

# University of Ceylon Review

Vol. XXI, No. 2.

October, 1963

## Princess Ulakudaya's Wedding

THE Sinhalese literature of the Kōṭṭe period is dominated by the figure of Parākramabāhu VI; his daughter, under her proper name of Candravatī, or under the title of Ulakudaya, is eulogised in the three poems of Śrī Rāhula, the greatest literary figure of the age. But the historical references in literary works of the Kōṭṭe period are neither copious nor very clear; conflicting opinions have, therefore, been expressed by scholars who have investigated them, with regard to the descent, career and the date of the accession of this important ruler.<sup>1</sup> Recently, I have almost stumbled upon certain documents of a unique nature, which not only settle many disputed points about Parākramabāhu and his family, but also throw welcome light on many obscure points in the history, political as well as literary, of the century or two preceding the accession of Parākramabāhu VI. These documents are not without interest to the student of the history of India and South-East Asia.

In 1934, I inspected an inscribed stone slab brought to light in a clearing for an agricultural settlement in the village of Bōlāna to the north-west of Ambalantōṭa in the Māgam Pattu of the Hambantōṭa District.<sup>2</sup> The slab pillar, which stood 4 ft. 6 in. above ground, measures 2½ ft. on its broader side, and 9 in. on the narrower side, which are inscribed in characters of the ninth or tenth century. The record is an edict, presumably of the Āpā of Rohaṇa, issued in the seventh year of King Abhā Salamevan, the father of the prince who issued the edict, who himself is not named, but must be Mahinda, the son of Kassapa V (914-923). Two edicts of this prince have been discovered in Rohaṇa, one at Mayilagatoṭa,<sup>3</sup> and the other near Kirinda.<sup>4</sup> The object of the edict was to grant certain privileges to an estate, subject to a quit-rent to be paid to the great hospital at Mahāgāma. Interesting as this document is, it is not the subject of the present paper.

As the inscribed stone could not be preserved *in situ*, I had it brought to the Colombo Museum, where it has been for the last thirty years. Recently,

1. See *History of Ceylon*, published by the University of Ceylon (UHC), Vol. I, part 2, pp. 660 ff and 776 ff.

2. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* for 1934, p. 19.

3. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 57-60.

4. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. V, pp. 270-280

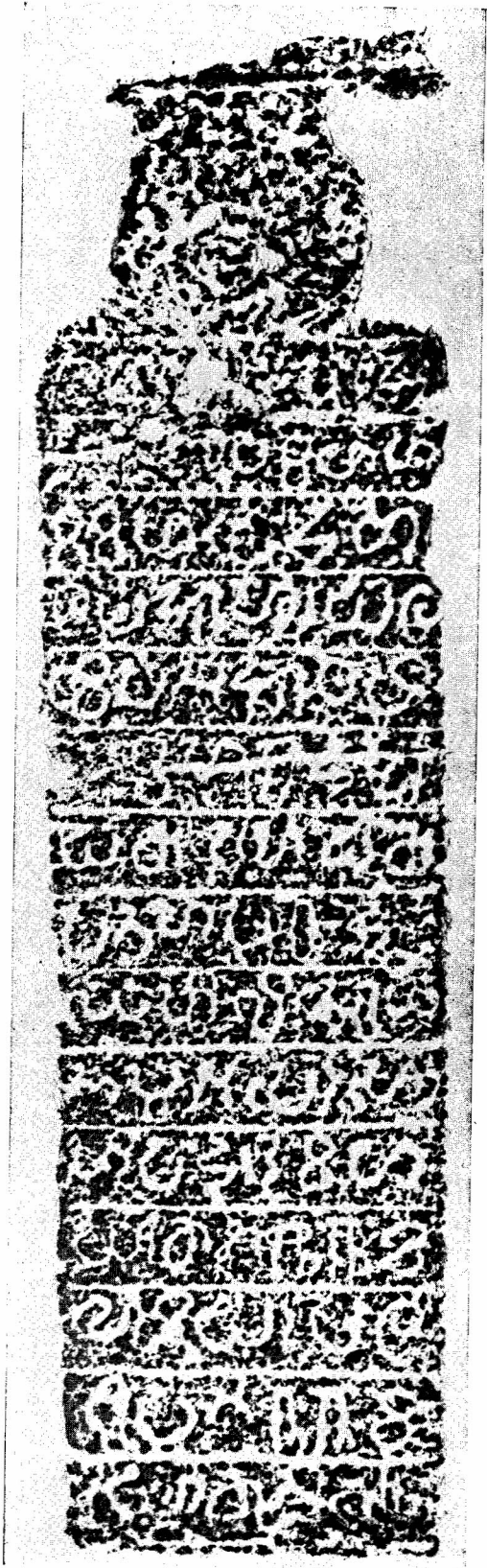
I had a fresh estampage of this inscription prepared, in order to edit it for the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, and in the course of studying it, I noticed that, in addition to the writing of the tenth century, which is in letters of comparatively large size, the stone is covered from top to bottom, on both sides, with writing in smaller characters of varying size, some very minute. In some places, writing in letters of one size is engraved over that in another size and type.

At first sight, this writing appears to be all in a jumble, but after close observation, the script is seen to be Sinhalese or Grantha of about the fifteenth century, and the language Sanskrit. There are, however, some writings in a script which appears palaeographically to belong to a period earlier than the fifteenth century. The decipherment of a continuous passage of several lines revealed that this later writing has recorded, in Sanskrit, royal pedigrees which begin or end with one or other of the following statements: viz. 'Candravatī, the daughter of the great king Parākramabāhu, stands (here), having taken the hand of Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya,' or 'Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya, stands (here), having taken the hand of Candravatī, etc.'. These statements definitely establish that the pedigrees had been recited on the occasion of the wedding of Candravatī, the daughter of Parākramabāhu VI, the monarch best known to students of Sinhalese literature.

We know that the recital of the pedigrees of the families of the bride and bridegroom was an important part of the ceremony on the occasion of a royal wedding in India, as it was indeed in many other countries. In the description of the wedding of Rāma and Sītā, the *Rāmāyaṇa* has given the pedigree of Sītā's father as well as that of Daśaratha, Rāma's father. The poet expressly mentions that, on the occasion of the giving away of a daughter in marriage, by a person who could boast of being born in a good family, the details of the family tree should be recounted.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the pedigrees, there are also inscribed on the stone a poem in Sanskrit, which may be called the wedding hymn, and short commemorative records. After the discovery of this writing on the slab from Bōlāna, I also discovered, on several other stones bearing Sinhalese inscriptions of the tenth to twelfth centuries, similar writing relating to Candravatī's wedding, superficially incised in the spaces between the lines of the original epigraphs, and also going over them. Some of these are: (1-2) two slabs

5. *Pradāne tu muni-śreṣṭha kulān nīravāśeṣataḥ.*  
*Vaktāyaṃ kulajātena tan nibodha-mahāmune.* *Rāmāyaṇa*, Book I, Canto 71, v. 2.



Bōlāna Slab, Side A

in the Abhayagiri area at Anurādhapura (*Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, Nos. 19 and 20); (3) a slab from Vessagiri at Anurādhapura (*Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, Plate 10); (4) a slab from Rambāva in the Anurādhapura District, now preserved in the Anurādhapura Museum (*Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, No. 12); (5) a slab containing an (unpublished) edict relating to the hospital at Mādirigiri (*Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 26); (6) an unpublished inscription of Niśśaṁkamalla on a stone *āsana* recently discovered in the neighbourhood of Giritaḷē, in the Tamankaḍu District; (7) an unpublished inscription of Vikramabāhu I near the Kavuduluvāva in the Tamankaḍu District; (8) an unpublished edict of the eleventh century found at a place near Virakāṭiya in the Hambantota District; (9) the pillar inscription at Mayilagastota (*Ep. Zey.* Vol. II, No. 11); (10) an unpublished pillar-inscription of about the tenth century found in the neighbourhood of Ampārai; (11) an unpublished slab-pillar from a site in the Gal Oya Valley. The last named slab appears to have been specially prepared for the recording of the pedigrees; no earlier inscription is visible on it.

Fragments of one of the pedigrees are faintly visible on an estampage of the Sinhalese inscription of Niśśaṁkamalla discovered at Rāmeśvaram (*Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G; Vol. II, p. 105*). The writing on this stone—of Niśśaṁkamalla's record, as well as that of the pedigrees inscribed later on the earlier writing—is said to be altogether obliterated at present. The fact that the pedigrees recited on the occasion of the wedding of his daughter have been recorded on this stone indicates that, at that time, the Island of Rāmeśvaram was under the control of Parākramabāhu VI.

Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5 and several others also bear, in addition to the original Sinhalese writing, historical accounts in Sanskrit incised between and over the original lines of writing. The fifteenth century writing has been incised over, sometimes obscuring, the earlier palimpsests. This later writing is of such a character that it can easily escape notice when one's attention is concentrated on the original writing in the course of deciphering it, as has indeed happened in the case of Nos. 1—4 and 9. On some of the stones, these pedigrees are written twice over, once in a script of a larger size and again in letters of very minute size. In some cases, the pedigree of the bridegroom is written over that of the bride, or *vice versa*. In the Bōlāna slab, the pedigrees are written in the Grantha as well as in the Sinhalese characters, one going over the other. On some stones, the Sanskrit passages are written also in the Nāgarī script. Traces of Persian and Chinese characters are also visible on some stones. In all these stones, this

writing of the fifteenth century which has not been engraved to an appreciable depth, and sometimes is not more than mere scratches, is illegible in many places. But, fortunately, what is illegible on one stone can be made out on the other, so that the pedigrees and other documents have been recovered in full. Thus, though the slab from Bōlāna is given as the source of the texts reproduced below, the readings are a result of the examination of the writing on all or most of the slabs enumerated above.

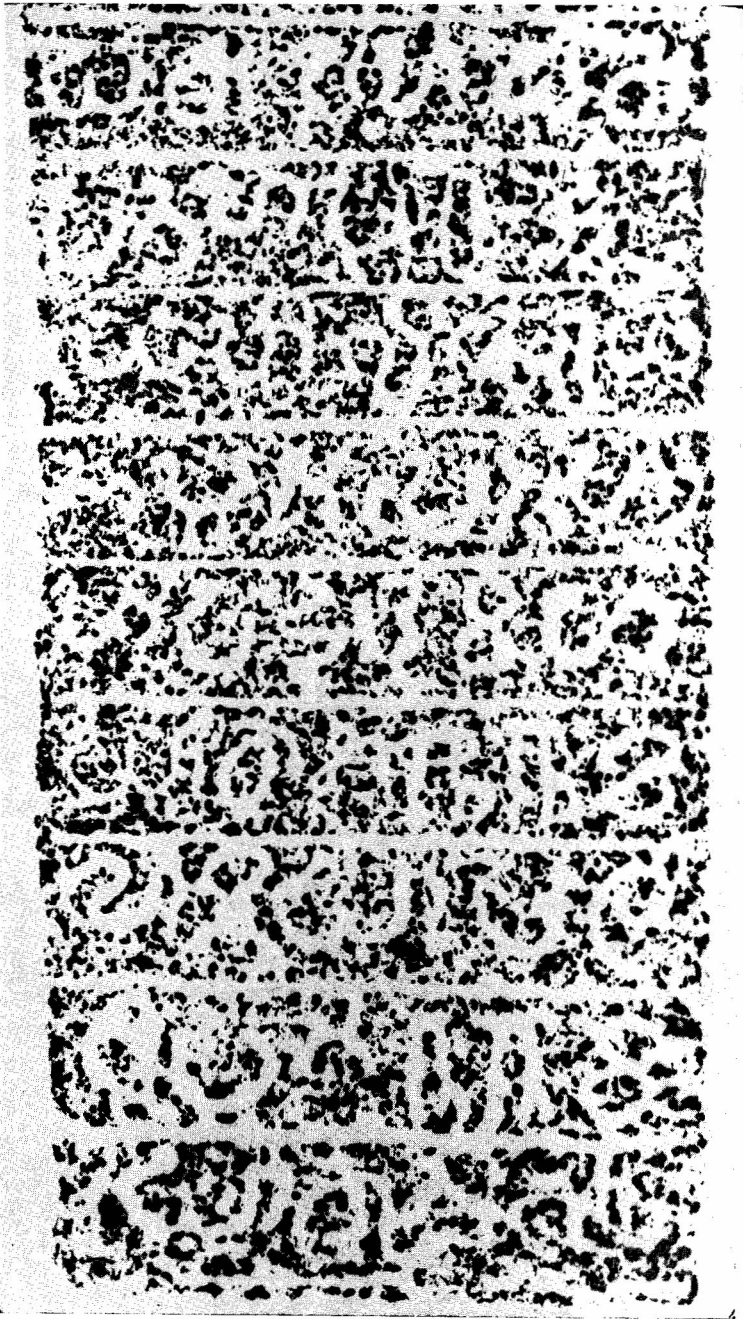
I do not, in this paper, propose to discuss these pedigrees in detail; and my comments will be limited to the barest minimum necessary for understanding them.

### Pedigree No. 1

This starts from the very top of side A of the pillar, and is continued over the *kalasa* shown in relief and over the writing of the tenth century, up to the end of the area of line 5 of the original record, 2 ft. from the top. The Sinhalese and Grantha versions run close together, the latter being better preserved and legible in most places. The text is given following the lines of the record engraved in the Sinhalese script, though the reading in many places is based on the Grantha, or the writing on the other stones referred to.

#### Text

(1) Svasti [|\*] Śri-Parākramabā- (2) -hu-mahārājasya duhitā Candravatī  
 (3) Sundara-Pāṇḍya-putrasya Sundara-(4) Pāṇḍyasya hastaiḥ = gr̥hitvā  
 sthī-(5) -tā [|\*] Sundara-Pāṇḍyas=tu Sundara-Pāṇḍyasya (6) putras =  
 Sundara - Pāṇḍyas = tu Sundara - Pāṇḍyasya (7) putras = Sundara -  
 Pāṇḍyas = tu Sundara - Pāṇḍyasya putras = Su (8) -ndara - Pāṇḍyas  
 = tu Sundara - Pāṇḍyasya putras = Sunda - (9) - ra - Pāṇḍyas = tu  
 Sundara - Pāṇḍyasya putras = Sundara - Pā - (10) - ṇḍyas = tu Sundara  
 - Pāṇḍyasya putras = Sundara - Pāṇḍya - (11) - s = tu Sundara - Pāṇḍyasya  
 putras = Sundara (12) Pāṇḍyas = tu Sundara - Pāṇḍyasya pu - (13) tras  
 = Sundara - Pāṇḍyas = tu Sundara - Pāṇḍya - (14) - sya putras = Sundara -  
 Pāṇḍyas - tu Sundara Pā - (15) - ṇḍyasya putras = Sundara - Pāṇḍyas = tu  
 Su - (16) - ndara - Pāṇḍyasya putras = Sundara - Pa - (17) - ṇḍyas = tu  
 Parākramabāhu-mahārājasya bhāgineyaḥ Parākramabāhu ma - (18) - hā -  
 rājas = tu Vijayabāhu - mahārājasya putro Vi - (19) - jayabāhu - mahārājas  
 = tu Parākramabāhu mahārājasya putraḥ Parā - (20) - kramabāhu - mahārājas  
 = tu Vijayabāhu - mahārājasya putro Vija - (21) - yabāhu - mahārājas =



Lower half of Bōlāna Slab, Side A. ll. 7—15 of original inscription.

tu Vijayamalla - mahārājasya putro Vijayamalla - mahā - (n) rājas = tu Gajabāhu - mahārājasya putro Gajabāhu - mahārājas = tu Vikrama- (23) bāhu - mahārājasya putro Vikramabāhu - mahārājas = tu Vijaya - (24) bāhu- mahārājasya putro Vijayabāhu- mahārājas = tu Maudgalyāya (25) - -na - mahārājasya putro Maudgalyāyana - mahārājas = tu Kāśyapa - mahā (26) rājasya putraḥ Kāśyapa - mahārājas = tu Sena - mahārājasya putras = Sena - (27) mahārājas = tu Sundarayāḥ putras = Sundrai tu Śrīmārasya duhitā Śrī - (28) māras = tu Varaguṇa - mahārājasya putro Varaguṇa - mahārājas = tu Śrīmāra - mahārā - (29) - jasya putras = Śrīmāra - mahārājas = tu Varaguṇa - mahārājasya putro Varaguṇa - (30) mahārājas = tu Rājasimha - mahārājasya putro Rājasimha - mahārāja- (31) - s = tu Jaṭila - mahārājasya putro Jaṭila - mahārājas = tu = Arikeśari - (32) mahārājasya putro Arikeśari - mahārājas = tu Phalayāgaśāla - Mūrdhacūḍa - (33) mahārājasya putraḥ Phalayāgaśāla - Mūrdha - cūḍa - mahārājas = tu Paṇḍu- mahārājasya putraḥ (34) Paṇḍu- mahārājas - tu Candra - mahārājasya putraś- Candra - mahārājas = tu Candra-vaṁśasya (35) pratisthāpayitā [\*] Svasti (eight times repeated) (36) Sundara - Pāṇḍyasya - putras - Sundara - Pāṇḍyaḥ Parākramabāhu - mahārājasya (37) duhituś = Candravatyā hastaṁ gṛhītṛvā sthitaḥ[\*] (38). [The above passage repeated, and Svasti written twice].

### Translation

May it be well! Prosperity! Candravatī, the daughter of the great king Śrī Parākramabāhu, stands (here), having taken the hand of Sundara Pāṇḍya, the son of Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Sundara Pāṇḍya (XI) is the son of Sundara Pāṇḍya (X); Sundara Pāṇḍya (X) is the son of Sundara Pāṇḍya (IX); Sundara Pāṇḍya (IX) was the son of Sundara Pāṇḍya (VIII); Sundara Pāṇḍya (VIII) was the son of Sundara Pāṇḍya (VII); Sundara Pāṇḍya (VII) was the son of Sundara Pāṇḍya (VI); Sundara Pāṇḍya (VI) was the son of Sundara Pāṇḍya (V); Sundara Pāṇḍya (V) was the son of Sundara Pāṇḍya (IV); Sundara Pāṇḍya (IV) was the son of Sundara Pāṇḍya (III); Sundara Pāṇḍya (III) was the son of Sundara Pāṇḍya (II); Sundara Pāṇḍya (II) was the son of Sundara Pāṇḍya (I); Sundara Pāṇḍya (II) was the son-in-law of Parākramabāhu-mahārāja; Parākramabāhu - mahārāja was the son of Vijayabāhu - mahārāja; Vijayabāhu - mahārāja was the son of Parākramabāhu - mahārāja; Parākramabāhu - mahārāja was the son of Vijayabāhu - mahārāja; Vijayabāhu-mahārāja was the son of Vijayamalla-mahārāja; Vijayamalla - mahārāja was the son of Gajabāhu - mahārāja; Gajabāhu - mahārāja was

the son of Vikramabāhu-mahārāja ; Vikramabāhu - mahārāja was the son of Vijayabāhu - mahārāja ; Vijayabāhu - mahārāja was the son of Maudgalyāyana - mahārāja ; Maudgalyāyana - mahārāja was the son of Kāśyapa - mahārāja ; Kāśyapa-mahārāja was the son of Sena-mahārāja ; Sena - mahārāja was the son of Sundarī ; Sundarī was the daughter of Śrīmāra ; Śrīmāra was the son of Varaguṇa-mahārāja ; Varaguṇa-mahārāja was the son of Śrīmāra-mahārāja ; Śrīmāra-mahārāja was the son of Varaguṇa-mahārāja ; Varaguṇa-mahārāja was the son of Rājasimha-mahārāja ; Rājasimha-mahārāja was the son of Jaṭila-mahārāja ; Jaṭila-mahārāja was the son of Arikeśari-mahārāja ; Arikeśari-mahārāja was the son of Phalayāgāsāla - Mūrdhacūḍa-mahārāja ; Phalayāgāsāla-Mūrdha-cūḍa-mahārāja was the son of Paṇḍu-mahārāja ; Paṇḍu-mahārāja was the son of Candra-mahārāja ; Candra-mahārāja was the founder of the Candra-vaiṃsa. May it be well ! (eight times repeated).

Sundara Pāṇḍya, the son of Sundara Pāṇḍya, stands (here), having taken the hand of Candravatī, the daughter of the great king Parākramabāhu. May it be well (4 times repeated).

### Comments

The name Sundara Pāṇḍya has been adopted in the family of Candravatī's groom from father to son for eleven generations. It is no wonder that this pedigree is intended to trace his descent from the Candra-vaiṃsa, to which the Pāṇḍya kings belonged. This has been done by tracing the descent through the mother on two occasions. King Parākramabāhu, whose daughter Sundara Pāṇḍya (the second in the family to bear the name) espoused, can easily be recognised as Parākramabāhu III, who reigned with Polonnaru as his capital after having obtained the Tooth Relic from the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Kulaśekhara.<sup>6</sup> His father, the first Sundara Pāṇḍya in the family, must have been given the name in honour of the great conqueror and founder of the second Pāṇḍya empire, Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (1251—1268). It is through the Daṃbadeṇi kings that Sundara Pāṇḍya's connection with the Pāṇḍya lineage has been established in this pedigree. It is thus apparent that the Daṃbadeṇi kings claimed to belong to the Pāṇḍya stock. The two principal sources for the history of the Daṃbadeṇi period, the *Cūlavaiṃsa* (chapters 81-90) and the *Pūjāvalī* (chapter 34) introduce Vijayabāhu III, the first king to reign from Daṃbadeṇi,

6. *Cūlavaiṃsa*, chap. 90, vv. 48-58; *UHC*, II, p. 632. Ten generations appear to be too much for the period from Parākramabāhu III to Parākramabāhu VI. An error is possible, which could easily have crept in due to the repetition of the same phrase.

without saying anything about his parentage. The *Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vamsa* alone informs us that the father of Vijayabāhu III was King Vijayamalla; this authority too does not say who Vijayamalla's father was.<sup>7</sup> Surely, the authors of these works must have known about the family connections of Vijayamalla. Those who are familiar with the chapters of the *Cūlavamsa* dealing with the history of the Island from the death of Vijayabāhu I to the accession of Parākramabāhu I, will readily understand why the writers of the Daṁbadeṇi period did not mention the name of Vijayamalla's father, when they learn that according to this pedigree the personage about whom these writers had been silent was no other than Gajabāhu-mahārāja, i.e. Gajabāhu II.

Kāśyapa-mahārāja of this pedigree is the prince referred to at chapter 54, v. 69 of the *Cūlavamsa*. His father, Sena-mahārāja, is Sena V, the son of Mahinda IV by his consort referred to in the *Cūlavamsa* as Kālīṅga-devī.<sup>8</sup> The pedigree is continued, not through Sena V's father, but through his mother, called Sundarī. More about this princess and her right to be called Pāṇḍyan will be stated in the sequel. From Varaguṇa-mahārāja to Arikeśarī, the pedigree ascends quite in agreement with the bigger Sinnamanūr plates.<sup>9</sup> The king named here as Phalayāga-sāla Mūrdhacūḍa does not figure in the Pāṇḍya genealogy of that document, but a ruler of this name figures in the Vēlvikuḍi grant; <sup>10</sup> he is mentioned in that document as a ruler who flourished before the advent of the Kaḷabhras. Of the mythical ancestors of the Pāṇḍya kings named in their charters, this pedigree mentions two, Pāṇḍya-mahārāja as the father of Mūrdhacūḍa, and Candra mahārāja as the founder of the Candra-vamśa. Candra is here referred to as a human personality, not as a divine being (Moon God). As only eight generations separated Candra-mahārāja from Varaguṇa II, the date of whose accession was 862, our pedigree visualises a dynasty that was founded about the beginning of the seventh century. Either the framer of our pedigree has indulged in some rationalisation, or the genealogists of the Pāṇḍya kings have identified a human personage with a divine being, and taken the origin of the dynasty of their kings to a hoary antiquity. It is also interesting to note that the feats which the *Kavsilumiṇa* (v. 769) ascribes to Paṇḍu-iṇḍu are related of a mythical ancestor of the Pāṇḍyas in the bigger Sinnamanūr plates.<sup>11</sup> As our pedigree proves that the Daṁba-

7. *UHC*, II, pp. 613-15.

8. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 54, v. 57.

9. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 443 ff.

10. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, p. 291 ff. It is not impossible that a later ruler was called after a famous king of an earlier date.

11. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 460.

deni kings claimed Pāṇḍya descent, there should be no objection to the *Kavsihumiṇa* being taken as a work of Parākramabāhu on the ground of his lineage.

### Pedigree No. 2.

The next pedigree, which is also written in the Grantha as well as the Sinhalese script, traces the descent of Sundara Pāṇḍya from the Anurādhapura kings in the direct male line. This starts at the top of the area occupied by line 5 of the Sinhalese inscription and ends at l. 10.

#### Text

(1) Svasti [ ]\* Ambalātirtha - rājyasya pratiṣṭhā - (2) - payitā Sundara - Pāṇḍyas = tu Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala - vijetus = (3) Sena - mahārājasya paramparānuyātaḥ [ ]\* Svasti [ ]\* (4) Svasti [ ]\* Mahārāja-Dappulasya putro Mahādīpāda - (5) Kāśyapas = tasya putro Mahārāja-Senas = tu Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala - (6) - m̄n m̄ = vijitya Varaguṇa - mahārājām̄ sva-rājye sthāpitvā Pāṇḍya (7) - maṇḍalam̄ Lamkā-rājyasya vaśe varttayitvā sthitvā m̄ṛta - (8) - s = tasya putro mahārāja - Kāśyapas = tu Pāṇḍya - maṇḍalam̄ vi - (9) - jitya sthitvā m̄ṛtas = tasya putro Mahendras = tu Rohaṇa = ādīpāda - sthānam = la - (10) - bdhvā sthitvā Mahendreṇa yuddham̄ kṛtvā parājito Jāvam = gatvā tatra sthī - (11) - tvā m̄ṛtas = tasya putraḥ Kāśyapas = tu tatra sthitvā m̄ṛtas = tasya putro Mahendras = tu (12) Samara - Vijayot-tuṅga = rājen = Ānuradhapuram = prāpya sthitvā m̄ṛtas = tasya putro Buddha - malla - (13) - s = tu Samara - Vijayottuṅga - rājasya vipakṣo bhūtvā Suvarṇmalayam = prāpya Maudgalyāyanam̄ = rājye (14) sthāpitvā Vijayabāhunā Pulastipuram = prāpya sthitvā m̄ṛtas = tasya putro Mahendras = tu tatra sthitvā m̄ṛta (15) - s = tasya putraḥ Parākramas = tu Parākramabāhu-rājasya Mañju - daṇḍanāyakena yuddham̄ = kṛtvā parājito m̄ṛta (16) - s = tasya putro Bhuvanaikabāhus = tu Govinda - parvate durggam̄ = kṛtvā Rohaṇe rājyam̄ = kṛtvā sthitvā m̄ṛttas = tasya putras = Sundara - (17) Pāṇḍyas = tu Sundaragiri-pure Bhuvanaika-bāhu - rājasya vipakṣo bhūtvā yuddham̄ = kṛtvā parājito m̄ṛta - (18) s = tasya putras = Sundara - Pāṇḍyaḥ Parākramabāhu - rājasya duhitaram̄ Svarṇamāṇikyām̄ samūḍhe [ ]\* (19) Tasya putras = Sundara Pāṇḍyas = tasya putras = Sundara - Pāṇḍyas = tasya putras = Sundara - Pāṇḍyas tasya (20) putras = Sundara - Pāṇḍyas = tasya putras = Sundara - Pāṇḍyas = tasya putras - Sundara - Pāṇḍyas = tasya putras = Sundara - Pā - (21) ṇḍyas = Suvarṇna - malayam = prāpya sthitvā - punar =

āgamya Ambalātīrthe puraṇ = kṛtvā Rohaṇe rajyaṇ = kṛtvā sthītvā  
 mṛtas = tasya (22) putras = Sundara - Pāṇḍyas = sampraty = Ambalātīrtha-  
 pure rājyaṇ = kārayati Parākramabāhu - rājasya maṇḍaliko (23) bhūtvā  
 [!★] Tasya Sundara - Pāṇḍyasya putras = Sundara - Pāṇḍyaḥ Parākrama-  
 bāhu - rājasya duhituś = Candravatyā (24) hastaiṇ = grhītvā sthitaḥ [!★]

### Translation

Hail! Sundara-Pāṇḍya, the founder of the kingdom of Ambalātīrtha,<sup>12</sup> had come down in succession from Sena-mahārāja, the conqueror of the Pāṇḍya country.

Hail! Mahārāja Dappula, his son Mahādīpāda Kāśyapa; his son Mahārāja Sena conquered the Pāṇḍya country, established Varaguṇa-mahārāja in his own sovereignty, made the Pāṇḍya country subject to the kingdom of Laṅkā and, having remained (in power), died (in due time). His son Kāśyapa-mahārāja (also) conquered the Pāṇḍya country and, having remained (in power), died (in due time). His son, Mahendra, obtained the position of Ādīpāda in Rohaṇa, remained there, waged war with Mahendra, was defeated, went to Jāva, remained there and died. His son Kāśyapa also remained there (i.e. in Jāva) and died. His son, Mahendra, arrived at Anurādhapura with King Samara-Vijayottuṅga, remained there and died. His son, Buddhamalla, became an opponent of Samara Vijayottuṅga, arrived in Suvarṇamālaya,<sup>13</sup> established Maudgalyāyana in the sovereignty, arrived in Pulastipura with Vijayabāhu, remained there, and died. His son Mahendra also remained there and died. His son Parākrama waged war with Mañju, the *daṇḍanāyaka* of King Parākramabāhu, was defeated, and died. His son, Bhuvanaikabāhu, constructed a fortress at Govinda-parvata, reigned in Rohaṇa and died. His son, Sundara Pāṇḍya, became an opponent of King Bhuvanaikabāhu of Sundagiri-pura (Yāpavu), waged war (with him), was defeated, and died. His son, Sundara Pāṇḍya, wedded Svarṇamāṇikyā, the daughter of King Parākramabāhu. His son Sundara Pāṇḍya; his son Sundara Pāṇḍya; his son Sundara Pāṇḍya; his son Sundara Pāṇḍya; his son Sundara Pāṇḍya. His son, Sundara Pāṇḍya, went to Suvarṇa-mālaya, remained there, came back again, built a city at Ambalātīrtha (Ambalantoṭa), reigned in Rohaṇa and died. His son Sundara-Pāṇḍya now administers the kingdom in Ambalātīrtha as a territorial magnate of King Parākramabāhu.

12. Ambalantoṭa.

13. Ranmalakanda, called Hirañña-mālaya in the *Oṣṭavanṣa*.

Sundara Pāṇḍya, the son of that Sundara Pāṇḍya, stands (here), having taken the hand of Candravatī, the daughter of King Parākramabāhu.

### Comments

This pedigree furnishes us with historical information hitherto unknown. From Dappula to Ādipāda Mahendra, the pedigree is in agreement with the genealogical information contained in the *Cūlavamsa*. It is significant that the name of the Pāṇḍya king who secured the throne of Madhurā with the assistance of Sena II, was still remembered in court circles, though it has not been given in the *Cūlavamsa*.<sup>14</sup> The prince named Mahendra, the son of Kāśyapa, who was Ādipāda of Rohaṇa, is the same as Mihiṇḍu Āpā of the Mayilagatoṭa and Kirinda inscriptions.<sup>15</sup> The prince Mahendra, at whose hands his namesake suffered defeat, is the Lāmāni Mihind of the Kataragama (Deṭtagamu) inscription.<sup>16</sup> The pedigree furnishes us with new information when it says that Ādipāda Mahendra found refuge in Jāva (a kingdom in the north of the Malay Peninsula) after suffering defeat.

King Samara Vijayottuṅga with whom Mahendra, the grandson of Ādipāda Mahendra, returned to Ceylon, has been unknown to history until a few months ago. Recently, however, a document in Sanskrit, engraved on a slab in the Abhayagiri grounds at Anurādhapura,<sup>17</sup> at a date subsequent to the Sinhalese inscription of the eleventh century engraved on it, has enlightened us as to who he was. He was the son of Māra Vijayottuṅga, the ruler of Śrī Vijaya mentioned in the well-known Leiden grant of Rājendra Coḷa,<sup>18</sup> who married the daughter of Mahinda IV by his Kāliṅga queen.<sup>19</sup> He drove the Coḷa forces from Śrī Vijaya after the death of Rājendra-Coḷa and, soon after this event, came to Ceylon with his army. In co-operation with Prince Kāśyapa, the son of Sena V, who was in the Highlands, he conducted a campaign against the Coḷas, and wrested Ceylon from them. He remained in Ceylon for five years, handed over the sovereignty of the Island to Kāśyapa, and returned to Śrī Vijaya. Kāśyapa was succeeded by a brother of his, named Sena, whose son Mahendra became the next ruler of Rājaraṭṭha and reigned for seventeen years. He was suc-

14. Chap. 51, vv. 27.51. About the name of the Pāṇḍya prince who was assisted by Sena II to obtain the throne of Madhurā, see *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. V, pp. 105 f.

15. See notes 3 and 4 above.

16. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. III, p. 224.

17. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, No. 20.

18. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, p. 257.

19. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 54, vv. 10. 11.



Upper half of Bōlāna Slab, Side A. ll. 1—6 of original inscription.

ceeded by his son, a prince named Kāśyapa who reigned for only one year, after which Vijayabāhu was anointed in Anurādhapura. Due to some reason or other, all these events have been passed over in silence by the *Cūlavamsa*.

Buddhamalla, figuring in this pedigree, is mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* and the Panākaḍu inscription.<sup>20</sup> The events briefly referred to here have been described at length in the chronicle. But, from this pedigree, we learn that Prince Maudgalyāyana was established in the sovereignty by Buddha. This explains the reference in the Aṃbagamuva inscription to Vijayabāhu's father by the throne name of Abā Salamevan.<sup>21</sup> Parākrama, who lost his life in waging war with Mañju,<sup>22</sup> the general of Parākramabāhu I, is not known from other sources. We also learn from this document, for the first time, that Bhuvanaikabāhu, who ruled Rohaṇa from his stronghold at Govinda-parvata,<sup>23</sup> was a descendant of Sena II. The name Sundara Pāṇḍya borne by the son of Prince Bhuvanaikabāhu, indicates that he must have carved out a principality for himself by declaring allegiance to Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the Pāṇḍya conqueror who flourished at this time. The fact that he lost his life fighting against Bhuvanaikabāhu of Yāpavu suggests that he took the side of Vijayabāhu IV. And the Sundara Pāṇḍya of the next generation, in keeping with this political alignment, espoused a daughter of Parākramabāhu III, the son of Vijayabāhu IV. The reasons which led Sundara Pāṇḍya IX to remain in concealment at Suvarṇamalaya are not stated, but must have been connected with the troubles which preceded the accession of Parākramabāhu VI.

### Pedigree No. 3.

Written in characters averaging  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. in height, beginning just below the upper rule demarcating the area of line 7 of the Sinhalese inscription, and continued downwards for 1 ft. 5 in. The passage is also written in Grantha characters over the Sinhalese. The Grantha is generally more legible and helps to decipher the record in the Sinhalese script in many places where the latter is indistinct. The text has been the result of the collation of the readings on the other stones, notably the Virakāṭiya and the Mādirigiri slabs.

20. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 57, vv. 45 ff and *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. V, pp. 1-27.

21. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 215.

22. See *U.H.C.*, Vol. I, part 2, p. 492 (No. 40).

23. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 81, vv. 5-6.

**Text**

(1) Svasti [|\*] Parākramabāhu - mahārājas = tu Jayamālasya (2) putro Jayamālas = tu Jaya-mālasya bhāgingeyo Jayamālas = tu Parā - (3) - kramabāhu - mahārājasya bhāgingeyaḥ Parākramabāhu - mahārāja - (4) - s = tu Vijayabāhu - mahārājasya putro Vijayabāhu - mahārājas = tu (5) Candrabhānu - mahārājasya putraś = Candrabhānu - mahārājas = tu Gaṇḍa - (6) gopāla - mahārājasya putro Gaṇḍagopāla - mahārājas = tu Māgha - ma - (7) - hārājasya - pruto Māgha - mahārājas = tu Sūryya-nārāyaṇa-mahārājasya (8) putras = Sūryyanārāyaṇa - mahārājas = tu Pralambahasta - mahārājasya putraḥ Pralamba - (9) hasta - mahārājas = tu Jayagopa - mahārājasya putro Jayagopa - mahārājas = tu (10) Sūryya-nārāyaṇa-mahārājasya putras = Sūryyanārāyaṇa - mahārājas = tu Mahā- (11) sthāmaprāpta - mahārājasya putro Mahā-sthāmaprāpta - mahārājas = tu Mānā - (12) - bharaṇa - mahārājasya putro Mānābharaṇa - mahārājas = tu Samara-Vijayottu - (13) - Ņga mahārājasya putras - Samara-Vijayottuṅga - mahārājas = tu Māra-Vijayottuṅga - (14) mahārājasya putro Māra - Vijayottuṅga mahārājas = tu Guṇārṇṇava - (15) mahārājasya putro Guṇārṇṇava-mahārājas = tu Kauṇḍineya - mahārā - (16) - jasya putraḥ Kauṇḍineya - mahārājas = tu Siddhayātra - mahārājasya putras = Si- (17) - ddhayātra - mahārājas = tu Kāśyapa-mahārājasya putraḥ Kāśyapa - mahārājas = tu Se - (18) - na - mahārājasya putras = Sena-mahārājas = tu Kāśyapa - mahādīpādasya putraḥ Kāśyapa-mahādīpāda - (19) - s = tu Dappula-mahārājasya putro Dappula - mahārājas = tu Udaya (20) - Mahārājasya putra - Udaya-mahārājas = tu Mahendra-mahārājasya putro Mahendra - mahārājas = tu (21) Agrabodhi-mahārājasya putra = Agrabodhi-mahārājas = tu Kāśyapa mahārājasya pu - (22) - traḥ Kāśyapa-mahārājas = tu Mānavarmma-mahārājasya putro Mānavarmma-mahārājas = tu (23) Kāśyapa-mahārājasya putraḥ Kāśyapa-mahārājas = tu Śīlāmegha-mahārājasya putraś = Śīlāmegha-mahārāja (24) - s = tu Malaya - rājasya putro Malaya-rajās = tu Simhala-daṇḍa-nāya - (25) - kasya putras = Simhala - daṇḍanāyakas = tu Maudgalyāyana - mahārājasya (26) putro Maudgalyāyana-mahārājas = tu Śīlākāla - mahārājasya putra - (27) - ś - Śīlākāla-mahārājas = tu Maudgalyāyana - mahārājasya svasriṇo (28) Maudgalyāyana - mahārājas = tu Dhātusena-mahārājasya putro (29) Dhātusena - mahārājas = tu Daṁṣṭranāma-mahārājasya putro Daṁṣṭranāma-mahārā - (30) - jas = tu Mayūra-mahārājasya putro Mayūra-mahārājas = tu Mayūra-mahārājasya (31) putro Mayūra-mahārājas = tu Lambakarṇṇa-mahārājasya putro Lambaka - (32) rṇṇa-mahārājas = tu Lamkāśoka-mahārājasya putro

Lainkāsoka-mahārāja - (33) - s = tu Kalabhra-mahārājasya putraḥ Kalabhra-mahārājas = tu Mu - (34) - ruṇḍa - mahā-rājasya putro Muruṇḍa mahārājas = tu (35) Kalabhra-mahārājasya putraḥ Kalabhra-mahārājas = tu Muruṇḍa - (36) mahārājasya putro Muruṇḍa-mahārājas = tu Kala - (37) -bhra-mahārājasya putraḥ Kalabhra-mahārājas = tu Muruṇḍa-mahārāja- (38) -sya putro Muruṇḍa-mahārājas = tu Kalabhra mahā - (39) rājasya putraḥ Kalabhra-mahārājas = tu Muruṇḍa - (40) mahārājasya putro Muruṇḍa-mahārājas - tu Kalabhra-mahārā - (41) - jasya putraḥ Kalabhra-mahārājas = tu Puṇḍra-mahā-rājasya putraḥ Puṇḍra-mahārājas = tu (42) Mahādāmṣṭrika-Mahānāga-mahārājasya bhāgincyo Mahādāmṣṭrika Mahānāga mahārājas = tu (43) Kuṭakarṇṇābhaya-mahārājasya putraḥ Kuṭakarṇṇābhaya-mahārājas = tu Mahā - (44) cūḍika-Mahātiṣya mahārājasya putro Mahācūḍika - Mahātiṣya-mahārājas = tu Khallāta - (45) Nāga-mahārājasya putraḥ Khallāta - Nāga - mahārājas = tu Śra - (46) ddhātiṣya-mahārājasya putras = Śraddhātiṣya-mahārājas = tu Kākavarṇṇa-tiṣya - mahārājasya putraḥ (47) Kākavarṇṇa-Tiṣya-mahārājas = tu Goṣṭhya-bhaya-mahārājasya putro (48) Goṣṭhyabhaya mahārājas = tu Yaṣṭyālaya-Tiṣya mahārājasya putro Yaṣṭyālaya-Tiṣya (49) mahārājas = tu Mahānāgoparājasya putro Mahānāgoparājas = tu Parākramabāhu (50) mahārājasya vaimśasya pratiṣṭhāpayitā [**\***] Svasti Svasti Svasti. (51) Sundara-Pāṇḍyasya putras = Sundara-Pāṇḍyaḥ Parākramabāhu mahārājasya (52) duhitus-Candravatyā hastaṅ gr̥hitvā sthitaḥ Svasti Svasti Svasti.

### Translation

Hail! Parākramabāhu-mahārāja is the son of Jayamāla, Jayamāla was the son-in-law of Jayamāla; Jayamāla was the son-in-law of Parākramabāhu-mahārāja; Parākramabāhu-mahārāja was the son of Vijayabāhu-mahārāja; Vijayabāhu-mahārāja was the son of Candrabhānu-mahārāja; Candrabhānu-mahārāja was the son of Gaṇḍagopāla-mahārāja; Gaṇḍagopāla-mahārāja was the son of Māgha-mahārāja; Māgha-mahārāja was the son of Sūryyanārāyaṇa-mahārāja; Sūryyanārāyaṇa-mahārāja was the son of Pralambahasta-mahārāja; Pralambahasta-mahārāja was the son of Jayagopa-mahārāja; Jayagopa-mahārāja was the son of Sūryyanārāyaṇa-mahārāja; Sūryyanārāyaṇa-mahārāja was the son of Mahāsthāmaprāpta-mahārāja; Mahāsthāmaprāpta-mahārāja was the son of Mānābharaṇa-mahārāja; Mānābharaṇa-mahārāja was the son of Samara-Vijayottuṅga-mahārāja; Samara-Vijayottuṅga-mahārāja was the son of Māra-Vijayottuṅga-mahārāja; Māra-Vijayottuṅga-mahārāja was the son of Guṇārṇṇava-mahārāja; Guṇārṇṇava-mahārāja was the son of Kaunḍineya-mahārāja; Kaunḍineya-mahārāja was the son of Siddhayātra-mahārāja; Siddhayātra-mahārāja was the son



## Comments

The more recent forebears of Parākramabāhu will be referred to again in the next pedigree with the necessary historical details. The names from Parākramabāhu up to Māgha, are of personages who held power in Ceylon. From the father of Māgha, Sūryyanārāyaṇa, up to Siddhayātra, the personages figuring in the pedigree were rulers of Śrī Vijaya; of them, only two are known to us from sources hitherto available. They are Māra-Vijayot-tuṅga, mentioned in the Leiden grant, and Jayagopa, whom Niśśaṅkamalla has mentioned in his inscriptions as his father. The name of Māra-Vijayot-tuṅga's father is given in the Leiden grant as Cūḷāmaṇi-varman, but here as Guṇārṇava. It is clear that 'Cūḷāmaṇivarman' was a title, rather than a proper name.

The father of Siddhayātra, Kāśyapa-mahārāja, was no other than Kassapa V of Ceylon. Siddhayātra himself finds mention in the *Cūḷavaṃsa* as Siddhattha, the Malayarāja. From Kāśyapa to Daṃṣṭranāma, the ancestors of Parākramabāhu figuring in the pedigree, excepting two, were rulers of Ceylon, and their relationships given here are in accord with the data gathered from the *Cūḷavaṃsa*. The pedigree, however, furnishes us with information not mentioned in the chronicle, when it says that the father of Malayarāja was named Simhala-daṇḍanāyaka, who was a son of Maudgalyāyana-mahārāja, son of Śilākāla. Maudgalyāyana, therefore, was Moggallāna II. According to the genealogical data in the chronicle, the kings of Ceylon from the seventh to the twelfth centuries were all descended from the Malaya-rāja who was the commander-in-chief of Saṅghatissa II.<sup>24</sup> The chronicle, however, does not tell us anything about his origin.<sup>25</sup> Now we learn that Malaya-rāja was the son of a personage called Simhala-daṇḍanāyaka, the son of Moggallāna II. The last named was succeeded on the throne by Kittisirimegha, from whom the sovereignty was wrested by Mahānāga, a scion of the Moriya clan.<sup>26</sup> It now appears that a son of Moggallāna II, not named in the chronicles, had sought his fortunes in foreign lands, and his son came back to Ceylon to become the founder of the dynasty which held the Sinhalese throne for over six hundred years. The name Simhala-daṇḍanāyaka indicates that his sphere of activity was not in Ceylon.

24. See *U.H.C.*, Vol. 1, Genealogical Table No. IV.

25. *Cūḷavaṃsa*, chap. 44, v. 8 and 43.

26. *Cūḷavaṃsa*, chap. 41, vv. 64 ff.

Two personages, father and son, both named Mayūra-mahārāja, are given as the grandfather and great-grandfather of Dhātusena. They are not known from other sources, but the name Moriya of Dhātusena's clan was no doubt due to them. The next two in order of ascent were Lambakarna and Lamkāśoka. The first of these names is well-known as the appellation of the royal race to which most of the Sinhalese kings belonged after Vasabha. 'Lamkāśoka' was a kingdom in the Malay Peninsula, mentioned in Chinese annals as well as in the inscriptions of Rājendra Coḷa.<sup>27</sup> Whether the region got its name from the ruler, or *vice versa*, we cannot decide as yet. Beyond Lamkāśoka, five kings named Kalabhra alternating with four Muruṇḍa-mahārājas, take their places in the pedigree. 'Kalabhra' is a name well-known to the students of the history of South India,<sup>28</sup> and we know from Chinese sources that a ruler of Fu-nan, the earliest Hinduised State in Indo-China, maintained diplomatic relations with a Muruṇḍa king of India and that a Muruṇḍa prince probably occupied the throne of Fu-nan.<sup>29</sup> On slabs referred to above from Mādirigiri and Rambāva are found statements about the opinions which prevailed in fifteenth century Ceylon about the origin of Muruṇḍa and Kalabhra families, which we cannot discuss here without making this paper inordinately long. The earliest in date of the Kalabhra kings is given as the son of a Puṇḍra-mahārāja who was the son-in-law (or sister's son) of Mahādāmṣṭrika (Mahādāthika) Mahānāga (*circa* 9—21 A.C.); from this point the pedigree ascends up to Uparāja Mahānāga agreeing with the genealogical data in the *Mahāvamsa*.

#### Pedigree No. 4

The pedigree of Parākramabāhu is also given in a shorter version, giving historical information about some of the personages mentioned therein. This pedigree, also written in the Grantha script overlapping the Sinhalese, begins at the top of the slab, on side B, and is continued up to line three of the Sinhalese inscription. The text has been ascertained by collation with that on Abhayagiri slab No. 2.

27. For Lamkāśoka or Lamkāśuka, see *JRAS*, Malayan Branch, Vol. XV, pt. 1, pp. 1-15, part iii, pp. 71 ff and Vol. XVII, part ii, pp. 52 ff. See also *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 105 ff.

28. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IV, *The Classical Age*, ed. R.G. Majumdar, pp. 265 f.

29. G. Coedès, *Les Etats hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, 1948, pp. 75-6.

**Text**

(1) Svasti [\*] Māgha-rājasya putro Ga - (2) - ṇḍa - gopālas = tasya putras = Candra - bhā - (3) - nus = tasya putras = Sūryyanārāyaṇas-tasya (4) bhrātā Vijayabāhurj - Jāvarājyaṁ labdhvā tatra gata - (5) - s = sthītvā punar = āgāmya Hastigiripure Parākramabāhu - rā - (6) - jena yuddhaṁ = kṛtvā jayaṁ = grhītvā Hastigiri-pure rājyaṁ kṛtvā sthītvā mṛtas = ta (7) - sya putras = tu Parākramabāhurj = Jātigrāma - pure (8) rājyaṁ = kṛtvā Vira - Alakeśvarasya pakṣaṁ grhītvā (9) Āryya-cakravartti - Mārttaṇḍena yuddhaṁ = kṛtvā parājito Rohaṇa - (10) - ṇ = gatvā tatra Rohaṇa-vihāraṁ = kṛtvā 'pare kāle Jā - (11) - vaṁ = gatvā tatra sthīto mṛtas = tasya bhāgīneyo Dharmmāśoka - rā - (12) - ja-putro Jayamālas = tasya bhāgīneyo Jayamā - (13) - las = tasya putras = Śrī Parākramabāhu-mahārājas = ta - (14) - sya duhitā Candravatī Sundara - Pāṇḍya - putrasya Sundara - Pā - (15) - ṇḍyasya hastaṁ = grhītvā sthīā [\*] Svasti [\*].

**Translation**

May it be well! The son of Māgha-mahārāja was Gaṇḍagopāla; his son was Candrabhānu; his son was Sūryyanārāyaṇa. His brother Vijayabāhu obtained the sovereignty of Jāva, went there and, having remained there (for some time), came back later, waged war with King Parākramabāhu of Hastigiripura (Kuruṇāgala), obtained victory and governed the kingdom (residing) in Hastigiripura and died. His son, Parākramabāhu, administered the kingdom (residing) in Jātigrāmapura (Dādigama), took the side of Vira Alakeśvara, waged war with the Ārya-cakravartti Mārttaṇḍa and was defeated. (He) went to Rohaṇa, established the Rohaṇa-vihāra there, and at a later date went to Jāva, and died while residing there. His son-in-law was Jayamāla, the son of King Dharmmāśoka; his son-in-law was Jayamāla. His son is Parākramabāhu-mahārāja. His daughter Candravatī stands (here), having taken the hand of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, the son of Sundara-Pāṇḍya. May it be well.

**Comments**

Gaṇḍagopāla of this pedigree is not known to the history of Ceylon now. According to a statement in Sanskrit on the reign of Māgha inscribed in small characters between and over the lines of the original Sinhalese writing on a stone slab at Mādirigiri, and another in the Abhayagiri grounds,

it is said that Māgha, who came from Suvarṇṇapura (Śrī Vijaya), enjoyed a long period of success, in which he was engaged in works of religious merit. He was at last defeated by the combined efforts of Parākramabāhu (the second, of Daṁbadeṇi) and Sundara Pāṇḍya. Māgha went to Suvarṇṇapura and gave the tidings of these events to the Mahārāja, who made peace with Sundara Pāṇḍya by conceding to him the kingdom of Anurādhapura. Māgha, thereupon, returned to Ceylon, installed his son Gaṇḍagopāla-deva on the throne of Śubhapaṭṭana (Jaffna), went back to Suvarṇṇapura and entered the monastic order. Gaṇḍagopāla was thus the first king of Jaffna. It is he who is referred to in the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription of Vira Pāṇḍya as the Jāvaka's son.<sup>30</sup> Candrabhānu of this pedigree was different from the Jāvaka ruler of that name who twice invaded Ceylon in the reign of Parākramabāhu III.<sup>31</sup> It is this Candrabhānu who is called Sendemain by Marco Polo.<sup>32</sup>

The Vijayabāhu of this pedigree is the Savulu Vijayaba-niriṇḍu of the *Pārakumbāsīrita*.<sup>33</sup> No historical work hitherto available has anything to say about his origin, and the circumstances in which he supplanted Parākramabāhu IV of Kurunāgala. Our pedigree supplies the information that has hitherto been lacking on these points. His origin given here explains the epithet 'Sāvulu' prefixed to his name. Parākramabāhu, the son of this Vijayabāhu, was the fifth of that name, and is eulogised in the *Tisara-sandesa* and the *Vuttamālā*. The events which led to his exit from the political scene in Ceylon, as we have reconstructed them elsewhere,<sup>34</sup> are confirmed in their essential features by the information given in this pedigree. Jayamāla, the son-in-law of Parākramabāhu V, is the same as the Jaya-mahalāṇa of the *Kāvyaśekhara*.<sup>35</sup> The *Vṛttaratnākara-pañjikā* refers to the king named Dharmmāsoka, who was the father of this Jayamāla, but the printed edition of that text has a reading which identifies him with the Maurya emperor.<sup>36</sup> The second Jayamāla is the same as the Jayamahalāṇa of the *Pārakumbāsīrita* (v. 27). In connection with this pedigree, reference may be made to the Genealogical Table VIII in Vol. I, Part II, of the University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*.

30. See *U.H.C.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 685.

31. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 620-629.

32. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, translated and edited by Colonel Yule, 3rd edition, Vol. II, pp. 313-5.

33. Verse 27, *U.H.C.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 661.

34. *U.H.C.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 626 ff.

35. Canto XV, v. 20, *U.H.C.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 661.

36. *Vṛttaratnākara-pañjikā*, edited by C. A. Seelaskandha-mahasthavira. Bombay, 1908, p. 20. See also *U.H.C.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 661, f.n. 3.

**Pedigree No. 5**

In the pedigrees given above, Parākramabāhu's descent from the kings of Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya is given through the female line with regard to the relationship which his father as well as his grandfather had to the ancestor of the preceding generation. The next pedigree shows that the two Jayamālas, though each of them is given as the son-in-law of the personage coming before him, were direct descendants in the male line of Māgha, and hence of Kassapa V as well. This pedigree is written on side B, starting from top and coming down to a depth of 1ft. 2 in.

**Text**

(1) Savsti [[\*] Maharāja - Gu - (2) - ṅārṅṅavasya putro Ma - (3) -hārāja -Māra-Vijayo - (4) - ttuṅgas = tasya putro Ma - (5) - hārāja - Samara - Vijayo - (6) -ttuṅgas = tasya putro Mahārāja - Mā - (7) - nābharaṇas = tasya putro Mahā - (8) - rāja - Mahā sthāmapraptas = ta - (9) - sya putro Mahārāja - Sū - (10) - ryyanārāyaṇas = tasya pu - (11) - tro Mahārāja - Jayago - (12) - pas = tasya putro Mahā - (13)rāja - Pralambahastas = ta - (14) - sya putro Mahārāja - Sūryyanārā - (15) - yaṇas = tasya putro Mahārāja - (16) Māghas = tasya putro Mahārāja - (17) Gaṇḍa-gopālas = tasya putro Mahārāja - (18) Candrabhānus - tasya putraḥ Parākrama - (19) bāhus = tasya putraḥ Pararājaśekhara = ta - (20) - sya bhrātā Śagarājaśekhara - (21) s = tasya putraḥ Pararājaśekhara - tasya (22) bhrātā Śagarājaśekhara = tasya (23) bhrātā Dharmmāsoka - mahārājas = Suva - (24) - rṅṅapure rājyaṁ = kārayāmā - (25) - sa [[\*] Tasya putro Jayamālaḥ Parākramabā - (26) - hu mahārājasya duhitarāṁ Sva - (27) - rṅṅa - māṅikyāṁ samūḍhe. Tasya (28) duhitarāṁ Sunetrā - mahādevīm (29) Sundara-Pāṅḍya - putro Jayamālas = sa - (30) - mūḍhe[[\*] Sundara - Pāṅḍyas = tu Pararājaśe - (31) - kharasya putraḥ Para - rājaśekhara - (32) - s = tu Śagarāja - śekharaḥ putraś = Śa - (33) - ga - rājaśekhara = tu Parākramabāhu - rāja - (34) - sya putraḥ Parā - kramabāhu - rājas = tu (35) Candra-bhānu - mahārājasya putraḥ [[\*] Svasti.[[\*]

**Translation**

May it be well! The son of Mahārāja Guṅārṅṅava was Mahārāja Māra-Vijayottuṅga. His son was Mahārāja Samara-Vijayottuṅga. His son was Mahārāja Mānābharaṇa. His son was Mahārāja Mahāsthāmaprāpta. His son was Mahārāja Jayagopa. His son was Mahārāja Pralamba-hasta. His son was Mahārāja Sūryyanārāyaṇa. His son was Mahārāja

Māgha. His son was Mahārāja Gaṇḍagopāla. His son was Mahārāja Candrabhānu. His son was Parākramabāhu. His son was Pararājaśekhara. His brother was Śagarājaśekhara. His son was Pararājaśekhara. His brother was Śagarājaśekhara. His brother Dharmmāsoka-mahārāja exercised sovereignty at Suvarṇṇapura. His son Jayamāla wedded Svarṇṇamāṇikyā, the daughter of Parākramabāhu-mahārāja. Jayamāla, son of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, wedded his daughter Sunetrāmahādevi. Sundara Pāṇḍya was the son of Pararājaśekhara. Pararājaśekhara was the son of Śagarājaśekhara. Śagarājaśekhara was the son of Parākramabāhu-rāja. Parākramabāhu-rāja was the son of Candrabhānu - mahārāja.

### Comments

Parākramabāhu, whose daughter the first Jayamāla wedded, was the king of that name who resided at Dādigama.<sup>37</sup> Parākramabāhu, the son of Candrabhānu, comes within our ken for the first time from this document. The two names Pararājaśekhara and Śagarājaśekhara, occurring here, had been adopted by the Arya-Cakravarttis of Jaffna at a later date.<sup>38</sup> These names have no doubt been adopted by the later potentates of Jaffna from their Jāvaka predecessors. The Dharmmāsoka of this pedigree has already been commented upon.

### Pedigree No. 6

The very name of the queen of Parākramabāhu VI does not occur in any of the literary works composed during his reign, which are so full of eulogics of the king himself and his daughter. The *Rājāvalī* states that the queen of Parākramabāhu VI was a princess from Kīravālla (in the Kāgalla District), but does not give her name. The name of this king's consort has not been met with hitherto in any epigraphical or other source. Whatever the reason which made the poets ignore the very existence of the queen, she could not have been forgotten on such an occasion as her daughter's wedding, and we duly find a pedigree giving considerable details with regard to her descent, inscribed on this stone in more than one copy. The more prominent copy, in comparatively large characters, occupies the whole of the spaces taken by lines 8—14 on Side A of the Sinhalese inscription, the last line invading the area of line 15. The pedigree has been inscribed in smaller Sinhalese characters in the area of line 10 of the Sinhalese inscription, where it is also written in Grantha characters over the Sinhalese script.

37. *U.H.C.* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 643.

38. *U.H.C.* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 693 f.

(1)  
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Rāj  
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**Text**

(1) Parākramabāhu - rājasya mahiṣi Svarṇṇa - māṇikyā (2) tu Jātigrāmapure Rājaputra - Ṭhakurasya duhitā [\*] Jāti - (3) grāmapure Rājaputra - Ṭhakuras = tu Jambudroṇi - pure Rā - (4) - japutra - Ṭhakurasya paramparānuvāto Jambudroṇipure (5) Rājaputra Ṭhakuras = tv = Anhilvāḍa-pure Bhīmarājasya putras = Tu (6) - ruṣkair = yuuddham = kṛtvā parājito Laṅkāṃ prāpya Vijayabāhu - (7) mahārajasya duhitaram Svarṇṇamāṇikyāṃ samūḍhe[\*] Tasya (8) putras = tu Rājaputra - Ṭhakuras = tasya putras = tu Rājaputra - (9) Ṭhakuras = tasya putras tu Rājaputra - Ṭhakuras = tasya putras tu Rā - (10) - japutra - Ṭhakuras = tasya putras = tu Rājaputra - Ṭhakuras = ta - (11) sya putras = tu Rājaputra - Ṭhakuro Jātigrāmapure Parākrama - (12) bāhu - rājena Rohaṇam prāpya sthitvā punar = āgamyā Bhuvanaika - (13) bāhu - mahārajasya maṇḍaliko bhūtvā Ratnapura - rājyaṃ kṛtvā - (14) sthitvā mṛtas = Tasya putras - tu Rājaputra - Ṭhakuraḥ Parākramabāhu - mahārajasya (15) maṇḍaliko bhūtvā Jātigrāma - pura-rājyaṃ = kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtas = Tasya duhitaram (16) Svarṇṇamāṇikyāṃ Parākramabāhu - mahārajasya = samūḍhe[\*] Tasya (17) duhitā Candravatī Sundara - Pāṇḍya - putrasya Sundara - Pāṇḍyaṣya hastaṃ = gr- (18) - hitvā sthitā[\*] Svasti svasti svasti svasti[\*] (19) Sundara-Pāṇḍyas = tu Rājaputra - Ṭhakurasya svasāraṃ sa - (20) - mūḍhe [\*] Rājaputra - Ṭhakuras = tu Sundara - Pāṇḍyasya svasā - (21) - raṃ samūḍhe Rājaputra - Ṭhakurasya pitā tu Sundara - (22) Pāṇḍyasya pitus = svasāraṃ samūḍhe[\*] Sundara - Pāṇḍyasya (23) pitā tu Rājaputra - Ṭhakurasya pitus = svasāraṃ (24) samūḍhe [\*] Sundara-Pāṇḍyas = tu Rājaputra - Ṭhakurasya (25) jāmātuh putraḥ[\*] svasti svasti svasti[\*].

**Translation**

May it be well! The Queen of King Parākramabāhu, Svarṇṇamāṇikyā (Ram Māṇik), is the daughter of Rājaputra Ṭhakura of Jātigrāmapura (Dādigama). Rājaputra Ṭhakura of Jātigrāmapura had come down in lineal descent from Rājaputra Ṭhakura of Jambudroṇipura (Daṃbaḍeṇi). Rājaputra Ṭhakura of Jambudroṇipura was a son of King Bhīma of Anhilvāḍapura. [He] waged war with the Turuṣkas (Turks), was defeated, arrived in Laṅkā and wedded Svarṇṇamāṇikyā, the daughter of Vijayabāhu-mahārāja. His son was Rājaputra Ṭhakura; his son was Rājaputra Ṭhakura; his son was Rājaputra Ṭhakura; his son was Rājaputra Ṭhakura; his son was Rājaputra Ṭhakura. His son, Rājaputra Ṭhakura, went to Rohaṇa with King Parākramabāhu<sup>39</sup> and, having stayed there, returned and governed the Ratnapura

39. The flight of Parākramabāhu V of Dādigama to Rohaṇa has also been mentioned in Pedigree No. 4.

kingdom as a *maṇḍalika* of Bhuvanaikabāhu-mahārāja.<sup>40</sup> His son, Rājaputra Ṭhakura, governed the kingdom of Jātigrāmapura as a *maṇḍalika* of Parākramabāhu-mahārāja. His daughter Svarṇamānikyā, Parākramabāhu-mahārāja wedded. Her daughter, Candravatī, stands (here), having taken the hand of Sundara Pāṇḍya, the son of Sundara Pāṇḍya. May it be well! (five times repeated). Sundara Pāṇḍya wedded the sister of Rājaputra Ṭhakura. Rājaputra Ṭhakura wedded the sister of Sundara Pāṇḍya. The father of Rājaputra Ṭhakura wedded the sister of the father of Sundara Pāṇḍya. Sundara Pāṇḍya is the son of the brother-in-law of Rājaputra Ṭhakura.

### Comments

As has been pointed out by Codrington,<sup>41</sup> the Ārya soldiers who served in the king's army at Daṁbadeṇi were Rajputs, and their leader had the title of Ṭhakura. It was the commander of these Rajputs, called Ṭhakuraka in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, who slew the general Mitta after the latter had murdered Bodhisattva Vijayabāhu IV and attempted to capture the throne.<sup>42</sup> The view of Codrington is confirmed by this pedigree, which pointedly refers to Ṭhakura as a Rājaputra (Rajput). King Bhīma, the father of Rājaputra Ṭhakura I of Daṁbadeṇi, was the Caulukya king of Gujarāt, and reigned at Anhilavāḍa from 1178 to 1239. In 1197, Qutb-ud-din, the Emperor of Delhi, invaded Gujarāt with a powerful army, captured Anhilvāḍ, sacked that city, destroyed and desecrated its temples, and slaughtered 50,000 of the city's population. Bhīma fled and remained in concealment for many years. Qutb-ud-din appointed a governor for Gujarāt and returned to Delhi<sup>43</sup>. In course of time, the Muslims were driven away and Bhīma returned to Anhilvāḍ. The fighting in which the prince who fled to Ceylon took part could have been the sack of Anhilvāḍ in 1197. Vijayabāhu III, whose daughter this Rajput prince married, was of advanced age when he was proclaimed king in 1232, after he had obtained the possession of the Tooth Relic. He must have been the *de facto* ruler of Māyārāṭa for two or three decades before 1232. It is, therefore, possible that the fighting with the Turuṣkas (Turks) referred to here took place in connection with the sack of Anhilvāḍ in 1197. In that case, Ṭhakuraka figuring in the episode of Mitta must be the son of the Rajput prince, who was the son of Bhīma III, and fled to Ceylon. Bhuvanaikabāhu referred to here is the first of that name.

40. This must be the fifth king of the name who reigned from Gampala.

41. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. X, p. 88.

42. *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 90, vv. 1-30.

43. *H.C.I.P.* V, The Struggle for Empire, pp. 79 and 121.

The first Rājaputra Ṭhakura had at least another son in addition to Rājaputra Ṭhakura II. This was Virabāhu who took a leading part in the events of the reign of Parākramabāhu II.<sup>44</sup> Virabāhu's descendant who flourished in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI was thus a kinsman of the Queen. The pedigree of the Queen is therefore given a second time with the necessary modifications. This pedigree of Virabāhu occupies the area of line 14 of the Sinhalese inscription. The text is the same as in the Queen's pedigree up to *samūḍhe tasya putras tu*. We, therefore, give the text from line 7.

(7) Svarṇṇamāṇikyāṁ samūḍhe[\*]. Tasya putras = tu Virabāhuḥ Parākrama-  
 (8) bāhu- rājasya duhitarāṁ Svarṇṇamāṇikyāṁ samūḍhe. Tasya putras =  
 tu Virabāhu - (9) - s = tasya putras = tu Virabāhus = tasya putras = tu  
 (10) Virabāhus - tasya putras = tu Virabāhus = tasya (11) putras = tu  
 Virabāhus = tasya putras = tu Virabāhus = tasya putras = tu Virabāhus =  
 (12) samprati Parākramabāhu - rājasya maṇḍaliko bhūtvā Rājagrāmapura  
 - rājyaṁ kāryati[\*].

Translation . . . . wedded Svarṇṇamāṇikyā. His son, Virabāhu (I),  
 wedded Svarṇṇamāṇikyā, the daughter of King Parākramabāhu (II). His  
 son was Virabāhu (II); his son was Virabāhu (III); his son was Virabāhu (IV);  
 his son was Virabāhu (V). His son, Virabāhu (VI), at present administers  
 the Rājagrāmapura (Rayigama) kingdom as a feudatory of King Parākrama-  
 bāhu.

The fourth Rājaputra Ṭhakura, it is said, made war with Paṇḍita  
 Parākramabāhu of Hasti-giri-pura (Kurunāgala), and wrested the fortress  
 of Yāpavu, where he and his descendants ruled as feudatories. The repre-  
 sentative of this branch of the Ṭhakura family took the side of Ārya Cakra-  
 varti against Parākramabāhu, was defeated and was in prison at the time.

### References to Relatives

There are a number of passages containing references to relatives of  
 the king, of which we give only the contents. The father of Parākramabāhu  
 VI, Jayamāla, remained in Jāva and reigned there as king. His son was  
 Sundara Pāṇḍya, whose son, of the same name, was reigning as king of Jāva  
 at the time of Candravatī's wedding. Jayamāla, the grandfather of Parā-  
 kramabāhu, reigned as king of Suvarṇṇapura. His son was Purandara

44. *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 83, vv. 41 ff. chap. 87, v. 13; chap. 88, 5 ff. and chap. 89, vv. 11.

who had a son of the same name. This second Purandara's son-in-law, Sundara Pāṇḍya, then reigning as king of Suvarṇṇapura, came to Anurādhapura to attend Candravatī's wedding, gave over his kingdom to Sundara Pāṇḍya, Candravatī's husband, and himself entered the monastic order (*śramaṇa-bhūmi*). That this renunciation was not voluntary, is indicated in a document which will be given in the sequel.

One of Parākramabāhu's brothers, named Purandara, remained in Jāva and died there. Of this prince, more will be said later. Another brother of Parākramabāhu, named Parāṅgasiṃha, was discharging the duties of the Yuvarāja at Ambulugiri (Ambulugala). This is the prince referred to in the *Paravi-sandesa*, v. 202. No doubt, he was stationed there to keep the Udarata loyal to the Kōṭṭe king. Parākramabāhu's own son, born of his Queen Svarṇṇamāṇikyā, was named Purandara and died young. In his memory, Parākramabāhu undertook the repair and gilding of the Svarṇṇamāli-mahāstūpa (Ruvanvālisāya) at Anurādhapura.

Reference will be made in the sequel to a son of Parākramabāhu VI, born before he arrived in Ceylon, who also was named Purandara and died while he was still a youth.

Campaka-perumāla, introduced as son of Parākramabāhu, was at that time administering the kingdom of Śubhapattāṇa (Jaffna). We are further told that Campaka-perumāla was, in fact, the son of Paṅikkala who came from the kingdom of Jāva, was adopted as son, and brought up by Parākramabāhu. Paṅikkala was the son of Purandara, the brother of Parākramabāhu, who has already been referred to. Sapumal-kumārāya was thus a direct descendant in the male line of Sena II, and had as much a hereditary right to the sovereignty of Ceylon as had Parākramabāhu VI. The younger brother of Sapumal is also introduced as son of Parākramabāhu. This prince, named Parāṅgasiṃha, was the commander of the fortress of Sundaragiri (Yāpavu) at the time. Here we are given the important information that Sundaragiri used to be under the command of a Rājaputra Thakura, a kinsman of the Queen. But this feudatory of Parākramabāhu, in spite of his relationship to the Queen, proved disloyal to the king of Kōṭṭe, went over to the side of the Ārya-cakravartti of Jaffna, was defeated in battle, and was at the time undergoing imprisonment. Parāṅgasiṃha was given the offices which formerly belonged to the traitorous Thakura.

After the recounting of all these pedigrees and the references to relatives of the king, we have, in the area occupied by the figure of the crow in the original inscription, the names of the bride and bridegroom, followed by the auspicious *Svasti*, written in letters of a comparatively larger size.

(1) Parākramabāhu — mahārājasya (2) duhitā Candravatī. *Svasti*.

(1) Sundara-Pāṇḍyasya putras = Sundara Pāṇḍyah. *Svasti*.

In addition to these pedigrees and relationships, there are, on the stone from Bōlāna, as well as on several other stones, somewhat extensive passages, written in very small letters, concerning various royal dynasties of which Parākramabāhu is said to be the continuator (*pravarttayitā*). The reading of these passages has not made enough progress as yet to give an account of them. From what has already been read of them, they seem to contain information that would be of great value to the historian.

All this writing, in letters of varying size, is engraved over a layer of the word *svasti*, in minute letters incised with a very sharp pointed instrument. Before any of the other writings was executed, the entire stone on both of its sides, was covered with these incisions of the word *svasti*. In the area occupied by one line of six letters of the original Sinhalese inscription, measuring 15 in. by 2½ in., I have counted more than 250 repetitions of the word *svasti*. The other stones, on which these pedigrees and other records relating to the wedding of Ulakudayadevi are found, have also been subjected to the same treatment. The whole of the Abhayagiri slab (*Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, No. 20) measuring 8 ft. by 3 ft. 3 in., is covered with this word, written not only in the empty spaces between the lines of the original writing, but also over that writing.

Written in letters of a slightly larger size, over this basic layer of writing consisting of the word *svasti*, can be seen on some parts of the stone, a set of Sanskrit stanzas which occurs after the Sinhalese text of Mahinda IV's slab-inscription (*Ep. Zey.* I, No. 19) in the Abhayagiri-vihāra grounds. This Sinhalese inscription records the many works of religious merit of the king, and ends with an account of a festival in connection with the installation of a statue of Saint Mahinda at the instance of the Kālīṅga Queen (*Kaliṅgu Vathāmbu*). The poem of twenty-four Sanskrit stanzas gives the descent of the Queen, and the events which preceded her espousal by Mahinda IV. Briefly stated, the story contained in this poem is as follows: There was a king of Jāva named Siddhayātra, who became the Mahārāja and ruled

the earth. From his Queen, Tārā, he had a son named Kauṇḍineya. His son was Guṇārṇava whose daughter, Guṇavati, was given in marriage to a Pāṇḍya prince, Śrī Māra, son of Varaguṇa, who had come to Jāva forsaking his own land. Some time after his marriage to Guṇavati, Śrī Māra was killed in battle, and the army commanded by him was routed by the enemy. Guṇārṇava himself went to face the enemy and, after a desperate fight from the back of an elephant, captured Rudravarman, a son of the Kamboja king. Hearing that his son had been captured by the Jāvakas, the Kamboja king himself came to rescue his son. The Jāvaka king, however, caused the death of the Kamboja ruler by resorting to unfair methods of warfare. In time, Guṇārṇava became Mahārāja and resided in Suvarṇapura (Śrī Vijaya). The Kamboja prince, after some years, arrived at Suvarṇapura with a mighty host to avenge his father's death. Guṇārṇava was defeated, and fled in haste to Ceylon when Sena III was reigning. The Yuvarāja Mahendra, after escorting the fugitive king to the capital, went to Suvarṇapura, obtained victory over the enemy who was occupying it, and there married Sundarī, the daughter of Śrī Māra, 'with a golden necklace'. Returning to Anurādhapura, he restored to the Mahārāja his own kingdom. Prose passages in Sanskrit, engraved on some of the slabs referred to above, add interesting details to the story given in the poem. Before the Kamboja invader came to Suvarṇapura, Sundarī had been betrothed to a son of the king of Malayapura (Malayūru), named Sūryanārāyaṇa. This prince lost his life in the fighting that ensued. Guṇavati and her daughter Sundarī fell into the power of the Kamboja prince, and were kept in prison, where they were in great distress and danger when Mahendra came on the scene with his armada, drove the Kamboja forces, occupied the palace and rescued the princesses. Guṇavati, with her daughter, came bearing presents to thank Mahendra for their deliverance. At her mother's bidding, Sundarī fell down at Mahendra's feet and remained there. Mahendra consoled her and gave her a precious jewel which he had with him. He became enamoured of her and with the consent of the brother of the prince to whom Sundarī had been betrothed, married her and brought her home as his queen.

This Sanskrit poem, about the wedding of Sundarī to Mahinda IV, has been written on every stone on which the pedigrees recited on the occasion of Candravati's wedding have been recorded.<sup>45</sup> In some it is written between the lines of the original Sinhalese writing. In others, it is written over the Sinhalese writing. In the Bōlāna slab, in addition to the poem

<sup>45</sup>. This poem, called *Sundarī-vṛttānta* in one place, will be published in the *Artibus-Asiae*.

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being inscribed in small characters more than once, the penultima verse of the poem has been written over the Sinhalese writing on every line of the original inscriptions on Side A. This verse is:

Sa Suvarṇṇaparam prāpya Vijayaśriyam āharat  
Sundariṁ Śrīmāra-sutāni samūḍhe svarṇṇamālayā.

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

On side B, towards the close of the pedigrees and the recording of the names of the bride and bridegroom, this verse has been repeated several times. On the other stones also, this verse or its separate *pādas* have been repeatedly written.

From the manner in which the poem has been inscribed on these stones, there is reason to believe that it has served the purpose of a wedding hymn. We know that the wedding hymn in the *R̥gveda* is an account of the marriage of the goddess Sūryyā. In the *Jānakīharaṇa*, we are told that the arrangements for the wedding of Rāma and Sītā were made in imitation of the wedding of Śacī (Indrāṇī) to Indra.<sup>46</sup> The recital of an account of a divine wedding, and the imitation of its ritual, would make the union of the couple as blissful and happy as that espousal in heaven has been. The idea underlying this recital of the Vedic wedding hymn had been adopted by the priests who arranged Candravatī's marriage ceremony; but instead of a Vedic poem about a god in whom the Buddhist king and his court did not believe, they have substituted a poem, in classical Sanskrit, on a historical wedding of an ancestress of the bride, which took place about five hundred years before the day of her marriage. And there had also been a similar change in the symbolic act by which the marriage was considered duly solemnised. In Brahmanical usage, this symbolic act was the circumambulation of the Sacred Fire by the bride and bridegroom.<sup>47</sup> This would not have recommended itself to Buddhists, who did not consider the Fire to be a deity or sacred. In place of the circumambulation of the Fire, the

46. Tatraiva paryasya yathā sutāyū  
Nṛpasya vittāni jano vidhijñāḥ  
Ādyam vivāhasya tatāna Śacyā  
Nāmāntareṇa prathitaṁ vidhānam.

*Jānakīharaṇa*, Canto, IX, v. 45.

47. *History, Culture, of the Indian People*, Vol. I, *Vedic Age*, p. 389.

Buddhist wedding ceremony substituted the tying of a necklace by the groom around the neck of the bride. The poem, in stating that Mahendra wedded Sundarī, specifically states that he did so with a golden necklace (*svaṛṇṇa-mālayā*). In this manner has the Sinhalese phrase *kara-kāra* (i.e. *hāra*) *bāñḍima* come to signify 'marriage'.

From the manner in which these pedigrees, the poem and the word *svasti* have been written on the slab from Bōlāna, one can visualise the scene of the royal wedding. From a brief historical account of the reign of Parākramabāhu written on one of the above mentioned slabs, we learn that the wedding of Candravatī took place in a pavilion specially constructed for the purpose near the Bodhi tree (*Bodhi-maṇḍa*) at Anurādhapura. The decorations, the pomp, the show of military might, music, etc, usual on such occasions, must of course have been there. The dignitaries of state, the relatives of the royal family, royalty from friendly states, and other persons honoured with invitations for the occasion having taken their appointed seats, the parents of the bridegroom having occupied their special seats, and the king and queen being seated on their thrones, the prince and princess come to the dais and stand holding each other's hands. Then the *purohita* comes forward and, facing the assembly, recites the pedigrees, preceded or followed by the announcement that Candravatī stands holding the hand of Sundara Pāṇḍya or *vice versa*. The sonorous Sanskrit words and phrases with their alliterative repetitions, recited in the stentorian voice of the *purohita*, would have exercised a magical effect on the assembled multitude, who all the time were muttering the word *svasti* (May it be well). The attendant priests seated on either side of the *purohita* would be chanting in a low voice the Sanskrit poem referred to above, while the *purohita* recited the pedigrees. At the close of the recital of the pedigrees, the *purohita* announces the names of the bride and bridegroom, each followed by the word *svasti*. The whole of the audience would have responded to the *purohita* by uttering *svasti*, not in low tones as before, but in a loud chorus. In the meantime, the attendant priests who were chanting in a low voice the poem about Sundarī would have so timed it as to recite the two last verses which they repeated several times. While the pavilion was reverberating with the words *Sundarīm Śrīmāra-sutām samūḍhe svaṛṇṇamālayā*, the bridegroom, who had all this time been standing motionless holding the hand of the bride, would have been handed the necklace, which he tied on the neck of the bride. And the prince and princess would be acclaimed by peals of music and other manifestations of rejoicing usual on such occasions.

We have given the title of this paper as the wedding of Princess Ulakuḍaya. In the pedigrees, the princess is called Candravatī. The *Paravi-sandēsa*, which is the earliest of the poems of Śrī Rāhula refers to Candravatī (Saṅḍavat) as the daughter of Parākramabāhu. In the other two poems, the *Sālahihinisandēsa* and the *Kāvya-śekhara*, the daughter of Parākramabāhu is referred to as Ulakuḍaya. There are some scholars who take that Parākramabāhu had two daughters, one named Candravatī and the other Ulakuḍaya. That Candravatī was herself known later as Ulakuḍaya, is established by the following inscription which is engraved on several of the slabs mentioned before. On the Bōlāna slab, this record is incised in the area occupied by the outline drawing of the dog of the original inscription. It is very indistinct there, and the text given below is the result of a collation of the readings found on the Mādirigiri, Virakāṭi, Anurādhapura and the Kavuḍulu Oya slabs.

### Text

Svasti[\*] Śrī Saṅghabodhi - Śrī Parākramabāhu - mahārājas = tu-sva-rājya-varṣe trayastriṅśatime Buddha - varṣa = eka - sahasra - nava - śatika - navutitame 'nurādhapuram = prāpya sva-duhitaraṅ = Candravatīm = Ulakuḍaya - nāmnā rājye 'bhiṣiṅcya Sundara-Pāṇḍya-putrasya Sundara-Pāṇḍyasya prādād = Vaiśākha-māse śuklapakṣe saptamyām Budhāvāre Puṣya-nakṣatre Vaṇija-karaṇe Budha-horāyām rājayoga-muhūrte svarājya-sthairyāya. Svasti.

### Translation

May it be well! The great king Śrī Saṅghabodhi Śrī Parākramabāhu came to Anurādhapura in the thirty-third year of his reign, which is One Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety One of the Buddhist Era and, having consecrated in the sovereignty his daughter Candravatī with the name of Ulakuḍaya, gave her (in marriage) to Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya, for the stability of the kingdom, at the moment of the Rājayoga in the month of Vaiśākha, on Wednesday the seventh (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight when the *nakṣatra* was Puṣya, the *karaṇa* was Vaṇija and the *horā* was that of Budha. May it be well.

This record is also of importance for deciding the disputed question of the date of Parākramabāhu's accession.<sup>48</sup> The regnal year is coupled with the date in the Buddhist Era. The astronomical details of the auspicious moment given above are correct for Wednesday, April 10, 1448. As this date was in the thirty-third year (current) of the king, his accession would have been in 1415/16.

On the Bōlāna slab, just below the above inscription, there are these three short records:

**Text**

Svasti. Sundara-Pāṇḍya-putras = Sundara-Pāṇḍyas = sva-paramparāyātam = Ambalatīrtha-rājyaṁ sva-putrasya Sundara-Pāṇḍyasya datvā śramaṇa-bhūmim = prāptaḥ Rohaṇa-janapade Rambhā-vihāra-samīpāsrame sthitvā.

**Translation**

May it be well! Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya, bequeathed to his son Sundara Pāṇḍya, the kingdom of Ambalatīrtha (Ambalantōṭa) which has come down (to him) in hereditary succession, and entered the monastic order in the hermitage near the Rambhā-vihāra in the province of Rohaṇa.

**Text**

Suvarṇṇapura - rājas = Sundara-Pāṇḍyas - sva-paramparāyāta - Suvarṇṇapura - rājyaṁ Sundara-Pāṇḍya - putrasya Sundara-Pāṇḍyasya datvā śramaṇa-bhūmim = prāpata = Anurādhapura 'bhayagiri-vihāre sthitvā.

**Translation**

Sundara Pāṇḍya, the king of Suvarṇṇapura, bequeathed his kingdom of Suvarṇṇapura to Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya, and entered the monastic order at Abhayagiri-vihāra in Anurādhapura.

**Text**

Svasti. Śrī-Saṅghabodhi - Śrī - Parākramabāhu-mahārājas = tv = Ambalatīrtha - rājye svāmitvaṁ Sundara-Pāṇḍya-putrasya Sundara-Pāṇḍyasya prādāt.

48. *U.H.C.* Vol. 1, pt. ii, pp. 669 ff.

**Translation**

May it be well! The great king Śrī-Saṅghabodhi Śrī Parākramabāhu granted to Sundara-Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, the sovereignty of the Ambalātirtha kingdom.

The circumstances under which the King of Suvarṇṇapura bequeathed his kingdom to the son-in-law of Parākramabāhu VI, and himself entered the monastic order at Anurādhapura, can be gleaned from a document which briefly recounts the main events of the king's reign, with emphasis on the marriage of Candravatī. This document is inscribed, beginning from the top, on side B of the Bōlāna Slab, as well as on several other stones. The text given below is according to the Rambāva Slab, where it is inscribed beginning from the top, over writing engraved earlier.

**Text**

(1) Svasti. Parākramabāhu-mahārājas = tu Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā Jina-mahārājena Laṅkā-rājye sthāpito Jina-rāja-dūtena sārddham Laṅkāṃ prāpya Parākramabāhv = ādipādena yuddham = kṛtvā rājyaṃ = grhītvā Rāja-grāmapure sthitvā Jayavardhana-puram prāpya sthito Jāvarājye sthitas = sva-putraḥ Purandaro mṛta iti (2) śrutvā sva - bhrātuh Purandarasya putrasya Paṅkkaḥ putraṃ = Campaka-perumālam = putra-sthāne sthāpitvā vardhitvā Jātigrāma - pure Rājaputra - Ṭhakurasya duhitarāṃ Svārṇṇamāṅkiyāṃ saṃvāhya Candravatīṃ = ca Purandaraṃ = ca janayitvā sthitaḥ. Purandaras = tu bālya = eva mṛtas = Candravatīṃ = tu Sundara-Pāṇḍya-putrasya Sundara-Pāṇḍyasya pradātum = niścīya Suvarṇṇapura - rājasya (3) Sundara-Pāṇḍyasya sandeśam prāhiṇot Suvarṇṇapure sthitaṃ Sundara-Pāṇḍya-putraṃ Sundara-Pāṇḍyaṃ sva-rājyaṃ preṣitum. Sundara - Pāṇḍyasya pitā Sundara-Pāṇḍyaś = ca sva-putrasya Sundara-Pāṇḍyasya sandeśam prāhiṇot sva hastaṃ = Candravatyai pradātum = upadiśya. Suvarṇṇapura rājas = Sundara-Pāṇḍyas = tu Sundara-Pāṇḍya-putreṇa Sundara - Pāṇḍyena sva-duhitre Sundaryai datta-hastasya pratyākhyānam pratigrhītum = na pratyacchat. (4) Sundara-Pāṇḍya-putras = Sundara - Pāṇḍyaś = ca Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā Suvarṇṇapura - rājasya Sundara-Pāṇḍyasya duhitarāṃ Sundarāṃ = drṣtvā tasyāṃ pratibaddha - citta = svapitus = sandeśan = na pratyagrṇat. Parākramabāhu rājas = tu Candravatyā sārddham Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya Suvarṇṇapura - rājyaṃ Sundara - Pāṇḍyan = drṣtvā Sundara-Pāṇḍya-putreṇa Sundara-Pāṇḍyena sva-duhitre datta-hastasya pratyākhyānam = pratigrhītum abhi-yācanāṃ = cakāra.

(5) Suvarṇṇapura-rājas = Sundara - Pāṇḍyas = tu Parākramabāhu - rājasya tām = abhiyācanān = na pratyagrṇat. Parākramabāhu-rajas = tu Sundara-Pāṇḍya - rājena yuddhan = kṛtvā tam = parājitya Sundara - Pāṇḍya - rājasya = Ānurādhapuram prāpy = Ābhayagiri - vihāre sthitvā śramaṇa-bhūmim = prāptum = ājñāpayat. (6) Suvarṇṇapura - rājas = Sundara-Pāṇḍyas = tu Parākramabāhu - rājasya = ābhiyācanām pratyagrṇat. Sundara-Pāṇḍya-putras = Sundara Pāṇḍyaś - ca Candravatīn = dr̥ṣṭvā tasyām pratibaddha-cittas = Sundarayai datta-hastasya pratyākhyānam pratigr̥hitun = tām ayācat. Sundarī ca Jāva-rāja putram Purandaran = dr̥ṣṭvā tasmin pratibaddha-cittā Sundara - Pāṇḍya-putreṇa Sundara-Pāṇḍyena datta-hastasya pratyākhyānam pratyagrṇat. (7) Parākramabāhu-mahārājas = tu Sundara Pāṇḍya-putreṇa Sundara-Pāṇḍyena ca sva - duhitrā Candravatīyā ca sārddhan sva-rājyam pratyāgamya Anurādhapuram prāpya Bodhimāṇḍa-samīpe kṛte mahā-maṇḍape Candravatīyāḥ pariṇayān samāpya Svarṇṇamāli-mahā-stūpa-prabhṛtiṣu stūpeṣu nava-karmamāṇi samāpya suvarṇṇa - (8) lakṣmī visṛjya Svarṇṇamāli-mahāstūpe svarṇṇā-lepanam kṛtvā Pulastipuram prāpya tatra ca Svarṇṇamāli-stūpa-prabhṛtiṣu stūpeṣu navakarmamāṇi samāpya Jayavardhana-puram pratyāgamya sthitvā pañca-pañcāśad - varṣāni rājyam kṛtvā paralokam agamat. Svasti.

### Translation

Hail! The great king Parākramabāhu, having been at Suvarṇṇapura, was established in the sovereignty of Laikā by the Emperor of China, and arrived in Ceylon together with the Imperial Chinese envoy. He waged war with Parākramabāhu Ādipāda and obtained the kingdom. Having remained for some time at Rājagrāmapura (Rayigama), he came to reside at Jayavardhana-pura (Kōṭṭe). When residing there, he got news that his son Purandara, who had remained behind in the Jāva kingdom, was dead. Then he placed Campaka-perumāla, the son of Paṇikkala, who was the son of Purandara, his elder brother, in the position of his own son, and brought him up. He thereafter wedded Svarṇṇamāṇikyā, the daughter of Rājaputra Ṭhakura of Jātigrāmapura (Dātigama) and begot Candravatī and Purandara. Purandara died in his childhood.

Having decided to give Candravatī (in marriage) to Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya, he sent a message to Sundara Pāṇḍya, king of Suvarṇṇapura, requesting that Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya, who was in Suvarṇṇapura, be sent back to his own country. Sundara Pāṇḍya, the father of Sundara Pāṇḍya, also sent a message to his son, advising him to give his promise (of marriage) to Candravatī. Sundara Pāṇḍya, the

king of Suvarṇṇapura, did not consent to accept the repudiation of the promise of marriage given to his daughter, Sundarī, by Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya. Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya, while at Suvarṇṇapura, had seen Sundarī, the daughter of Sundara Pāṇḍya, the king of Suvarṇṇapura, and being enamoured of her, did not accept the message of his father.

King Parākramabāhu (thereupon) went to Suvarṇṇapura with Candravatī and having seen Sundara Pāṇḍya, the king of Suvarṇṇapura, made a request to him to accept the repudiation of the promise of marriage given to his daughter by Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya. Sundara Pāṇḍya, the king of Suvarṇṇapura, did not entertain this request of King Parākramabāhu. Thereupon, King Parākramabāhu waged war with King Sundara Pāṇḍya, defeated him and dictated (terms of peace) to Sundara Pāṇḍya, to the effect that he arrive in Anurādhapura and enter the monastic order remaining at the Abhayagiri Vihāra. Then, Sundara Pāṇḍya, the king of Suvarṇṇapura, entertained the request of King Parākramabāhu.

Meantime, Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya, had seen Candravatī, and being enamoured of her, begged Sundarī to accept the the repudiation of the promise (of marriage) given to her by him. Sundarī also had (in the interval) seen Purandara, the son of the king of Jāva, and being enamoured of him, accepted the repudiation of the promise of marriage given her by Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya.

The great King Parākramabāhu returned to his own kingdom with Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya, and Candravatī. He proceeded to Anurādhapura and celebrated the nuptials of Candravatī in a great pavilion erected in the vicinity of the Bodhimaṇḍa. He carried out the works of repair at the *stūpas*, including the great Stūpa of Svarṇṇamāli, and painted the great Stupa of Svarṇṇamāli with gold, having spent one hundred thousand gold coins. He proceeded to Pulastipura and there, too, he carried out the works of repair to the *stūpas*, including the Svarṇṇamāli-stūpa. He then returned to Jayavardhana-pura (Kōṭṭe), remained there and, having reigned for five and fifty years, departed to the other world.

\* \* \*

Parākramabāhu must have been accompanied by a strong and numerous force when he went to Śrī Vijaya, for his victory over its ruler was a complete one. The king of Śrī Vijaya, Sundara Pāṇḍya, must have become a

prisoner of Parākramabāhu, for he not only submitted to the victor's demand of abdication, but also renounced the title of his kingdom to his own descendants, and bequeathed it to the son-in-law of Parākramabāhu. The Ceylon king's treatment of the Śrī Vijaya ruler appears to be harsh, if the cause of the war was only what is given in this document, i.e. Sundara Pāṇḍya not agreeing to the repudiation of the promise of marriage given to his daughter by the prince whom Parākramabāhu wished to be married to his own daughter. But, from other documents, we learn that this was only the immediate cause, and that the relations between Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya were strained during several years before this. Sundara Pāṇḍya, the ruler of Śrī Vijaya, was a kinsman of Parākramabāhu, for both were descendants of Māgha. In spite of this kinship, Sundara Pāṇḍya is said to have given his support to the Emperor of Vijayanagara and the Ārya Cakravartī of Jaffna in their schemes of hostility against Parākramabāhu. In fact, the son and heir of Sundara Pāṇḍya, by name Purandara, is said to have fought on the side of the Ārya Cakravartī, and lost his life. It was in order to further his designs on Ceylon that Sundara Pāṇḍya of Śrī Vijaya was planning to have his daughter married to Sundara Pāṇḍya of Ambalantōṭa, a prince descended from the ancient line of Sinhalese kings. Parākramabāhu only forestalled him and turned the tables on him.

By this victory, Parākramabāhu became master of what was then left of the once mighty empire of Śrī Vijaya. The son of the king of Jāva, married to the daughter of the deposed Sundara Pāṇḍya, was appointed to govern Śrī Vijaya as a vassal of Parākramabāhu. In the year 1459, envoys sent by the ruler of Ceylon arrived at the Chinese Court, and the name of their sovereign given by them, has been rendered in Chinese characters as Ko-li-sheng-hsia-la-chi-li-pa-chiao-la-jo. There was no other ruler in Ceylon on this date but Parākramabāhu, and the name thus rendered in Chinese characters appears to have been Kāliṅga-Simhala-Śrī-Vijaya-rāja. This title thus appears to have been assumed by Parākramabāhu after his conquest of Śrī Vijaya, before the marriage of his daughter.

The conquest of Śrī Vijaya by Parākramabāhu is also referred to in the *Pārakumbā-sirita*, v. 73. The expression *gat Kaṭāra* occurring in this verse may be rendered as 'he who has captured Kaṭāra'. Kaṭāra is the Sinhalese equivalent of the Skt. *Katāha*, the name by which the Malaysian region is referred to in Sanskrit literature. In Tamil, the name occurs in the forms *Kaṭāram* and *Kitāram*.

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Sundara Pāṇḍya, who thus became the consort of Princess Ulakuḍaya (Candravatī), was entrusted by Parākramabāhu with the duties of Prime Minister, and it is under the designation attached to this office that the prince is eulogised in the *Sāḷalihīni-sandēsa*, v. 95. This information is contained in a long passage devoted to the recounting of the glories of the kingdom of Suvarṇṇapura (Śrī Vijaya). The text given below has been read from the Rambāva slab, where it is found at line 14 of the original Sinhalese inscription, 1 ft. 8 in. from the top.

### Text

Suvarṇṇapura-rājyc sthitvā tu Sundara - Pāṇḍya - putras = Sundara - Pāṇḍyas = Candravatyai hastan = datvā 'nurādhapuram prāpya Candravatīm saṁvāhya Jayavardhana-puram prāpya Nallūra - tuna - maṇi saṁjñā - hastam = ity = agrāmātya - sthānam labdhvā rājakāryyāny = avalokayan sthitah.

### Translation

It was while staying in the kingdom of Suvarṇṇapura that Sundara Pāṇḍya, son of Sundara Pāṇḍya, gave the promise (of marriage) to Candravatī. He arrived in Anurādhapura and there wedded Candravatī. (Afterwards) he has come to Jayavardhanapura (Kōṭṭe) and, having received the office of Prime Minister under (the designation) *Nallūra-tuna maṇi-saṁjñā-hasta*, remains there looking after the affairs of state.

The title given here in Sanskrit is the Sinhalese *Nalluru-tuna-maṇi-sannas*, and indicates the dignitary who had the custody of the king's signet ring. The office corresponds to that of the Lord Privy Seal in English Court parlance. The dignitary with this designation who composed the *Purāṇa-nāmāvaliya* in Śaka 1343, corresponding to the tenth year of Parākramabāhu, was a predecessor of Sundara Pāṇḍya in this high office.

The data contained in the various Vaniśāvalis have been embodied in the Genealogical Table given as an Appendix to this paper.

## S. PARANAVITANA