

BACKGROUND TO THE SRI VIJAYA STORY—PART III

S. Paranavitana, *Ceylon and Malaysia* (Lake House, Colombo, 1966), pp. 234, plates.

12. The First-Recorded Javakaraja

At one time I thought of the period in the Sri Vijaya Story that covered the 10th and 11th centuries as the Javaka Period, because the first Javakaraja to whose seat we can point with certainty appeared on the scene early in the 10th century. But the Arab writers had already used the Maharaja of Zabag in the middle of the previous century, and the name Javaka was still used in the 13th century after there had been a change of the ruling dynasty. So I now think of this period as the Second Sailendra Period because a South Indian inscription in the 11th century still used the name Sailendrawamsa. From this it can be inferred that while the Sailendras in Java had come to an end, the dynasty still continued in the Malay Peninsula.

The first Javakaraja appeared in some northern chronicles. He was a king of Nakorn Sri Thammaraj, and the chronicles called him by different names though the story told is the same. One chronicle called him Phya Jivaka, another Vararaja and a third Phra Chao Surajittraj. Phya Jivaka of course was the Javakaraja, and Vararaja, the great king, has the same meaning as Maharaja, while Surajitra was probably his personal name.

According to *Nai Mani Vallipotama*, who has studied the chronicles in depth, the year was about 900 A.D. The king of Hariphunchai (old Lamphun in the north) was Phya Pokaraj (the chronicles call him variously Trapok, Atrasatakaraj and Vatratakaraj); and he decided to attack Lawo (old Lopburi in the Central Plain). He came down the Mae Ping river with his army but the king of Lawo, Ujjaitachakravatti by name (who from now on will be called Chakravatti for short) knew of the impending attack and moved out with his army to defend his territory at the border.

Meanwhile Vararaja of Nakorn (Javakaraja), when he heard that Lawo and Hariphunchai were fighting, came up with his army and

navy, entered Lawo while Chakravatti was in the field; then followed him to the border where the two armies were facing one another, and drove them both off. He re-entered Lawo and worshipped the Lares and Penates of the city, as well as the 'portrait of his mother'.

In between, the armies of Lawo and Hariphuchai made a race for Lamphun. The Lawo army entered the city first and was able to defend it against the Hariphunchai army's attacks. In this way Pokaraj became ex-king of Hariphunchai. The year was 903 A.D.

The Javakaraja evidently returned to Nakorn Sri Thammaraj, leaving a son called *Phya* Pana Kosol Khambhojraj, or Burapa Kosol Khambhoj, as king of Lawo. Three years later *Phya* Khambhoj moved up with his army to attack Hariphunchai and was badly mauled for his pains. In that same year (906) Chakravatti died and was succeeded by his son *Phya* Kamol who ruled for 20 years.

In this period the name of present-day Lopburi was changed from Lawo (Lawarath, Lawaburi) to Burapa Kosol Khambhoj Nakorn or Khambhojnakorn for short, after the name of the Javakaraja's son whom he left as king of Lawo. Khambhojnakorn will enter the story again in the next half century, and this name should not be confused with Kambuja in present-day Cambodia. Other Thai chronicles also have a Lankadipa Khamboj Visaya (? Khamboja-Sri Vijaya) and this referred to Nakorn Sri Thammaraj.

Another story about the Javakaraja is told by Abu Zaid Hasan, an Arab who was writing about 916 A.D. According to the story, one day a rash, young king of Kambuja expressed the wish that he would like to see the head of the Maharaja of Zabag brought to him on a salver. This remark finally got to the ears of the Maharaja, who promptly got his army ready from many isles and, sailing in a thousand ships, caught the Khmer king unawares. He had the king's head cut off and brought to him on a salver. The Maharaja then told the ministers to select a more satisfactory king, and after that he returned home.

According to one interpretation, the story, though given in some detail, is not a current account but a re-telling of some past history. Though the Khom inscriptions do not tell of the episode, the story is

generally accepted to have been true. Jayavarman II (802-50), who declared his independence from Java and built a new capital on Mount Mahendra, was thought to have been the new king set up in place of the one beheaded. Mr. Lawrence Palmer Briggs, in his *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, even managed to identify the Maharaja's victim as Mahipativarman.*

This interpretation does not seem logical to me. Why should Abu Zaid Hason tell a story that was not contemporary or of very recent history which he himself might even have heard about when it happened? After all, his readers already had such marvellous reading matter as the Arabian Nights and Sinbad the Sailor, so why should they be interested in the past misfortunes of some foolish king of an obscure country? Hasan was writing about 916, in the time of the first recorded Javakaraja of Nakorn Sri Thammaraj, and there seems to be a ready-made King of Kambuja who fits the story very well. He was Yasovarman I, the builder of Yasodharapura. He came to the throne about 890, and no one seems to know when he died or how—the date is given as between 900 and 910 A.D. Let us now try Yasovarman for fit.

Yasovarman was young enough to have been rash—he reigned for only slightly longer than ten years. He was susceptible to fulsome praise—"In seeing him, the creator was astonished, and seemed to say to himself: 'Why did I create a rival for myself in this King?'" says one of his inscriptions, and while we know of no wars waged by Yasovarman, the cheering section roared: "In combat, looking at this king, whose brilliance was difficult to support, his proud enemies inclined their heads before him, like so many lotuses, saying: 'It is the Sun.'"—"The boastful lapdists," remarked Mr. Briggs of Yasovarman's inscriptions, "reached a new high in sycophantic fawning."

This sort of thing is enough to turn any man's head, and it turned Yasovarman's into thinking that he was a big boy too. After all, he founded Yasodharapura, didn't he? And Yasovarman had an inferiority complex concerning things Javaka. In his genealogy, he all but ignored his

* L. P. Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Ser. 41, 1, (1951).

claim to the throne through his father Indravarman I, or through Jayavarman II, the founder of the dynasty who had been taken to Java as a hostage: but had to build up an elaborate family tree, connecting himself through his mother with the ancient kings of Funan and Chenla. In short, Java got Yasovarman's goat, so he made his rash remarks about the Maharaja of Zabag's head, and off went his own noddle. The tail wagers, having laid their bets and said their say, couldn't very well continue eulogising a headless sponsor. So they kept quiet, and the episode related by Abu Zaid Hasan failed to appear in the Khmer inscriptions. This was only to be expected.

The king set up by the Maharaja's order was probably Yasovarman's brother, Jayavarman IV, who was ruling at Chok Gargyar. But Yasovarman had two sons, Harshvarman I and Isanvarman II, and it is not clear whether Jayavarman was acting as regent for his nephews, who at the time were minors, or the two brothers contended for the throne. All three seemed to have been ruling at the same time, and there was anarchy for many years. In the end, Jayavarman IV, whether with or without the assistance of the Javakaraja, outlasted his nephews and reigned till 941. By the end of the century, the last of Jayavarman II's dynasty, Jayavarman V, had come to the throne (968-1001).

The Maharaja of Zabag's tactics of suddenly appearing at the gate of a city are exactly the same as the tactics Phya Jivaka used to take Lawo in 903. Commonsense would indicate that the two were the same person, but I will leave this problem for future historians to decide.

In this period of the first recorded Javakaraja, or that of Kambhojnakorn, Mahayana Buddhism was probably introduced from the south to Lopburi in the land that had previously been Hinayana. This religion prospered and lasted nearly two centuries. The period also produced what we call Lopburi art. This is not a very satisfactory name. Lopburi had already produced Lawo art several centuries earlier. This was Hinayana art and it developed in the north, where it was called Hari-phunchai, or Lawo-Hariphunchai Art. Long after the Kambhoj period, in the period when Ayudhia was capital, Lopburi also produced a school of art that was easily distinguishable from that produced at the capital.

So when the name Lopburi Art is mentioned, care should be taken to distinguish which period is meant. The so-called Lopburi Art of Kambojnakorn was Mahayana and, counting votive tablets as well, the period produced literally hundreds of thousands of 'bronze' images. There is nothing like this in Cambodia, but then the art of the Khmer was mainly chiselled in stone, and stone produced an entirely different aesthetic expression from the method of modelling in clay (for casting by the *cire perdue* process) so that the art of Lopburi and Cambodia in the same period cannot possibly be called the same.

Before leaving the mainland, I will continue with a little more history. Early in the 11th century there was a change of dynasties when Suryavarman I (1001-1050) came to the throne of Kambuja. Suryavarman was the first Buddhist king of Kambuja since Jayavarman II two centuries earlier, but his dynasty, consisting of two sons, lasted only until 1080. It is now generally agreed that Suryavarman came from Lopburi to take the Kambujan throne and, as one of his inscriptions called him by a Malay title, he probably was of the Javaka race. According to *Nai Manit Vallipotama*, about the time when the Suryavarman dynasty came to an end in Kambuja, King Narai (Narayana) of Lopburi moved his capital to Ayodhia. Narai died soon after, there was anarchy for about a year, and then one *Phra Chao Sai Nam Pung* came to the throne. King followed king without a break until 1350, when Ayudhia was founded. The kings of Ayodhia played a part in the Sri Vijaya story later on.

Toponyms

San-fo-tsi sent an embassy in 903 A.D. San-fo-tsi is an old name that had been used long before Shih-li-fo-tsi (Chele-foche) in the 7th century. Shih-li-fo-tsi has been equated with Sri Vijaya, while of course San-fo-tsi could not have been the same name, though scholars generally accept it as such. Some writers, however, including *Nai Thammatas* of Chaiya and Professor Paranavitana, think the name should be Sam Bodhi. In its simplest form the argument can be stated somewhat like this: Sri Vijaya, meaning "the victory", is the shortened form of Sri or Sam Buddha Vijaya (the Buddha's Victory). As the victory was won over Mara, the evil one, and it was obtained when the Lord found Enlightenment

under the Bodhi tree, the name could be written in full as Sri or Sam Bodhi Mara Vijaya. The Chinese shorten this name to Sri or Sam (Bodhi Mara) Vijaya, whereas the shortened form should be Sam Bodhi (Mara Vijaya), because Sam Vijaya has no meaning. Unfortunately the name Sri or Sam Bodhi does not appear in any inscription, though it has been pointed out that Samara Vijayottunga's sign-manual was a Bodhi-leaf. I do not think this argument is very strong because Samara's father, Mara Vijayottunga, had a Makara as his sign-manual. The whole thing is very interesting and I think Paronavitana has quite a reasonable case when he stated that Sri Vijaya and Sri Bodhi were synonymous, but as the object of this paper is to try to get the dynastic history of Sri Vijaya into some semblance of order, it would defeat its own ends to go into philological details. So I will follow the general trend and use the name Sri Vijaya for both Shih-li-fo-tsi and San-fo-tsi, except that Shih-li-fo-tsi was the name of a city (located at Chaiya), while San-fo-tsi was the name of a country. The use of double-barrelled names in several sources would seem to support this idea, namely the Indians' Sri Visaya-Kadaram (Sri Vijaya-Kedah, covering both coasts of the Peninsula); the Arabs' Sri Buza-Kataha; a Nepalese record has Sri Vijaya-Suvarnapure (Suvarnapura meant Chaiya, though in some contexts it could also refer to the country): Paronavitana's sources have Suvarna-Java-pura; and even the Thai, in a modern usage, has Sri Vijaya-Chaiya. The main thing to remember is that, depending on the context, Sri Vijaya could mean Chaiya, the town, or Sri Vijaya, the country; and this country covered the Malaya Peninsula as well as Sumatra.

Another Chinese name that gives trouble is Ho-ling. This has been equated with Kalinga and located in Java. The name Kalinga also appears as a location in Orissa India. Recently M. Damais seems to have put forward convincing phonetical evidence that the Chinese Ho-ling cannot be equated with the Indian Kalinga.* He thinks Ho-ling should be equated with Walain; while Mr. Yutaka Iwamoto, also discarding Ho-ling as Kalinga, thinks it was the Chinese transliteration of Sailandra. Wonderful, isn't it, this Chinese word-game? So let us continue

* L.C. Damais, 'Etudes sino-indonésiennes, III. La transcription chinoise 訶陵 *Ho-ling* comme désignation de Java', *BEFEO*, 52, 1 (1964), 93-141.

with it. M.C. Chand, discarding the location of Ho-ling in Java on geographical grounds, equates the toponym with Tambralinga (Nakorn Sri Thammaraj) on the Malay Peninsula (see section 3 above). The name Ho-ling was used between 640 and 818 A.D., when it was changed to Po-ling, and after that to Tan-ma-ling.

Kalinga, even if it cannot be equated with Ho-ling, still has a little problem of its own. To put things in an extreme way, Paranavitana says there was a Kalinga in Malaya, and all mentions of the name in the history of Ceylon refer to the Peninsula; while his critics say that Paranavitana's sources are not authentic, and all mentions of Kalinga refer to India, which was the belief before Paranavitana produced his book. This does not appear to be a problem at all. Surely if the context points to Kalinga being in India, then it was in India; if the context points to Southeast Asia, then it was in the Archipelago. The same applies to cities like Suvarnnapura, Simhalapura, Malayapura and Palambanpura. If these names referred to localities in Southeast Asia, then they were Chaiya and Singora (Singhanagara) on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, and Muara Tukul in Central and Palembang in South Sumatra respectively. The rest of this part will be based mainly on Paranavitana's *Ceylon and Malaysia* where these names crop up all the time. It would be as well to kill this argument once and for all, so let us have one or two examples.

Nissamkamalla was a prince from Simhapura in Kalinga who took the throne of Ceylon in 1187 and ruled till 1196. Also he was a Buddhist. At that time the capital of Kalinga in India was not Simhapura; nor was the land Buddhist. So Nissamkamalla was a prince of Singora on the Malay Peninsula. He was not the first Kalinga king or queen of Ceylon; nor was he the last. The first royal personage from Kalinga in the Archipelago whose record has come to light appeared on the Sinhalese scene three centuries before Nissamkamalla. She was a princess from Palambanpura, called Sangha Radun in the Panuvasnuvara Pillar Inscription of the Reign of Udaya II (No. 3 in *Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. VI. Pt. I*, pp. 12-20, Ceylon, 1973, edited by S. Paranavitana.) This is a very important document, so I will give fairly full details.

King Sena II (Sirisangbo 853-87) was the conqueror of Madhura, capital of Pandya, when he set Varaguna II up on the throne. He was followed by his brother, Udaya (Abhaya Salamevan 887-98). In the seventh year of this king, (893), the Crown Prince, the future Kassapa IV, issued an edict to protect two villages, Nagala and Naranvita, which he had given to his consort, Raden Sangha, who had come from Palambanpura Suvanvaraya (Palembang, the Harbour of Gold) in the land of Yavaju Kalingubimhi (Javadvipa Kalinga, or perhaps Kalinga in Javadvipa.) Lines 16 to 28, as translated by Paronavitana, read :

“(two villages), Nagala and Naranvita which are included in the district of Kapugam in the Southern Quarter, and which are assigned by His Highness the Yuvaraja Mahapa who has worn the (precious) stones of the Pandya, to his consort of royal lineage, Sangha Radun, who has come from Palambanpura *alias* Suvanvaraya in the land of Kalinga *alias* Yavaju, wherein has been established a Bodhimanda, and which is on the eastern coast of the ocean.”

I have already explained that Javadvipa and Java were generic names that covered the Archipelago, or the sea part of Southeast Asia or Farther India as it was called at one time; and now we have Kalinga used as a generic name in the same way. A new inscription from South Sumatra has also come to light. It was discovered at the village of Palas Pasemah near Kalandia in South Lampung (southernmost Sumatra). The inscription is of the same date as the other South Sumatran inscriptions (7th century) and contains the same imprecations as those from Jambi and the island of Bangka. According to Boechari, the epigraphist who edited the text, South Lampung was in the district of Bhumi-Java (Bumidjava). This name also appears in the Kota Kapar inscription from Bangka. Boechari also agrees with Moens and Soekmono that Palembang was not the capital of Sri Vijaya : it was one of the places subjugated by Sri Vijaya. However the Java-Bhumi of the Nalanda Copperplate meant the present island of Java. The name of its Sailendra king is given as Samaragravira, which refers to Samaratunga, the Valiant in Battle, one of the greatest of the Sailendra kings. All this new evidence give Javadvipa, Java and Kalinga a far broader range than what I previously thought.

It is curious that Indonesian scholars do not accept Professor Coedès' Sri Vijaya theory and they have been yelling that Palembang was not the capital of Sri Vijaya for the last fifteen years and more; yet western scholars do not seem to have caught on to the notion at all. I wonder if this is a case of mental inertia, or perhaps the Indonesian scholars did not yell loud enough because their Tourist Bureau might object to Sri Vijaya being moved from Palembang.

But now the appearance of the name Palambanpura in an inscription must surely be the final nail in the coffin of Professor Coedès' theory of a Sri Vijaya Empire in South Sumatra, because if this name referred to Palembang, as it obviously does from the context, then Palembang could never have been Sri Vijaya at the same time. Paranavitana, however, accepted Coedès' equation of Sri Vijaya = Palembang, and he equates Suvarnapura, the City of Gold, with Suvanvaraya, the Harbour of Gold; but in footnote 1, page 19, he adds, "It is, however, possible for another Suvarnapura to have existed in the Malay Peninsula." The correct equations, then, should be :

1. Sri Vijaya = Chaiya = Suvarnapura (the City of Gold)
2. Palambanpura = Palembang = Suvanvaraya (the Harbour of Gold)

Until the appearance of this inscription, I could not make up my mind what part Palembang played in the whole Sri Vijaya scheme. But now Palambanpura can join Suvarnapura, Malayapura, Simhalapura, Tambralinga, Kedah and several other places as one of the United City States of Sri Vijaya, of which there would appear to have been fourteen, or fifteen if we count Ceylon as well. This concept does not envisage Sri Vijaya as an Empire, though it seemed to have had some centralised control.

This Palambanpura epigraph is the first of four irrefutable pieces of evidence which will be submitted in the course of this paper : two being Sinhalese inscriptions dated 893 and 1060; and two are Chinese records dated 1067 and 1225. (The irrefutability of this particular evidence is simply that there was a Kalinga in Southeast Asia as well as in India.)

Paranavitana's main sources for his *Ceylon and Malaysia* are minute writing indited between the lines of older inscriptions which he claims to have newly read. His critics claim that these minute interlinear writings are non-existent, and so his sources are unauthentic. The authenticity of Paranavitana's sources seems to be no bigger a problem than the authenticity of the *Culawamsa*. Both are secondary sources compared to the four irrefutable pieces of evidence already mentioned. These might be compared to posts, or better, a clothesline on which to hang the stories from Paranavitana's sources and those of the *Culawamsa*. If any story from either source cannot be hung up on this line, then it must be discarded; if it fits the facts of the inscriptions, then it can be retained. The whole problem is as simple as that! As it happens, the stories in the *Culawamsa* concerning this period, though biassed to the Mahavihara church, agree very well with those from Paranavitana's sources with the exception of the middle part concerning Vijayabahu the Great. The trouble with the history of Ceylon does not lie in the sources so much as in the interpretation of those sources. But in the case of Vijayabahu, the *Culawamsa* contradicts the second irrefutable evidence, which is a contemporary inscription from the Island itself (see below); so the *Culawamsa* must be discarded and Paranavitana's story used instead, even if at the expense of the history of Ceylon losing one of her three 'great kings'. There can be no compromise about this, and those learned in historiography and such allied subjects will appreciate that while methodology will not produce history any more than historiography, to depend on first class, contemporary epigraphic evidence will get one nearer to a little history than depending on second class chronicular evidence. On this basis, if the *Culawamsa* is untenable and Paranavitana is untouchable simply because his sources are not visible to the naked eye, then I am afraid historians of Sri Lanka will have difficulty in rewriting, or revising, their history and make it any less conjectural than the history of Southeast Asia. But all this is by the way. I shall limit myself to telling a straight story based on Paranavitana's new sources except for one or two comments where the dates seem to be inaccurate.

As Paranavitana's book makes a complete mess of the history of Sri Vijaya (if ever there was a history of Sri Vijaya beyond a lot of con-

jectures), as well as those of Ceylon and South India in the period under treatment, it is necessary to check with these histories as we go along. The histories I have are : *A Concise History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon Press, 1961), pp. 368, plates, maps also written by Paranavitana, but with a collaborator : *A History of South India from Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagara* (Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 486, plates, maps, by Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; *History of Sri Vijaya* (University of Madras, 1949), pp. 157, plates, maps, also by Professor Sastri; and Professor R.C. Majumdar's two volumes on *Suvarnavdipa (Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Vol. II, pts. 1-2, Dacca 1937-1938)*. Sastri accepted Professor Coedès' theory and located the capital of Sri Vijaya in South Sumatra; while Majumdar placed Sri Vijaya on the Malay Peninsula.

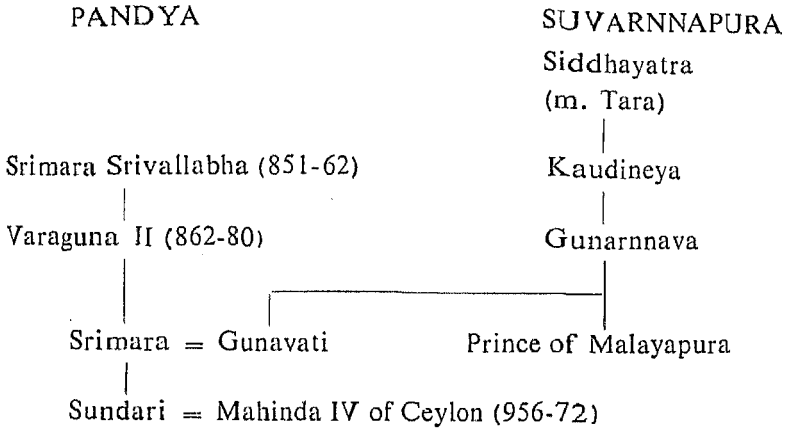
The names of kings are also a little confusing, and I will follow Paranavitana's method. Those of kings who appear in the history of Ceylon will be given their names in the Pali form (Mahinda IV and V, Kassapa VI, and VII), while for those not in the history, such as Mahendraraja, the Sanskrit form will be used, but a number will also be added (Mahendra VI). The history of Ceylon also has a Mahinda VI, but he was a usurper and is not counted amongst the kings of that inland.

The spelling of proper names is rather chaotic, but the experts, including Indian scholars themselves, do not spell the same name in the same way, for instance, Cola and Chola. There is nothing I can do about this except apologise for these minor discrepancies. Beyond that, there should be no real difficulty or confusion in the story that follows.

13. The War with Kambhojnakorn

Dr. Paranavitana's book contains three Appendices in Sanskrit (pp. 213-218). Dr. Indu Shekhar, Visiting Professor of Indology, sent by the Indian Government to the University of Chiangmai, has been kind enough to translate the texts. I will deal with these Appendices in separate sections. The first relates the romance of Mahinda IV and princess Sundari, whom the *Culawamsa* called Kalinga princess. She came from the Malay Peninsula.

Genealogical Table I



Of the names in the story: Kambhojnakorn was Lopburi, and not Kambuja as in Paranavitana's story. Offhand I cannot think of any raid or invasion of the Malay Peninsula made by Kambuja, but there were many occasions when the Central Plain of Siam raided the south. The name of the Kambhoj king is not given, while the Jinaraja in the text meant the King of China.

Suvarnnapura or Suvarnna-Java-pura was Chaiya. At the time of the story, Gunarnnava had not become Maharaja. The name of the Maharaja is not given, but he probably had his seat at Nakorn Sri Thammaraj (Tambralinga), which was the seat of Phya Jivaka (Javakaraja) half a century before. The name Suvarnnapura does not appear in any other source except Paranavitana's and a Nepalese notice as Srivijaya-pure Suvarnnapure Lokanatha. It would seem that the scribes who wrote Paranavitana's source of interlinear writing used this name instead of Sri Vijaya, which is a name not used anywhere in Paranavitana's sources as far as I know. However, Sri Bodhi is used instead, and Paranavitana says that this name is synonymous with Sri Vijaya.

Java in Paranavitana's sources was a generic name: sometimes it referred to the Peninsula without much doubt; at other times it seems to refer to the present island of that name. I will not try to separate the references but will give the text as the name occurs.

Malayapura is difficult. At first I was inclined to equate this toponym with I-Ching's Mo-lo-yu of the 7th century, and with the Malayu of the Sumatran inscription of the 13th century; and locate it at Muara Takus in Central Sumatra where the 13th century inscription was found. But Indonesian scholars who have visited the locality tell me that Muara Takus is so far inland that it could never have been a port. This I have to accept even if it means Mo-lo-yu can only be located vaguely 'as about the equator'. I will return to this subject later, much later. Meanwhile Malayapura, a name that appears only in Paronavitana's sources, was the second city of Sri Vijaya. This should refer to Kedah, the Kidaram and Kadaram of the South Indian inscriptions, and the Chieh-cha of the Chinese records. None of these names appear in Paronavitana's sources, though Kataha, another name that has been equated with Kedah, does. However Kataha had a broader meaning than being a city, though it was a city too. But it was not Kedah. I do not know where to locate Kataha, Malayapura or Java. Perhaps Java was Kedah, and the combined Suvarnna-Javapura was used in the same way as the South Indians used Sri Visaya-Kadaram to cover both coasts of the Peninsula. Another name that appears in the story later on is Suvarnakudya (the Wall of Gold) which Paronavitana identified as Lower Burma, the Ramana of the *Culawamsa*. He did not specify further whether this was Mergui, Tenasserim, Moulmein or even Mataban. The last was Muang Pan of the Sukothai inscriptions, and at one time was a stronghold of Buddhism.

When this paper was first drafted, I intended to deal only with Paronavitana's three Appendices in his book. But it seems better to go beyond these Appendices, beyond the book itself and introduce some details from other papers that Paronavitana has produced even at the expense of a little repetition. These details will be inserted in the main story without giving any references because I do not have page numbers. The first quotation is from "Newly Discovered Historical Documents Relating to Ceylon, India and Southeast Asia." I give the information without comment.

"We are told that though the king of Suvarnnapura was often the Maharaja also, it was not necessarily so. The Maharaja was

electd by the rulers of all the Malaysian states, called Kataha-rajyas. A list has been given of the Kataha-rajyas, the rulers of which, by giving their votes in secret, elected one of them as the Maharaja. Though it was theoretically possible for any of the rulers of the Kataha kingdoms to be elected Maharaja, in actual practice, it was either the king of Suvarnapura, or the king of Malayapura that was elected Maharaja. When the king of Suvarnapura was not the Maharaja, he came to Java and functioned as its king, and the prince who had been king of Java shifted to Tambralinga as its ruler.

“Interesting information has also been given about the formalities observed in the election of the Maharaja, and the paraphernalia attached to the position. In Suvarnapura, there were two administrative centres, one to look after the affairs of the kingdom of that name, and the other in charge of the affairs of the Maharaja.

“The institution of the Maharaja is said to have been established by Balaputra, the son of Visnu, at an assembly of all the heads of the Kataha states, but the imperial position of the ruler of Suvarnapura or Malayapura was recognised even earlier under the style of Sri Bodhi, the word given in Chinese characters as *Che-li-fo-che*. Vijaya or Sri Vijaya is a synonym of Bodhi, as the Buddha obtained Victory over Mara under the Bodhi tree. So, when I-Tsing says that ‘*Mo-lo-yu* is now *Che-li-fo-che*’, it does not mean that Sri Vijaya had conquered Malayu, but that the ruler of Malaya had become Sri Bodhi (the equivalent of the later Maharaja).

“Interesting information has also been given about the history of some of the Kataha states like Java, which was known by that name as it was originally founded by a son of Kaniska, who had the title of Yavuga. The descendents of the Saka prince were also referred to as Karundas. Though ‘Kataba’ was a general designation of all the Malaysian states acknowledging the authority of the Maharaja, there was also a city of that name, but it was not called Kedah.”

APPENDIX I : STORY OF SUNDARI

1. Once there was a king in the State of Pandya, born in the family of the Maharaja. He shattered hosts of adversaries with his relentless heart, with his fierce and forceful speech and physique.
2. His son, Shrimara, ambitious of attaining fame and glory of eminent persons, out of greed to add matchless fame, bore the title of his father. Skilled in the art of pleasing the Maharaja, he once reached the Java country, and married the sister of the Lord of Malayapura.
3. Scion of four leading families, the king of Java territory attained his kingdom. Through his royal splendour, he brought peace to the entire earth and resembled the orb of the moon, radiating a dazzling glory.
4. The lovely breeze once kissed by the rays of the morning sun, shone forth in Suvarnapura and appeared all the more glorious after reaching Lanka from there.

Sundari, the daughter of Shrimara of Pandya, arrived in Lanka.

5. The king of Java was known by the title of Siddhayatra (one whose journey was always successful.) He reigned over the earth, having attained the status of Maharaja.
6. As Sachi was to Indra, Tara was his queen. From their union was born Kaundineya, who contained the four quarters of the world by his fame.
7. His son, Gunarnava, was regarded as being the foremost among the Java rulers. He further resembled Meru, in churning the ocean of battle-fields.
8. Further there was Varaguna, the Lord of Pandyas province, who was the son of Shrimara. He attained royal splendour from the King of Simhala. The son of Varaguna, endowed with many attributes and shone forth by his virtuous prowess, was known for his family and conduct; the illustrious Shrimara arrived in the Java country from Pandya.

9. Gunarnava, the king of Java, offered his daughter Gunavati to the young prince, who was the scion of a flawless and virtuous family.
10. While riding on the back of an elephant, in a dreadful battle, like the great fight of demons and gods, Shrimara was killed suddenly.
11. Like cotton blown by a strong gust of wind, the entire army scampered away. Then Gunarnava advanced forth, along with his valiant sons.
12. In the battle-field, while fighting from the back of an elephant, he caught Rudravarman, the son of the Kamboja king, alive.
13. Hearing the report of the capture, the brave king of Kamboja mounted a profusely decorated elephant and rushed with his army to the battle-field, in order to release his son.
14. Reaching the portals of the city, and having seen his courageous son Rudra stationed there, the king, though accompanied by few followers, rushed forth to release his son.
15. The relentless Java warriors stationed at the gate discharged a volley of sharp arrows mounted on a mechanic device, and thus routed the Kamboja king.
16. Having attained his desire, Gunarnava sent the portal studded with gold and precious stones to the Maharaja.
17. The Maharaja in turn presented that gate, studded with precious stones, to Gunarnava as Purandara (Indra) presented the lotus garland to Vasu.
18. In due course, having attained the title of Maharaja, Gunarnava in all happiness resided in the city of Suvarna-Java (Suvarna-Javapura).
19. When Jinaraja came to know of the death of the Kamboja king in battle, he despatched a messenger to Gunarnava to ascertain the facts.
20. He presented the messenger of Jinaraja with a boat full of utensils. Having received the gift of the boat, Jinaraja kept silent.
21. However, the prince of Kamboja, remembering the slaying of his father, advanced to Suvarnapura with a huge army.

22. Gunarnava abandoned the city, and having crossed the great ocean, reached the island of Lanka where Sena held the reins of government.
23. The Heir-apparent, Mahendra, who matched Indra in valour, brought the king (Gunarnava) to his city and then marched to Suvarnnapura.
24. Having arrived at Suvarnnapura, he accepted as glory of his victory, the daughter of Shrimara, Sundari by name. He presented her with a gold necklace in marriage.
25. King Mahendra, having arrived in Anuradhapura, bestowed the kingdom of Suvarnnapura upon Gunarnava.

(Translated by Dr. Indu Shekar, Visiting Professor of Indology, Chiangmai University).

The story is told at length in Chapter 2 of Paranavitana's book, so I will give only a short account. Srimara, grandson of Srimara Srivallabha and son of Varaguna II who had been put on the Pandya throne by Sena II of Ceylon, went to the Java country (Malay Peninsula) and married Gunavati, a daughter of Gunarnava, who was king of Suvarnnapura. A daughter, Sundari, was born of the union and at the time when the story starts, she had grown up to marriageable age. This would indicate that Gunarnava was at least fifty years old, if not sixty. Then, in a war with Kambhojnakorn, Srimara was killed in battle, but Rudravarman, a son of the Kambhoj king, was captured. The King tried to rescue his son and was killed, but the prince managed to escape. Rudravarman then gathered a new army and again attacked Suvarnnapura. Gunarnava fled the country to Ceylon, where a king Sena was on the throne. An expedition was fitted out under the Yuvaraja, Mahinda, which was successful. Mahinda then married Princess Sundari and, leaving Gunarnava as Maharaja at Suvarnnapura, returned to Ceylon with his bride, where he soon succeeded to the throne as Mahinda IV. Suvarnnapura was Chaiya and I have already mentioned in part two of this paper that there was a building set up on the bar of the Chaiya River by Queen or Princess Sundari called Sala Mae Nang Sundari. The building has long since disappeared but its tradition lingers on. It is possible that this Mae Nang Sundari was the same as Mahinda's Queen. Another episode not

mentioned in this particular text (Appendix I) is that Princess Sundari had already been betrothed to a prince of Java named Suryanarayana, who was killed in one of the battles. According to tradition, when Mahinda wanted to marry the princess, he had to get the consent of Suryanarayana's brother, a prince named Purandara. The consent was given and apparently the prince accompanied the couple to Ceylon. Another Purandara, probably a descendant, was to play an important role in the story a century later.

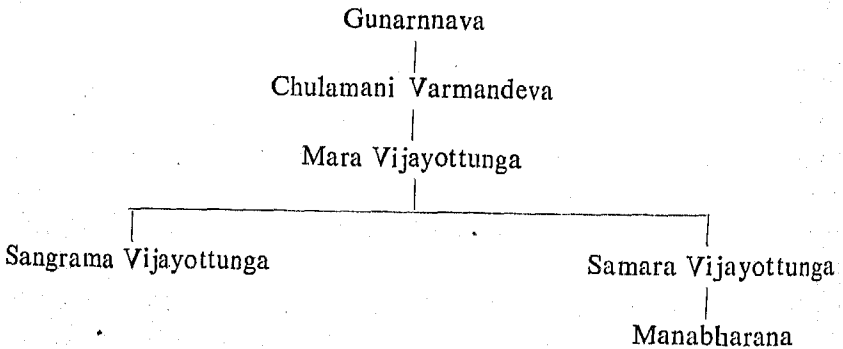
From another source (page 46), Paranavitana gives a list of the Kings of Sri Vijaya, each being a son of the previous name: Maharaja Kasyapa, Siddhayatra, Kaundineya, Gunarnava, Mara Vijayottunga, Samara Vijayottunga, and Manabharana. Gunarnava is the key name in this list. He fled to Ceylon when a King Sena was on the throne of that island, with a Yuvaraja named Mahinda. In the *History of Ceylon*, there were two Senas who had Yuvarajas named Mahinda, viz. Sena IV (954-6) and Sena II (853-87). From another source, Sena II was a contemporary of Varaguna II (862-80), the Pandya king who also appears in this story; so Gunarnava must have fled to Ceylon when Sena IV was on the throne. At that time Gunarnava was probably in his fifties, or even sixties (with a grown-up grand-daughter), and it was most unlikely that he was still alive in the new century. So far there is nothing difficult. Paranavitana then equates Kasyapa, the King of Sri Vijaya, with Kassapa V of Ceylon (914-28), and accepts that Mara Vijaya was Gunarnava's son against the contemporary Chinese and South Indian evidence. This puts his dates out of order. However, from another source, Paranavitana seems to have good supporting evidence, though again his date (of Balaputra's daughter) is out of order. Phya Jivaka of the Thai sources (circa 900) would fit Siddhayatra better than Siddhatta of the *Culawamsa*.

"Reference made elsewhere to this Paramparapustaka indicate that it was a voluminous work dealing not only with the history of Ceylon, but also of other lands. The first statement begins with a genealogy, from which we learn that Siddhayatra, grandfather of Gunarnava, referred to above, was a son of Kasyapa-maharaja, i.e. Kassapa V of Ceylon. This Siddhayatra is obviously the son

of Kassapa V referred to in the *Culawamsa* (chap. 52, v. 68) under the name 'Siddhatta', and called Malayaraja. Elsewhere, we are told that 'Siddhayatra' was not his personal name, but a title conferred for proficiency in navigation, that his personal name was Udaya, that he fought with his brother (presumably Mahinda of Rohana), was defeated, and came to Java, where he married the daughter of King Balaputra, eventually succeeded to the throne of Java, became Maharaja of Sri Vijaya, and died after a prosperous reign."

Of the kings in the list after Gunarnava, two names are missing: Chulamani Varmadeva and Sangrama Vijayottunga.

Genealogical Table II



Two of the above names appear in the Chinese records. In the normal course of events I am very reluctant to identify or accept identification of Chinese names because there seems to be too much guesswork involved. But in the story to come it is necessary to equate six names, three being kings of Sri Vijaya (San-fo-tsi) and three of Chola India (Chu-lien).

Sri Vijaya/Chola

Sri Maharaja

Sri Chulamani Varmadeva

Sri Mara Vijayottunga

San-fo-tsi/Chu-lien

Se-li-ma-ha-lo-cha

Se-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fu-ma-ti-hwa

Se-li-ma-la-pi

Rajaraja

Lo-cha-lo-cha

Sri Rajendra Chola

Se-li-lo-cha-yin-to-lo-chu-lo

Deva Kulottunga

Ti-hwa-ka-lo

Before leaving the 10th century I will say a few words about the events in the island of Java. As we have seen, the story of the Sailendras in Central Java had come to an end early in the 10th century, and a new history of Java started in the east. The first king of East Java is thought to have been Sindok, who came to the throne between 927-9. The Javanese gradually built up their strength and before the end of the century, under King Dharmawamsa, they had a war fleet. The story is best told from the Chinese evidence, with the Javanese and Indian records used as subsidiary evidence.

San-fo-tsi had been sending embassies from early in the century and continued to do so. Then in 988, according to the Sung History, San-fo-tsi sent an embassy, which left the capital in 990 and, when it got to Canton, heard that Cho-po (Java) had invaded its country. The embassy stayed a season at Canton and arrived at Champa in 992. The war was still going on so the embassy returned to the Chinese court and asked that San-fo-tsi be placed under the Emperor's protection.

In between, King Maraya of Java sent an embassy in 992, very likely the first and only embassy from East Java in this period.

In 1003 King Se-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fu-ma-ti-hwa (Sri Chulamani Varmadeva) of San-fo-tsi sent two envoys. The Emperor was told that a Buddhist temple had been built as a blessing for his long life, and they wanted a name for the temple as well as bells. Both were given. Three iron bells with Chinese writing on them have been found at Chaiya. Unfortunately I know nothing about bells or Chinese writing, so if some expert could pronounce them to have been of the Sung period, then perhaps it is possible to say that King Mara Vijaya had his seat at Chaiya, something we already know from the Indian records, which called the place Sri Visaya.

In 1005, according to the Tamil portion of the South Indian inscription known as the Larger Leiden Plate, the Chola king, Rajaraja the Great, granted the revenue of a village for the upkeep of a Chudamani-varma Vihara, which was being constructed at Nagapattana by Chula-

manivarman, the king of Kadaram (Kedah). The Sanskrit portion of the same inscription, however, stated that the building was put up by Chulamani's son, Mara Vijayottungavarman, who was a Sailendra and was the lord of Sri Visaya and Kataha. Rajendra the Great confirmed the grant made by his father.

In 1006, apparently while the wedding festivities of Prince Airlangga to the daughter of King Dharmawamsa was going on, destruction struck East Java. The prince managed to escape, and recorded in one of his inscriptions: "Then the flourishing capital city, which was hitherto a seat of joy and merriment was reduced to ashes, and the great king met his end in 1007."

In 1008 King Se-li-ma-la-pi (Sri Mara Vijayottunga) of San-fo-tsi sent three envoys to the Chinese court. In 1017 King Ha-chi-su-wu-cha-pu-mi sent envoys; and again in 1028 envoys were sent by King Se-li-ti-hwa (Sri Deva).

The story seems simple enough. Dharmawamsa of East Java, after consolidating his position and building up a fleet, started to raid westwards into the domains of Sri Vijaya—West Java, South Sumatra and possibly Central Sumatra as well. When the raids became too much of a nuisance, the king on the Malaya Peninsula, probably Mara Vijaya of Sri Visaya (Chaiya), set sail with his armada and utterly destroyed Dharmawamsa, his palace and capital. Airlangga escaped in time, and waged long years of guerrilla warfare before getting control of Java. He became the national Javanese hero, but his domain was restricted to Java, Bali and Madura. Nearly three centuries were to pass before Java was again able to interfere in the affairs of Sri Vijaya.

14. The War with Chola India

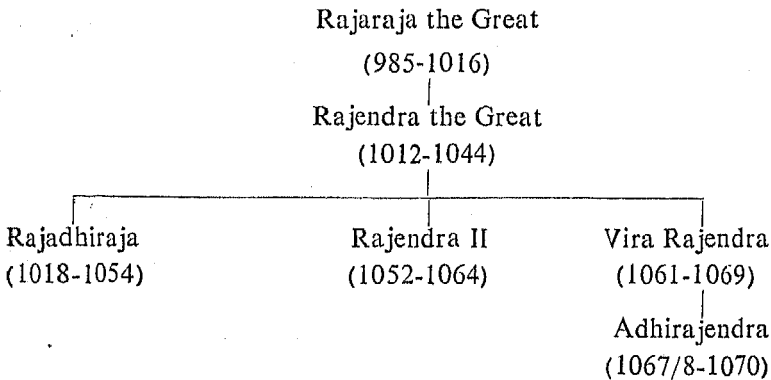
While Sri Vijaya was able to put down the abortive attempt of East Java to gain control of the seas, in the west the rise of Chola India in the same period was to bring disaster. In the words of Professor Majumdar in his *Suvarnamdhipa* (Page 167):

"In the 11th century A.D., the one outstanding fact in the history of the Sailendras, known to us, is a long-drawn struggle

with the powerful Cola rulers of South India . . . By a succession of great victories Rajaraja the Great (985-1014 A.D.) made himself the lord paramount of Southern India. His still more famous son Rajendra Cola (1014-1044 A.D.) raised the Cola power to its climax, and his conquests extended as far as Bengal in the north . . . The Colas were also a great naval power and this naturally brought them into contact with Indonesia.”

This brings us to Appendices II and III in Paranavitana's book, which are treated in one chapter (ch. 3 pp. 43-58). Although only about ten years intervened between the two records, the stories are separate, and I shall deal with them separately. Appendix III gives a genealogy of the Chola royal family, but to make the story easier to follow, I will divide this genealogy into two tables, one of the male line of descent (III), and the other of the female line (V)

Genealogical Table III



The above regnal years are from Professor Sastri's *History of South India* (page 200). The date of Rajaraja's death seems to be uncertain. In the text (page 173), Sastri gives 1014, but Ma-tuan-lin recorded that Lo-cha-lo-cha of Chulien (Rajaraja of Chola) sent an embassy in 1015. Also in 1014 Rajendra confirmed the grant made by his father to the Cudamani-Vihara in 1005. Adhiraja was followed by Kulottunga I (1070-1119), whose story will be told in the next section dealing with Paranavitana's Appendix III. Meanwhile here is the relevant evidence

in chronological order covering the reigns of Rajaraja and his son Rajendra I (985-1044).

985 : Rajaraja came to the Cola throne. In two campaigns he got control of the Pandya and Kerala kingdoms.

993 : Rajaraja captured Anuradhapura and burnt it. Polonaruva became the new capital to control the sea passages. Mahinda V escaped to the hill country and set up his capital at Ruhuna.

1005 : Rajaraja granted the revenue of a village for the upkeep of a vihara built at Nagapattana by Culamani-varmadeva of Sri Vijaya.

1015 : Lo-cha-lo-cha (Rajaraja) sent an embassy to China.

1016 : Rajaraja died and his son Rajendra succeeded him.

1017 : Rajendra invaded Ceylon and captured Mahinda V, who was taken as hostage to India.

From another source, Parnavitana supplied some interesting details, though I would not interpret the evidence in quite that way.

“When Mahinda V, who succeeded Sena V, was captured and taken prisoner to the Cola country by Rajendra, the son of Sena V, named Kasyapa (see *Culawamsa*, chap. 54 v. 69) went to Suvarnapura with King Samgrama. This indicates that Samgrama was fighting in the defence of Ceylon against the Cola invader. It is said in another document that some years after Ceylon was conquered by Rajaraja, Samgrama drove the Colas out. This statement must be true, otherwise there was no necessity for Rajendra to have conquered Ceylon after it had already been conquered by his father.”

1025 : Rajendra invaded Sri Vijaya. In 1030 a court poet wrote the story into a sublime eulogy of Rajendra. The following translation of the Tanjore inscription is from Professor Majumdar's *Suvarnavipa* I page 173 :

“And (who) (Rajendra Cola) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sangramavijayot-tungavarman, the king of Kadaram, along with the rutting elephants of his army, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king)

Takola and should be located in the Bay of Bhuket. This would mean that Rajendra, after taking Kedah, went up the west coast to the Bay of Bhuket. Then, cutting across the Peninsula in a north-east direction over some flat land, he attacked and conquered Chaiya the capital.

There is confirmation of this, but it means going from the sublime to the ridiculous. The Tanjore poem is probably the supreme eulogy produced by a South Indian poet, while the sequel is to be found in the *Sejarah Melayu*, in the episode of Raja Shulan's invasion of Malaya and his fight with Raja Chulin. Raja Shulan of course was the Cholaraja or Rajendra, while Raja Chulin was the Sailendraraja or Maharaja Mara Vijayottunga. The story will be recounted in the next section.

The Chola raid on the Peninsula seemed so impossible that I never really accepted it as anything more than the effusions of a court poet; or at most it was a hit and run raid because San-fo-tsi was able to send an embassy to China three years later. But now from Paranavitana's sources, it was not only a raid, but the land was occupied for twenty years. Not only that, but he has also supplied supporting evidence which seems very strong. Again I quote without comment.

“According to the reference to Jagatipala in the *Culawamsa*, it is difficult to ascertain who this personage was, and how he came to Ceylon during the Cola regime. Detailed accounts of Jagatipala and his descendants are contained in several documents incised on a number of stones. According to these accounts, Jagatipala was a scion of the Silahara family in Surat, founded by Sannapulla, a son of Manavarma. This branch of the Silahara family is said to have migrated to Maharastra in later times. Jagatipala arrived at Suvarnnapura (Sri Vijaya) and was appointed by the Maharaja (evidently Samgrama Vijayottunga) as protector of merchants arriving to that emporium from the Surastra country. After sometime, Jagatipala was made the ruler of Suvarnnakudya (Lower Burma, the Ramana of the *Culawamsa*) by the Maharaja. The king of Java, which was adjoining Suvarnnakudya on the southeast, pressed on the Maharaja the claims of his son to be ruler of Suvarnnakudya. The Maharaja was evidently convinced of the claims of the Java prince and made him ruler of Suvarnnakudya in

place of Jagatipala, who was given the kingdom of Tambralinga, which lay to the southeast of Java. Jagatipala, evidently, was dissatisfied by this transfer and just before the arrival of Rajendra Cola's forces into these regions, he rebelled against the Maharaja, attacked the king of Java, defeated him and took possession of Suvarnnakudya. This meant that two of his important feudatories were not available to the Maharaja when the Cola forces arrived to attack him. We may therefore suspect in these happenings the machinations of Cola agents, who subjected Sri Vijaya to a softening process before Rajendra's expeditionary force arrived on the scene.

"The Cola evidently allowed Jagatipala to remain in possession of Suvarnnakudya, but he had other ambitions, and probably desired to be lord of the kingdom of his ancestors. He therefore landed in Ceylon with his forces, drove the Colas out of the Rajarattha and became its ruler. He was in power at Anuradhapura for five years before Rajendra Cola could send to Ceylon an army powerful enough to defeat him and drive him to Rohana. His fortunes after coming to Rohana have been narrated in the *Culawamsa*, and are already known to students of Ceylonese history.

"Prince Kasyapa and Prince Sena, sons of Sena V, are said to have taken refuge in Suvarnnakudya after the capture of Suvarnapura and Malayapura by the Colas, and returned to Ceylon with Jagatipala. Vira Salamegan of the Cola inscriptions has been identified with Jagatipala. The Kannakucci, from which he is said to have come to Ceylon, was evidently the same as Suvarnnakudya, the form of the name given in the Tamil inscription being the result of the Sanskrit name being pronounced by the local populace and the Tamils."

Meanwhile it is generally thought that Sangrama Vijaya was taken back to India. This is not certain. What is certain is that his sister was, and she became Rajendra's queen. She played a very important role in the story to come. The Maharaja's younger son, Samara Vijayotunga, became king under Cola occupation,

1028 : San-fo-tsi sent an embassy to China.

1029 : Mahinda V of Ceylon died in captivity.

1033 : According to the Sung History, King Shi-li-lo-cha-yin-to-lo-chu-lo (Rajendra Chola) sent an embassy.

1044: Death of Rajendra the Great. As this king was one of the greatest kings of South India, it is surprising that Indian history has no record of how he died, whether in battle or in bed, whether through a dose of cholera or appendicitis. However the story is recounted in Appendix II of Paranavitana's book.

APPENDIX II: SUCCESSORS OF MAHINDA IV

1. May all beings attain happiness.

Solid as mountain-rock, brave in the battle front, like a royal swan waiting at the lotus-like feet of Buddha, there was a king, Mahendra by name, who resembled Indra in matchless royal splendour.

His queen, daughter of Pandya Shrimara, ornament of the Lunar race,

2. Sundari by name, was the daughter of Gunavati, whose father was the great king Gunarnnava (scion of the Lunar family.) His son Sena attained the kingdom and installed Udaya, who was his father's brother, as Heir-apparent. The daughter of Udaya, having been promised to Rajaraja, the Heir-apparent of Tanjapura, was staying there, (and)
3. Was forcibly abducted by Mahendra, the son of King Mahendra, and was taken to Surashtra. Mahendra, having accepted the forces offered by the ruler of Surashtra, returned, killed King Sena and the Heir-apparent Udaya, captured and ruled the kingdom. In due course he was defeated by Rajaraja, when he retired to Malaya. There he was captured by Rajendra.
4. Sundari, the daughter of Mahendra, was married to Maharaja Mara, and gave birth to Maharaja Sangrama and Maharaja Samara. Espoused to Purandara, the son of Jinaraja, she gave birth to a son Purandara, and a daughter Sundari by name. Mahendra the nephew

of Mahendraraja, gave birth to a daughter Sundari, through his union with Sundari.

5. Kashyapa, son of Mahendraraja and son of Senaraja, at the time when Mahendraraja was captured and taken by Rajendra Chola to his dominion, accompanied Sangramaraja to Suvarnapura and stayed there. Thereafter, when Rajendra Chola captured Suvarnapura, he proceeded to the kingdom of Suvarnakudya, thence to Lanka and finally resided in Malaya.
6. At the time of Rajendra Chola's arrival in Suvarnapura, there was residing in Suvarnapura a Brahman, Rajasundara by name, who had come there after his studies in Madhurapura. He was accompanied by his daughter, Sundari, who matched heavenly fairies in beauty. Once, while staying in his mansions, Rajendra Chola was about to go round the city, when he chanced
7. To see her and, his heart overwhelmed with love, he ordered the royal guards to fetch her to his residence. While protecting his daughter, Pandita Rajasundara lost his life. When Maharaja Samara Vijayottunga heard of this account, he ordered Purandara, the royal prince of Java, to execute Rajendra Chola. After the latter's execution (the Maharaja) reached Suvarnapura,
8. And routed the Chola forces stationed there. Attaching Suvarnapura to his own dominions, he entrusted them to Purandara. Recruiting forces from Suvarnapura, he reached Lanka and sent for Kashyapa from Malaya. He annexed Anuradhapura, previously captured by Maharaja Rajaraja and, having dispersed the Chola forces stationed in the Mahamandala state, he subjugated it.
9. Further, he governed the Mahamandala territories for five years and then entrusted them to Kashyapa. The kingdom of Mahatirtha was offered to Sena, a brother of Kashyapa; the kingdom of Rohana was given to Maudgalayana; and he himself retired to the Java state. He ousted the Chola forces stationed in Java and, annexing the same, offered the country to Purandara. Having attained the exalted rank of Maharaja in Suvarnapura,
10. He expanded the kingdom, and reached Lanka. At that time, Mahendra, a son of Sena, was preparing to subjugate the Pandya

state. He vowed that he would himself subjugate the Pandya territory, and then proceeded to the Pandya country, where he installed Sundara Pandya in the captured lands. Returning to Anuradhapura, he entrusted the Mahamandala state to Mahendra, and ordered Kashyapa to reach the holy land of monks. Kashyapa arrived at the holy place of monks and resided in a Chaitya, Suvarnamali by name.

11. Having regained the regions traditionally handed-down, Mahendra repaired the holy shrines of Siddhas established by rulers like Dusta-Gramani. He then died, after ruling over the country for seventeen years.

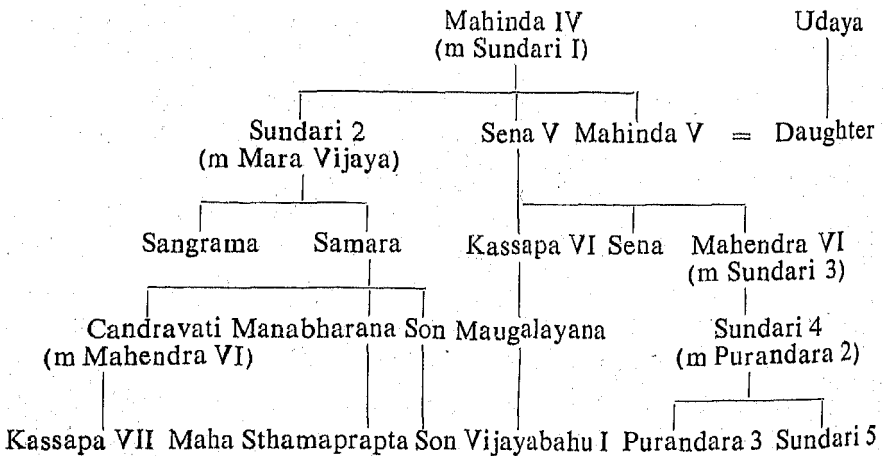
When his son Kashyapa died, after ruling over the country for one year, Vijayabahu arrived at Anuradhapura from Pulastipura, and was installed as king of the entire Lanka kingdom.

Conclusion

He gained the territories after routing the troops of Rajadhiraja, who was endowed with the royal power after subjugating Rajendra Chola. Banner of flawless Solar, Lunar, Malaya families, let Mahinda, King Mahendra, shine forth in his kingdom.

(Translated by Dr. Indu Shekar, Visiting Professor of Indology, Chiengmai University)

Genealogical Table IV



In the above genealogy Roman figures refer to kings that appear in the history of Ceylon (except Mahendra VI), while Arabic figures to names that appear in this Appendix. The trouble with our chronicles is that one king may have several names, whereas in this source one name refers to too many persons. Mahendra VI is one of the most important persons in the story, but he does not appear in any history of Ceylon. Paranavitana proposes to take stanza 4 "Mahendra, the nephew of Mahendraja" to mean that Mahendra VI was the nephew of Mahinda IV. This is quite impossible unless we bring in a Mahendra VII, which would confuse the story too much. Mahinda IV became king in 956, and we shall see later that Mahendra VI was still alive in 1070 when Kulottunga became king of Chola. I have taken Mahendra VI to have been the nephew of Mahinda V. He was a cousin of Samara and he had two queens, Sundari 3 and Samara's daughter Candravati. In this way he was both Samara's great ally, cousin and son-in-law.

I have said that Paranavitana's story is difficult to follow. In the first place he brings in philological arguments which I consider unnecessary. Then he collates his new sources with the orthodox history of Ceylon (based mainly on the *Culawamsa*), which is quite impossible because the two histories were written by different factions. I shall concentrate on Paranavitana's sources (namely his Appendices) and bring in such Indian and Chinese evidence as may be relevant. In this way the version I submit will be quite different from Paranavitana's as Paranavitana's is different from the orthodox history of Ceylon. It should not be difficult for future historians to go through the various sources again and pick out what is logical. I should mention that at this stage dates are the only real check on the various interpretations.

Paranavitana went off the track in his interpretation of Stanza 4. This is what he writes on page 45 of his book:

"The daughter of Mahendra (Mahinda IV) was espoused by Maharaja Mara, i.e. Maravijayottungavarman and was the mother of Maharaja Sangrama (Sangrama Vijayottunga) and Maharaja Samara (Samara Vijayottunga) . . . Mahinda IV's daughter had, by a Javaka prince, a son named Purandara and a daughter named

Sundari. The latter was espoused by Mahendra, a son of a brother of Mahinda IV, and had a daughter named Sundari."

Besides the discrepancy in dates already mentioned, in the interpretation above, Sundari, the daughter of Mahinda IV would be married to Mara Vijayottunga as well as to Purandara. To make a long story short, I will reinterpret Stanza 4 as follows :

4. "Sundari 2, the daughter of Mahinda IV, was married to Maharaja Mara, and gave birth to Maharaja Sangrama and Maharaja Samara. Mahendra VI, the nephew of Mahindaraja V, gave birth to a daughter, Sundari 4, through his union with Sundari 3. Espoused to Purandara 2, the son of Jinaraja (Javaraja), she (Sundari 4) gave birth to a son, Purandara 3, and a daughter Sundari 5 by name."

Purandara 2 or 3 (probably 3) played an important part in the story. To introduce Purandara 1, it is necessary to go back to Sundari 1, the damsel in distress who became Mahinda IV's queen in 956. I will quote a long passage from pages 63 and 64 of Paranavitana's book, because I find it difficult to shorten a passage with its own particular flavour like this. Mahinda IV died in 972, after a reign of 16 years.

"It is said that Sundari, before she became the queen of Mahinda, had been betrothed (literally, had given her hand) to a prince named Suryanarayana, the son of the king of Malayapura (Malayu, the modern Jambi in Sumatra). When the Kamboja prince came to attack Suvarnapura, this prince was evidently fighting in Gunarnava's army and lost his life. In his hasty flight from Suvarnapura, Gunarnava left his family behind, and Sundari with her mother fell into the power of the conqueror. The two royal ladies were kept imprisoned by the Kamboja prince. They suffered great privations and were facing great dangers (the nature of which can be imagined), when Mahinda arrived in Suvarnapura at the head of his armada, and drove off the Kamboja prince and his army. The princesses were set free; and in order to show their gratitude, Gunavati and her daughter came with presents before Mahinda. At the bidding of her mother, Sundari fell down at the feet of Mahinda and remained there for

some time, dumbly expressing her gratitude to him for having rescued her. Mahinda gave her a jewel of great value which he carried with him, and consoled her. The beauty of the young princess, and the circumstances in which he first saw her, combined to create a deep impression on his mind, and he decided to bring her home as his consort. For this he had to obtain the consent of the younger brother of the prince to whom she had been betrothed, for according to the cross-cousin relationship between him and the princess, he had a right to her hand after the death of his elder brother. The prince granted the request of Mahinda, and when Sundari came to Ceylon, he also accompanied her. Mahinda, who was elevated to the throne almost immediately after his return from his victorious campaign, gave that prince the office of Malaya-dandanayaka, which from the manner in which it is referred to in these documents, appears to have been that of the Admiral of the Fleet.

"After the death of Mahinda IV, Sundari and this Malaya-dandanayaka both left Ceylon for their native land. They lived as husband and wife, and had a son who, no doubt in memory of Sundari's first love, was named Suryanarayana. The son of this prince, also named Suryanarayana, came to Anuradhapura in the reign of King Mahendra, and was given the office of Malaya-dandanayaka, with a high status in the kingdom."

Purandara was the name of the younger brother of Suryanarayana. Although the text does not state that Purandara 2 was the son of Purandara 1 above, it is very probable that he was, but from a previous wife to Mahinda IV's ex-queen Sundari. Suryanarayana 3 will come into the story later, when I will call him Suryanarayana I. He became a Maharaja of Sri Vijaya.

There is no real difficulty about the other names. The history of Ceylon has two Kassapas (Kasyapas), namely Kassapa VI (1029-40) and Kassapa VII (1054-5). In this text Kassapa VI was the son of Sena, and Stanza 5 should read: "Kassapa VI, grandson of Mahendraraja IV and son of Senaraja V." Sena V is supposed to have come to the throne when he was twelve and died when he was 22 years old. This is very doubtful. If such is the case, then his younger brother Mahinda V

would hardly have been old enough to have abducted his cousin, the daughter of his uncle, Udaya (Stanza 3). In this text Sena V also had a son named Sena (Stanza 9), and Mahendra VI was also his son (Stanza 10.) Mahendra VI ruled for 17 years (Stanza 11), between about 1053 to 1070 (see next section below); and was followed by his son, Kassapa VII, who ruled for only one year. From another source Paranavitana gives Kassapa's mother's name as Chandravati, a daughter of the Maharaja Samara. She died when or soon after her son was born.

Such is the background. Let us now look at the actual story in Appendix II.

1017 A.D. Stanza 5: When Rajendra captured Mahinda V and took him to his kingdom, Sangrama Vijaya, the king of Kedah, was in Ceylon. He managed to escape, and Kassapa VI went with him.

1025 stanza 5: When Rajendra invaded the Malay Peninsula and captured Sangrama Vijaya, Kassapa VI again managed to escape to Savarnakudya (the Wall of Gold, to the north of Sri Vijaya.) Kassapa VI then made his way back to Lanka, and resided in (the hill country of) Malaya.

1044 A.D. Stanza 6: Rajendra visited the Malay Peninsula. At that time he had been on the throne about 30 years. He saw the daughter of a Brahman, Sundari by name, who matched heavenly fairies in beauty. The old wolf sent his palace guard to abduct her and the father, in protecting his daughter, was killed.

Maharaja Samara Vijayottunga then arranged for Rajendra's assassination. Purandara 3 was given the job, which was carried out successfully. We are not told whether the weapon used was a sword or spear, an Indian mace or Malay kris, an arrow from a bow or a poisoned dart from a blow pipe. Pity, because otherwise we might even have guessed what ethnic groups were involved in the whole story.

The Chola fleet was either captured or destroyed and, leaving the cleaning up operations to Purandara, Samara set sail across the ocean. Arriving in Ceylon he called for Kassapa and, after driving the Chola forces out of Anuradapura, he governed the Mahamandala territory for five years, after which he turned it over to Kassapa and returned to the Malay Peninsula (Java), where he became Maharaja (Stanza 9).

Samara then returned to Lanka, and he subjugated Pandya, when he put Sundara Pandya on the throne. He then exiled Kassapa VI and put Mahenera VI on the throne of Ceylon. Mahendra came to the throne about 1053 and ruled for 17 years. He was still alive in 1070 when Kulottunga became king of Chola state. He died soon after and his son Kassapa VII succeeded him. After a year Vijayabahu I came to the Ceylonese throne. According to Paranavitana (page 59), Vijayabahu usurped the throne by murdering Kassapa VII. Sastri's *History of South India* gives Vijayabahu's accession as being 1071-2, which agrees with Appendix III of Paranavitana's source. The history of Ceylon however gives Vijayabahu's regnal years as being between 1055 and 1110 A.D. I will deal with this subject later.

The problem of whether the above story is based on some fact or is entirely false can be answered by asking another question. Was the death of Rajendra the Great, when in his old age he abducted a young girl and caused the death of a Brahman, so disgraceful that the court poets and scribes simply left the story out because it was such a blemish on the glorious history of their greatest reign? In this part of the world, when kings die an unnatural death, the story is hushed up, unless of course he died in battle and became a national hero. But the story can never really be locked up, and in the century before we have the story of the king of Kambuja who had his head cut off and brought to the Maharaja on a salver. The local scribes hushed the story up, but the Arabs heard of it and duly put it on record. On this basis the story of Rajendra's disgrace and death, which took place far from his capital, was probably true. Moreover there is also epigraphic evidence. This is the second of the four irrefutable pieces of evidence in the story.

In the seventh year of his reign (circa 1060), King Mahendra VI of Ceylon set up a hospital edict called the Madirigiri Slab Inscription of Mahinda VI (No. 8 in *Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. VI, Pt. 1*, pp. 39-58, edited by S. Paranavitana, Ceylon, 1973). I will quote two short passages from the translation,

“(enacted) in order to commemorate Samara-maharaja, who drove away the Colas that remained spread over the entire Island of Lanka, who is like unto a full-orbed Moon over the Milky Ocean which is the Sakya family, who has surpassed Indra of the gods by his royal splendour, the preceptor of the gods (Brhaspati) by the essence of his wisdom, and the Lord of Wealth by the abundance of his wealth, and who rejoiced the world by the sun and moon of his fame and fiery energy.”

“The village of Mehendbapiti, which is belonging to King Samara, shall be given to the tenants; it shall be made to remember that at the present time, we have been liberated by this (king); it shall also be made to remember that at the present time, (our) villages and lands have been liberated by this (king); it shall also be made to remember that however much of the village one possessed, however many houses and gardens one possessed, the houses and gardens will remain without officers of the palace breaking into (them) and confiscating them. To this (king) it is not necessary to seize and give buffaloes and palmyra palms.”

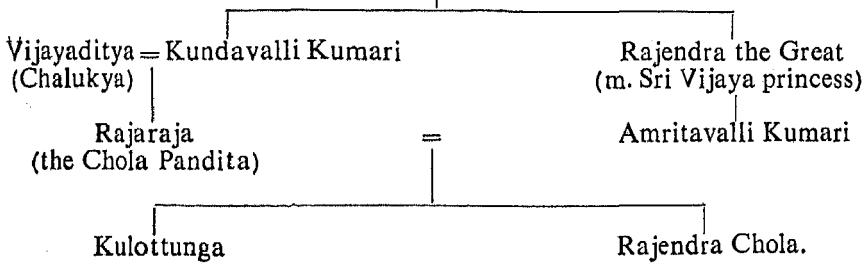
The Samara Maharaja of this inscription referred to the Samara Vijayottunga of Paranavitana's interlinear writings, and not to the 9th century Samarātunga or Samarottunga of Central Java, who had nothing to do with the Colas. We already know the names of three Sailendra kings of this period from the Leiden plates of the Cola records, namely Culamani, Mara Vijayottunga and his son Sangrama Vijayottunga; and now we have this fourth name from a Sinhalese inscription. The record was not the eulogy of some monarch written by a hack scribe, but the expression of gratefulness from the heart of a Sinhalese monarch himself. In this way, besides being an irrefutable piece of evidence, the whole story sounds true to me.

15. Kulottunga in Search of a Throne

In Genealogical Table III I have given the male line of descent of the Chola royal family. The female line of descent is as follows :

Genealogical Table V

Rajaraja the Great



In Professor Sastri's *History of South India*, page 200, there are variations to the names given in Paranavitana's source.

Paranavitana

Vijayaditya
Kunda Valli Kumari
Rajaraja (Chola Pandita)
Amrita Valli Kumari

Sastri

Vimaladitya
Kundava
Rajaraja Narendra
Amanga Devi

We do not know how many queens Rajendra had, but it will be seen later that the mother of Princess Amrita (or Amanga Devi) was a Sri Vijaya princess. Her name is given as Onang Kiu in the *Sejarah Melayu*. As she will have a very important part to play in the story, I will introduce her now.

Sejarah Melayu

Raja Shulan
m. Onang Kiu

Chendani Wasis
m. Raja Suran Padshah

Three sons :
Raja Jiran
Raja Chulan
Raja Pandayan.

Paranavitana

Rajendra I

Amrita Valli
m. Rajaraja
(Chola Pandita)

Two sons :
Kulottunga
Rajendra

Sastri

Rajendra I

Ammanga Devi
m. Rajaraja-
Narendra

One son :
Kulottunga.

If I may be allowed to play a little word-game, is it not possible that Sastri's Indian sources have got her mixed up with her daughter (Paranavitana's Amrita and the *Sejarah Melayu's* Chendani Wasis) because the name Ammanga Devi sounds suspiciously like Onang Kiu (Tewi) to me. Alternatively, as the *Sejarah Melayu* was written down when the Thai had got control of the Malay Peninsula, she was given the simple Thai name of Nang Kaeo. As it will be easier to tell the story if she had an identity, I will call her by this simple name, or, to give her her southern title, Mae Nang Kaeo. It should be understood that I am only playing a word-game here and not suggesting for a moment that she was of the Thai ethnic group.

The old lady only had one grandson and not two as in the above genealogy, or three as in the *Sejarah Melayu*. He was known to the Chinese as Ti-hwa-ka-lo (Deva Kulo) or, in full, as Rajendra Deva Kulottunga. Rajendra Chola was his original name (Chola affiliation), and it was later changed to Kulottunga (Sri Vijaya affiliation: Kula+Uttunga.) The ending Tunga or Uttunga is the same as in the names of four previous Maharajas of Sri Vijaya, namely Samaratunga or Samarottunga, Mara, Sangrama and Samara Vijayottunga (Vijaya+Uttunga.) Of the three grandsons in the *Sejarah Melayu*, Raja Jiran, the eldest, became ruler of Chendragiri Nagara; Raja Pandayan, the youngest, became ruler of Negapatam; while Raja Chulan succeeded his grandfather on the throne of Bajaya Nagara. Raja Chulan was probably Kulottunga: according to the *Sejarah Melayu*, he was adopted by his grandparent Sutan Raja; in Paranavitana's story below, Kulottunga was also adopted by Rajendra's queen in a ceremony performed in the presence of the king; and South Indian sources also have the same story, though at the moment I cannot find the reference. What this means is simply that the queen extracted a promise from her husband that her grandson would succeed him on the throne, which is exactly what happened. In short, the story to follow is that of a prince who was of the Chola, Chalukya and Sri Vijaya royal families, as well as of the direct line of descent of Mae Nang Sundari, a princess of Pandya who became queen of Mahinda IV of Ceylon in the middle of the previous century; and how he obtained the throne of Chola with the help of the Maharaja of Sri Vijaya and the kings of Ceylon and Pandya.

APPENDIX III : HISTORY OF KULOTTUNGA

(Chapter 84 of the Traditional Book)

1. May there be prosperity. During the reign of Mahendraraaja, (Kulottunga) reached Anuradhapura. After remaining there for sometime, he went further to Suvarnapura. Through the active help of the Maharaja, he came into possession of the Chola territories. This is his account being narrated now.

Once previously, Rajaraja, the king of Chola, vanquished the Vengi country and offered his daughter Kunda-valli-kumari to the prince of Chalukya.

2. Vijayaditya by name. His son, Rajaraja, famous as Chola Pandita, married Amrita-valli-kumari, the daughter of Rajendra Chola. He begot two sons, the elder named Kulottunga and the younger named Rajendra Chola. On his auspicious birthday, the queen of Rajendra Chola, with her heart full of excessive joy,
3. Announced that he was her son; and she performed a ceremony for his long life in the Royal presence. Having conquered the four kingdoms of Suvarnapura, Malaya State, Mahisha State and Lanka, he reigned for 33 years. Having abducted the daughter of Rajasundara, the royal scholar of the court,
4. He died. Rajadhiraja was his son. He fought a battle at Koppam on the bank of the river Tungabhadra and, after attaining victory, died there. His brother, Rajendrachola, fought in the battlefield of Koppam and returned victoriously to his own realms, then died. His brother, Vira Rajendra, employing a huge army, vanquished the kingdom of Suvarnapura, Lanka, Pundra and Pandya and, having returned to the state of Chola, died in Gangapura.
5. His son, Adhirajendra, fought a battle on the bank of the river Tungabhadra, at the confluence of Kudal and, having been victorious, captured the land. He erected a victory pillar, and then returned in due course to the Chola State and made Virarajendra his heir-apparent. Rajendrachola was jealous of his royal splendour arising from the subjugation of the Pandya countries—

6. Having reached there and having been defeated by Pandya Sundarā, he reached the Royal Court (of Ceylon) and started wailing. Mahendraraja ascertained the cause of his grief, and offered him precious stones of immense value. He took the precious stones,
7. And arrived at Kambhoja city. There, collecting a huge force offered by Udayaditya Varma, he re-attacked the Pandya regions but was unable to vanquish Pandya Sundara in fight. Again hastening back to Mahendra in Lanka, he wept in loud tones.
8. Mahendraraja enquired about the reasons that made Kulottunga weep, and having consoled him, offered him the kingdom of Rameshwara and appointed him to guard the sea coast. After some time he arrived at Suvarnapura, where he met Samararaja and lured him into capturing the Chola country.
9. The Maharaja entrusted the task of capturing the Chola dominions to his son Manabharana, who reached Anuradhapura, saw Mahendraraja, arrived in the Pandya country, met Sundara Pandya and, having installed the Pandya prince at Madhura, returned to Anuradhapura.
10. There he organised his forces. Benefitted by the diplomatic counsel of Mahendraraja and confident of his fighting strength, he arrived at Pandya and managed to despatch the message of the Maharaja to Virarajendra. At approximately the same time Virarajendra expired and the Chalukyaraja, Vikramaditya, arrived at Gangakundapura.
11. He consecrated Adhirajendra, the son of Virarajendra, and after appointing a commander for his protection, returned to his own realms. Manabharana reached the city and calling all the royal ministers together, relayed the message of the Maharaja. All of them, listening to the message of the Maharaja, felt exceedingly happy. Capturing
12. Adhirajendra and having executed him then and there, they installed Kulottunga as the ruler. In order to celebrate the union of the

three dominions at Gangakundapura, they despatched envoys to Mahendraraja, who in turn sent them back with valuable gifts.

13. Hearing that the Chalukyaraja was about to die from an intense fever, the commander appointed for the protection of Adhirajendra hastened back to his own country. Surrounded by a large army, Mahabharana came to Anuradhapura, met King Mahendra and returned to his own lands in a joyous mood.
14. He related the entire account to the Maharaja after reaching Suvarnapura. Rejoicing the Maharaja (offered) him the royal Pandya princess, Sundari. There was great rejoicing at Suvarnapura. Mahendraraja went there and, having stayed,
15. Returned to Anuradhapura. While administering the state affairs he offered a daughter named Sanga to the son of Pandya king. In addition, he bestowed on him the land of Tambalagrama.

This is the traditional account.

(Translated by Dr. Indu Shekar, Visiting Professor of Indology, Chiangmai University).

There is a great deal of evidence to be marshalled, but the story itself is simple enough. The dates (or rather lack of dates) make things confusing, so I shall keep to chronology and make such explanations as may be necessary.

In 1025 the Chola king, Rajendra the Great, invaded the Malay Peninsula. He captured Sangrama Vijaya, the king of Kadaram (Kedah), and converged on the capital (Chaiya). The Maharaja Mara Vijayotunga gave battle, and the two kings fought a duel on elephants. The Maharaja was killed and Rajendra returned, taking with him as hostages Sangrama and a sister (Mae Nang Kaeo). Their brother, Samara, either escaped into the mountains or was left behind as king under Chola occupation which lasted 20 years.

The story of the invasion and this fight on elephants is told in the Malay chronicle, the *Sejarah Melayu*. But first I have to indentify the names.

Sejarah Melayu

Raja Shulan

Raja Linggi Shah Johan

Gangga Nagara

Raja Chulin

Lenggui/Glang Gui/Klenggiu

Identifications

Rajendra

Sangrama Vijayottunga

Kedah

Mara Vijayottunga

Chaiya

Gangga Nagara : "Now this city stood on a hill : and though from the front it appeared to stand at a great height, it was quite low at the back. Its fort still stands to this day, at Dinding on the other side of the Perak river." (Translation by C.C. Brown, Oxford University Press, 1970).

In this story Raja Linggi Shah Johan was killed and not captured, as was Sangrama in the Chola record.

Lenggui : "After the fall of Gangga Nagara Raja Shulan went forward again until in due course he reached the frontier of Lenggui. In ancient times Lenggui was a great city with its blackstone fort which still exists. The original name of the place was Glang Gui, which means 'treasure chest of jewels'; but through our inability to pronounce the name properly it has been corrupted into 'Lenggui'. The Raja's name was Raja Chulin : he was a mighty king and all princes of lands below the wind were subject to him."

The 'treasure chest of jewels' should refer to the 'Jewelled torana' which the Chola records and Paranavitana's source use to describe the capital of Sri Vijaya. I cannot interpret what this tradition means. Meanwhile the story continues :

"When Raja Chulin heard of the approach of Raja Shulan, he gave orders for his forces to be assembled and for the princes who were his vassals to be summoned... (Raja Shulan) was mounted on an elephant of prodigious size that was moreover in season and stood eight cubits at the shoulder. But the elephant of Raja Chulin was no coward, and the two elephants met and fought, with a clash like that of a thunder splitting a hill, while the crash of tusk on tusk sounded like peal of thunder. Neither elephant would own

defeat. And Raja Chulin stood up on his elephant poising his spear which he then hurled at Raja Shulan ; and it passed clean through the howdah, projecting a finger span on the far side of it. Whereupon Raja Shulan shot an arrow and transfixed Raja Chulin through the chest so that he fell from his elephant and died... Now Raja Chulin had a very beautiful daughter called Onang Kiu. She was offered to Raja Shulan, who took her as consort."

Mae Nang Kaeo (alias Onang Kiu) had a daughter who in turn had a son, Rajendra Chola Kulottunga. When the boy was born Mae Nang Kaeo performed a ceremony for his long life and adopted her grandson as her own son. This was done in the presence of her husband, King Rajendra the Great.

In 1044 the Chola king visited Sri Vijaya, probably accompanied by his Sri Vijaya Queen. At that time the Queen's brother, Samara Vijayottunga, was Maharaja. Rajendra then abducted the daughter of a Brahman, and Samara arranged for his assassination. The queen very likely stayed behind.

Years passed, and when Kulottunga was grown up, he started on his quest for a throne. For some reason which I cannot quite understand, he tried to subjugate the Pandya country and was defeated by Sundara Pandya. He was of the Chalukya-Chola families through his grandfathers, and he was a grandnephew of the Maharaja of Sri Vijaya, whose daughter Chandravati was married to King Mahendra VI of Ceylon : while Sundara had been put on the Pandya throne by the Maharaja himself. Thus there seems no reason for Kulottunga to claim the Pandya throne.

After his defeat Kulottunga went to Ceylon and wept in loud tones. Mahendra VI probably laughed and gave him some good advice, as well as a valuable jewel. Kulottunga then went to Kambhojnakorn, managed to raise another force to attack Pandya and was again defeated. He went to Ceylon again and once more bawled his head off.

Mahendra gave him Ramesvara as appendage "and appointed him to guard the sea coast." Parnavitana does not identify the location of Ramesvara. There was a Ramesvara on the south coast of India, but I

think it more likely that this was another Ramesvara on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, that is, Mahendra gave him one of his queen's appendages or arranged for his father-in-law, the Maharaja of Sri Vijaya, to do so. Kulottunga proved to have been a good merchant and did a brisk trade with the Chinese Empire on the Maharaja's behalf. This we shall see from the next piece of evidence.

The events related above occurred between 1044 and 1067. It would tighten up the story if a few dates were available. For instance, the history of Ceylon gives 1055 as the accession date of Vijaybahu I, and if this is correct, then Kulottunga must have gone to the Malay Peninsula before that date. But from Paranavitana's source, we learn that Mahendra VI was still alive in 1070 when Kulottunga came to the Chola throne. I will discuss this point later. Meanwhile, of more immediate importance is the problem of what happened to Kulottunga after 1044 when Rajendra, his grandfather, was assassinated. Was he brought up by his mother in Eastern Chalukya, or did his grandmother, who had adopted him as her own son when he was born, bring him up at the court of her brother, the Maharaja of Sri Vijaya? The evidence would indicate the latter course but there is no actual evidence, though, from the story to come, this is much more logical.

The evidence between the years 1067 and 1070 is very important for the understanding of the story. I will start with the Chinese evidence because it is more neutral than the Indian inscriptions, though there is nothing particularly difficult or conflicting about the Indian evidence.

The first piece of evidence is from the Sung History concerning an embassy sent by San-fo-tsi in 1067, and the second is from Ma Tuan Lin concerning an embassy sent by Pagan in 1106.

"In 1067 an envoy (from San-fo-tsi), who was one of their high chiefs, called Ti-hwa-ka-lo (Deva Kulottunga), arrived in China. The title of Great General who Supports Obedience and Cherishes Renovation was given to him, and he was favoured with an imperial edict." (Sung History)

"At first the Emperor issued an order to accord them (an embassy from Pagan in 1106) the same reception and treat them

in the same way as was done in the case of ambassadors from Chulien (Chola.) But the President the Board of Rites observed: Chulien is a vassal of San-fo-tsi. That is why in the year *hi-ning* (1068-77 A.D.) it was thought good enough to write to the king of that country on strong paper with an envelope of plain silk. The king of Pagan, on the other hand, is the king of a grand country." (Ma Tuan Lin).

The next piece of Chinese evidence is an inscription from Canton dated 1079. The text with translation is given in a paper by Tan Yeok Seong, "The Sri Vijaya Inscription of Canton," published in *The Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Singapore, 1964. Here is a gist of the paper.

The Taoist temple Kai Yuan was built in Tang times, and was destroyed by the bandit Lang in 1052. The text, as translated by Mr. Seong, continues:

"Calamity befell the temple and it was reduced to ashes. Who could be the one to reinstate the ruins that lay before one's eyes? Had one not been a man of wealth, a devotee of Tao and a sincere seeker of happiness, would one ever be willing to pay attention to this?"

Then in the period of Chih Ping (1064-67) King Ti Hua Kalo, Lord of San-fo-tsi (Deva Kulottunga of Sri Vijaya) sent Chih Lo Lo as envoy to the Chinese court. Chih Lo Lo arrived at Canton, saw the destroyed temple, to say nothing of an odd miracle or so, and on his return home made a report to the king, who sent Si Li Sha Wen to repair the temple. A Taoist monk, Lo Yin Chih, was made Resident Administrator; Ho Tek San was made Supervisor and he later succeeded Lo Yin Chih as administrator. The king also made a grant to the temple, and his example was followed by Judge Ma Tu Hua Lo, a countryman of the king. The Emperor then gave Kulottunga the little of Great General who Supports Obedience and cherishes Renovation, and Ho Tek San was made the Great Master Who Worships Tao. The inscription was set up in 1079 to record these transactions. Such are the relevant details.

The main problem to me is why did Kulottunga build the Taoist temple at all, that is, if he did it on his own initiative. If he had been

brought up by his mother in India, then the chances are his religion would have been Hinduism, in which case he would not have built the Chinese temple. On the other hand, if his grandmother, who had adopted him as her own son since his birth, had brought him up at the court of the Maharaja, then he would have been a Buddhist; and in this case it is not difficult to understand that he built the temple. This is not a major point, but it makes the whole story more logical to accept.

We now come to the Indian evidence. The Perumber Inscription of the Chola king, Vira Rajendra, dated in the 7th year of his reign (1067-70) states :

“Having conquered the country of Kadaram (Kedah), he was pleased to give it back to its king, who worshipped his feet which bore ankle rings.”

The explanation of this episode is to be found on page 52 of Paranavitana's book under review. This is a summary.

Vira Rajendra invaded Ceylon and, after some success, was finally defeated. The Sri Vijaya episode is inserted in the campaign. I will use Paranavitana's own words (page 52), leaving out the parts that concern Ceylon.

“A brother of Manabharana, i.e. a son of Samara Vijayotunga, had, some time earlier, abducted Sundari, a daughter of Sundara Pandya of Madhura, come to Amuradhapura with her and lived there for some years. Eventually, he returned with this princess to Sri Vijaya, but apparently leaving at Anuradhapura the issue of this union, a prince whose name too has not been given in our sources. The Pandyan princess desired to obtain the throne of the Maharaja for her son, and for this purpose plotted to get rid of the legitimate heir-presumptive, Mahasthamaprapta. For this purpose, Sundari wanted her son to come to Sri Vijaya from Anuradhapura, and sent a letter to a Sthavira named Sanghabhadra, to have the prince informed of the matter. Having been informed of the plan by Sanghabhadra Sthavira, the prince left Anuradhapura and started on his journey to Sri Vijaya. Apparently he arrived at

a port on the east coast, and was waiting for a ship for Sri Vijaya. It was at this juncture that Virarajendra landed in Ceylon with a very powerful army".

The Chola army had a set back in Ceylon and retired to a port on the east coast. The narrative continues :

"Here the Sri Vijayan prince, who was on his way home, came to Virarajendra and beseeched the latter to obtain the throne of that empire for him. Virarajendra acceded to his request and, leaving Ceylon, arrived at Sri Vijaya at a time when the Maharaja as well as the legitimate heir to the throne appear to have been away from the capital. Virarajendra's forces achieved the purpose of their assault on Sri Vijaya and installed the son of the Pandyan princess as the ruler. But his success was short-lived. The legitimate heir-presumptive soon recouped his forces, and killed Virarajendra's protege on the very night of his coronation, when the festivities connected with the event were in progress. This turn of events persuaded Virarajendra that it was politic to withdraw from Sri Vijaya, and he returned to Ceylon with his troops, advanced once more to Anuradhapura, and besieged the city with a vast army".

Paranavitana does not give the Sanskrit text of his source for this episode, but it serves to explain the hitherto inexplicable Perumber inscription of Virarajendra conquering Kedah. We now go on with Appendix III in Paranavitana's book. The following is my version, while that of Paranavitana starts on the second paragraph of page 53 in his book, and continues to the end of the chapter on page 58. The reason that the interpretations differ is because Paranavitana did not know that Kulottunga was the grand-nephew of the Maharaja of Sri Vijaya.

Samara Vijayottunga did not take kindly to Virarajendra's interference in the affairs of Sri Vijaya. He decided to depose Virarajendra and put his own grand-nephew, Kulottunga, on the Chola throne. He sent his son, Manabharana, with an ultimatum. Manabharana set sail, accompanied by Kulottunga and probably only a nominal force and arrived at Anuradhapura, where his sister was King Mahendra's queen, and then went on to see Sundara Pandya, who had been put on the

throne by his father (see Appendix II.) The ultimatum was sent to Virarajendra, who died suddenly. Vikramaditya, the King of Chalukya, decided to take a hand in the proceedings. He arrived at Gangakundapura and set up Virarajendra's son, Adhirajendra, as king; and left a force for the protection of the new monarch. Manabharana entered the capital and, calling the Chola grandees together, gave them the Maharaja's ultimatum. The text then continues: "All of them, listening to the message of the Maharaja, felt exceedingly happy. Capturing Adhirajendra and having executed him then and there, they installed Kulottunga as the ruler". This is a lovely way of putting things. After all, what have these grandees to lose? They were only substituting one of Rajendra the Great's grandson for another. And as for the Chalukya force left to protect Adhirajendra, they thought it better not to interfere. After all, Kulottunga was a grandson of their own Vijayaditya, wasn't he? So, on the excuse that their king had a high fever, they returned home. In this way, after a long search, Kulottunga finally managed to obtain the throne he was looking for, except that it was not the one he tried to get in the first place. So he lived happily ever after, or at least had a long reign of nearly fifty years (1070-1119 A.D.) And, as a bonus, he became king of Chalukya as well (*History of South India*, pages 199 and 200.)

This concludes the story except for a few loose-ends to tie up. Celebrations were held at the Chola and Sri Vijaya capitals. Mahendra himself crossed the ocean to attend the latter festival. Princesses of one state were given to princes of another to cement the alliances. Samara Vijayottunga was truly an Emperor—just like Queen Victoria except for his sex—his cousin and son-in-law was on the throne of Sri Lanka, he had put Sundara on the Pandya throne, and now his own grandnephew was on the Chola and Chalukya thrones. Thus the Sung history recorded in 1068-77 that Chu-lien was under the domination of San-fo-tsi.

Two of Kulottunga's inscriptions might be mentioned. In one he recorded of his Sri Vijaya grandmother who had adopted him from birth: "gently raised without wearying her in the least, the lotus-like goddess of the earth residing in the region of the rising sun." The other, dated 1089-90, stated:

“At the request of the king of Kidara, communicated by his envoys Rajavidyadhara Samanta and Abhimanottunga Samanta, Kulottunga exempted from taxes the village granted to the Buddhist monastery called Sailendra Cudamanivarma-vihara”.

Kulottunga (Ti-hwa-ka-lo of Chu-lien) also sent an embassy to the Chinese court in 1077, whereas San-fo-tsi continued to do so in 1078, 1082, 1083 and 1094 A.D.

The Chinese records quoted in this section, though seemingly contradictory, when interpreted together comprise the third of the four irrefutable pieces of evidence. Chinese records are neutral, unbiassed evidence and must be interpreted as literally as possible. In this case, we know now from Paranavitana's story in his Appendix III that Kulottunga was put on the Chola throne by the Maharaja of Sri Vijaya. The year was 1070. When Kulottunga sent an embassy in 1077, the Chinese recorded that it came from Ti-hwa-ka-lo of Chulien; and in the same period they recorded that Chulien was under the domination of San-fo-tsi. Then I have introduced the notion that Kulottunga's grandmother was a Sri Vijayan princess (Onang Kiu of the *Sejarah Melayu*) and that he was living with her in the Malay Peninsula before becoming king of Chola. So when he went to China in 1067 (before becoming king) the Sung history recorded that he was a high chief of San-fo-tsi; then when he sent an embassy, the Sri Vijaya inscription of Canton called him Lord of San-fo-tsi. The title conferred on him by the Emperor of Great General who Supports Obedience and Cherishes Renovation is the same in both instances, so there is not the slightest doubt that the Ti-hwa-ka-lo of all three Chinese records refers to Deva Kulottunga, and to nobody else. This is an irrefutable fact, and it fits the Indian sources.

By the time Kulottunga came to the throne of Chola India in 1070, both Mahendra and Samara Vijaya were old men. We do not know when the Maharaja died, but he was still alive in 1080. From another inter-linear source, Paranavitana states that one Alexander, a Byzantium merchant (Rumi Vani) arrived in Suvarnapura in the 55th year of Samara's reign; and he stayed till the fifth year of the reign of Manabharana, the new Maharaja. But King Mahendra died soon after 1070, to be followed

by Kassapa VII, who was a grandson of the Maharaja. Kassapa was on the throne for only one year, when Vijayabahu became king of the Island. This started a new chain of events, when Chola became aligned with Sri Vijaya, while Pandya supported the Sinhalese faction.

The story so far, from Mahinda IV in the middle of the 10th century to the accession of Vijayabahu, covers slightly over a century of the last days of the Anuradhapura period in Ceylonese history. Before going on to the Polonaruva period, I will first bring Vijayabahu to the throne of the Island.

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