpustaka*. Unfortunately, the text of the inscription has not been published and the record, like the Abhayagiri inscription discussed earlier, seems to be too weathered to yield a reliable continuous reading.

174. *Cv.* 58.8-9.

175. *Cv.* 59. 29-30.

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Finally, it has to be pointed out that the *Sundarivṛttānta* and the *Paramparāpustaka*, which Parānavitana uses as the main sources to draw important conclusions relating to the period under discussion, are not authenticated documents. The information contained therein concerns what should have been considered important events in the history of South and South East Asia; but it does not find corroboration in the annals or the inscriptional sources of India or South East Asia. It has been demonstrated in the preceding paragraphs that the supporting evidence Parānavitana marshals from local sources is based on identifications which do not appear to be warranted. And as such, these two works will have to be considered sources of doubtful historical value.

### IV

Parānavitana devotes the seventh and eighth chapters of *Ceylon and Malaysia* to an attempt to demonstrate the significance of relations between the two regions during the period between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. In the seventh chapter he puts forward two bold hypotheses. Firstly, he attributes the foundation<sup>176</sup> of the kingdom of Jaffna to a line of Jāvaka kings. Many would agree with Parānavitana when he states that certain toponyms from the Jaffna Peninsula and the coastal districts to the south of it up to about Mannar in the west and Mullativu in the east point to a close and long-lasting association with the Jāvakas. It is possible that some of them represent Malaysian settlements dating from the time of Candabhānu, though some others may have to be traced to a later period. They would not necessarily indicate, however, that Malaysians were responsible for the establishment of the first independent kingdom of Jaffna.

Legends in works like the *Yālpāṇa-vaipava-mālai*, written in the eighteenth century, and three poetical works, the *Takcina-kailāṣa-purāṇam*, *Vaiyāpāṭal* and the *Kailāṣamālai*, which may date from a somewhat later period, attribute the foundation of the Tamil kingdom in Jaffna to Ukki-raciṅkan, an invader with the face of a lion and descended from a brother of Vijaya. Parānavitana follows Gnanaprakasam, Codrington and Rasānāyagam in attempting to find in these legends an allusion to the foundation of the Northern kingdom by Māgha.<sup>176</sup> But it is most doubtful that this collection of legends in late literary works, which contain such obviously gross inaccuracies as the location of the capital of the Nor-

176. S. Gnanaprakasam, 'Sources of the *Yālpāṇa-vaipava-mālai*', *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. VI, pp. 135-141; H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, 1924, p. 74; C. Rasānāyagam, *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 328ff.

thern kingdom in Ceṅkatakanakari (Senkaḍagalanuvāra, i.e. Kandy), is a credible source of information for the reconstruction of the early history of Jaffna. As Indrapala has pointed out after a thorough examination of the relevant sources,<sup>177</sup> this cycle of legends has to be considered more as a popular Tamil version of the Vijaya legends than as something which grew round the actual events concerning the foundation of the Jaffna kingdom.

Of course, the rejection of the identification of Māgha with the legendary figure in the Tamil literary works does not preclude the possibility that Māgha continued to rule in Northern Ceylon after he was defeated by Parākramabāhu II. For none of the chronicles which deal with this event states that he was killed. It remains, however, a mere possibility in the absence of any specific evidence. Further, Paranavitana's assumption that Māgha came from Malaysia is, as pointed out earlier, based on a questionable factual foundation. Hence, even if Māgha did indeed found a kingdom further North after his defeat by the Sinhalese, it would not imply that the kingdom of Jaffna had a Jāvaka origin.

In the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription issued in the eleventh year of his reign (1264), Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya refers to an invasion of Ceylon that he launched in response to an appeal made by a minister from Ceylon. He claims to have defeated one king and killed another during this invasion and to have given to "the son of the Jāvaka (*sāva(ka)n maindan*) the kingdom of Īlam formerly ruled by his father."<sup>178</sup> In an inscription issued in the previous year, this king claims to have captured "the crown and the crowned head of the Jāvaka".<sup>179</sup> Probably this reference is to the father of the prince who was nominated to the throne.

Paranavitana proposes to identify the Jāvaka with Māgha and cites this passage as evidence in support of his hypothesis on the origin of the Jaffna kingdom. Apart from the difficulty of accepting the assumption of the Jāvaka origin of Māgha, it has to be pointed out that the *Pūjāvāliya* and the *Cūlavāṃsa* separately mention a Jāvaka invasion, the second invasion of Candabhānu, which, as A. Liyanagamage has cogently reasoned out,

177. Karthigesu Indrapala, *Dravidian Settlements in Ceylon and the Beginnings of the Kingdom of Jaffna*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1965, pp. 407 ff.

178. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Śrī Vijaya, Candrabhānu and Vīra Pāṇḍya', *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land en Volkenkunde*, Vol. LXXVII, 1937, pp. 251-268.

179. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, Madras, 1916, No. 588.

has to be dated to a period between 1258 and 1262 A.D.<sup>180</sup> Thus it would be more reasonable to identify the Jāvaka king referred to in the records of 1263 and 1264 A.D., and not in the earlier records of Jaṭavarman, with Candabhānu than with Māgha whose defeat has been dated by Codrington to about 1247 and by Paranavitana himself to 1255 A.D.<sup>181</sup> The reason Paranavitana gives, i.e. that Candabhānu cannot be identified with the king mentioned in the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription as the latter is said to have ruled over Ceylon, would not be an insuperable obstacle against this identification. For Candabhānu had, according to the *Cūlavamsa*, established his authority in "Paḍi, Kurundi and other districts" before he tested his strength with the rulers of Daṁbadeṇiya.<sup>182</sup>

On considering the possibility of connecting the foundation of the Jaffna kingdom with the Jāvaka prince nominated to the throne by Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, it becomes further evident that there is no evidence in his inscriptions that the kingdom in question was situated in the Northern Peninsula. It is quite possible that it included the region round Anurādhapura which seems to have been outside the pale of the Daṁbadeṇiya kingdom. Further, even if it is conceded that the Jāvaka prince ruled over the Jaffna region, there is no evidence to testify to the continuation of rule by a dynasty founded by him. It is only in 1344, in the *Rehla* of Ibn Baṭṭuṭa, that the first definite reference to a kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula is found.<sup>183</sup> And this reference is to the dynasty of the Ārya Cakravarttis who came from South India. Hence the evidence available at present appears to be inadequate to warrant the hypothesis of the foundation of the Jaffna kingdom by a prince of Jāvaka origin.

The second hypothesis that Paranavitana puts forward, that the line of kings beginning with Vijayabāhu V (1333—1341) was a dynasty of Jāvaka extraction, is based mainly on the identification of *savulu*, a title attributed to this king as a term derived from Jāvaka. On the basis of this identification, Paranavitana proceeds to suggest that the collapse of the Daṁbadeṇiya dynasty was brought about by an invasion launched by the Jāvaka kings of Jaffna who placed Vijayabāhu V, a kinsman, on the throne of Kurunāgala. But as Paranavitana himself admits, the sources

180. Amaradasa Liyanagamage, *The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeṇiya*, Colombo, 1968, pp. 151-152.

181. H. W. Codrington, 'Notes on the Dambadeṇiya dynasty', *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. X, 1924, pp. 37-53, 88-99; *UHC* Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 620—621.

182. *Cv.* 88.64.

183. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Houan*, Madras, 1939, p. 269.

of this period are silent on the circumstances of the disappearance of the Daṁbadeniya dynasty. Neither is there evidence, as we pointed out earlier, to testify to the continuation in power of a Jāvaka dynasty in the north.

It is in the *Kāvyaśekhara* and the *Pārakumbāsīrita* that the title *savūlu* is assigned to Vijayabāhu V. This term occurs also in association with the names of several other individuals like Mārtiṅṇḍam-perumālun-vahansē in the Mādavala inscription of the third regnal year of Vikramabāhu III (1357—1374), Parākramabāhu VI in the *Parevisandesā* and the *Pārokumbāsīrita*, and Rājasimha I (1581—1593) in the *Sāvūlsandesā*.<sup>184</sup> In the last three works, these individuals are further said to have belonged to the Lāmānikula or the Lambakaṇṇa clan. In the *Pārakumbāsīrita*,<sup>185</sup> *savūlu* occurs in association with Daṁbadeniya. The *Rājaratnākara*, a sixteenth century chronicle, traces the origin of the term *savūlu* to the village where the descendants of the prince Sūryagot, one of the princes who accompanied the sacred Bo-tree, were said to have been sealed.<sup>186</sup> Writers like D. B. Jayatilaka have followed the explanation given in the last work in suggesting that *savūlu* should be identified with the name of the village where the family of Vijayabāhu V was settled before its ascension to regal power while others like Ratmalāne Dharmārāma have attempted to trace the etymological derivation of the term from the clan name Sākya.<sup>187</sup> It should be clear from the preceding discussion that the evidence available is insufficient to warrant a decision in favour of any one of these interpretations. Hence the third variant etymological explanation of the term that Paranavitana recommends is hardly adequate to prove his bold hypothesis.

In the eighth chapter of *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Paranavitana cites further evidence to support his claim that Parākramabāhu VI, another king who bore the title *savūlu* belonged to a family of Malayan extraction and also tries to prove that this king launched a successful invasion of the Malaysian regions. He adduces three main arguments in support of his first hypothesis. The father of Parākramabāhu is variously called Jayamāla, Jayamahālē or Jayamahālāna in the literary works of this period. Taking

184. *Ceylon and Malaysia*, p. 129; *Parevisandesā*, (ed. T. Sugatapala), Dehiyala, 1932, v. 28; *Pārokumbāsīrita*, (ed. Sri Charles de Silva), Colombo, 1954, vv. 27, 72; *Kāvyaśekhara*, (ed. R. Dharmārāma), Canto 15 v. 68; *Sāvūlsandesā*, (ed. R. Tennakon), Colombo, 1955, v. 68.

185. *savūlu lakala daṁbadeni pura*, v. 72.

186. *Rājaratnākara*, (ed. W. Saddhānanda), 1887, p. 57.

187. *Pārakumbāsīrita*, (ed. D. G. Abayagunaratna), Colombo, 1931, see Introduction by D. B. Jayatilaka, pp. v-vii; *Kāvyaśekhara*, p. 230.

the second part of this term to be derived from *malaya*, Paranavitana argues that the father of Parākramabāhu would have been a Malay prince who bore the personal name Jaya. The other three arguments are based on interpretations of terms and titles used to refer to Parākramabāhu. In the *Saddharmaratnākara*, written during the reign of his king, he is referred to as *jagatīpati candabhānu*.<sup>188</sup> Paranavitana points out that the title *candabhānu* was used by the kings of Ligor and suggests that its use by Parākramabāhu implies that he also was from Malaysia. The third argument that Paranavitana puts forward is based on a reference in the annals of the Ming dynasty to a captive Sinhalese prince called *Yeh-pa-nae-ni* who was released in 1411—12 A.D. As he is said to have subsequently ascended the throne under the name *Pu-la-ko-ma Ba-za: La-cha*, he can be identified with Parākramabāhu VI.<sup>189</sup> The name of the prince Paranavitana surmises was a transliteration of *yāpā-nāna*, meaning “lord of Java.”

Though the derivation of the terms *māla*, *mahalē* and *mahalāna* from *malaya* may seem a possibility from an etymological point of view, a examination of the contexts in which these terms occur in ancient Sinhalese texts makes it clear that they were used in a different sense. The *Pārakumbāsīrita*, which refers to the father of Parākramabāhu by the term *jayamahalāna*, mentions in an earlier context that this title was first conferred on prince Sumitta who accompanied the Bo-sapling when it was brought to Ceylon. It further adds that it was conferred as a hereditary title. And it is to this prince of the Lambakanna clan that the *Pārakumbāsīrita* traces the descent of Parākramabāhu.<sup>190</sup> The appointment of prince Sumitta to the post of *jayamahāsēnā* is also mentioned in two earlier texts—the *Mahābodhivaṃsaya* and the *Pūjāvaliya*. The first of these texts adds that, after the conferment of the title, Sumitta was placed in charge of the festivities connected with the sacred Bo-tree.<sup>191</sup>

The term *jayamahalēnā* in the *Mahā Bodhivaṃsaya* was the Sinhalese rendering of *jayamahālekhaka* in the Pali original which is generally supposed to have been written in the tenth century.<sup>192</sup> Thus there is little

188. *Saddharmaratnākara*, ed. (Devananda), 1955, p. 536.

189. *JCBRAS*, Vol. XXIV, 1915-6, pp. 110—111.

190. *ekala eniriṇḍu sumit kumarun palaṇḍavā miṇivoṭṭunu pivituru—udula sat maṅgulātu piṭin pi vāḍama karavā puden visituru—nimala kula parapuren enalesa demin jayamahalāna tanaturu—vipula adan sālasī dumiṇḍun puda siriṭ karavanuva niraturu. Parakumbasīrita*, v. 11.

191. *Sinhala Bodhivaṃsaya*, (ed. Baddēgama Kīrti Śrī Dharmaratana), Vāligama, 1911 p. 192 *Pjv.* p. 84.

192. *Univ. of Cey. Hist. of Cey. Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 393.*

reason to consider the derivation for the term suggested by Paranavitana as acceptable. There is no mention of Sumitta or the conferment of this rank on him in the *Dīpavaṃsa* or the *Mahāvamsa*. Evidently, *jaya-mahalē* or *jayamahalāna* was the title held by a monastic official or a group of monastic officials entrusted with the task of supervising the performance of rituals pertaining to the sacred Bo-tree. It is possible that in a subsequent period they claimed to belong to the Kṣatriya caste as descendants of the prince Sumitta. The elevation of the dynasty of Parākramabāhu to supreme power in the Island probably marks the culmination of their rise in status and power.

The other two arguments of Paranavitana are even less substantial. Even if the identification of *Yeh-pa-nac-na* as a Chinese rendering of *yāpā-nāna* is accepted, it does not necessarily prove the contention that Parākramabāhu was a prince of Malay extraction. The term *yāpā* occurs in the Gaḍalādeniya inscription of Senāsammata Vikramabāhu in the sense of 'heir-apparent'.<sup>193</sup> As regards the term *candabhānu*, it is noteworthy that it occurs only in the *Saddharmaratnākara*. One has to keep in mind the possibility that the author who composed this strophe used it in the sense of 'resplendent like the moon', before concluding that it is an allusion to the Malay extraction of the princes who were the forbears of Parākramabāhu.

The *Vṛttaratnākaraṇḍikā* written by Rāmacandra, a Brahmin from Bengal who lived in Ceylon during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, cites verses composed in praise of this king as examples to illustrate various metres. In two of these strophes, Parākramabāhu is addressed as *kusumapurapati* ('lord of Kusumapura' i.e. Pāṭalīputra) and *magadhapati* ('lord of Magadha').<sup>194</sup> In an earlier instance, the phrase *kusumapura-nagaravara-vīracita-padaṃ* is used to refer to the king.<sup>195</sup> Paranavitana translates it as "he who has set up his abode at the excellent city of Kusumapura." The phrase is also capable of some other interpretations: "he who has graced the excellent city of Kusumapura with his footsteps i.e. he who has visited Kusumapura" or "he who has established his sway over Kusumapura". One could be fairly certain that the description in these eulogistic verses does not mean actual overlordship over the Magadha area which, by this time, had been brought under the kingdom of Bengal and was being ruled by a series of Muslim kings defying the authority of Delhi.

193. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. IV, p. 12.

194. *Vṛttaratnākara* and its *Pañcikā*, (ed. C. A. Silakkhandā), Bombay, 1903, pp. 66, 72.

195. *Ibid.* p. 26.

Further, terms like Kusumapura and Magadha had gone out of vogue as names of centres and regions of political organization. Of course, Rāmacandra who came from Bengal would have been quite aware of this situation when he wrote the *Pañcikā*. Most probably, this claim was based on the information that the poet gives when he refers to Jayamāla, the father of Parākramabāhu, as a descendant of the line of Dharmāśoka.<sup>196</sup>

Paranavitana attempts to identify Magadha as an area in the Malay Peninsula and Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra as a city therein, implying that Parākramabāhu claimed suzerainty over a Malaysian region. To accept this hypothesis, one will have to be satisfied that a region and a city bearing these names existed in Malaysia and that Parākramabāhu had won a claim to that area through conquest or through some other means.

In the account of a mission sent to Siam by the king of Kandy in 1750, Vilbāgedara Mudiyaṅsē, who was a member of this mission, refers to the interruption of their return journey as a result of shipwreck. They were forced to land in the district of Muvan Lakhon, within the Siamese kingdom, and spend some days at a city called Pāṭaliputra.<sup>197</sup> Paranavitana identifies Muvan Lakhon with Nakhon Si Tammarat in Ligor. He suggests that it was this city that Vilbāgedara refers to as Pāṭaliputra and is mentioned as Kusumapura in the *Pañcikā*. He further surmises that the region round the city would have been called Magadha after the Indian parallel.

The weakness of this argument is that the adoption of the name of an Indian city does not necessarily imply that the region round the city would also have been named after the region in which the Indian city was situated. Moreover, there is no evidence at all to indicate that Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja or Nakhon Si Tammarat was ever known as Pāṭaliputra. This city seems to have preserved its ancient name right up to the modern times. Another city known as Muang Lakhon, is found in the north-eastern regions of Thailand, close to the borders of Laos. It is true that in the Thai language the term *lakhon* is sometimes found to be interchangeable with *nakhon*, which means 'city'. *Muang*, too, denotes 'city'. But this does not mean that Muang Lakhon could easily be identified with Nakhon Si Tammarat. These two terms are found as elements in the names of several other Thai cities. Muang Nakhon

196. *dharmāśoka nṛpanvaye jayamālo mahīpatih—tasya putraḥ prajāśrīye parākramabhujo bhavati*

197. *Cey. Jnl. of Hist. and Soc. Studies*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1959, pp. 67-69.

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Phnom and Muang Nakhon Sawan are two such names preserved up to modern times. There is yet another fact which makes it difficult to accept Paranavitana's identification. In his account of the mission, Vibhagedāra mentions that he passed the Kingdom of Kāmbōja on his way to Siam and also on his way back to Ceylon. On his outward journey he reached Kāmbōja after he left Patani which could easily be identified with the area in the Malay Peninsula known by this name. Muvan (or Muang) was situated on the way between Kāmbōja and Siam. This would imply that the ship in which Vibhagedāra travelled followed the Malayan coast up to the cape of Patani and turned north-east to reach the kingdom of Kāmbōja and sailed along the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siam to arrive at the mouth of the river Me-nam.<sup>198</sup> The description of the return journey makes it clearer that this was the route that the ship followed. After leaving the estuary of Me-nam, the ship reached Bankasōi which could be identified with Bang-pa-soi, situated at the mouth of the river Bang-pa-kung, to the east of the river Me-nam. Subsequently, passing Ponnadaliyam, which may be identified with the Cape of Liam,<sup>199</sup> and Kāmbōja, Vibhagedāra reached Pulu Timun and Pulu Pisan which have been rightly identified by P. E. E. Fernando as the islands of Timan and Pisang off the eastern coast of Johore.<sup>200</sup> It may be relevant to mention here that John Crawfurd, the English envoy sent to the Siamese court in the third decade of the nineteenth century, followed a similar route after touching at the island of Pulo Ubi, situated close to the Cambodian coast.<sup>201</sup> Muang Lakhon should have been therefore, a place which was situated on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siam rather than in the Malay Peninsula. It would thus appear that the evidence marshalled by Paranavitana is inadequate to locate Magadha or Kusumapura in the Malay Peninsula.

The *Pārakumbāsirita*, an eulogy on Parākramabāhu written during his reign, uses the passage *gajapati hayapati narapati rajumedi māñḍa gat kaṭāra* to describe him. It has generally been taken to mean: "(Parākramabāhu was like) a container filled with the extract obtained by crushing the

198. P.E.E. Fernando suggests that Vibhagedāra would have seen the coast of Cambodia while sailing along the Malayan coast. But this is unlikely as the distance between the two coasts is more than 275 statute miles at Nakhon Si Tammarat and about 325 at Patani.

199. The letters *na* and *ta* are often mistaken for each other in Sinhalese writing. And, if the original form of this name was Pontadaliyam, one can easily see in it an attempt to transliterate the French term *Pointe de Liam*, meaning the 'headland' or the 'cape' of Liam. For the location of Liam in charts of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, see L. Fournereau, *op.cit.*, pls. ix, x, xiii xiv, xv.

200. *Ceylon Jnl. of Hist. and Soc. Studies*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1959, pp. 77 n.43; 83 n.168.

201. John Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-general of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochinchina; Exhibiting a View of the Actual State of those Kingdoms*, London, 1830, Vol. I, p. 91.

arrogance of kings who are lords of elephants, horses and men.”<sup>202</sup> Paranavitana proposes a different interpretation: “He who, after having crushed the arrogance of kings who are lords of elephants, lords of horses and lords of men, captured Kaṭāra.” He identifies Kaṭāra with Kaṭāha (Kedah) and cites this statement as evidence to substantiate his hypothesis that Parākramabāhu had conquered a region in the Malay Peninsula. Paranavitana draws further evidence from the Ming annals which give an account of a mission from Ceylon sent to the Chinese court in a year which falls within the reign of Parākramabāhu. These annals refer to the Sinhalese king by the phrase *Ko-li-sheng-hsia-la-shi-li-pa-chiao-la-jo*.<sup>203</sup> Paranavitana interprets it as a rendering into Chinese of the Sinhalese title *Kāliṅga-siṃhala-śrīvijaya-rāja* and surmises that Parākramabāhu assumed the title Śrī Vijaya Rāja after his conquest of Kedah. It is also possible, he further suggests, that even his predecessors “claimed to be titular sovereigns of Śrī Vijaya, and Parākramabāhu’s capture of Kaṭāha was undertaken to justify the claim.”

Before we proceed to examine the historical information from South East Asia which would enable us to test the hypothesis that Paranavitana has put forward, it would be relevant to point out that if Parākramabāhu launched a successful invasion to Kedah, it is but to be expected that it would have been assigned much more prominence in the works of the court panegyrists than the mere passing reference in a strophe in the *Pāra-kumbāsīrita*. This work devotes eight strophes in an earlier context specifically to describe the military exploits of Parākramabāhu. Here, the author narrates the victories he scored over the kings of the Vanni, Jotiyasiṭu, the prince of Gampala, the Āryacakravarti, the Karṇṇāta ruler and the Mālarāvar of South India.<sup>204</sup> There is no mention of an expedition to Malaysia in this context. Nor is such an exploit referred to in any of the other works containing a description of this reign.<sup>205</sup> Hence it does not seem very advisable to base such an important conclusion, as Paranavitana has done, on a passage which admits of variant interpretations.

202. *gajapati hayapati narapati rajunedī māñḍa ga kaṭāra—bijabala yasa vaturu uturu kaḷa sakralimū piṭṭāra—rajanīya munibaṇa viyaraṇa kav naḷu sarasavi koṭāra—vājañbi meraju tuti puvataṛa kapata rāṇa uru kaṭāra. Pāra-kumbāsīrita v. 73.*

203. *JCBRAS*, Vol. XXIV, 1915-6, p. 111.

204. *Pāra-kumbāsīrita* vv. 46-53.

205. See for instance the description of the victories of Parākramabāhu VI in the *Gīṛāsandesā* (ed. M. Kumāraṇatunga, 1933, vv. 137-150) which substantiates the account in the *Pāra-kumbāsīrita* but contains no mention of an expedition to the Malaysian regions.

Similar doubts could be raised even about the interpretation Parānavitana has suggested for the title in the *Ming-shih*. The key term that Parānavitana uses for his argument is represented by the four characters *shi-li-pa-chiao* 昔利把交 which is taken to represent Śrī Vijaya. But the Chinese maintained very close relations with the empire of Śrī Vijaya and the chroniclers at the Imperial Court as well as other Chinese scholars used certain specific characters to denote Śrī Vijaya. Earlier Chinese writings like the works of I-tsing and Houei-je use the appellation *Che-li-fo-che* 尸利佛逝 or its shortened form *Fo-che* 佛逝 while the later chronicles like the *Sung-shih* and the *Ming-shih*, the writings of Chao-ju-kua (1225), and particularly of Ma-Houan (1425—32:) who lived in the period under discussion consistently use the term *San-fo-ts'i* 三佛齊.<sup>206</sup> It is most doubtful that the *Ming-shih* would have used two variant terms, different from each other in the number of characters and in their phonetic value, to denote the same region. Hence the attempt of Parānavitana to attribute the title Śrī Vijaya Rāja to Parākramabāhu does not seem to be supported by the Chinese evidence he cites.

Elsewhere, Parānavitana has published certain records which are germane to the problem under discussion. These records which contain the genealogies of Candravatī, the daughter of Parākramabāhu VI, and her consort, Sundara Pāṇḍya, are according to Parānavitana, indited on a slab from Bōlāna in the Hambantōta district which was originally set up in the ninth or the tenth century and bears an edict issued by a prince who ruled over Rohaṇa.<sup>207</sup> As pointed out earlier, the writing containing this information is executed in "small characters of varying size." Some characters are "minute" and "in some places, writing in letters of one size is engraved over that in another size and type" According to Parānavitana, the contents of this inscription are repeated in the *inter-linear writing* on twelve other epigraphs. Some of these are the very same inscriptions from which Parānavitana obtained information on relations with Malaysia in the Anurādhapura period.

206. See *Journal Asiatique*, Series 11, Vol. XX, 1922, pp. 4-6, 8, 15, 24, 32. The author is indebted to Mr. Mahinda Werake for his obliging assistance in verifying the Chinese references and to Dr. D. J. Kalupahana for drawing the Chinese characters which appear on this page.

207. *UCR*, Vol. XXI, 1963, pp. 103-137.

The pedigrees in the Bōlāna inscription trace the descent of Parākramabāhu VI through his maternal grand-mother to Parākramabāhu V and Vijayabāhu V. Vijāyabāhu V is mentioned as a son of Candrabhānu Mahārāja. Jayamāla, the maternal grandfather of Parākramabāhu VI, was a son of Dharmāśoka Mahārāja, who, too, was descended from Candrabhānu Mahārāja through another branch of the family. Further, Jayamāla (II), father of Parākramabāhu VI, was also a descendant of Candrabhānu through a third branch of the family.

According to the genealogical information in these records, Vijayabāhu V, who ruled from Hastigiripura (Kurunāgala) after defeating Parākramabāhu IV, had "obtained the sovereignty of Jāva" before he came to Ceylon. His son, Parākramabāhu V, too, spent his last days in the kingdom of Jāva. Dharmāśoka and Jayamāla, great-grandfather and grandfather of Parākramabāhu VI, were rulers of Suvarṇapūra while Jayamāla (II), the father of Parākramabāhu VI, is said to have reigned in Jāva.

This information indicates that some of the forebears of Parākramabāhu VI were kings of Jāva or Suvarṇapūra while others maintained very close relations with these regions. Genealogical information on Candrabhānu traces this relationship to a much earlier period. Candrabhānu Mahārāja is said to have been the son of Gaṇḍagopāla Mahārāja who was appointed to the throne of Subhapaṭṭana by his father Māgha. Paranavitana points out that Candrabhānu of this record should be identified as distinct from the Jāvaka invader of the same name. It appears that both Gaṇḍagopāla and Candrabhānu were kings of Subhapaṭṭana, which is identified by Paranavitana as the Jaffna Peninsula.

Further, the genealogy of Māgha, who is described as a king from Suvarṇapūra, is traced back to a certain Jayagopa Mahārāja, identified by Paranavitana as the same king who is mentioned as the father of Nissaṅkamalla in the latter's inscriptions, and from him to kings of Śrī Vijaya like Māravijayottuṅga. The descent of these kings is traced back through Siddhayātra and Kāśyapa to Mahānāga, the brother of Devānāmpiyatissa. The interlinear writings on another inscription from Aturupolayagama are said to contain additional information on Nissaṅkamalla.<sup>208</sup> According to Paranavitana, this record states that Nissaṅkamalla came to Ceylon from Suvarṇapūra. Even his death is said to have taken place at Suvarṇapūra, where he had gone to give his daughter in marriage to Sūryyanārāyana, the Mahārāja ruling at the time.

<sup>208</sup> *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. V, Pt. 3, 1965, pp. 440-443.

Paranavitana states that an inscription from Rambāva bearing the same type of interlinear writing yields information on relations with Malaysia in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. According to this record, Parākramabāhu was living at Suvarṇṇapura before he was elevated to the Sinhalese throne by the Chinese emperor. Even after Parākramabāhu came to Ceylon, his son Purandara continued to live in the Jāvaka kingdom. The decision of Parākramabāhu to give his daughter in marriage to Sundara Pāṇḍya is said to have led to hostilities with Suvarṇṇapura. Parākramabāhu invaded this kingdom, defeated its ruler and dictated terms of peace to the effect that the defeated ruler should enter the monastic order at the Abhayagiri monastery in Anurādhapura. Paranavitana proposes to identify Suvarṇṇapura with Śrī Vijaya and cites the evidence from the *Ming-shih* and the *Pārakumbāsīrita* discussed earlier to support his contention that the kingdom of Śrī Vijaya had been successfully invaded by Parākramabāhu.

It should be evident from the preceding account that Paranavitana's reading of the interlinear writing on the inscriptions he has discovered corroborate the hypotheses he puts forward in his *Ceylon and Malaysia* on a number of crucial points: the foundation of the dynasty of Śrī Vijaya by a prince of the Sinhalese royal line; the Malaysian origin of both Nissankamalla and Māgha; the foundation of the kingdom of Jaffna by Māgha; the relationship between the Savuḷu dynasty and the ruling house of Jaffna; the descent of Parākramabāhu VI from a Malaysian ruling family and his successful invasion of the Śrī Vijaya kingdom. The text of the interlinear writings on the Aturupolayagama inscription was published in 1965 in the third part of fifth volume of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* and the genealogical information in the Bōlāna and Rambāva inscriptions appeared in the number of the *University of Ceylon Review* for October, 1963, published in August, 1965. Hence it is rather surprising that Paranavitana does not draw on the information in these three sources for his *Ceylon and Malaysia* which was published only in the following year.

It is not likely that this omission was dictated by a reluctance to reiterate what had been published elsewhere. For some of the chapters in *Ceylon and Malaysia* are *verbatim* reproductions of parts of articles which Paranavitana had earlier published. If, on the other hand, the reasons for this omission were doubts about the authenticity of these records and the validity of the information they contain, such doubts seem to be quite

Justified. Apart from the 'eccentric' features of these records and the problems of verification they present, there are other difficulties which raise doubts about the information they contain. It is the region called Suvarṇapūra mentioned in these records that Paranavitana indentifies as a reference to the Śrī Vijaya empire. The term Suvarṇapūra occurs in connection with Śrī Vijaya only once. This is in a Nepali manuscript datable in the tenth or the eleventh century. The legend below a miniature painting in this manuscript reads as follows: *suvarṇapūre śrīvijaya-pūre lokanāthah*, "Lokanātha of the city of Śrī Vijaya in the city of Suvarṇa."<sup>209</sup> Obviously, Suvarṇapūra in this context is, as has generally been accepted, a mistake for Suvarṇadvīpa, the name by which the island of Sumatra was known. There is no evidence in Chinese, Malay-ian or any other Indian sources to suggest that Sumatra was known by the term Suvarṇapūra.

Even if this identification and the readings that Paranavitana published are accepted, the credibility of their contents appears questionable when checked against known facts about the history of South East Asia. The information in the Aturupolayagama inscription contradicts the evidence from the Leyden grant, confirmed also by Chinese sources, that the father and predecessor of Māravijayottuṅga was Cūlāmaṇivarma.<sup>210</sup> Another reason which raises doubts about the accuracy of the information in this inscription is the absence of any direct reference to the connection with Śrī Vijaya or the Śailendra vaṃśa in the inscriptions of Nissāṅkamalla. For Nissāṅkamalla was hardly a person who would have been reticent about his relationship with the leading royal family of Malaysia if there was any basis for such a claim. It has also to be pointed out that, if this identification is accepted, Kaliṅga will have to be located in the region round the Jambi Valley in Sumatra, and not in the Malay Peninsula as Paranavitana suggested in an earlier context.

The records of the Śailendra house of Śrī Vijaya do not contain even an allusion to a relationship with the Sinhalese royal family. On the other hand they trace the origin of the dynasty to a Śailendra prince called Bālaputra, son of Samarāgravira, the ruler of Java. Evidently, this prince set himself up as ruler in Sumatra after he was expelled from Java by another Javanese prince sometime round 856 A.D.<sup>211</sup> It would thus appear that

209. A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1900, p. 193; Nepali MS No. ADD 1643 of the University of Cambridge, Miniature No. 23.

210. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 242 ll. 81-82.; *Journal Asiatique*, Series 11, Vol. XX, 1922, p. 19; *Les états...* pp. 259-260.

211. See J. G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia*, 1950, Vol. I, pp. 99-100, 107-110.; Vol. II, pp. 294-7.

the information from records issued not long after the foundation of the Śrī Vijaya empire contradicts the information from the interlinear writings of the Bōlāna and other inscriptions.

The ancient kingdom of Śrī Vijaya was very much on the decline by the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is evident from the writings of Odoric de Perdonone that by 1321 Muslim principalities like Lamori (Achen) and Sumoltra were ruling over the northern parts of Sumatra.<sup>212</sup> Even the southern parts of Sumatra did not remain under the sole control of Śrī Vijaya. In his account written in 1450, Wang Ta Yuan refers to a kingdom called Kieou-kiang in the Palembang region as distinct from San-fo-t' si which had been restricted to the area round the Jambi Valley.<sup>213</sup> The powerful kingdom of Ayuthia laid claim to suzerainty over the Malay Peninsula. But by 1380, the principalities of Kedah and Pase were being ruled by the house of Barubha(?), another of the Muslim ruling families which came into prominence during this period.<sup>214</sup> Evidently, political power over two kingdoms on either side of the Straits of Malacca gave the Bharubhas the control over the trading routes through the Straits on which the prosperity of the Śrī Vijaya empire had been largely dependent. Further, the kingdom of Kedah maintained its control over the tin producing tracts of South-western Malaya till its conquest by Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca, sometime after 1459.<sup>215</sup>

On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the Majapahit empire based in Java which had, by this time, become one of the most powerful political forces in South East Asia, succeeded in bringing the declining kingdom of Śrī Vijaya under its political control. The inscription of Padang Rocho found in the Jambi Valley has been cited as tangible proof by most scholars for the conquest of Sumatra by the Javanese.<sup>216</sup> The Javanese chronicle *Nāgarakērtāgama* written in 1365 refers to Jambi, Palembang and other kingdoms of Sumatra as dependencies of the Majapahit empire.<sup>217</sup> The annals of the Ming dynasty provide more details on the fortunes of the Śrī Vijaya kingdom. According to these records, the

212. H. Cordier, *Les voyages en Asie au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle de bienheureux frere Odoric de Perdonone*, pp. 136, 153.

213. *Journal Asiatique*, 1922, pp. 30-32.

214. See W. F. Stutterheim, 'A Malay Sha'ir in Old-Sumatran Characters of 1380 A.D.' *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XIV, 1936, pp. 268-279.

215. Tome Pires, *The Suma Orientalis*, Vol. I, p. 108; Vol. II, p. 248.

216. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of Śrī Vijaya*, Madras, 1949, pp. 95-96, *Les états...* p. 367.

217. *The Nāgara-Kērtāgama*, Vol. III, p. 16.

territory originally occupied by this kingdom had been divided by 1373 A.D. into three principalities. In 1377, Ma-na-tcho Wou-li, the ruler of one of these principalities, sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor for authorisation to use the old title 'king of San-fo-t' si (Śrī Vijaya)'. This was granted by the Chinese emperor to the irritation of the king of Java who had the Chinese envoys assassinated in revenge. The Chinese emperor did not take any measures to punish the Javanese king. The chronicler explains that the king of Java had previously conquered San-fo-t' si. Evidently, Wu-li's was an unsuccessful attempt to declare independence from Majapahit control. After this incident, contact between the Chinese court and this kingdom ceased and, according to the chronicler, "San-fo-t' si grew more and more poor". By the end of the fourteenth century, the kingdom had been completely subjugated by the Javanese who changed its name to Kieou-kiang, and the only resistance to Majapahit rule came from the Chinese inhabitants who rebelled under a series of leaders till about 1425. The Imperial Court maintained diplomatic contact with some of these leaders; but the Majapahit claim over Sumatra was, apparently, never questioned.<sup>218</sup> The *Ying Yai Cheng Lan* of Ma Houan, datable to a period between 1425 and 1432 A.D., states that Kieou-kiang, "previously called San-fo-t' si", was a dependency of Tchao-wa (Java).<sup>219</sup> The *Sing Tch'a Cheng Lan* of Fei Sin, too, confirms that this territory was under Javanese rule.<sup>220</sup> And according to the Ming records, embassies bearing tribute from the kingdom of Kieou-kiang became extremely rare after 1425. Presumably, the authority of the Majapahit dynasty over this area had been re-established in an effective manner.

The preceding discussion should clarify some of the basic difficulties involved in accepting the statements in the inscriptions that Paranavitana has published as well as his hypotheses based on them. The Kedah region had become independent by about 1380 and it would not be possible to identify 'the invasion of Śrī Vijaya' recorded in the Bōlāna inscription with the invasion of Kedah which according to Paranavitana, is recorded in the *Pārakumbāsirita*. It should also be clear that the recognition of a ruler as the king of Śrī Vijaya was a matter which could cause grave political complications. Therefore, it is most unlikely that the Chinese, with their experience of the earlier episode, would have assigned this title to Parākramabāhu VI in their official records. Further, the assumption that the old Śrī Vijaya dynasty continued in authority is not borne out by

218. *Journal Asiatique*, Series 11, Vol. XX, 1922, pp. 25-39.

219. *Ibid.* p. 32.

220. *Ibid.* p. 35.

evidence from within Sumatra or from the Chinese annals. It seems also questionable whether Parākramabāhu VI would have succeeded in defeating and overpowering the ruler of Śrī Vijaya, even if we presume that he attempted to do so and that there was such a ruler. He would have roused the wrath of the Majapahit empire; and this was something which even Cheng-ho had not wanted to do. And if he did succeed in doing so, it would have been one of the most brilliant political achievements of the Sinhalese ruling house. It is difficult to imagine that the eulogists who wrote many laudatory passages about Parākramabāhu would have forgotten to describe such an exploit in all its detail.

Moreover, it is not easy to explain away how the newly-discovered records used by Paranavitana, particularly the document from the Rambāva inscription, containing such valuable information, came to be inscribed in this unusual manner, in minute characters, one layer of writing over another. It is difficult to understand why new edicts were not set up to record the genealogies of the royal family and to mark what should have been the most significant exploit of the king. The inscriptions that Paranavitana uses, it is claimed, are from different parts of the Island. If, accordingly, the information they contain was widely known, it is difficult to explain why it did not enter the literary tradition. This is a particularly difficult problem because most literary works written during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI contain eulogistic accounts of his activities.. None of them, however, confirms the information in these records. Hence, as in the case of the *Sundarīvṛttānta* and the *Paramparāpustaka* discussed earlier, these records which do not admit of verification and are not corroborated by other evidence will have to be considered sources of dubious credibility for purposes of historical reconstruction.

## V

*Ceylon and Malaysia* and the eight other papers on the relations between these two regions are the latest writings to come out of the scholarly endeavours of Professor Paranavitana. They also represent the first noteworthy attempt on his part to venture beyond the spatial limits of his usual field of research. As an epigraphist equipped with a perspicacious mind and a thorough knowledge of South Asian source material, Paranavitana has made perhaps the most significant contribution to the understanding of the ancient culture of the Sinhalese. It is, therefore, most unfortunate and disconcerting that the works under consideration have failed to come up to the high standards of critical scholarship that he consistently maintained in his previous writings on epigraphy. Paranavitana

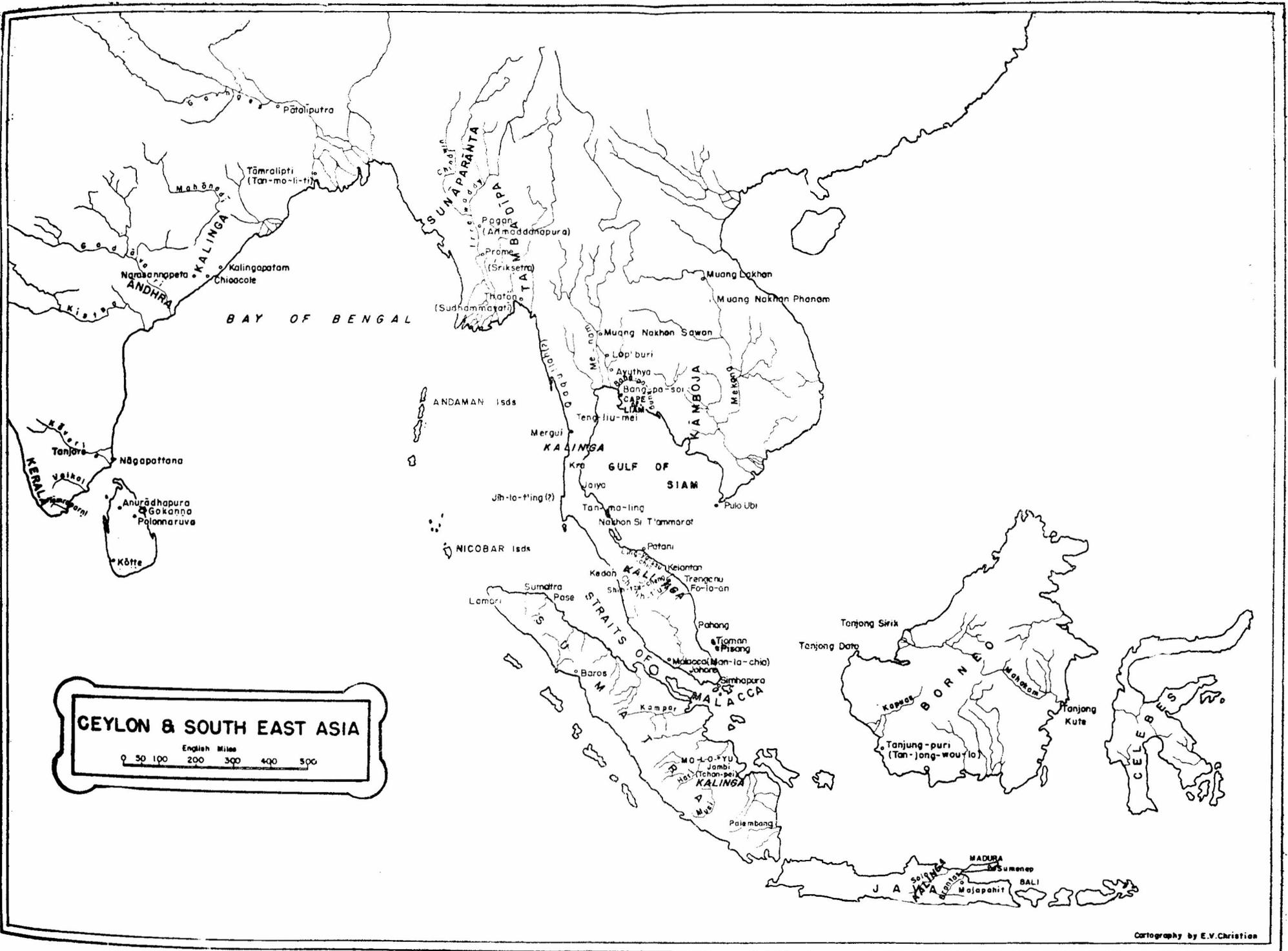
draws heavily on material from *interlinear writings* on inscriptions at least one example of which, as pointed out earlier, does not admit of verification. He has published the texts of these records without indicating doubtful and amended readings. He has drawn significant conclusions on the history of Malaysia. But he has not attempted to test the validity of his source material with the evidence available from that region.

It has been pointed out earlier in this paper that some of the hypotheses Paranavitana puts forward on the relations between Ceylon and Malaysia are based on variant interpretations of toponyms like Kalinga, Tambarat̃ṭha and Malaya. His attempts to locate these regions in Malaysia are hardly convincing. Nor could it be said that his arguments are consistent. As has been pointed out earlier in this paper, he located Kalinga in a number of different places ranging from the northern extremity of the Malay Peninsula to Java beyond in the south. Paranavitana's vivid imagination and erudition are masterfully employed in etymological interpretation; but this appears to be a disadvantage in historical research. He has brought into his historical writing an inordinate dependence on linguistic evidence without an adequate awareness of the dangers besetting the adoption of such methods for historical inquiry. It is not necessary to remind historians that the best linguistic and etymological evidence can be used only as a basis for further investigation. Few historians would go as far as Professor Paranavitana in drawing historical conclusions from evidence of this type.

Even though historians would hesitate to accept the conclusion that Paranavitana has drawn from his evidence, his writings are, nevertheless, most likely to wield a desirable effect on historiography in Ceylon by shaking students of ancient and mediaeval history off the Indo-centric approach which has become deeply ingrained in the local traditions of scholarship. Such a change in attitudes and ways of approach would perhaps help them to acquire a more balanced and comprehensive understanding of the factors and influences which were at work in the cultural development of Ceylon in the period before the advent of the Europeans.<sup>221</sup>

R. A. L. H. GUNAWARDANA

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Cartography by E.V.Christie

KALINGA indicates areas in South East Asia where Professor Paranavitana attempts to locate this region.