

A historical map of the Indian Ocean region, showing the East African coast, the Indian subcontinent, and the island of Ceylon. The map is overlaid with a purple and blue graphic. The title 'SRI LANKA AT THE CROSSROADS OF HISTORY' is centered in white text on the purple background. The map includes various geographical labels such as 'CAMBAIA', 'ORIX', 'BISNAGER', 'Ceylon', 'Colombo', and 'Negombo'. It also features a grid of latitude and longitude lines and a compass rose.

# SRI LANKA

AT THE CROSSROADS  
OF HISTORY

EDITED BY ZOLTÁN BIEDERMANN  
AND ALAN STRATHERN

**UCLPRESS**

# **Sri Lanka at the Crossroads of History**

# Sri Lanka at the Crossroads of History

Edited by Zoltán Biedermann and  
Alan Strathern

 **UCLPRESS**

First published in 2017 by  
UCL Press  
University College London  
Gower Street  
London WC1E 6BT

Available to download free: [www.ucl.ac.uk/ucl-press](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/ucl-press)

Text © Contributors, 2017

Images © Contributors and copyright holders named in the captions, 2017

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from The British Library.

This book is published under a Creative Commons 4.0 International license (CC BY 4.0). This license allows you to share, copy, distribute and transmit the work; to adapt the work and to make commercial use of the work providing attribution is made to the authors (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work). Attribution should include the following information:

Zoltán Biedermann and Alan Strathern (eds.), *Sri Lanka at the Crossroads of History*, London, UCL Press, 2017. [https://doi.org/ 10.14324/111.9781911307822](https://doi.org/10.14324/111.9781911307822)

Further details about CC BY licenses are available at <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/>

ISBN: 978-1-911307-83-9 (Hbk.)

ISBN: 978-1-911307-84-6 (Pbk.)

ISBN: 978-1-911307-82-2 (PDF)

ISBN: 978-1-911307-81-5 (epub)

ISBN: 978-1-911307-80-8 (mobi)

ISBN: 978-1-911307-78-5 (html)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14324/111.9781911307822>

# Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	ix
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	xi
Introduction: Querying the cosmopolitan in Sri Lankan and Indian Ocean history <i>Alan Strathern and Zoltán Biedermann</i>	1
1 Archaeology and cosmopolitanism in early historic and medieval Sri Lanka <i>Robin Coningham, Mark Manuel, Christopher Davis and Prishanta Gunawardhana</i>	19
2 ‘Implicit cosmopolitanism’ and the commercial role of ancient Lanka <i>Rebecca R. Darley</i>	44
3 A Pāli cosmopolis? Sri Lanka and the Theravāda Buddhist ecumene, c. 500–1500 <i>Tilman Frasch</i>	66
4 Beautifully moral: cosmopolitan issues in medieval Pāli literary theory <i>Alastair Gornall and Justin Henry</i>	77
5 Sinhala <i>sandēśa</i> poetry in a cosmopolitan context <i>Stephen C. Berkwitz</i>	94
6 The local and the global: the multiple visual worlds of ivory carvers in early modern Sri Lanka <i>Sujatha Arundathi Meegama</i>	113
7 Cosmopolitan converts: the politics of Lankan exile in the Portuguese Empire <i>Zoltán Biedermann</i>	141
8 Between the Portuguese and the Nāyakas: the many faces of the Kandyan Kingdom, 1591–1765 <i>Gananath Obeyesekere</i>	161

9	Through the lens of slavery: Dutch Sri Lanka in the eighteenth century	178
	<i>Alicia Schriker and Kate J. Ekama</i>	
10	Cosmopolitanism and indigeneity in four violent years: the fall of the kingdom of Kandy and the Great Rebellion revisited	194
	<i>Sujit Sivasundaram</i>	
11	The digestion of the foreign in Lankan history, c. 500–1818	216
	<i>Alan Strathern</i>	
	<i>Notes</i>	239
	<i>Bibliography</i>	301
	<i>Index</i>	332



## List of figures

Fig. 0.1	A Sri Lankan Catholic dressed up as a Roman legionnaire at a Passion Play, Negombo, mid-1980s, photograph by Dominic Sansoni.	xiv
Fig. 1.1	Tamil inscription at the Atadage, Sacred Quadrangle, Polonnaruwa, authors' photograph.	25
Fig. 1.2	Urinal stone at one of the Western Monasteries, Anurādhapura, authors' photograph.	33
Fig. 1.3	Stūpas at Delft, authors' photograph.	34
Fig. 1.4	Stūpas at Kantarodai, authors' photograph.	35
Fig. 1.5	Rock carved images at Buduruwagala, Monaragala District, authors' photograph.	36
Fig. 1.6	Terracotta figurine fragments from the site of Nikawewa (D339), including a depiction of a human face (right) and an anthropomorphic phallus (left), authors' photograph.	38
Fig. 1.7	Appliqué <i>triśūla</i> on a pottery rim sherd from site Kalahagala (S360) in the hinterland of Polonnaruwa, found during the 2016 field season of the Polonnaruwa Archaeological and Anthropological Research Project, authors' photograph.	41
Fig. 1.8	Head from a Buddha image rededicated as an image of Ayanayake, Anurādhapura hinterland, authors' photograph.	42
Fig. 2.1	Gold <i>solidus</i> of Theodosius II, minted in Constantinople, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, LR489 (Whitting No. G522).	53
Fig. 2.2	Gold <i>solidus</i> of Theoderic I of Italy, struck in the name of Anastasius, probably in Italy, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, VV07 (Whitting No. G520).	53
Fig. 2.3	Gold <i>solidus</i> of Maurice Tiberius, struck in Constantinople, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, B1767 (Whitting No. 518).	54
Fig. 2.4	Gold <i>solidus</i> of Valentinian III, struck in Ravenna, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, LR540 (Whitting No. G521).	55
Fig. 2.5	Gold <i>solidus</i> of Theodosius II, struck in Thessaloniki, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, LR482 (Whitting No. G519).	56
Fig. 6.1	'Rāmāyaṇa casket', front panel, Sri Lanka, mid-sixteenth century, KHM-Museumsverband, Wien, Inventory no. KK 4743.	117
Fig. 6.2	'Robinson casket', Sri Lanka, probably Kōtṭe, mid-sixteenth century, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inventory no. IS.41–1980.	117

Fig. 6.3	‘Coronation casket’, Kōtṭe, c.1541, Schatzkammer der Residenz, Munich, Inventory no. 1241.	118
Fig. 6.4	Casket, front panel, Sri Lanka, mid- to late sixteenth century, Photograph © 2017 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bequest of William A. Coolidge, Accession no. 1993.29.	119
Fig. 6.5	Basement moulding, Bārāṇḍi Kōvil, Sitāvaka, mid-sixteenth century, author’s photograph.	119
Fig. 6.6	‘Peradeniya casket’, back panel, Sri Lanka, mid-sixteenth century, The Senarat Paranavitana Teaching and Research Museum, Department of Archaeology, University of Peradeniya, author’s photograph.	121
Fig. 6.7	Casket, lateral panel (left), Kōtṭe, 1540s, Schatzkammer der Residenz, Munich, Inventory no. 1242.	122
Fig. 6.8	Casket, lateral panel (left), Sri Lanka, mid- to late sixteenth century, Photograph © 2017 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bequest of William A. Coolidge, Accession no. 1993.29.	123
Fig. 6.9	Gaḍalādeṇiya Rājamahā Vihāraya, 1344 CE, author’s photograph.	124
Fig. 6.10	Śiva Devāle No. 1, Polonnaruva, eleventh or twelfth century, author’s photograph.	124
Fig. 6.11	‘Robinson casket’, back panel, Sri Lanka, probably Kōtṭe, mid-sixteenth century, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inventory no. IS.41–1980.	126
Fig. 6.12	Tree of Jesse on the ‘Robinson casket’, lateral panel (right), Sri Lanka, probably Kōtṭe, mid-sixteenth century, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inventory no. IS.41–1980.	127
Fig. 6.13	Tree of Jesse from the Book of Hours of Thielmann Kerver, Paris, c. 1507, Collection Paulus Swaen Auctions.	128
Fig. 6.14	<i>Kalpavrksha/Kalpalata</i> (auspicious vines) on the ‘Robinson casket’, lateral panel (left), Sri Lanka, probably Kōtṭe, mid-sixteenth century, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inventory no. IS.41–1980.	129
Fig. 6.15	Casket, lid, Sri Lanka, mid- to late sixteenth century, Photograph © 2017 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bequest of William A. Coolidge, Accession no. 1993.29.	134
Fig. 6.16	Casket, back panel, Sri Lanka, mid- to late sixteenth century, Photograph © 2017 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bequest of William A. Coolidge, Accession no. 1993.29.	135
Fig. 6.17	‘Coronation casket’, lid, Kōtṭe, c. 1541, Schatzkammer der Residenz, Munich, Inventory no. 1241.	135
Fig. 6.18	Galapatha Rajamaha Vihāra, Bentota, fourteenth or fifteenth century, author’s photograph.	136
Fig. 7.1	Royal escutcheon of Prince Dom João of Kandy, Museu Arqueológico do Carmo, Lisbon, Inventory no. ESC221, author’s photograph.	151



# 1

## Archaeology and cosmopolitanism in early historic and medieval Sri Lanka

*Robin Coningham, Mark Manuel, Christopher Davis  
and Prishanta Gunawardhana*

### Introduction

This chapter will examine the applicability of the concept of cosmopolitanism in Sri Lanka during the early historic and the medieval period across a timespan of between c. 500 BCE and 1200 CE, utilizing archaeological evidence augmented by epigraphic and textual sources. It will focus on north central Sri Lanka and Anurādhapura but draw on wider references, comparisons and analogies where appropriate. Within an archaeological context, cosmopolitanism is a relatively underexplored phenomenon. While some volumes have addressed issues of identity and cosmopolitanism,<sup>1</sup> they have been more concerned with how this may have been represented in the present (largely through cultural heritage), as opposed to exploring the nature of its ancient manifestations. Philosophically, cosmopolitanism may be taken to refer to the concept that all humans belong to a single community with shared moral codes and philosophies, and that such a concept should be nurtured.<sup>2</sup> However, to a wider public, cosmopolitanism has often been used to reflect multiculturalism, sophistication and a general worldliness. In an archaeological context, the former definition is inherently problematic and challenging; however, the latter set of definitions is more achievable to identify, but to varying degrees as will become apparent.

How archaeologists commence the process of defining and identifying cosmopolitanism within archaeological communities is, in itself, a challenge although one may simply acknowledge the presence of multiple communities in the past. On a more ambitious level, archaeologists may investigate the relationships between such communities more deeply and the influences they may have had on each other. In such a way, the concept of cosmopolitanism may assist the development of a greater understanding of the complex and multifaceted identities of individuals and communities in the past. For instance, individuals may have had allegiances to multiple communities, may have spoken numerous languages

and may have participated in various religious, ritual and belief systems. However positive an ambition, the inclusive and integrating nature of cosmopolitanism makes it difficult to define and even more difficult to identify within the ephemeral material remains with which archaeologists have to contend.

The focus of this discussion must also acknowledge the underlying and underpinning concepts of identity. Early archaeologists, such as Gustaf Kossinna (1858–1931), linked material archaeological remains with cultures, and variations within these cultural groups were attributed to ethnic diversity. Each clearly defined cultural province was thus correlated with an ethnic group and, simultaneously, also linked to contemporary nationalist concerns.<sup>3</sup> Although in opposition to this political agenda, pioneering archaeologists, such as Vere Gordon Childe and Stuart Piggott,<sup>4</sup> continued to identify and map cultural provinces across time and space in Europe and South Asia through differences and distributions of material culture, maintaining the assumption that cultural groups correlated with ethnic and linguistic groups. In Western Europe and, by imperial proxy, in South Asia, archaeologists utilized concepts of diffusion and migration to explain cultural and linguistic variations, for example in the debate over the development and spread of Indo-Aryan languages, linked with the ubiquitous Aryan invasion theory.<sup>5</sup>

Sri Lanka may be perceived as representing a microcosm of this latter Aryan question. Indeed, Tamil and Sinhalese ethnic identities have been created and curated on the basis of relatively modern distributions of Indo-European and proto-Dravidian linguistic communities, combined with references to oral and literary traditions relating to the Vijayan colonization of the island.<sup>6</sup> Despite this long scholarly tradition, there has been a more recent and rigorous examination of concepts of ethnicity within archaeology, leading some scholars to reject the notion that ethnic identity was ever concrete or could be traceable to a definable point. Jones has suggested that ‘ethnic identity is based on shifting, situational, subjective identifications of self and others, which are rooted in ongoing daily practice and historical experience, but also subject to transformation and discontinuity’.<sup>7</sup> Archaeologists have also focused on issues of identity within the archaeological record, challenging preconceptions relating to age, gender, ethnicity and religion, and recognizing that ‘identity... is not a static thing, but a continual process... Identities are constructed through interaction between people and the process by which we acquire and maintain our identities requires choice and agency’.<sup>8</sup>

Crucial within this quote is the recognition that identity is not singular but a plural concept. Individuals may hold many different identities simultaneously and this is something that becomes increasingly evident when examining the complex Sri Lankan past. This is equally true of the challenge of trying to discern religious identities from archaeological remains, individual objects or artefactual corpora. For instance, many monuments and motifs were commonly shared by a number of major religious traditions,<sup>9</sup> making it difficult to offer firm affiliations. With regard to Sri Lanka, a number of deities, such as Ganesh, Viṣṇu and Kubera, continued to be venerated after the advent of Buddhism but their positions were reconstituted within a cosmography that placed the Buddha centrally.

The survival of old beliefs and the appropriation of new traditions can be traced throughout the island's archaeological sequence, ranging from the introduction of the Buddha image in the first half of the first millennium CE to the emergence of traditions associated with the terracotta artefacts of the so-called 'Tabbova-Maradanmaduva Culture' at the beginning of the second millennium CE.<sup>10</sup> In order to investigate cosmopolitanism in ancient Sri Lanka and evaluate the appropriateness of the concept itself, this chapter will examine a series of case studies. These range from the role of pilgrimage, in particular Buddhist, to and from the island; local and global trade networks and the impact these have had on the island's inhabitants; patronage within the island and Sri Lankan patronage elsewhere in South Asia; and the religious and economic landscapes of Anurādhapura and its surrounding hinterland. This study will focus on archaeological data but will introduce textual and epigraphic evidence where appropriate, and will begin by examining these sources and critically discussing how modern ethnic constructs in Sri Lanka have been intrinsically linked to the island's past.

## Textual narratives and the linking of archaeology to ethnicity

The precolonial history of Sri Lanka has been constructed from a variety of textual sources, in particular the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvāṃsa* and *Cūlavāṃsa*. Wilhelm Geiger argued that the *Dīpavaṃsa*'s contents relied upon an earlier chronicle known as the *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvāṃsa*,<sup>11</sup> and that while the *Dīpavaṃsa* is viewed as a first attempt at collating Pāli verses, the *Mahāvāṃsa* can be seen as a younger, more elaborate, treatment of the same material. Geiger even went as far as to suggest that the *Mahāvāṃsa* represents 'a conscious and intentional rearrangement of the *Dīpavaṃsa*'.<sup>12</sup> Although its authorship is unknown, the *Dīpavaṃsa* is believed to have been compiled in the fourth century CE, while the *Mahāvāṃsa* has been argued to have been written by various monks of the *Mahāvihāra* and compiled into a single document by the Buddhist monk Mahānāma in the fifth to sixth century CE.<sup>13</sup> It narrates the history of the island from its colonization by Prince Vijaya through to the reign of King Mahāsena (r. 275–301 CE).<sup>14</sup> The *Cūlavāṃsa* was a continuation of this narrative, detailing the island's history up to the eighteenth century CE.<sup>15</sup> Initially scholars believed these narratives to be legends, but the rediscovery of palm leaf manuscripts by George Turnour at Mullgiri-galla near Tangalle<sup>16</sup> led to the serious reconsideration of their contents as historical. Sir James Emerson Tennent, Colonial Secretary of Ceylon between 1845 and 1850 CE, stated that this 'long lost chronicle... thus vindicated the claim of Ceylon to the possession of an authentic and unrivalled record of its national history'.<sup>17</sup>

This rediscovery led to an increase in Western studies of the island's history,<sup>18</sup> paralleled by significant research undertaken by members of the Sangha whose translations of Pāli works into Sinhalese and correspondence with European academics facilitated the development of 'Oriental' scholarship.<sup>19</sup>

Unique across South Asia, the chronicles provided a historical framework for the island from before the Mauryan Empire through to British rule and, with colonial endorsement, the chronicles became the privileged source of evidence for scholars studying Sri Lanka's past. This focus has produced what has been termed by Seneviratne as the 'Mahāvamsa view',<sup>20</sup> reflecting the fact that ever since the rediscovery of the chronicles, the disciplines of Sri Lankan history and archaeology have been largely influenced by as the *Mahāvamsa's* narrative.<sup>21</sup> It has also been suggested that archaeological evidence from excavations in Anurādhapura, while often referring to 'popular' culture and history, has been used to reinforce academic narratives derived from the chronicles.<sup>22</sup>

The narrative itself details, as is widely known, the arrival of Prince Vijaya, the exiled heir to a kingdom in northern India, with his 700 followers on the uninhabited island of Lanka in the middle of the first millennium BCE. On arrival, Vijaya slays the demonic *yakkhas* who reside on the island, while at the same time having two children by the *yakkhiṇī*, Kuveṇī. Descended from a lion, Vijaya refers to his followers as Sinhala, or 'people of the lion'. However, having borne his children, Prince Vijaya spurns Kuveṇī in favour of an Indian princess, and Kuveṇī and their children retreat to the jungle, forming the Pulinda people.<sup>23</sup> After the conversion of the Sinhalese to Buddhism in the third century BCE as a result of Aśōka's proselytizing (see p. 29), the *Mahāvamsa* makes its first reference to differentiated communities by mentioning Demaḷas, a term often associated with Tamils, although this is contested.<sup>24</sup> With the exception of those Tamil-speakers brought across as indentured labour for the colonial tea plantations, the Tamil communities of present-day Sri Lanka have often been directly linked with the invading South Indian Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas during the later phases of the Sinhalese rule from Anurādhapura.<sup>25</sup> The chronicles thus seem to establish within their narratives three distinct communities that have often been perceived to have been at odds with one another, rather than recognizing a framework for a multicultural island with a shared history. Frequently, the underlying question here has been to do with who the rightful autochthons were.

This link of past to present has often been translated into the notion of the Sinhalese as rightful 'heirs' to the island,<sup>26</sup> while Tamils were portrayed as late-comers or outsiders. The reasoning behind this partially originates from colonial interpretations of Sri Lankan history. As well as endorsing the *Mahāvamsa* as history, Tennent equated the Pulinda with the modern communities of hunter-gatherers or *vāddās*, often described as the aboriginal inhabitants of the island; the Sinhalese as the civilized creators of the architectural and engineering masterpieces of the northern plains or the Rajarata; and finally, the Tamils as the 'debased' destroyers of that civilization.<sup>27</sup> These views became mainstream historical opinion, although other scholars sought to attribute a much deeper antiquity to the Tamil communities of the island,<sup>28</sup> with some suggesting that sites such as Mantai were part of a separate early Tamil trading civilization,<sup>29</sup> or that an early Dravidian population was already present on the island at the time of the Vijayan colonization.<sup>30</sup> However, these latter views never garnered broader acceptance.

Central to colonial interpretation was the concept that Indo-European-speaking people had invaded South Asia from the north and west around the first millennium BCE, bringing with them a cultural package that included writing, iron, horse-riding and advanced social institutions.<sup>31</sup> Within South Asia, the Indo-Aryan invasion was portrayed as part of a long pageant of historical precedents that helped to legitimate British control of the region as the latest wave of conquest elites following Aryans, Greeks, Persians and Turks.<sup>32</sup> The civil servant and historian, H. W. Codrington, pursued these legitimacies in his *Short History of Ceylon*, when he reminded readers that the British invasion of Kandy and exile of the last king, Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha (r. 1798–1815 CE) was to deliver ‘the Kandyans from their oppressors and the subversion of the Malabar dominion’, Rājasimha being a South Indian Tamil by birth.<sup>33</sup>

Episodes and events of oppression were also portrayed within the chronicles and they frequently referenced the destruction of Buddhist heritage by South Indian aggressors. For instance, during the reign of Mahinda V (r. 982–1029 CE) the chronicles recorded that Anurādhapura was abandoned, leaving the capital open to plunder by the South Indian Cōla polity:

Thereupon they sent the Monarch and all the treasures which had fallen into their hands at once to the Cōla Monarch. In the three fraternities and in all Lanka (breaking open) the relic chambers, (they carried away) many costly images of gold etc., and while they violently destroyed here and there all the monasteries, like blood-sucking *yakkhas* they took all the treasures of Lanka for themselves.<sup>34</sup>

These descriptions were also used during the anti-colonial Buddhist revival by leaders of that movement, such as Angarika Dharmapala (1864–1933 CE), who identified modern Europeans and ancient Tamils as ‘barbaric vandals’ of Sinhalese culture.<sup>35</sup> This fitted a framework promoting Sinhalese and Buddhist concerns while noting European interference. However, colonial archaeologists also laid the blame for the destruction of monuments in antiquity at the hands of Tamils, utilizing similar narratives.<sup>36</sup> Early archaeological interpretations drew from such descriptions and H. C. P. Bell, the archaeological commissioner for Ceylon between 1890 and 1912, described the stone Buddhist railing at the Jetavana monastery of Anurādhapura as damaged by an aggressor:

The indescribable confusion in which the fragments were found heaped one upon another, and the almost entire wreck of the railing, leave little room for doubt that this unique relic of Ceylon Buddhist architecture must have perished under the ruthless destruction of those invaders from South India at whose door lies the mutilation and ruin of the best works of the sculptor’s art in Anurādhapura.<sup>37</sup>

Such interpretations were not rare, as illustrated by the discovery of fractured Buddha sculptures in Jaffna recorded by Sir Paul Pieris. He noted that earlier

scholars, such as Sir William Twynam, the government agent for Jaffna, had suggested that Buddhist sculptures found in the north 'have been similarly mutilated – an undoubted sign, he thinks, of Dravidian invasion'.<sup>38</sup> Such viewpoints were not restricted to the infancy of archaeological enquiry but continued through the twentieth century. For example, excavations at Abhayagiri in Anurādhapura in the 1980s revealed Buddha statues lying flat with their heads removed and this was cited as evidence of the Cōla destruction as narrated in the *Cūlavamsa*.<sup>39</sup> The latter findings were recovered from excavations conducted as part of Sri Lanka's major heritage programme, the UNESCO Central Cultural Fund, established by president J. R. Jayewardene in 1980. Tasked with excavating, conserving and presenting the ancient cities and Buddhist monuments of Sri Lanka, the sites of Anurādhapura, Polonnaruva and Sigiriya were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1982, followed by Kandy in 1988 and Dambulla in 1991.<sup>40</sup> Although colonial Galle was inscribed in 1988, the focus on Buddhist sites was pointed out by Tambiah, who stated that while there should be no barriers to the sponsorship of the restoration of Buddhist monuments, '[i]t would also behove a Sri Lankan government to recognize at the same time that there are monuments, archaeological remains, and literary and cultural treasures that are neither Sinhalese nor Buddhist as these labels are understood today'.<sup>41</sup>

One of the unintended consequences of the increasing alignment of the state-sponsored promotion of Buddhist heritage with the *Mahāvamsa*'s narrative was to focus the attention of the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) on the symbolic importance of such monuments.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the early methods of the Central Cultural Fund were also queried by one of its own directors-general, Professor Seneviratne, who observed that 'interpretative studies were mainly commissioned to strengthen the Buddhist history of Anurādhapura and to authenticate the *Mahāvamsa* narration'.<sup>43</sup> Reflecting the new post-conflict era across the island, and the Central Cultural Fund Act, which states that the Fund was established 'for the development of cultural and religious monuments in Sri Lanka',<sup>44</sup> project offices have now been opened in Jaffna, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Ampara, with recently inaugurated conservation programmes at the Sivan Kōvil at Trincomalee, the Yonakapura mosque in Dickwella and the Roman Catholic church at Duwa in Negombo, as well as the promotion of the intangible heritage of vāddā, African and Malay communities. Furthermore, the Fund is sponsoring more inclusive research, such as the current investigations at Siva Devale No. 2 at Polonnaruva, which involves participants from across Sri Lanka including Sri Jayewardhanapura, Rajarata, Kelaniya and Jaffna Universities as well as international partners from Nepal, India, Australia and the UK.

On reflection, the character of the ancient heritage of Sri Lanka was far more complex, diverse and fluid than recently constructed identities and representations suggest. For example, although Sinhalese monarchs were guardians of Buddhism within the island, close marriage ties with non-Buddhist South Indian dynasties were formed, culminating in the accession of the Nāyaka dynasty to the Kandyan throne in the eighteenth century.<sup>45</sup> The current Temple of the Tooth in Kandy was partly constructed by a Nāyaka, Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha II



(r. 1798–1815 CE), a Tamil/Telugu-speaker from a Hindu dynasty of South Asian origin. The attack on the Temple of Tooth by the LTTE in 1998 therefore not only resulted in damage to a monument constructed by a South Indian dynastic king from the Nāyaka dynasty, but also damaged adjacent shrines to Pattini and Viṣṇu,<sup>46</sup> important to both Buddhist and Hindu communities. The patronage and protection afforded by ‘non-Buddhists’ is further reinforced by a Tamil inscription on a stone slab beside the Tooth Relic Temple in Polonnaruva. Known as the Aṭadāgē, this structure was built under the patronage of Vijayabāhu I (r. 1055–1110 CE) and the epigraph instructs guards from South India, Vēlaikkāras, to protect the Buddha’s Tooth Relic within<sup>47</sup> (Figure 1.1). Part of a long tradition of ‘Sinhala’



**Fig. 1.1** Tamil inscription at the Atadage, Sacred Quadrangle, Polonnaruva, authors’ photograph.

states employing South Indian guards, the *Vēlaikkāras* are stated to be adherents of the *Mahātāntra*, and this further highlights the diversity and complexity of identity, religiosity and the construction of royal legitimacy within medieval Sri Lanka. All these complexities are crucial for the consideration of evidence for potential signs of cosmopolitan practices in the archaeological record.

## Indian Ocean trade

Although Anurādhapura has been investigated for more than one hundred years, intensive stratigraphic archaeological analysis only commenced through the instigation of fieldwork programmes by Dr Siran Deraniyagala in the 1990s. One associated investigation was the excavation at trench Salgha Watta (ASW2), directed by one of the authors, which began in 1989 and continued into the 1990s. The trench measured ten by ten metres and was excavated to a depth of ten metres.<sup>48</sup> While trench ASW2 identified and dated a sequence with more than 1,000 years of occupation, rebuilding and eventual abandonment at the site, it was also designed to develop a typological sequence for the island and, in so doing, allowed the identification of trade networks. Many early studies of the island's archaeology have attributed Sri Lanka's apparent peripheral position to its seemingly marginal geographical location, off India's southern tip.<sup>49</sup> As a result, the island was assumed to have adopted a number of innovations, such as writing and urbanization, later than North India.<sup>50</sup>

On a broader scale, this interpretation reflected a deeply rooted colonial concept, namely that contact with the Roman world was the catalyst for the beginnings of Indian Ocean trade. In line with his tradition of linking South Asian archaeology with established Western chronologies, Mortimer Wheeler presented the early, pre-Roman levels of his excavations at the port of Arikamedu in South India as populated by 'simple fisher-folk' living in 'a leisurely and enterprising fashion just above subsistence level'.<sup>51</sup> An adherent of the theory of cultural change through invasion, diffusion or trade, Wheeler believed that Roman traders provided the stimulus for the settlement to develop into an international hub.<sup>52</sup> He felt supported by the presence of finds of Arretine Ware and other Roman goods. While he focused on the sequence from a single trade entrepôt, the ideas and concepts that he developed were transposed to Sri Lanka and into narratives of the island's development. Yet Begley's re-excavations at Arikamedu<sup>53</sup> and Coningham's trench ASW2 at Anurādhapura demonstrated the weakness of these models, the latter confirming the presence of well-developed trade networks across South Asia before contact with the Roman world.<sup>54</sup>

Archaeologists now recognize the highly diverse character of the wider region's trading communities. For example, the Italian excavations at Khor Rohri on the Omani coast have provided evidence of South Asian wares<sup>55</sup> and the presence of sherds with inscriptions in Early Brahmi, the *lingua franca* of early historic trade, at Myos Hormos and Berenike in the Red Sea suggest strong contact

with – and possible residence of – South Asian traders there in the first century CE.<sup>56</sup> The excavations at trench ASW2 also provide evidence of a diverse repertoire, indicating links across the early historic and medieval Indian Ocean. Objects demonstrate links with Afghanistan and Gujarat, with finds of lapis lazuli and carnelian in the first millennium BCE, but later expanded to include glazed ceramics from the Persian and Islamic worlds and Eastern Asia with delicate monochrome lustre ware bowls and Changsha stone wares in the first millennium CE. While some objects, such as the Egyptian glass kohl sticks, were already well-known artefact categories, other objects represented the introduction of new tastes. For example, during Period F (300–600 CE), ‘torpedo’ jars were imported from Sasanian and Early Islamic regions. Lined with bitumen to make them watertight, they were used to transport liquids. Gas chromatography–mass spectrometry and stable isotope analysis of torpedo jars from trench ASW2 identified that the bitumen was derived from Susa in Iran,<sup>57</sup> and while it was not possible to determine what liquids were transported within the Anurādhapura torpedo jars, it is likely that one of the commodities was wine.<sup>58</sup> Torpedo jars have also been found at Mantai,<sup>59</sup> Sigiriya<sup>60</sup> and Tissamaharama<sup>61</sup> and undoubtedly represent a broadening of such consumption habits.

A more utilitarian development was also recognized within the sequence of trench ASW2 in the form of sherds with inscriptions. Predating Aśōkan contact, the presence of Early Brahmi script in levels dating to c. 400 BCE raised questions as to its presence within the island.<sup>62</sup> North Indian Prakrit, the direct ancestor of Sinhalese, may have been adopted as a trade language at that time. The communities using it at Anurādhapura may have been bilingual and gradually replaced their own language in favour of Prakrit – a process that resulted in Sinhala.<sup>63</sup> The striking nature of its presence within the city has been further stressed by the fact that only a single inscribed sherd was identified outside the walls during a major campaign of survey – restricting the cosmopolitan nature of its use to the capital and differentiating this settlement from its rural hinterland, where evidence of writing was again restricted to inscriptions at monastic sites.<sup>64</sup> The presence of early trade links at Anurādhapura and Mantai also demonstrate that distant connections existed long before scholars had suggested. Indeed, the excavations across the ramparts at Anurādhapura demonstrated that the urban nature of the site was defined long before contact with Aśōka in the third century BCE<sup>65</sup> and the supposed ‘Mauryanization’ of the island, while the earliest levels of the site (c. 800 BCE) also detail an extensive intra-island network of trade and exchange.

Although this evidence of trade goods in Anurādhapura may have informed us of the extensive trade networks flowing through the site, it still remains to be seen how these systems were organized. Were international merchants and traders residing within the city itself or was the port of Mantai established as a trading entrepôt with goods shipped to Anurādhapura by local traders?<sup>66</sup> Were Sri Lankan traders setting forth to procure goods from around the world to bring home for local markets? The recent discovery of the Godavaya shipwreck off the southern coast of Sri Lanka promises to shed more light on the identities of the sailors and

their cargos.<sup>67</sup> As is often the case in archaeology, it is difficult to be absolutely certain and the answers are likely to be a combination of all of the above. The later travel itineraries of the Chinese pilgrim Faxian, for example, noted the presence of ‘The houses of Sa-pho (Sabaeen) merchants’ within Anurādhapura,<sup>68</sup> but scholars differ in their identification of the ethnicities involved. Note must also be made of the discovery of a Nestorian Cross at Anurādhapura. This was interpreted by early archaeologists as marking the presence of a church,<sup>69</sup> but also recently reassessed by Prabo Mihindukulasuriya, who linked the find with records by the historian Cosmas and the presence of a Nestorian bulla from Mantai to suggest that Anurādhapura hosted a thriving Christian community.<sup>70</sup> Although the presence of isolated artefacts may not necessarily equate to the permanent presence of particular groups, they do certainly call for a reassessment of the record.<sup>71</sup>

## Pilgrimage

The earliest contact between Sri Lanka and northern India recorded in the *Mahāvamsa*’s narrative was the Vijayan colonization. The second notable contact was between Devānampiyatissa’s (r. 250–210 BCE) kingdom and the Mauryan Empire, which had emerged in the mid-fourth century BCE from the internecine warfare between the various *mahajanapadas* of South Asia.<sup>72</sup> After his conversion to Buddhism, it is recorded that the Mauryan emperor Aśōka (272–235 BCE) sent missionaries to neighbouring states to spread the Dharma.<sup>73</sup> Aśōka’s son Mahinda was sent to Sri Lanka and, after converting Devānampiyatissa, supported spreading Buddhism throughout the island.<sup>74</sup> Later, Aśōka’s daughter Saṅghamittā brought a branch of the Bōdhi tree from Bodhgaya, under which the Buddha gained enlightenment, to Sri Lanka<sup>75</sup> forming a centrepiece that is still venerated at the Śrī Mahā Bōdhi in Anurādhapura. Further relics were brought to Sri Lanka, such as the Buddha’s alms bowl, while his collarbone was enshrined within the Thūpārāmaya in Anurādhapura.<sup>76</sup> Although the archaeological evidence cannot confirm these textual claims in detail, it can support the broader point that relics were moving across South Asia as diplomatic and religious gifts. There is a close parallel between the recorded arrival of the Bōdhi tree and the advent of tree and swastika coinage in the third century BCE. The presence of Northern Black Polished Ware at Anurādhapura also constitutes ‘physical evidence of links between the core of the Mauryan culture sphere and Sri Lanka’.<sup>77</sup> Although a link can be identified, its exact nature is less certain, as the ware predates the rule of Aśōka and may represent down-the-line trade rather than courtly exchange.

Once Buddhism was established, the monasteries of Anurādhapura gained an international reputation and links throughout Asia continued to expand. In the late fourth and early fifth century CE, the Chinese pilgrim Faxian journeyed to Sri Lanka during his travels around South Asia visiting sites associated with the life of the Buddha and major Buddhist centres. In addition to describing

Anurādhapura and the religious ceremonies that occurred within the citadel, he described the wealth of the monasteries of the Sacred City. Here, Faxian reported that more than 10,000 monks and nuns resided, with the Abhayagiri Vihāra housing 5,000 and the Mahāvihāra 3,000 monks.<sup>78</sup> The treasury of Abhayagiri was said to contain jewels and gems of incalculable value, garnered from patronage.<sup>79</sup> The Sangha's networks continued into the medieval period but, after the purported damage to the Sangha caused by Cōla incursions in the eleventh century CE, as recorded in the chronicles, it was reported that no ordination had been conducted in Sri Lanka for many decades. These networks were called upon to assist the restoration of the Sangha, and Vijayabāhu I was aided by King Anuruddha of Rāmañña, whose realm coincided with modern Burma/Myanmar, to bring monks to Sri Lanka to fulfil these duties.<sup>80</sup> In later periods, after the decline of Polonnaruva, a major mission of monks from Chiangmai and Pegu came to Sri Lanka in the 1420s CE to worship the Tooth Relic and receive higher ordination.<sup>81</sup> The Indian Ocean-wide Buddhist worldview illustrated by these examples may have been encapsulated symbolically not only in textual sources, but also architecturally, with Tilman Frasch suggesting recently that the layout and structures of the twelfth-century Sacred Quadrangle at Polonnaruva represented a cosmogram of international Buddhist contacts.<sup>82</sup>

This is not to suggest that Sri Lanka acted solely as a receptacle for external impulses as there is also evidence for Sri Lankan communities influencing distant partners. For example, Pliny noted that a Sinhalese monarch sent an embassy to Rome in the second century CE<sup>83</sup> and an inscription on the Aśōkan period stone railing at the Mahabodhi Temple in northern India was translated by Sir Alexander Cunningham as the 'Gift of Bodhi-rakshita of Tambaparna (Ceylon)'.<sup>84</sup> References to Sri Lanka have also been identified at other sites in India. At Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh, an inscription recorded the Sihala-Vihāra and the dedication of a shrine to the fraternities of Tambapaṇṇi.<sup>85</sup> A decorated moonstone discovered at one apsidal temple, unlike other examples at Nagarjunakonda, resembles the ornately carved moonstones of Anurādhapura, decorated with elephants, lions, deer, horse, bull and buffalo, which may be connected to Buddhist communities from Sri Lanka.<sup>86</sup>

Later contact is confirmed by an inscription dating to 792 CE, found at a monastic site in the Ratubaka plateaux of Java, commemorating the founding of a branch of the Abhayagiri Vihāra of Sri Lanka in this locale.<sup>87</sup> Sundberg has argued that the *pendopo* architectural unit at Ratubaka has similarities with the layout of Padhānaghara Pirivena, or double-platform monasteries, that have been identified on the western outskirts at Anurādhapura and at Ritigala. These sites have been linked to the fraternity of monks known as the *paṃsukūlika* or 'those clothed in rags from dustheaps',<sup>88</sup> who rose to prominence from the eighth century CE onwards. The architecture of a Padhānaghara Pirivena is usually characterized by two quadrangular units connected by a stone bridge. These platforms are surrounded by an enclosing wall, occasionally a moat, as well as cisterns and ponds. Padhānaghara parivena do not possess typical Buddhist structures

or iconography such as *stūpas*, but are often associated with meditational pathways.<sup>89</sup> Sundberg has suggested that the Javanese *pendopo* shares these features such as a lack of ornamentation, cardinally oriented double-platforms, artificial rock-cut ponds and the presence of a compound wall.<sup>90</sup> Although it is not clear whether the *pamsukūlika* associated with the Padhānaghara Pirivena of Sri Lanka were present in Java, or vice versa, it is clear that there was communication and that shared architectural concepts existed across the Indian Ocean region.

Furthermore, inscriptions in Sri Lanka, such as two twelfth-century CE inscriptions from Polonnaruva, record the construction of a temple in South India<sup>91</sup> and the construction of alms-houses abroad.<sup>92</sup> Artefactual evidence is also suggestive of international Buddhist contacts, and it has been argued that a tenth-century CE bronze Buddha figure found in Thailand originated in Anurādhapura.<sup>93</sup> Textual sources also illustrate the influence of Sri Lankan monarchs overseas not just in religious matters. For example, Parākramabāhu I (r. 1153–86 CE) is recorded as instigating military campaigns against Southeast Asian polities as well as sending an army to South India to assist a Pāṇḍyan ruler against the Cōlas in 1169 CE.<sup>94</sup>

Finally, it is worth noting that not all pilgrims to Sri Lanka came for ‘Buddhist’ monuments or ‘Buddhist’ relics. It has been hypothesized that the site of Sigiriya, a creation of Kassapa I (r. 473–91 CE) and historically a site that attracted large numbers of visitors and pilgrims, was constructed symbolically to recreate the city of Ālakamandā, the celestial home of Kubera, god of wealth.<sup>95</sup> Inscription 28 of the Sigiriya graffiti records: ‘The resplendent rock named Sighigiri captivates the minds of those who have seen [it] as if [the mountain] Mundalind, which was adorned by the King of Sages, had descended to the earth.’<sup>96</sup> Mundalind has been equated with Mount Meru and, continuing this symbolism, Paranavitana suggested that the lake at Sigiriya represented the celestial lake Anotatta, the white-washed boulders before the outcrop stood for the snow-clad Himalayas, and the royal palace pointed to the abode of Kubera on the summit of Meru. The famous Sigiriya frescoes have also been interpreted in various ways, one being that they are depictions of divine cloud damsels representing cloud and lightning, reaffirming Kassapa’s ability to control the elements.<sup>97</sup> If indeed viewed as the creation of Kassapa, the graffiti and cosmological symbolism of Sigiriya produced what is argued to be the clearest example of an urban microcosm in early Sri Lanka.<sup>98</sup>

This symbolism suggests the physical modelling of South Asian-wide concepts, such as Mount Meru at the centre of a cosmic universe, were already present previously in Anurādhapura<sup>99</sup> and continued into the medieval and post-medieval periods at the urban forms of Polonnaruva and Kandy.<sup>100</sup> The Sigiriya graffiti also demonstrate that individuals from various communities travelled from all over Sri Lanka to visit the site,<sup>101</sup> and not always for religious reasons. However, it has also been argued that Sigiriya was in fact not an urban centre, but rather a vast Mahāyāna-Theravāda Buddhist monastic complex,<sup>102</sup> and if this view held by Raja de Silva is correct, then another intriguing explanation for Sigiriya’s design may exist. Rather than depicting cloud damsels surrounding the summit of Meru, de Silva argues that the paintings of female figures were representations of the



Bōdhisattva Tara.<sup>103</sup> There is also the possibility that these two interpretations were both held side-by-side, again highlighting the diversity in symbolic meaning that could be attached to physical remains in the Sri Lankan past.

## Patronage

While evidence from Sri Lanka's monumental centres demonstrates the breadth of connections throughout the Indian Ocean region, until recently the extra-urban networks around those hubs have been neglected. New fieldwork in the hinterland of Anurādhapura has begun to redress this imbalance, providing an archaeological dataset that has been combined with geoarchaeological, epigraphic and textual studies in order to understand the development of the city in relation to its wider landscape context.<sup>104</sup> One of the key findings of this fieldwork is the central role of Buddhist monasteries in the administration of landscape,<sup>105</sup> a state of affairs that had already been suggested from archaeological landscape surveys in Sri Lanka<sup>106</sup> and India.<sup>107</sup>

The two major site categories identified during six years of field survey in Anurādhapura's hinterland were Buddhist monasteries and small-sized ceramic scatters. These sites presented deep occupation sequences at monasteries as opposed to shallow ephemeral traces at ceramic scatter sites. Artefacts such as coins, precious and semi-precious stones, fine ware ceramics, as well as monumental architecture and, as stated previously, writing, were restricted to monastic sites, and these sites appear to have acted as both religious and secular administrators with jurisdiction over large temporalities in the hinterland.<sup>108</sup> This pattern reached its climax in the early medieval period when the most dominant form of Buddhist patronage in the hinterland was through immunity grants, recorded in inscriptions on stone pillars, rather than the direct construction or maintenance of religious structures. Accounting for almost half of all donations and found across Anurādhapura's hinterland for this period,<sup>109</sup> these immunities alienated vast tracts of land and transferred authority from the Crown and local officials to the Sangha.<sup>110</sup> Creating an integrated landscape administered by monastic institutions, inscriptions found throughout Sri Lanka from the early historic period onwards corroborate the links between monasteries of the hinterland and urban monasteries of the Sacred City, recording the affiliation of monasteries to the Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri Vihāra and Jetavana Vihāra.<sup>111</sup> However, the growing diversity and division within Buddhist sects ensured some heterogeneity to the hinterland in addition to the diversity of other religious practices present in the landscape, such as those indicated by the presence of terracotta figurines.<sup>112</sup>

The fact that three distinct monasteries are referred to in the chronicles indicates in itself that the Buddhist Sangha at Anurādhapura was not monolithic. The chronicles state that the Mahāvihāra was founded in the reign of Devānaṃpiyatissa with the arrival of Mahinda's mission and incorporated the Bōdhi tree and the Ruwanwelisaya stūpa.<sup>113</sup> The first major recorded schism occurred during the reign of Vattagamani (r. 89–77 BCE) and led to the founding of Abhayagiri

Vihāra,<sup>114</sup> often cited as a centre of Mahāyānist doctrines. Mahasena (r. 275–301 CE) not only founded the Jetavana *Vihāra* at Anurādhapura, but also, under the influence of a ‘lawless bhikkhu’,<sup>115</sup> withdrew support from the Mahāvihāra. This led to the abandonment of the Mahāvihāra for nine years, with the monks leaving for Malaya and Rohana. Construction materials were then taken from the complex and brought to Abhayagiri, which became wealthy under state support.<sup>116</sup> Later under the rule of Mahasena’s son Sirimeghavaṇṇa (r. 301–328 CE) the Mahāvihāra was reconciled,<sup>117</sup> but all three major fraternities continued to receive state patronage.

Different sects of monastic orders have been identified architecturally within Anurādhapura. In addition to *lena*, natural rock-shelters with Early Brahmi inscriptions engraved along drip ledges, which represent the earliest extant category of monastic establishment known at present in Sri Lanka,<sup>118</sup> Bandaranayake identified three categories of monastic complex. The first was the organic or centric monastery, dating from the first century CE onwards. Termed ‘organic’ due to associations with locales with pre-existing traditions,<sup>119</sup> they are also designated as centric due to a layout focused around a colossal *stūpa*, and in this regard, the Mahāvihāra, Jetavana, Abhayagiri, Vessagiriya in Anurādhapura, as well as Mihintale fit this model.<sup>120</sup> These monasteries were often later elaborated by the construction of a focal-type *stūpa*, with such modifications dating to the early medieval period (600–1200 CE).<sup>121</sup> The second was the Padhānaghara Pirivena, also known as double-platform monasteries, mentioned in the previous section, and thought to be associated with the *paṃsukūlika* fraternity. As stated above, these sites were built from plain ashlar blocks and did not possess typical Buddhist structures or iconography, the only decorated features there being the urinal slabs that seemingly depict images of ‘orthodox’ ornate vihāras (Figure 1.2). Such iconography can be interpreted as a visible, physical representation and reaction against the wealth and grandiose nature of the ornate monasteries of Anurādhapura.<sup>122</sup> Decorated urinal slabs, meditational pathways and the architectural style suggest that the Padhānaghara Pirivena represented a contestatory discourse from the other monastic categories of Anurādhapura.<sup>123</sup>

Third, the *Pabbata vihāra* is a monastic form thought to date from between 700 to 1200 CE.<sup>124</sup> Believed to be a royal foundation, its architecture shows evidence of a preplanned scheme with a core monument zone of *stūpa*, image house, Bōdhi tree shrine and chapter house surrounded by individual residential structures within a major moated enclosure.<sup>125</sup> They have also been tentatively identified as having Mahāyāna affinities due to their resemblance to prescriptions outlined in the Mahāyāna architectural treatise *Mañjuśrī Vastuvidyāśāstra*.<sup>126</sup> This Mahāyāna influence has been illustrated at these sites through the recovery of copper plaques and plates inscribed with text from the *Pabbata Vihāra* of Vijayārāma,<sup>127</sup> as well as from *stūpas* at Mihintale and Jetavana Vihāra. This suggests evidence of the Mahāyāna practice of *Dharma-dhātu*, or venerating the word of the Buddha,<sup>128</sup> at monasteries with Mahāyāna leanings.<sup>129</sup> Bronze figures depicting Mahāyāna deities have also been excavated in *pabbata vihāras*



**Fig. 1.2** Urinal stone at one of the Western Monasteries, Anurādhapura, authors' photograph.

within Anurādhapura.<sup>130</sup> Mahāyāna traditions have also been recorded in textual sources. For instance, the first recorded Bōdhisattva image is attributed to the reign of King Mahasena (r. 275–301 CE) and was produced on his request at the Abhayagiri Vihāra.<sup>131</sup> Other Mahāyāna practices, such as *Dharma-dhātu* mentioned above, are attributed in the chronicles to the sixth century CE,<sup>132</sup> and a group of Sanskrit inscriptions provides evidence of Mahāyāna traditions referencing concepts such as *Trikaya*.<sup>133</sup>

The cosmopolitan aspect of Buddhism is further demonstrated in the *Cūlavamsa*, in a passage narrating how the queen of Udaya I (797–801 CE) donated a monastery to a 'Demaḷa bhikkhu community'.<sup>134</sup> Although the meaning

of the term ‘Demaja’ is contested,<sup>135</sup> the fact that a distinction was drawn suggests a group with possible differing practices. As well as being identified in textual sources and in the architecture of monumental sites, such a pattern of architectural monastic variation was also apparent in the early medieval (600–1200 CE) hinterland of Anurādhapura.<sup>136</sup> A *pabbata vihāra* site was identified at Parthigala (Z001) in the vicinity of the Nachchaduwwewa, located 4.8 kilometres away from a Padhānaghara Pirivena site at Marathamadama (C112). Although both sites appear to have belonged to different Buddhist traditions, they also appear to have been occupied contemporaneously. Furthermore, ‘orthodox’ monasteries of the focal type were also widespread at the same time.<sup>137</sup>

At an individual level of analysis, scholars have also been able to identify significant areas of differentiation within chronologically contemporary schools of sculpture and image-making. In a study of six sculptures, based on lead isotope and trace element scatter plots, Arjuna Thantilage identified two distinct groups and interpreted them as representing two separate schools of image production within the Anurādhapura period, possibly representing different Mahāyāna fraternities.<sup>138</sup> There are also architectural differences in *stūpa* construction across the island. While perhaps reflecting differences in patronage or access to distinct building materials, the brick and stone constructions of Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa, particularly the examples of ‘Buddhist gigantism’,<sup>139</sup> are in stark contrast to the coral and limestone *stūpas* in the Jaffna peninsula, as in the monastic complexes of Delft and Kantarodai<sup>140</sup> (Figures 1.3 and 1.4).



Fig. 1.3 Stūpas at Delft, authors’ photograph.





**Fig. 1.4** Stūpas at Kantarodai, authors' photograph.

That such diversity existed elsewhere within the island is illustrated by the presence of the free-standing crystalline limestone Avalokiteśvara statues, ten metres tall and dating to the seventh century CE, close to a free-standing 14.5-metre high Buddha statue at Maligawila. Furthermore, at Buduruwagala a large rock carved image of the Buddha, dating to the ninth–tenth century CE stands alongside possible depictions of Tara, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi holding a thunderbolt, Maitreya and either Viṣṇu or Sahāmpati Brahmā (Figure 1.5). Again, their co-existence demonstrates the variability and diversity of Buddhism and religious practice, as reflected through worship, patronage and architecture, within Sri Lanka.<sup>141</sup>

The population of Rajarata was also anything but homogenous in terms of rank. Early Brahmi inscriptions dating to between the third century BCE and first century CE document a broad spectrum of patrons of early Buddhism, highlighting the diverse society at this period.<sup>142</sup> In an analysis of the 458 inscriptions dating to the early historic period (340–200 BCE) within a fifty-kilometre radius of Anurādhapura, donations mentioning monarchs only accounted for 20.22 per cent of the corpus. Parumakas, identified as representing local chiefs, were the most prevalent at 25.22 per cent, while those where no definitive rank could be assigned accounted for 24.35 per cent. The role of those thought to represent monks was also important in the early patronage of Buddhism, providing 18.91 per cent of donations; with other ranks such as Gamikas (6.09 per cent), Gapatis (3.70 per cent) and Brahmans (1.52 per cent) contributing, as well as those where the donor was unknown (5 per cent).<sup>143</sup> When analysed island-wide, the



**Fig. 1.5** Rock carved images at Buduruwagala, Monaragala District, authors' photograph.

prevalence of donations by monarchs drops to only 6.4 per cent.<sup>144</sup> While the high frequency of donations by monarchs around Anurādhapura could be anticipated, the overall picture is in stark contrast to the *Mahāvamsa's* narrative, whereby rather than an expected elite-driven process of conversion, under the patronage of Devānaṃpiyatissa, leading to the majority of donations being royal in origin, a broader swathe of segments of society contributed to the establishment and growth of Buddhism.

The disparity between the donations mentioned in the chronicles and those in the epigraphic record may be due to the rise of the Mahāvihāra and its capacity to shape memory. It has been suggested that the chronicles 'may represent a contrived ecclesiastical tradition legitimizing the contemporaneous status quo by awarding a central position to the successful kings of Anurādhapura and ignoring the contributions of the failed kings',<sup>145</sup> as well as other segments of society. Indeed, it has previously been noted that in the Early Brahmi epigraphic corpus of Sri Lanka, only ten kings mentioned in the chronicles have been found.<sup>146</sup> Senarat Paranavitana reported failing to identify a single inscription relating to a donation by Devānaṃpiyatissa.<sup>147</sup> Moreover, the corpus of inscriptions reveals genealogies of previously unknown royal lineages, and lineages that have been either ignored by or edited out from the *Mahāvamsa's* narrative.<sup>148</sup>

While the epigraphic corpus illustrates that many different communities and segments of society were patrons of Buddhism, there is also evidence that the Sangha was not the sole recipient. Indeed, pre-Buddhist beliefs are attested to in the chronicles in connection with the presence of Yakkhas. Yakkhas are also recorded in the Vijayan narrative<sup>149</sup> and in the narrative of the laying-out



of Anurādhapura by King Paṇḍukābhaya in the fourth century BCE.<sup>150</sup> In this description, additional religious groups, such as ‘ascetics’, ‘heretical sects’ and ‘Brahmans’ were alluded to but were located outside the city.<sup>151</sup> Many of these orders are recorded as having received state patronage, with Paṇḍukābhaya building ‘a monastery for wandering mendicant monks, and a dwelling for the Ājīvakas, and a residence for the Brahmans’.<sup>152</sup> Brahmans were recorded as undertaking important religious roles prior to the arrival of Buddhism, and it is noted that during the reign of one of Sri Lanka’s first monarchs, King Paṇḍuvāsudeva, the wisdom of ‘Brahmans skilled in sacred texts’<sup>153</sup> was called upon for important matters. This importance continued after the arrival and adoption of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, as shown by the twenty-two Early Brahmi inscriptions that mention Brahmans. While there is a possibility that the title ‘Brahman’ may have continued to be applied after changes in religious affiliation, there is also a possibility that Brahmanism continued alongside early Buddhism in early historic Sri Lanka.<sup>154</sup>

This suggests that the historical developments of the later Anurādhapura period and the shift of the capital to Polonnaruva, traditionally associated with the emergence of a polyvocality of religions and an increased South Indian influence, was not completely novel. In the chronicles, there are records of Anurādhapura’s kings supporting non-Buddhist institutions, although for other reigns the only recorded events are the destruction of such institutions, such as Mahasena’s demolition of the temples of Brahmanical gods.<sup>155</sup> Later, the chronicles recorded that Mahinda II (r. 777–797 CE) ‘restored many decayed temples of the gods here and there and had costly images of the gods fashioned’.<sup>156</sup> Sena II (r. 853–887 CE) was recorded as supporting Brahman rituals.<sup>157</sup> Conversely, Pathmanathan has also drawn attention to the Tamil inscription recording the establishment of a Buddhist monastery in the new Cōla capital by a South Indian mercantile group, the *Aiññūrruvar*.<sup>158</sup> As stated above, the transfer of the capital to Polonnaruva has been portrayed as connected with a religious shift towards a more pluralistic and eclectic patronage at state-level, incorporating Buddhist, Brahmanical and Saivite practices.<sup>159</sup> Indrapala has suggested that in tandem with the widespread appearance of tenth-century Tamil inscriptions dated to the regal years of Cōla rulers, there was also an increase in Saiva temples.<sup>160</sup> In the chronicles, it is also stated that Parākramabāhu I (r. 1153–86 CE) constructed twenty-four temples to the gods, and Pathmanathan has recorded the presence of at least fourteen temples within Polonnaruva.<sup>161</sup> In support of this plurality, archaeological investigations at Polonnaruva have identified Saiva and Vaisnava shrines with bronze Nataraja, Śiva and Parvati images.<sup>162</sup> A twelfth-century inscription of Niśśaṅkamalla (r. 1187–96 CE) at Dambulla recorded the construction of a Hindu temple as well as the restoration and construction of Buddhist temples.<sup>163</sup> In Anurādhapura itself, structures north of Abhayagiri dating to the later phases of the city’s occupation were identified as ‘Hindu ruins’ on the basis of their architectural layout and the recovery of several lingams,<sup>164</sup> although this identification has been contested.<sup>165</sup>

Artefactual evidence from Anurādhapura’s hinterland also illustrates additional ‘non-Buddhist’ religious and ritual practices about which the *Mahāvamsa*’s



**Fig. 1.6** Terracotta figurine fragments from the site of Nikawewa (D339), including a depiction of a human face (right) and an anthropomorphic phallus (left), authors' photograph.

narrative appears silent. From a hinterland survey around Anurādhapura, a total of 489 terracotta artefacts from eight sites, the majority excavated at Nikawewa (D339), were recorded.<sup>166</sup> Dating to between 900 and 1300 CE,<sup>167</sup> these artefacts include human and animal figurines as well as anthropomorphic phalli (Figure 1.6). They were deliberately broken and may reflect a practice not far from that described in studies of the *Gammaduva* ceremony.<sup>168</sup> Deposited in caches across the Dry Zone and known from more than twenty sites, they display a distinct uniformity of design and were clearly restricted to non-monastic and non-urban sites. Traditionally categorized as 'folk' art, they have nevertheless been found associated with a monumental structure at Nikawewa. We have thus reinterpreted them as representing a powerful shared and formalized corpus of ritual practice parallel to Buddhism.<sup>169</sup> This example highlights the ability of archaeology to recognize groups operating outside official state or elite circles. It further suggests that early medieval Anurādhapura was capable of incorporating multiple religious and ritual networks.<sup>170</sup>

## Urbanism

Nestled within the diverse monastic landscape of Anurādhapura was the citadel, measuring one kilometre square, and defined by a ditch and rampart. This has been subject to more than a century of excavations.<sup>171</sup> Early historic treatises, such as the *Arthaśāstra*, contain details of how urban forms should be planned; quadrangular, surrounded by three moats and a rampart,<sup>172</sup> and internally structured by cardinally orientated roads and gateways.<sup>173</sup> Within the city, the *Arthaśāstra* advises that the inhabitants should be separated along *varna* and

occupational lines, with heretics and *caṇḍālas* (outcastes) banished outside the city walls.<sup>174</sup> Furthermore, as outlined in the previous section, the description in the *Mahāvamsa* of the laying-out of Anurādhapura in the fourth century BCE by Paṇḍukābhaya records that the city was divided into four quarters, and that separate areas of the city were allocated for different social groups.<sup>175</sup> Such textual descriptions have been linked to the archaeological evidence<sup>176</sup> and, architecturally, Anurādhapura appears to match these descriptions as its moat, rampart and cardinaly orientated structures seem to conform to the *Arthaśāstra*'s precepts and the description of Paṇḍukābhaya's city. It has been argued that Anurādhapura's layout 'was no casual cluster of buildings but a cosmography that reflected the universe'.<sup>177</sup> This follows the argument of Hocart, who suggested that during the early historic period 'the doctrine of the four quarters [...] had a considerable influence on the planning of cities'.<sup>178</sup> As stated above, other Sri Lankan urban forms correspond to cosmological symbolism, with their plans recreating the universe in microcosm.<sup>179</sup>

However, much evidence from Anurādhapura now suggests that such plans were idealizations. Working on the premise that distinct social groups may be identifiable through artefactual variability across a site, Coningham and Young analysed craft waste and faunal remains from different areas across the citadel.<sup>180</sup> They found no distinct areas associated with specific crafts. The faunal record is particularly interesting in that species forbidden and permitted by the laws of Manu were found together throughout the city.<sup>181</sup> Following suggestions by anthropologists and historians that caste rigidity may be a recent phenomenon,<sup>182</sup> this analysis reinforces the notion that social divisions based on material differentiation were not present in early historic Anurādhapura – or may require more refined archaeological methodologies than those at our disposal in order to be identified.<sup>183</sup> This is not to say that Anurādhapura did not host various differentiated communities, as outlined above. It rather suggests that while there is abundant evidence for plurality, there were *also* widely shared practices. Cosmopolitan practices were compatible with both differentiation and unifying concepts and lifestyle choices.

## Studying the cosmopolitan through archaeology in Sri Lanka

It is clear that Sri Lanka was not a uniquely Buddhist island but had strong Hindu influences as well as more localized traditions, as evidenced by the emergent terracotta cults in the hinterland of Anurādhapura. Rather than focusing on the religious and spiritual aspects of Buddhism, archaeological evidence suggests that the monastic institutions of Anurādhapura seemed to have played a dominant material role in the colonization, management and development of the wider landscape surrounding the city. Monasteries remained the only viable long-term structures within the hinterland, as attempts to secularize the management of the

landscape faded. The epigraphic record reveals how land was donated by kings and other elites to these monasteries, to the degree of completely alienating it from state control. Sri Lankan scholars have long hypothesized about this, with Leslie Gunawardana stating in 1979 that ‘considerable powers were transferred to the monastic administration by withholding the authority of government officials to intervene in their affairs’,<sup>184</sup> Even more starkly, Dias wrote that ‘lands and villages beyond the control of the central authority were given to the monasteries to bring some control over them [...] This way the monastic institutions became the landed intermediary between the central political authority and the people.’<sup>185</sup>

The recent research-oriented fieldwork developed in the hinterland of Anurādhapura has demonstrated the existence of a complex patchwork, itself consisting of intricate networks of religious and secular cooperation and communication. As noted above, six years of field research have allowed us to identify more than 750 archaeological sites, ranging from small scatters of eroded ceramics, through rock-cut caves, stone bridges over the Malvatu Oya, metal-working sites and a corpus of sites containing terracotta figurines, to monastic complexes several hectares in size.<sup>186</sup> The ceramic scatters can be interpreted as short-term villages linked to slash-and-burn (*chena*) agriculture. Monastic sites, in contrast, ranging from rock-cut shelters to large complexes, reflect a much more permanent and highly visible presence. This contrast led us initially to theorize about a ‘Theocratic Landscape’ in which monasteries functioned as centres of economic and political control (in lieu of towns), while villages kept shifting around them.<sup>187</sup> Since then, we have developed a more complex model of ‘Buddhist Temporalities’ and low-density urbanism, reflecting our growing awareness of multiple heterarchies in the Anurādhapura hinterland. Our Buddhist Temporality model reflects the complex relationship between monastic institutions and secular authority, contending that ‘the city’s surrounding landscape of villages and rural communities was not centrally regulated by the state through higher-order settlements and royal officials but through a network of *Vihāras*, closely linked to the great monasteries of the city rather than the throne’.<sup>188</sup>

Certainly, the critical reappraisal of archaeological evidence allows us to narrow the gap between Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva. While the latter has long been archaeologically interpreted as a cosmopolitan urban centre, similar evidence from Anurādhapura has been largely undervalued but is now overwhelming. The remains of Polonnaruva, traditionally dated to between 1017 and 1293 CE, have revealed Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples with bronze sculptures of Hindu deities. This has led some scholars, rightly in our opinion, to speak of religious plurality and harmony.<sup>189</sup> Excavations within the Alahana Pirivena in Polonnaruva uncovered quantities of pottery with appliqué designs, including swastika, *śrīvasta* and *vajra* or *triśūla*,<sup>190</sup> which have now also been identified in the city’s hinterland (Figure 1.7). Bronze figurines excavated at Polonnaruva and representing deities such as Śiva and Parvati have been put forward as evidence of the presence of Hinduism in the city.<sup>191</sup> And yet such evidence was not restricted to Polonnaruva. For example, figures of Śiva, Parvati,



**Fig. 1.7** Appliqué *triśūla* on a pottery rim sherd from site Kalahagala (S360) in the hinterland of Polonnaruva, found during the 2016 field season of the Polonnaruva Archaeological and Anthropological Research Project, authors' photograph.

Kevalamūrti and Nṛtyamūrti, and potentially Ardhanariśvara, were recovered from a pillar foundation at Jetavana in the 1980s.<sup>192</sup> Furthermore, three appliqué ceramic sherds with symbols similar to those from the Alahana Pirivena were discovered in the later sequence of trench ASW2 at Anurādhapura,<sup>193</sup> as well as in the vicinity of Jetavana.<sup>194</sup> The later evidence at Anurādhapura is striking in its similarity to the evidence usually given for plurality of belief in Polonnaruva, and yet Anurādhapura, persistently presented as an essentially Buddhist capital, is generally not advanced as a similar example of religious plurality. The transmission of the capital from Anurādhapura to Polonnaruva has been projected as an abrupt and singular event, yet recent research has shown the abandonment of Anurādhapura and its hinterland to have been a slow process that happened over several centuries.<sup>195</sup> We would argue that around Polonnaruva there is likely to be evidence of much earlier settlements and communities that would shed more light on the nature of early medieval Sri Lanka. To this end, the Central Cultural Fund and British Academy have sponsored successful pilot hinterland surveys around Polonnaruva, as well as excavations at Śiva Devale No.2 and the citadel's northern wall.

We are, of course, far from constructing a clear narrative and it remains problematic to assign certain artefactual forms to particular groups. Widely shared symbols, such as the swastika and vajra / triśūla, highlight the difficulties inherent to South Asian archaeology. Indeed, they lead to questions about the



**Fig. 1.8** Head from a Buddha image rededicated as an image of Ayanayake, Anurādhapura hinterland, authors' photograph.

extent to which artefacts can be defined as Buddhist, Hindu or Jain. The fluid identity of artefacts has recently been noted at a modern shrine to Ayanayake, lord of the jungle, in the Anurādhapura hinterland. The shrine was constructed using reclaimed pillars from nearby monastic structures damaged during road construction but was also equipped with an eroded Buddha head, which was painted with the trunk of Ayanayake, as the focus of the shrine<sup>196</sup> (Figure 1.8). While objects may be used in more than one context with changed meanings, the opposite may also occur, with similar architectural motifs being part of several traditions. Stūpas and vihāras share many traits with Jain and Hindu architecture.<sup>197</sup> A further challenge that needs addressing is the archaeological visibility of women within early Sri Lanka's history and archaeology. Indeed, Faxian noted the presence of nuns within the Sacred City of Anurādhapura<sup>198</sup> and inscriptions record donations by female devotees throughout Sri Lanka.<sup>199</sup> Furthermore, communities of Buddhist nuns from Sri Lanka are recorded in an inscription at Nagarjunakonda in India<sup>200</sup> but, in spite of this, there has been little discussion of this challenge within both archaeological interpretations and Buddhist discourse.<sup>201</sup> Gender is notoriously difficult to identify within the archaeological record, especially when dealing with the ephemeral remains of a subtropical landscape. However, if we want to truly understand the cosmopolitan nature of early historic and early medieval Sri Lanka, such challenges have to be acknowledged and then addressed.



The landscape we have been studying was highly contested, closely integrated into the secular and monastic core, yet at the same time divorced from the networks and linkages enjoyed by the urban elite. Tensions prevailed between the pressing need to participate in larger networks of exchange, patronage and religious merit through the royal centre and major monastic institutions of Anurādhapura, on the one hand, and the practice of non-Buddhist rituals, on the other. Such diversity continued into the late medieval period, as attested by the fifteenth-century trilingual inscription of Admiral Zheng He in Galle. The inscription in Tamil, Chinese and Persian records the veneration of an incarnation of Viṣṇu, of the Buddha, and of a Muslim saint, providing evidence for the continued, diverse and dynamic linguistic and religious framework of the island.<sup>202</sup> Taking all this together, we find evidence of what can be interpreted as a highly cosmopolitan society with broad international links and outlooks and considerable internal diversity. This society participated in an ever-expanding network of religious and economic exchange and patronage. Yet, at the same time, there were also distinctly pervasive traditions – subsistence, ceramic forms, craft manufacturing and patterns of low density urbanism. This apparently contradictory stance reflects the many possible facets of community identity, ranging in scale from the local to the regional and the global. The degree to which different communities had access to opportunities probably changed over time but the archaeological record overall strongly suggests that Sri Lanka, far from being a peripheral island, was at the very heart of many social, economic and religious developments of the Indian Ocean World.<sup>203</sup>



# Bibliography

## Introduction

- Abeyasinghe, Tikiri. *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon 1594–1612*. Colombo: Lake House, 1966.
- Ali, Daud. 'Royal Eulogy as World History: Re-thinking Copper-plate Inscriptions in Cōla India,' in *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia*, ed. Ronald Inden, Jonathan Walters and Daud Ali. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 165–229.
- Ali, Daud. 'Connected Histories? Regional Historiography and Theories of Cultural Contact between Early South and Southeast Asia,' in *Islamic Connections: Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia*, ed. R. Michael Feener and Terenjit Sevea. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009, 1–24.
- Ali, Daud. 'The Early Inscriptions of Indonesia and the Problem of the Sanskrit Cosmopolis,' in *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*, ed. Pierre-Yves Manguin, A. Mani and Geoff Wade. New Delhi and Singapore: Manohar and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011, 277–97.
- Bandaranayake, Senake. 'Approaches to the External Factor in Sri Lanka's Historical Formation,' in *Continuities and Transformations: Studies in Sri Lankan Archaeology and History*. Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 2012, 91–120.
- Bandaranayake, Senake, Lorna Dewaraja, Roland Silva and K. D. G. Wimalaratne, eds. *Sri Lanka and the Silk Road of the Sea*. Colombo: The Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO and the Central Cultural Fund, 1990.
- Berkwitz, Stephen C. *Buddhist Poetry and Colonialism: Alagiyavanna and the Portuguese in Sri Lanka*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Biedermann, Zoltan. 'Colombo versus Cannanore: Contrasting Structures of Two Early Colonial Port Cities in South Asia,' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53, 2 (2009), 413–59.
- Binnie, J, J. J. Holloway, S. Millington and C. Young. 'Cosmopolitanism,' in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, ed. R. Kitchin and N. Thrift. Oxford: Elsevier, 2009, 307–13.
- Blackburn, Anne M. 'Buddhist Connections in the Indian Ocean: Changes in Monastic Mobility, 1000–1500,' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 58, 3 (2015), 237–66.
- Boxer, Charles R. *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia and Luanda*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965.
- Breckenridge, Carol, Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha and Dipesh Chakrabarty, eds. *Cosmopolitanism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Brook, Gillian. 'Cosmopolitanism,' in *The Oxford Handbook of World Philosophy*, ed. William Edelglass and Jay L. Garfield. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 582–95.
- Brown, Gareth Wallace. 'Cosmopolitanism,' in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*, 3rd edn, ed. Iain McMillan and Alistair McLean. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Collins, Steven. *Nirvana and other Buddhist Felicities: Utopias of the Pali imagination*. Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- De Silva, C. R. *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617–1638*. Colombo: H. W. Cave, 1972.
- De Silva, C. R. 'Sri Lanka in the Early Sixteenth Century: Political Conditions,' in *University of Peradeniya History of Sri Lanka*, Vol. 2, ed. K. M. De Silva, Peradeniya: University of Peradeniya, 1995, 37–60.
- Dewaraja, Lorna. 'Muslim Merchants and Pilgrims in Sarandib c.900–1500 AD,' in *Sri Lanka and the Silk Road of the Sea*, ed. S. Bandaranayake, L. Dewaraja, R. Silva and K. D. G. Wimalaratne. Colombo: The Sri Lanka National Fund for UNESCO and Central Cultural Fund, 1990, 191–8.
- Dewasiri, Nirmal Ranjith. 'History' after the War: *Historical Consciousness in the Collective Sinhala-Buddhist Psyche in Post-War Sri Lanka*, ICES Research Paper 9. Colombo: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2013.

- Duara, Prasenjit. *The Crisis of Global Modernity: Asian Traditions and a Sustainable Future*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Fine, Robert. *Cosmopolitanism*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Flores, Jorge M. *Os Portugueses e o Mar de Ceilão: Trato, diplomacia e guerra, 1498–1543*. Lisbon: Cosmos, 1998.
- Frasch, Tilman. 'Buddha's Tooth Relic: Contesting Rituals and the Early State in Sri Lanka', in *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual*, ed. Axel Michaels, Vol. 3, *State, Power and Violence*, ed. Marko Kits et al. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010, 647–64.
- Frasch, Tilman. '1456: The Making of a Buddhist Ecumene in the Bay of Bengal,' in *Pelagic Passageways: The Northern Bay of Bengal World before Colonialism*, ed. Rila Mukherjee. Delhi: Primus, 2011, 383–405.
- Frost, Mark Ravinder. 'Cosmopolitan Fragments from a Splintered Isle: "Ceylonese" Nationalism in Late-Colonial Sri Lanka,' in *Ethnicities, Diasporas and Grounded Cosmopolitanisms in Asia. Proceedings of the Asia Research Institute Workshop*. Singapore: Asia Research Institute, 2004, 59–69.
- Gombrich, Richard F. and Gananath Obeyesekere. *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Goonewardena, K. W. 'Kingship in XVIIth Century Sri Lanka: Some Concepts, Ceremonies and Other Practices,' *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* 3 (1977), 1–32.
- Gruzinski, Serge. *Les quatre parties du monde. Histoire d'une mondialisation*. Paris: La Martinière, 2004.
- Gunawardana, R. A. L. H. 'Seaways to Siedediba: Changing Patterns of Navigation in the Indian Ocean and Their Impact on Precolonial Sri Lanka,' in *Sri Lanka and the Silk Road of the Sea*, ed. S. Bandaranayake, L. Dewaraja, R. Silva and K. D. G. Wimalratne. Colombo: The Sri Lanka National Fund for UNESCO and Central Cultural Fund, 1990, 25–44.
- Gunawardana, R. A. L. H. *Historiography in a Time of Ethnic Conflict: Construction of the Past in Contemporary Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 1995.
- Gupta, Akhil. 'Globalization and Difference: Cosmopolitanism before the Nation-State,' *Transforming Cultures e-Journal* 3, 2 (2008), 1–20.
- Hall, Kenneth R. 'Ports-of-Trade, Maritime Diasporas, and Networks of Trade and Cultural Integration in the Bay of Bengal Region of the Indian Ocean: c. 1300–1500,' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53, 1–2 (2009), 109–45.
- Hallisey, Charles. 'Works and Persons in Sinhala Literary Culture,' in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon Pollock. Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press, 2003, 689–746.
- Hannerz, Ulf. 'Cosmopolitanism,' in *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*, ed. David Nugent and Joan Vincent. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007, 69–85.
- Helms, Mary W. *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Holt, John Clifford. *The Buddhist Visnu: Religious Transformation, Politics, and Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Kiribamune, Sirima. 'Muslims and Trade of the Arabian Sea with Special Reference to Sri Lanka from the Birth of Islam to the Fifteenth century,' in *Sri Lanka and the Silk Road of the Sea*, ed. S. Bandaranayake, L. Dewaraja, R. Silva and K. D. G. Wimalratne. Colombo: The Sri Lanka National Fund for UNESCO and Central Cultural Fund, 1990, 179–90.
- Lieberman, Victor B. *Strange Parallels. Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800–1830*, Vol. 2, *Mainland Mirrors: Europe, Japan, China, South Asia, and the Islands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Liyaganamage, Amaradasa. *State, Society and Religion in Premodern Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 2008.
- Manguin, Pierre-Yves, A. Mani and Geoff Wade, eds. *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*. New Delhi and Singapore: Manohar and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011.
- McAlpine, W. R. and M. B. Ariyapala. *The Crest-Gem of Poetry*. Dehiwala: Tisara Prakasakayo, 1990.
- Mignolo, Walter D. 'The Many Faces of Cosmo-Polis: Border Thinking and Critical Cosmopolitanism,' *Public Culture* 12, 3 (2000), 721–48.
- Milner, Anthony. *The Malays*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2008.
- Obeyesekere, Gananath. *The Work of Culture: Symbolic Transformation in Psychoanalysis and Anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Obeyesekere, Gananath. *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.

- Obeyesekere, Gananath. 'Buddhism, Nationhood and Cultural Identity: A Question of Fundamentals,' in *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*, ed. Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, 231–56.
- Obeyesekere, Gananath. 'On Buddhist Identity in Sri Lanka,' in *Ethnic Identity: Creation, Conflict and Accommodation*, ed. Lola Romanucci-Rossi and George A. de Vos. London: Mayfield, 1995, 222–41.
- Obeyesekere, Gananath. 'On Buddhist Identity,' in *Identity, Consciousness and the Past: Forging of Caste and Community in India and Sri Lanka*, ed. H. L. Seneviratne. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Obeyesekere, Gananath. *Imagining Karma: Ethical Transformation in Amerindian, Buddhist, and Greek Rebirth*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002.
- Obeyesekere, Gananath. *The Awakened Ones: Phenomenology of Visionary Experience*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Pathmanathan, S. 'South India and Sri Lanka, AD 1450–1650: Political, Commercial and Cultural Relations,' *Journal of Tamil Studies* 21 (1982), 36–57.
- Perera, Gaston. *The Portuguese Missionary in 16th and 17th Century Ceylon: The Spiritual Conquest*. Colombo: Vijitha Yapa, 2009.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 'The Cosmopolitan Vernacular,' *Journal of Asian Studies* 57, 1 (1998), 6–37.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 'India in the Vernacular Millennium: Literary Culture and Polity, 1000–1500,' *Daedalus* 127 (1998), 41–74.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 'Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History,' *Public Culture* 12, 3 (2000), 591–625.
- Pollock, Sheldon. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009.
- Prange, Sebastian. 'Like Banners on the Sea: Muslim Trade Networks and Islamization in Malabar and Maritime Southeast Asia,' in *Islamic Connections: Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia*, ed. R. Michael Feener and Terenjit Sevea. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009, 25–47.
- Ricci, Ronit. *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Roberts, Michael. 'Ethnicity after Said: Post-Orientalist Failures in Comprehending the Kandyan Period of Lankan History,' *Ethnic Studies Report* 19 (2001), 69–98.
- Roberts, Michael. *Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan period, 1590s–1815*. Colombo: Vijitha Yapa, 2004.
- Sahlins, Marshall. 'The Stranger-Kingship of the Mexica,' unpublished paper.
- Seneviratne, H. L., ed. *Identity, Consciousness and the Past: Forging of Caste and Community in India and Sri Lanka*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Skilling, Peter. 'Buddhism and the Circulation of Ritual in Early Peninsular Southeast Asia,' in *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*, ed. Pierre-Yves Manguin, A. Mani and Geoff Wade. New Delhi and Singapore: Manohar and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011, 371–84.
- Spencer, Jonathan, ed. *Sri Lanka: History and the Roots of Conflict*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Strathern, Alan. 'Theoretical Approaches to Sri Lankan History and the Early Portuguese Period,' *Modern Asian Studies* 38 (2004), 189–226.
- Strathern, Alan. 'Sri Lanka in the Long Early Modern Period: Its Place in a Comparative Theory of Second Millennium Eurasian History,' *Modern Asian Studies* 43 (2009), 809–64.
- Strathern, Alan. 'Treachery and Ethnicity in Portuguese Representations of Sri Lanka,' in *Engaging Colonial Knowledge: Reading European Archives in World History*, ed. Ricardo Roque and Kim Wagner. New York: Palgrave, 2012, 217–34.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India, 1500–1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Tambiah, Stanley. *Buddhism Betrayed? Religion, Politics and Violence in Sri Lanka*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Thomas, Nicholas. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Thomaz, Luís Filipe. *De Ceuta a Timor*, 2nd edn. Lisbon: Difel, 1994.
- Vertovec, Steven and Robin Cohen, eds. *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Walters, Jonathan. 'Lovely Lady Lanka: A Tenth-Century Depiction,' *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* 39 (1993), 45–56.

- Walters, Jonathan. 'Buddhist History: The Sri Lankan Pali *Vamsas* and their Commentary,' in *Querying the Medieval. Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia*, ed. Ronald Inden, Jonathan Walters and Daud Ali. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 99–164.
- Wang Gungwu. 'Introduction,' in *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*, ed. David G. Marr and Anthony C. Milner. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1986, xi–xvii.
- Wickramasinghe, Nira. *Producing the Present: History and Heritage in Post-War Patriotic Sri Lanka*, ICES Research Paper 2. Colombo: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2012.
- Wolters, O. W. *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, revised edition. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Wolters, O. W. *Early Southeast Asia: Selected Essays*, ed. Craig J. Reynolds. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Xavier, Ângela Barreto. *A Invenção de Goa. Poder Imperial e Conversões Culturais, Séculos XVI e XVII*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2008.

## Chapter 1

### Primary sources

- Central Cultural Fund of Sri Lanka Act, No. 57 of 1980 (certified on 18 December 1980), Chapter 388, 220–4.
- Cūlavamsa: Being the More Recent Part of the Mahāvamsa*, trans. Wilhelm Geiger. Colombo: Ceylon Government Information, 1929.
- Kautilya, the Arthashastra*, trans. L. N. Rangarajan. New Delhi: Penguin, 1992.
- The Mahāvamsa: Or, The Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, trans. Wilhelm Geiger. London, 1912; reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational Series, 1993.
- The Mahawanso*, ed. George Turnour, 1837; reprint Colombo: Central Cultural Fund, 2016.

### Secondary sources

- Allchin, Frank Raymond. 'The Inscriptions and Graffiti,' in *Anurādhapura: The British-Sri Lankan Excavations at Anuradhapura Salgaha Watta*, Vol. 2, *The Artefacts*, ed. R. A. E. Coningham. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006, 431–500.
- Avanzini, Alessandra. *A Port in Arabia between Rome and the Indian Ocean (3rd c. BC–5th c. AD)*, Khor Rori report 2. Rome: Arabia Antica, 2008.
- Bailiff, I. K., H. R. Lacey, R. A. E. Coningham, P. Gunawardhana, G. Adikari, C. E. Davis, M. J. Manuel and K. M. Strickland. 'Luminescence Dating of Brick Stupas: An Application to the Hinterland of Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka,' *Antiquity* 87 (2013), 189–201.
- Bandaranyake, Senake. *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture: The Viharas of Anurādhapura*. Leiden: Brill, 1974.
- Bandaranayake, Senake. 'Traversing an Archaeological Landscape,' in *Further Studies in the Settlement Archaeology of the Sigiriya-Dambulla Region*, ed. Senake Bandaranayake and Mats Mogren. Colombo: Post Graduate Institute of Archaeology, University of Kelaniya, 1994, 9–23.
- Bartholomeusz, Tessa. *Women under the Bo Tree: Buddhist Nuns in Sri Lanka*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Beal, Samuel. *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun: Buddhist Pilgrims to India 400 AD to 518 AD*. London: Trubner and Co, 1869.
- Begley, Vimala. *Ancient Port of Arikamedu: New Excavations and Researches 1989–1992*. Paris: École Française D'Extrême-Orient, 1996.
- Bell, Harry Charles Purvis. *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Anurādhapura. Fifth Progress Report, April to June, 1891*. Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1893.
- Bell, Harry Charles Purvis. *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report 1892*. Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1904.
- Bell, Harry Charles Purvis. *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report 1893*. Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1904.
- Bell, Harry Charles Purvis. *Plans and Plates for Annual Report, 1893 (Eleventh and Twelfth Reports)*. Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1914.

- Bell, Harry Charles Purvis. *The Maldive Islands: Monograph on the History, Archaeology and Epigraphy*. Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1940.
- Bertolacci, Antonio. *A View of the Agricultural, Commercial, and Financial Interests of Ceylon*. London: Black, Parbury and Allen, 1817.
- Carlson, Deborah and Ken Trethewey. 'Exploring the Oldest Shipwreck in the Indian Ocean,' *The Institute of Nautical Archaeology Quarterly* 40 (2013), 8–14.
- Carswell, J., S. U. Deraniyagala and A. Graham, eds. *Mantai: City by the Sea*. Aichwald: Linden Soft, 2013.
- Chakrabarti, Dilip. *India: An Archaeological History: Palaeolithic Beginnings to Early Historic Foundations*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Childe, Vere Gordon. *The Dawn of European Civilization*. London: Kegan Paul, 1925.
- Codrington, Humphrey William. *A Short History of Ceylon*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1939.
- Coningham, Robin. 'Monks, Caves and Kings: A Reassessment of the Nature of Early Buddhism in Sri Lanka (Ceylon),' *World Archaeology* 27 (1995), 222–42.
- Coningham, Robin. 'The Excavations at ASW2,' in *Anurādhapura: The British-Sri Lankan Excavations at Anurādhapura Salgaha Watta 2*, Vol. 1, *The Site*, ed. R. A. E Coningham. Oxford: Archaeopress, 1999, 71–124.
- Coningham, Robin. 'Contestatory Urban Texts or Were Cities in South Asia Built as Images?' *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 10 (2000), 348–54.
- Coningham, Robin. 'The Archaeology of Buddhism,' in *Archaeology and World Religion*, ed. Tim Insoll. London: Routledge, 2001, 61–95.
- Coningham, Robin. 'Beyond and before the Imperial Frontiers: Early Historic Sri Lanka and the Origins of Indian Ocean Trade,' *Man and Environment* 27 (2002), 99–108.
- Coningham, Robin, ed. *Anurādhapura: The British-Sri Lankan Excavations at Anurādhapura Salgaha Watta 2*, Vol. 2, *The Artefacts*, BAR International Series 1508. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006.
- Coningham, Robin. 'The Archaeology of Buddhism,' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, ed. Tim Insoll. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 932–45.
- Coningham, Robin and Paul Cheetham. 'The Fortifications,' in *Anurādhapura: The British-Sri Lankan Excavations at Anurādhapura Salgaha Watta*, Vol. 1: *The Site*, ed. R. A. E Coningham. Oxford: Archaeopress, 1999, 47–69.
- Coningham, Robin and Prishanta Gunawardhana. 'Looting or Rededication? Buddhism and the Expropriation of Relics,' in *Appropriating the Past: Philosophical Perspectives on the Practice of Archaeology*, ed. Geoffrey Scarre and Robin Coningham. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 281–94.
- Coningham, Robin and Prishanta Gunawardhana, eds. *Anurādhapura*, vol. 3: *The Hinterland*, BAR International Series 2568. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013.
- Coningham, Robin and Frank Christopher Hardman. 'Review of Dilip Chakrabati, *Archaeology in the Third World: A History of Indian Archaeology since 1947*,' *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 14, 1 (2004), 156–8.
- Coningham, Robin and Nick Lewer. 'Paradise Lost: The Bombing of the Temple of the Tooth – a UNESCO World Heritage Site in South Asia,' *Antiquity* 73 (1999), 857–66.
- Coningham, Robin and Nick Lewer. 'The Vijayan Colonization and the Archaeology of Identity in Sri Lanka,' *Antiquity* 74 (2000), 707–12.
- Coningham Robin and Ruth Young. 'The Archaeological Visibility of Caste,' in *Case Studies in Archaeology and World Religion*, ed. Tim Insoll. Oxford: Archaeopress, 1999, 84–93.
- Coningham, Robin and Ruth Young. *The Archaeology of South Asia: From the Indus to Aśoka*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Coningham, Robin, Frank Raymond Allchin, Cathy Batt and David Lucy. 'Passage to India? Anurādhapura and the Early Use of the Brahmi Script,' *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6, 1 (1996), 73–97.
- Coningham, Robin, Prishanta Gunawardhana, Gamini Adikari, Mangala Katugampola, Ian Simpson and Ruth Young. 'The Anurādhapura (Sri Lanka) Project: The Hinterland (Phase II), Preliminary Report of the First Season 2005,' *South Asian Studies* 22 (2006), 53–64.
- Coningham, Robin, Prishanta Gunawardhana, Mark Manuel, Gamini Adikari, Mangala Katugampola, Ruth Young, Armin Schmidt, Krishnan Krishnan, Ian Simpson, Gerry McDonnell and Cathy Batt. 'The State of Theocracy: Defining an Early Medieval Hinterland in Sri Lanka,' *Antiquity* 81 (2007), 1–21.
- Coningham, Robin, Prishanta Gunawardhana, Mark Manuel, Gamini Adikari, Ruth Young, Armin Schmidt, Krishnan Krishnan, Ian Simpson, Christopher Davis and Cathy Batt. 'Response to Goonatilake,' *Antiquity* 85 (2011), 1065–67.

- Coningham, Robin, Prishanta Gunawardhana, Christopher Davis, Gamini Adikari, Ian Simpson, Keir Strickland and Mark Manuel. 'Contextualising the Tabbova-Maradanmaduva "Culture": Excavations at Nikawewa, Tirappane Division, Anurādhapura District, Sri Lanka,' *South Asian Studies* 28, 1 (2012), 1–14.
- Coningham, Robin, Prishanta Gunawardhana, Gamini Adikari, Christopher Davis, Mark Manuel, Ian Bailiff, Cathy Batt, Harendralal Namalgamuwa, Jayampath Senanayake and Umanga Rammungoda. 'Phasing the Hinterland,' in *Anurādhapura*, Vol. 3, *The Hinterland*, BAR International Series 2568, ed. R. A. E. Coningham and P. Gunawardhana. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013, 31–48.
- Coningham, Robin, Prishanta Gunawardhana, Gamini Adikari, Mark Manuel, Christopher Davis and Ian Simpson. 'Discussion,' in *Anurādhapura*, Vol. 3, *The Hinterland*, BAR International Series 2568, ed. R. A. E. Coningham and P. Gunawardhana. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013, 459–79.
- Coningham, Robin, Prishanta Gunawardhana, Christopher Davis, Mark Manuel, Keir Strickland, Harendralal Namalgamuwa and Jayampath Senanayake. 'Terracotta Objects,' in *Anurādhapura*, Vol. 3, *The Hinterland*, BAR International Series 2568, ed. R. A. E. Coningham and P. Gunawardhana. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013, 333–92.
- Cunningham, Alexander. *Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya*. London: W. H. Allen, 1892.
- Daniel, Errol Valentine. 'Three Dispositions Towards the Past: One Sinhala, Two Tamil,' in *Identity, Consciousness and the Past: Forging of Caste and Community in India and Sri Lanka*, ed. Heralivala Seneviratne. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997, 42–69.
- Davis, Christopher, Robin Coningham, Prishanta Gunawardhana and Mark Manuel. 'Epigraphy in the Hinterland,' in *Anurādhapura*, Vol. 3, *The Hinterland*, BAR International Series 2568, ed. R. A. E. Coningham and P. Gunawardhana. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013, 445–58.
- De Silva, Kingsley. *A History of Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Publications, 2005.
- De Silva, Raja Henapala. *Sigiriya and its Significance: A Mahayana-Theravāda Monastery*. Nawala: Bibliotheque, 2002.
- Deraniyagala, Siran. 'The Citadel of Anurādhapura 1965: Excavations in the Gedige Area,' *Ancient Ceylon* 2 (1972), 48–170.
- Deraniyagala, Siran. 'Excavations in the Citadel of Anurādhapura Gedige 1984: A Preliminary Report,' *Ancient Ceylon* 6, 1986, 39–48.
- Devendra, Don Titus. 'Seventy Years of Ceylon Archaeology,' *Artibus Asiae* 22, 1–2 (1959), 23–40.
- Dias, Mālini. *The Growth of Buddhist Monastic Institutions in Sri Lanka from Brahmi Inscriptions*. Colombo: Department of Archaeological Survey, Government of Sri Lanka, 2001.
- Diaz Andreu, Margarita, Sam Lucy, Stasa Babić and David Edwards, eds. *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Diaz Andreu, M., S. Lucy, S. Babić and D. N. Edwards. 'Introduction,' in *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*, ed. M. Diaz Andreu et al. London: Routledge, 2005, 1–12.
- Dirks, Nicholas. 'The Invention of Caste: Civil Society in Colonial India,' in *Identity, Consciousness and the Past: Forging of Caste and Community in India and Sri Lanka*, ed. Heralivala Seneviratne. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997, 120–35.
- Dirks, Nicholas. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Duncan, James. *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Erdosy, George. 'Language, Material Culture and Ethnicity: Theoretical Perspectives,' in *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia*, ed. George Erdosy. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995, 1–32.
- Frasch, Tilman. 'Buddha's Tooth Relic: Contesting Rituals and the Early State in Sri Lanka,' in *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual*, ed. Axel Michaels, Vol. 3, *State, Power and Violence*, ed. Marko Kitts et al. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010, 647–64.
- Gilliland, Krista, Ian Simpson, Paul Adderley, Christopher Burbidge, Alan Cresswell, David Sanderson, Robin Coningham, Mark Manuel, Keir Strickland, Prishanta Gunawardhana and Gamini Adikari. 'The Dry Tank: Development and Disuse of Water Management Infrastructure in the Anurādhapura Hinterland, Sri Lanka,' *Journal of Archaeological Sciences* 40 (2013), 1012–28.
- Gokhale, Shobhana. 'Sri Lanka in Early Indian Inscriptions,' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 85 (2004), 135–9.
- Gunawardana, Leslie. *Robe and Plough: Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1979.
- Gunawardhana, Prishanta. *Buddhist Monasteries towards Urbanism in Southern Sri Lanka*. Battaramulla: Neptune Publications, 2009.



- Guruge, Ananda. *From the Living Fountains of Buddhism: Sri Lankan Support to Pioneering Western Orientalists*. Colombo: Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 1984.
- Hawkes, Jason. 'The Wider Archaeological Contexts of the Buddhist Stupa Site of Bharhut,' *Buddhist Stupas in South Asia*, ed. Jason Hawkes and Akira Shimada. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 146–74.
- Hocart, Arthur Maurice. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Vol. 1, Colombo: A. C. Richards, Acting Government Printer, Ceylon, 1924.
- Hocart, Arthur Maurice, 'The Four Quarters,' *Ceylon Journal of Science*, section G.1 (1928), 105–11.
- Ilangasinha, Hematilaka Bandara Mangala, *Buddhism in Medieval Sri Lanka*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1992.
- Indrapala, Karthigesu. *The Evolution of an Ethnic Identity: The Tamils in Sri Lanka c. 300 BCE to c. 1200 CE*. Sydney: MV Publications, 2005.
- Jayasuriya, M. H. F., Leelananda Prematilleke and Roland Silva, *Manjusri Vastuvidyasastra*. Colombo: The Archaeological Survey of Sri Lanka and Central Cultural Fund, 1995.
- Jones, Siân. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Leach, Edmund. 'Aryan Invasions Over Four Millennia,' in *Culture Through Time: Anthropological Approaches*, ed. Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995, 227–45.
- Legge, James. *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms: Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon (AD 399–414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886.
- McAlpine, William and David Robson. *A Guide to Ritigala*. Colombo: Central Cultural Fund, 1983.
- Meskel, Lynn. *Cosmopolitan Archaeologies*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Mihindukulasuriya, Prabo. 'Persian Christians in the Anurādhapura Period,' in *A Cultured Faith: Essays in Honour of Prof. G. P. V. Somaratna*, ed. Prabo Mihindukulasuriya. Colombo: CTS Publishing, 2011, 1–24.
- Mitra, Debala. *Buddhist Monuments*. Calcutta: Samsad, 1971.
- Monius, Anne. *Imagining a Place for Buddhism: Literary Culture and Religious Community in Tamil-Speaking South India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Panditha, Vincent. 'Buddhism During the Polonnaruva Period,' in *The Polonnaruva Period*, ed. Sumana Saparamadu. Colombo: Tisara Prakasakayo, 1955, 127–45.
- Paranavitana, Senerath. 'Sigiri – the Abode of a God-King,' *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series 1 (1950), 129–62.
- Paranavitana, Senerath. 'The Art and Architecture of the Polonnaruva Period,' in *The Polonnaruva Period*, ed. Sumana Saparamadu. Colombo: Tisara Prakasakayo, 1955, 69–90.
- Paranavitana, Senerath. *Sigiriya Graffiti*. London: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Paranavitana, Senerath. *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Vol. 1, *Early Brahmi Inscriptions*. Colombo: Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, 1970.
- Parker, Henry. *Ancient Ceylon: An Account of the Aborigines and of Part of the Early Civilization*. London: Luzac and Co, 1909.
- Pathmanathan, Sivasubramaniam. *Facets of Sri Lankan History and Culture*. Colombo: Kumaran Book House, 2015.
- Perera, Lakshman. *The Institutions of Ancient Ceylon from Inscriptions (from 831 to 1016 AD)*, Vol. 2, Part 2, *Economic and Religious Institutions*. Kandy: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2005.
- Pieris, Paul Edward. 'Nagadipa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)* 28 (1925), 40–67.
- Piggott, Stuart. *Prehistoric India*. London: Penguin, 1950.
- Prematilleke, Leelananda and Roland Silva. 'A Buddhist Monastery Type of Ancient Ceylon Showing Mahayanist Influence,' *Artibus Asiae* 30, 1 (1968), 61–84.
- Prematilleke, Pawuludevege Leelananda. *Alahana Parivena, Polonnaruva: First Archaeological Excavation Report*. Colombo: Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 1982.
- Prematilleke, Pawuludevege Leelananda. *Alahana Parivena, Polonnaruva: Second Archaeological Excavation Report*. Colombo: Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 1982.
- Prematilleke, Pawuludevege Leelananda. *Alahana Parivena, Polonnaruva: Fourth Archaeological Excavation Report*. Colombo: Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 1985.
- Prematilleke, Pawuludevege Leelananda. *Alahana Parivena, Polonnaruva: Sixth Archaeological Excavation Report*. Colombo: Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 1988.
- Pushparatnam, Paramu. *Tourism and Monuments of Archaeological Heritage in Northern Sri Lanka*. Jaffna: Department of History, University of Jaffna, 2014.
- Ragupathy, Ponnampalam. *Early Settlements in Jaffna: An Archaeological Survey*. Madras: Thillimalar Ragupathy, 1987.

- Ramachandran, T. N. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 71: Nagarjunakonda, 1938*. Calcutta: Government of India Press, 1953.
- Ratnayake, H. 'Hindu Bronzes from Jetavanaramaya, Anurādhapura: Bronzes from Jetavana 1984 – Circumstances of the Discovery,' in *Essays in Archaeology: Sirinimal Lakdusinghe Felicitation Volume*, ed. P. Gunawardhana, G. Adikari and R. A. E. Coningham. Battaramulla: Neptune Publication, 2010, 263–84.
- Ray, Himanshu Prabhu. 'The Apsidal Shrine in Early Hinduism: Origins, Cultic Affiliation, Patronage,' *World Archaeology* 36 (2004), 343–59.
- Schenk, Heidrun. 'The Dating and Historical Value of Rouletted Ware,' *Zeitschrift für Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen* 1 (2006), 123–52.
- Schenk, Heidrun. 'Parthian Glazed Pottery from Sri Lanka and the Indian Ocean Trade,' *Zeitschrift für Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen* 2 (2007), 57–90.
- Seneviratne, H. L. 'Identity and the Conflation of Past and Present,' in *Identity, Consciousness and the Past: Forging of Caste and Community in India and Sri Lanka*, ed. H. L. Seneviratne. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997, 3–22.
- Seneviratne, Sudharshan. 'Situating World Heritage Sites in a Multi-Cultural Island Society: The Ideology of Presenting the Sacred City of Anurādhapura, Sri Lanka.' Paper presented at the Conference of the European Association of Archaeologists, British Museum, London, 4–8 July 2005.
- Sharma, Ursula. *Caste*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1999.
- Shaw, Julia. *Buddhist Landscapes in Central India: Sanchi Hill and Archaeologies of Religious and Social Change, c. Third Century BC to Fifth Century AD*. London: British Association of South Asian Studies, 2007.
- Sirisena, W. M. *Sri Lanka and South-East Asia*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.
- Sirisoma, Munugoda. 'Brahmi Inscriptions of Sri Lanka from 3rd Century BC to 65 AD,' in *Archaeological Department Centenary (1890–1990) Commemorative Series, Vol. 2, Inscriptions*, ed. Nandadeva Wijesekera. Colombo: State Printing Corporation, 1990, 3–54.
- Stern, Ben, Jacques Connan, Eleanor Blakelock, Rupert Jackman, Robin Coningham and Carl Heron. 'From Susa to Anurādhapura Reconstructing Aspects of Trade and Exchange in Bitumen-Coated Ceramic Vessels between Iran and Sri Lanka from the Third to the Ninth Centuries AD,' *Archaeometry* 50, 3 (2008), 409–28.
- Strathern, Alan. 'The Vijaya Origin Myth of Sri Lanka and the Strangeness of Kingship,' *Past and Present* 203 (2009), 3–28.
- Strickland, Keir. 'The Jungle Tide: "Collapse" in Early Medieval Sri Lanka,' PhD dissertation, Durham University, 2011.
- Sundberg, Jeffrey. 'The Wilderness Monks of the AbhayagiriVihāra and the Origins of Sino-Japanese Esoteric Buddhism,' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 160, 1 (2004), 95–123.
- Tambiah, Stanley. *Sri Lanka: Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Tennent, James. *Ceylon: An Account of the Island, Physical, Historical, and Topographical with Notices of its Natural History, Antiquities and Productions*. London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1859.
- Thantilage, Arjuna. 'Anurādhapura Period Bronzes of Sri Lanka: Schools and Resource-Utilization,' accessed 5 November 2013, [www.archaeology.lk/articles/Anurādhapura-period-bronzes-of-sri-lanka-schools-and-resource-utilization](http://www.archaeology.lk/articles/Anuradhapura-period-bronzes-of-sri-lanka-schools-and-resource-utilization).
- Tomber, Roberta. 'Rome and Mesopotamia – Importers into India in the First Millennium AD,' *Antiquity* 81 (2007), 972–88.
- Trigger, Bruce. *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Von Schroeder, Ulrich. *Buddhist Sculptures of Sri Lanka*. Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publications, 1990.
- Wheeler, Mortimer. 'Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India,' *Ancient India* 2 (1946), 17–124.
- Wheeler, Mortimer. *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*. London: Penguin Books, 1955.
- Wickremasinghe, Don Martin de Silva. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912.
- Wickremasinghe, Don Martin de Silva. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. 2. Colombo: Archaeological Department, 1927.
- Wickremeratne, Ananda. 'Shifting Metaphors of Sacrality: The Mythic Dimensions of Anurādhapura,' in *The City as Sacred Centre: Essays on Six Asian Contexts*, ed. Bardwell Smith and Holly Reynolds. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987, 45–59.
- Wijayapala, W. H. 'Excavations at Randenigama, Rajangane,' *Administrative Report of the Director-General of Archaeology for the Year 1997* (1997), 32–5.

- Wijesuriya, Gamini. *Buddhist Meditation Monasteries of Ancient Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Department of Archaeology, Government of Sri Lanka, 1998.
- Wikramagamage, Chandra, Siri Hettiarachchi, Jan Bouzek, Jiri Bren and Petr Charvat. 'Excavations at Abhayagiri Vihara (Anurādhapura, Sri Lanka) in 1982,' *Archiv Orientalni* 51 (1983), 337–71.

## Chapter 2

### Primary sources

- Cosmas Indicopleustes: Topographie Chrétienne*, trans. W. Wolska-Conus, Sources Chrétiennes 141. Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 1968.
- Cūlavamsa: Being the More Recent Part of the Mahāvamsa*, trans. Wilhelm Geiger, London: Pali Text Society, 1930.
- Mahāvamsa: Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, trans. Wilhelm Geiger assisted by Mabel Haynes Bode. London: Pali Text Society, 1912.
- Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, trans. L. Casson. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Photius, *Bibliothèque Photius*; Texte établi et traduit, ed. R. Henry, Vol. 1. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1959.
- Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, Vol. 2. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942.

### Secondary sources

- Abdy, Richard and Gareth Williams. 'A Catalogue of Hoards and Single Finds from the British Isles, c. 410–675,' in *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c. A.D. 500–1250*, ed. B. Cook and G. Williams. Leiden: Brill, 2006, 11–74.
- Anastos, M. V. 'The Alexandrian Origin of the "Christian Topography" of Cosmas Indicopleustes,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 3 (1946), 73–80.
- Beal, S. *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang, translated from the Chinese of Shaman (Monk) Hwui Li*. 1911; reprint New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1973.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Le commerce maritime entre Rome et Sri Lanka d'après les données numismatiques,' *Revue des Études Anciennes* 94 (1992) 107–21.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Recent Discoveries of Ancient Foreign Coins, hitherto Unknown in Sri Lankan Context,' *Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume, Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka, 1845–1995* (1995), 127–39.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Seafaring in the Indian Ocean: Archaeological Evidence from Sri Lanka,' in *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, ed. H. P. Ray and J.-F. Salles. New Delhi: Manohar, 1996, 59–78.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Ancient Coins in Sri Lanka,' *Economic Review* 23 (1997), 21–6.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Foreword,' in *Taprobanē: Ancient Sri Lanka as Known to Greeks and Romans*, ed. D. P. M. Weerakkody. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997, i–xv.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'The Maritime Silk Road: Trade Relations between Central Asia and Sri Lanka from the Evidence of Recent Excavations,' *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 5 (1997/8), 269–95.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Archaeological Evidence on Changing Patterns of International Trade Relations of Ancient Sri Lanka,' in *Origin, Evolution and Circulation of Foreign Coins in the Indian Ocean*, ed. O. Bopearachchi and D. P. M. Weerakkody. New Delhi: Manohar, 1998, 133–78.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Sites portuaires et emporia de l'ancien Sri Lanka: nouvelles données archéologiques,' *Arts Asiatiques* 54 (1999), 5–23.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Archaeological Evidence on Cultural and Commercial Relationships between Ancient Sri Lanka and South India,' in *Honouring Martin Quéré OMI*, ed. Gérard Robuchon and Philippe Fabry. Negombo: Viator Publications, 2002, 61–76.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Archaeological Evidence on Shipping Communities of Sri Lanka,' in *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology in the Indian Ocean*, ed. D. Parkin and R. Barnes. London: Routledge Curzon, 2002, 92–128.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Routes Maritime et Port de l'ancien Sri Lanka,' in *Aller et Venir: Faits et Perspectives*, ed. F. Blanchon, Vol. 2. Paris: Asies, 2002, 27–43.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Inde du Sud et Sri Lanka,' in *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1996–2000*, ed. C. Alfaro and A. Burnett. Madrid: International Association of Professional Numismatists, 2003, 685–8.

- Bopearachchi, O. 'New Archaeological Evidence on Cultural and Commercial Relations between Ancient Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu,' *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in History and Archaeology* 1 (2004), 60–72.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Circulation of Roman and Byzantine Gold Coins in Sri Lanka: Fact or Fiction?,' in *Dal Denarius al Dinar: L'Oriente e la Moneta Romana*, ed. F. de Romanis and S. Sorda. Rome: Instituto Italiano di Numismatica, 2006, 181–200.
- Bopearachchi, O. 'Coins,' in *Anurādhapura: The British-Sri Lankan Excavations at Anuradhapura Salgaha Watta*, Vol. 2: *The Artefacts*, ed. R. A. E Coningham. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006, 7–26.
- Bopearachchi, O. and R. M. Wickremesinha. *Ruhuna: An Ancient Civilization Re-visited. Numismatic and Archaeological Evidence on Inland and Maritime Trade*. Colombo: Tharanjee Prints, 1999.
- Boulnois, L. *Silk Road: Monks, Warriors and Merchants on the Silk Road*, 2nd edn. London: Odyssey Books, 2005.
- Brancaccio, P. *The Buddhist Caves at Aurangabad*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Canepa, M. P. *The Two Eyes of the Earth*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.
- Cappers, R. T. J. *Roman Food-Prints at Berenike: Archaeological Evidence of Trade and Subsistence in the Eastern Desert of Egypt*. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2006.
- Carlson, D. 'INA in Sri Lanka, Pearl of the Indian Ocean,' *The Institute of Nautical Archaeology Annual* (2010), 89–95.
- Carlson, D. and K. Threthewey. 'Exploring the Oldest Shipwreck in the Indian Ocean,' *The Institute of Nautical Archaeology Quarterly* 40 (2013), 8–14.
- Carradice, I. 'Flavian Coinage,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, ed. W. Metcalf. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 375–90.
- Carson, R. A. G., J. P. C. Kent and A. M. Burnett. *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, Vol. 10, *The Empire Divided and the Fall of the Western Parts, AD 395–491*. London: Spink, 1994.
- Carswell, J. 'The Port of Mantai, Sri Lanka,' in *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade*, ed. V. Begley and R. D. de Puma. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991, 197–203.
- Carswell, J. and M. Prickett. 'Mantai 1980: A Preliminary Investigation,' *Ancient Ceylon* 5 (1984), 11–37.
- Carswell, J., S. U. Deraniyagala and A. Graham, eds. *Mantai: City by the Sea*. Stuttgart: Linden Soft Verlag, 2013.
- Casson, L. 'New Light on Maritime Loans: P. Vindob. G 40822,' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 84 (1990) 195–206.
- Chami, F. A. 'Graeco-Roman Trade Link and the Bantu Migration Theory,' *Anthropos* 94 (1999), 205–15.
- Chanmugam P. K. and F. L. W. Jayawardene. 'Skeletal Remains from Tirukketiswaram,' *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G V, 11 (1954), 65–6.
- Charlesworth, M. P. *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926.
- Choksy, J. K. 'Sailors, Soldiers, Priests and Merchants: Reappraising Iran's Early Connections to Ceylon,' *Iranica Antiqua* 48 (2013), 363–91.
- Clark, T. L. 'Imaging the Cosmos: The *Christian Topography* by Kosmas Indikopleustes,' PhD dissertation, Temple University, Philadelphia, 2008.
- Codrington, H. W. *Ceylon Coins and Currency*. Ceylon: A. C. Richards, 1924.
- Coningham, R., ed. *Anurādhapura: The British-Sri Lankan Excavations at Anuradhapura Salgaha Watta*, Vol. 2, *The Artefacts*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006.
- Coningham, R., P. Gunawardhana, G. Adikari, M. Katugampola, I. Simpson and R. Young. 'The Anuradhapura (Sri Lanka) Project: The Hinterland (Phase II), Preliminary Report on the First Season 2005,' *South Asian Studies* 22, 1 (2006), 53–64.
- Cribb, J. 'Chinese Coin Finds from South India and Sri Lanka,' in *Numismatic Panorama: Essays in the Memory of Late Shri S. M. Shukula*, ed. K. K. Maheshwari and B. Rath. New Delhi: Harman Publishing House, 1996, 253–69.
- Darley, R. 'Indo-Byzantine Exchange, 4th–7th Centuries: A Global History,' PhD dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2014.
- Day, R. 'A Tale of "Four" Hoards (or Unpicking Akki Alur),' *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 211 (2012), 5–13.
- De Romanis, F. 'Romanukharatt̥ha and Taprobane: Relations between Rome and Sri Lanka in the First Century AD,' in *Crossings: Early Mediterranean Contacts with India*, ed. F. de Romanis and A. Tchernia. Delhi: Manohar, 1997, 161–237.
- De Saram, F. J. and G. F. J. & G. de Saram, *1841–2001: 160 Year Practice of a Law Firm in its Historical Setting*. Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Publications, 2001.

- Devendra, S. 'Pre-Modern Sri Lankan Ships and Shipping,' in *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology across the Indian Ocean*, ed. D. Parkin and R. Barnes. New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002, 128–73.
- Falk, H. 'Three Epigraphs from Godawaya, Sri Lanka,' in *Ancient Ruhuna: Sri Lankan-German Archaeological Project in the Southern Province*, Vol. 1, ed. H.-J. H. Weisshaar et al. Mainz and Wiesbaden: Verlag Philipp von Zabern and Reichert Verlag, 2001, 327–34.
- Francis, P. *Asia's Maritime Bead Trade, 300 BC to the Present*. Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.
- Francis, P. 'Western Geographic Knowledge of Sri Lanka and Mantai ca 325 BC to 1170 AD,' in *Mantai: City by the Sea*, ed. J. Carswell, S. U. Deraniyagala and A. Graham. Stuttgart: Linden Soft Verlag, 2013, 53–60.
- Frasch, T. 'Religious and Economic Development of Ancient Anuradhapura,' in *Sri Lanka, Past and Present*, ed. M. Domroes and H. Roth, Weikersheim: Margraf, 1998, 61–81.
- Gannon, M. 'Indian Ocean's Oldest Shipwreck Set for Excavation,' LiveScience Blog, 4 February 2014, [www.livescience.com/42901-indian-ocean-oldest-shipwreck.html](http://www.livescience.com/42901-indian-ocean-oldest-shipwreck.html).
- Ghosh, D. N. *Business and Polity: Dynamics of a Changing Relationship*. London: Sage, 2011.
- Glover, I. C. 'The Archaeological Evidence for Early Trade between India and Southeast Asia,' in *The Indian Ocean in Antiquity*, ed. J. Reade. London: Kegan Paul International, 1996, 365–400.
- Goodwin, T. *Arab-Byzantine Coinage*. London: The Nour Foundation, 2005.
- Graham, A. 'Excavations 1887–1976 and the Condition of the Site in 1980,' in *Mantai: City by the Sea*, ed. J. Carswell, S. U. Deraniyagala and A. Graham. Stuttgart: Linden Soft Verlag, 2013, 98–101.
- Graham, A. 'Pottery from the Excavated Sequence in Trenches H and G,' in *Mantai: City by the Sea*, ed. J. Carswell, S. U. Deraniyagala and A. Graham. Stuttgart: Linden Soft Verlag, 2013, 191–212.
- Graham, A. 'The Primary Development of the Mound,' in *Mantai: City by the Sea*, ed. J. Carswell, S. U. Deraniyagala and A. Graham. Stuttgart: Linden Soft Verlag, 2013, 143–56.
- Grierson, P. *Byzantine Coinage*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection, 1999.
- Gupta, P. L. 'Coins in Rome's Indian Trade,' in *Coinage, Trade and Economy*, ed. A. K. Jha. Nasik: Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, 1991, 122–37.
- Gurukkal, R. *Rethinking Classical Indo-Roman Trade. Political Economy of Eastern Mediterranean Exchange Relations*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Gyselen, R. M. ed. *Circulation des Monnaies, des Marchandises et des Biens*. Leuven: Peeters, 1993.
- Hahn, W. *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*, 3 vols. Vienna: Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973.
- Harris, A. *Byzantium, Britain and the West: The Archaeology of Cultural Identity, AD 400–650*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2003.
- Hendy, M. *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Hinnells J. and A. Williams, *Parsis in India and the Diaspora*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Hudson, G. *Europe and China: A Survey of their Relations from the Earliest Times to 1800*. London: Edward Arnold and Co., 1931.
- Huxley, G. L. 'On the Greek Martyrium of the Negranites,' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 80 (1980), 41–55.
- Kemper, S. *The Presence of the Past: Chronicles, Politics and Culture in Sinhala Life*. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Kennedy, J. 'The Secret of Kanishka,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1912), 665–88.
- Kessler, O. 'The Discovery of an Ancient Sea Port at the Silk Road of the Sea – Archaeological Relics of the Godavaya Harbor,' in *Sri Lanka: Past and Present; Archaeology, Geography, Economics, Selected Papers on German Research*, ed. M. Domroes and H. Roth, Würzburg: Margraf Verlag, 1998, 12–37.
- Kiribamune, S. 'The Role of the Port City of Mahatittha (Mantota) in the Trade Networks of the Indian Ocean,' in *Mantai: City by the Sea*, ed. J. Carswell, S. U. Deraniyagala and A. Graham. Stuttgart: Linden Soft Verlag, 2013, 40–52.
- Kominko, M. 'New Perspectives on Paradise – The Levels of Reality in Byzantine and Latin Medieval Maps,' in *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods*, ed. R. J. A. Talbert and R. W. Unger. Leiden: Brill, 2008, 139–53.
- Kominko, M. *The World of Kosmas: Illustrated Byzantine Codices of the Christian Topography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Krishnamurthy, R. 'Roman Gold Coins from Southern Tamil Nadu, India: some 5th cent. A.D. Solidi and their Imitations,' in *Dal Denarius al Dinar: L'Oriente e la Moneta Romana*, ed. F. de Romanis and S. Sorda. Rome: Instituto Italiano di Numismatica, 2006, 173–9.

- Krishnamurthy, R. *Late Roman Copper Coins from South India: Karur, Madurai and Tirukkoilur*. Chennai: Garnet Publishers, 2007.
- Law, B. C. *The Chronicle of the Island of Ceylon, of the Dipavamsa, a Historical Poem of the 4th Century AD*. Colombo: Ceylon Historical Journal, 1957–8.
- Legge, J. *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, Being an Account of the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon (AD 399–414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886.
- Leslie de Saram Collection: A Classified List*. Peradeniya: Peradeniya University, 1981.
- Lokubandara, W. J. M. 'Sri Lanka's Role in the Maritime Silk Route,' in *Sri Lanka and the Silk Road of the Sea*, 2nd edn, ed. S. Bandaranayake. Colombo: Sri Lanka Institute of International Relations, 2003, 13–15.
- Miller, J. I. *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, 29 BC to AD 641*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Mohanty, R. 'Indian Imported Pottery,' in *Mantai: City by the Sea*, ed. J. Carswell, S. U. Deraniyagala and A. Graham. Stuttgart: Linden Soft Verlag, 2013, 213–27.
- Morrison, K. D. 'Commerce and Culture in South Asia: Perspectives from Archaeology and History,' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1997), 87–108.
- Morrisson, C. 'Byzantine Money: Its Production and Circulation,' in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. Laiou. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001, 906–66.
- Muthucumarana, R. 'Ancient Port City of Godawaya and the Recent Discovery of the Unknown Wooden Wreck with Black and Red Ware,' Maritime Archaeology Unit Blog, 2011, [www.mausrilanka.lk/sub%20pages/Godawaya.html](http://www.mausrilanka.lk/sub%20pages/Godawaya.html).
- Paranavitana, S., ed. *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5 vols. Colombo: Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, 1970.
- Parker, G. *The Making of Roman India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Parker, S. T. 'The Roman Port of Aila: Economic Connections with the Red Sea Littoral,' in *Connected Hinterlands: Proceedings of Red Sea Project IV*, held at the University of Southampton (September 2008), ed. L. Blue et al. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009, 79–84.
- Peacock, D. P. S., E. Peacock and L. Blue, *The Ancient Red Sea Port of Adulis: Eritrea Report of the Eritro-British Expedition 2004–5*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007.
- Porter, V. 'Islamic Coins found in Sri Lanka,' in *Origin, Evolution and Circulation*, ed. O. Bopearachchi and D. P. M. Weerakkody. New Delhi: Manohar, 1998, 225–72.
- Puskás, I. 'Trade Contacts between India and the Roman Empire,' in *India and the Ancient World: History, Trade and Culture before AD 650*, ed. G. Pollet. Leuven: Department Oriëntalistiek, 1987, 141–56.
- Ratto, R. *Collection privée. Monnaies Byzantines et d'autres pays contemporains à l'époque Byzantine*. Auction catalogue of 9 December 1930; reprint Amsterdam, 1959.
- Ray, H. P. *The Winds of Change: Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Roth, H. 'Excavation at the Port of Godavaya, Hambantota District, Sri Lanka,' in *Sri Lanka, Past and Present: Archaeology, Geography, Economics*, ed. M. Domroes and H. Roth. Weikersheim: Margraf Verlag, 1998, 1–11.
- Sastri, K. A. *A History of South India from Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958.
- Sedlar, J. W. *India and the Greek World: A Study in the Transmission of Culture*. Totaw, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1980.
- Seland, E. 'Trade and Christianity in the Indian Ocean during Late Antiquity,' *Journal of Late Antiquity* 5, 1 (2012), 72–86.
- Sen, T. 'Buddhism and the Maritime Crossings,' in *China and Beyond in the Medieval Period: Cultural Crossings and Inter-Regional Connections*, ed. D. Wong and G. Heldt. Amherst and Delhi: Cambria and Manohar Press, 2014, 39–62.
- Seneviratne, S. 'Situating World Heritage Sites in a Multicultural Society: The Ideology of Presentation at the Sacred City of Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka,' in *Archaeology and the Post-Colonial Critique*, ed. M. Liebmann and U. Z. Rizvi. New York: Altamira Press, 2008, 177–95.
- Sidebotham, S. E. *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.
- Silva, R. and J. Bouzek, 'Mantai – a Second Arikamedu?,' *Antiquity* 59 (1985), 46–7.
- Sirisena, O. M. R. *Medieval Gold Coins of Sri Lanka, 700–1100*. Colombo: Unigraphics Ltd., 2002.
- Siriweera, W. I. 'Godavaya: Ancient Port Near Modern Magamtotā,' *The Island* (Colombo), 10 January 2014, [www.island.lk/index.php?page\\_cat=article-details&page=article-details&code\\_title=95650](http://www.island.lk/index.php?page_cat=article-details&page=article-details&code_title=95650).



- Strauch, I. *Foreign Sailors on Socotra: The Inscriptions and Drawings from the Cave Hoq*. Bremen: Ute Hempen Verlag, 2013.
- Tennent, J. E. *Ceylon: An Account of the Island Physical, Historical and Topographical*, Vol. 1. 1860; reprint Project Gutenberg, 2004, [www.gutenberg.org/files/13552](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13552).
- Thapar, R. 'Early Mediterranean Contacts with India: An Overview,' in *Crossings: Early Mediterranean Contacts with India*, ed. F. de Romanis and A. Tchernia. New Delhi: Manohar, 1997, 11–40.
- Thierry, F. 'Maritime Silk Routes and Chinese Coin Hoards,' in *Origin, Evolution and Circulation of Foreign Coins in the Indian Ocean*, ed. O. Bopearachchi and D. P. M. Weerakkody. New Delhi: Manohar, 1998, 199–223.
- Thurston, E. *Madras Government Museum: Coins Catalogue No. 2, Roman, Indo-Portuguese and Ceylon*. Madras: Government Press, 1888.
- Tomber, R. *Indo-Roman Trade: From Pots to Pepper*. London: Duckworth, 2009.
- Trethewey, K. 'The Oldest Known Ship in the Indian Ocean: Logistics for an Upcoming INA Excavation,' *Institute of Nautical Archaeology Quarterly* 39, 1–2 (2012), 28–9.
- Turner, P. *Roman Coins from India*. London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1989.
- Walburg, R. *Coins and Tokens from Ancient Ceylon*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008.
- Walburg, R. and A. Graham, 'The Coins,' in *Mantai: City by the Sea*, ed. J., Carswell, S. U. Deraniyagala and A. Graham. Stuttgart: Linden Soft Verlag, 2013, appendix 3, 1–3.
- Weerakkody, P. M. *Taprobanè: Ancient Sri Lanka as Known by the Greeks and Romans*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.
- Weisshaar, H.-J. H., H. Roth and W. Wijeyapala eds. *Ancient Ruhuna: Sri Lankan-German Archaeological Project in the Southern Province*, Mainz and Wiesbaden: Verlag Philipp von Zabern and Reichert Verlag, 2001.
- Wendrich, Z. R., S. Tomber, S. E. Sidebotham, J. A. Harrell, R. T. J. Cappers and R. S. Bagnall. 'Berenike Crossroads: The Integration of Information,' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46 (2003), 46–87.
- Wheeler, M. *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*. London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1954.
- Whitehouse, D. 'Epilogue: Roman Trade in Perspective,' in *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade*, ed. V. Begley and R. D. de Puma, 1991, 216–18.
- Whitehouse, D. *Siraf: History, Topography and Environment*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009.
- Wickremasinghe, D. M. de Silva et al., *Epigraphica Zeylanica*, 7 vols. London: Published for the Government of Ceylon by Henry Milford, 1904.
- Wilson, N. G. *The Bibliotheca: A Selection. Photius, Translated with Notes*. London: Duckworth, 1994.
- Young, G. *Rome's Eastern Trade: International Commerce and Imperial Policy, 31 BC–AD 305*. London: Routledge, 2001.

## Chapter 3

### Primary sources

- The Chiang Mai Chronicle*, trans. David Wyatt and Aroonrut Wichienkeo. Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 1998.
- The Dīpavaṃsa*, ed. and trans. Hermann Oldenberg. London: Williams and Norgate, 1879.
- Inscriptions of Burma*, comp. G. H. Luce and U Pe Maung Tin, Vol. 3 Oxford: University Press, 1939.
- The Katikavatas. Laws of the Buddhist Order of Ceylon from the 12th Century to the 18th Century*, ed. and trans. Nandasena Ratnapala. Munich, Kitzinger, 1971.
- The Mahāvamsa*, ed. Wilhelm Geiger. London: Pali Text Society, 1909.
- The Myazedi Inscription in Four Languages*, ed. Cultural Institute. Rangoon: Government Press, 1960.
- A Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms, Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fâ-hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon*, trans. James Legge. 1886; reprint New York: Paragon and Dover Publications, 1965.

### Secondary sources

- Ali, Daud. 'The Early Inscriptions of Indonesia and the Problem of the Sanskrit Cosmopolis,' in *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*, ed. P.-Y. Manguin and A. Mani. New Delhi and Singapore: Manohar and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011, 277–95.

- Appleby, Scott and Martin Marty, eds. *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Assavavirulhakarn, Prapod. *The Ascendancy of Theravāda Buddhism in Southeast Asia*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2010, 71–112.
- Barnett, Lionel D. 'The Manavulu Sandesaya,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1905), 265–83.
- Bechert, Heinz. *Eine regionale hochsprachliche Tradition in Südasien: Sanskrit-Literatur bei den buddhistischen Singhalesen*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 718. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005.
- Berkwitz, Stephen C. *South Asian Buddhism: A Survey*. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Blackburn, Anne. 'Buddhist Connections in the Indian Ocean: Changes in Monastic Mobility, 1000–1500,' *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient* 58, 3 (2015), 237–66.
- Bode, Mabel. *The Pāli Literature of Burma*. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes. 'The Spread of Sanskrit in Southeast Asia,' in *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*, ed. Pierre-Yves Manguin, A. Mani and Geoff Wade. Singapore: ISEAS, 2011, 263–76.
- Charney, Michael. *Powerful Learning: Buddhist Literati and the Throne in Burma's Last Dynasty*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.
- Collins, Steven. 'On the Very Idea of the Pāli Canon,' *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 15 (1981), 89–126.
- Collins, Steven. *Nirvana and other Buddhist Felicities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Collins, Steven. 'What is Literature in Pāli?' in *Literary Cultures in History*, ed. Sheldon Pollock. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, (2003), 680–1.
- Crosby, Kate. 'The Origin of Pali as a Language Name in Medieval Theravada Literature,' *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies of Sri Lanka* 2 (2004), 70–116.
- Falk, Harry. 'Die Goldblätter aus Śrī Kṣetra,' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 41 (1997), 53–92.
- Frasch, Tilman. *Pagan. Stadt und Staat*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996.
- Frasch, Tilman. 'A Buddhist Network in the Bay of Bengal: Relations between Bodhgaya, Burma and Sri Lanka, c. 300–1300,' in *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea: Miscellaneous Notes*, ed. Claude Guillot et al. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998, 69–93.
- Frasch, Tilman. 'Religious and Economic Development in Ancient Anuradhapura,' in *Sri Lanka Past and Present*, ed. Manfred Domrös and Helmut Roth. Weikersheim: Marggraf, 1998, 68–72.
- Frasch, Tilman. 'Der Buddhismus im Jahr 1000,' *Periplus. Jahrbuch für Außereuropäische Geschichte* 10 (2000), 56–72.
- Frasch, Tilman. 'Buddha's Tooth Relic: Contesting Rituals and the Early State in Sri Lanka,' in *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of the Ritual*, ed. Axel Michaels, Vol. 3, *State, Power and Violence*, ed. Marko Kitts et al. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010, 647–64.
- Frasch, Tilman. 'Buddhist Councils in a Time of Transition: Globalism, Modernity and the Preservation of Textual Traditions,' in *Contemporary Buddhist Studies* 14, 1 (2013), 38–51.
- Frasch, Tilman. 'The Theravada Buddhist Ecumene in the 15th Century: Intellectual Foundations and Material Representations,' in *Buddhism across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual and Cultural Exchange*, Vol. 1, ed. Tansen Sen. Singapore/Delhi: ISEAS/Manohar, 2014, 347–67.
- Frasch, Tilman. 'Kontakte, Konzile, Kontroversen: Begegnungen in der Theravada-Kosmopolis, ca. 1000–1300 ce,' in *Begegnungen in den Religionen Asiens*, ed. Oliver Freiberger et al. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming.
- Goh Geok-yian. *The Wheel-Turner and His House: Kingship in a Buddhist Ecumene*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2015.
- Goonatilake, Hema. 'Sri Lanka – Myanmar Historical Relations in Religion, Culture and Polity,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka* 55 (2009), 80–104.
- Gunawardana R. A. L. H. *Robe and Plough: Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979.
- Gunawardana R. A. L. H. 'Subtle Silks of Ferrous Firmness: Buddhist Nuns in Ancient and Early Medieval Sri Lanka and their Role in the Propagation of Buddhism,' *The Sri Lankan Journal of the Humanities* 14 (1988), 1–59.
- Heirman, Ann. 'Chinese Nuns and their Ordination in 5th Century China,' *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 24, 2 (2001), 275–305.
- Hettiaratchi, S. B. *Social and Cultural History of Ancient Sri Lanka*. Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1988, 99–102.
- Htway, U Tin. 'A Preliminary Note on the Vinayadharas of Pagan Period in Burma,' in *Festschrift für Prof. Manuel Sarkisyanz*, ed. Barbara Diehl-Eli et al. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1987, 411–58.
- Hultzsch, E. 'A Vaishnava Inscription from Pagan,' *Epigraphia Indica* 7 (1902–3), 197–8.
- Ilangasinha, H. B. *Buddhism in Medieval Sri Lanka* Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1992.

- Keyes, Charles F. *The Golden Peninsula: Culture and Adaptation in Mainland Southeast Asia*. London: Macmillan, 1977.
- Ko, Taw Sein. *The Kalyani Inscriptions Erected by King Dhammaceti at Pegu in 1476 AD*. Rangoon: Government Printing, 1892.
- Liyanagama, Amaradasa. *The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya*. Colombo: Department of Cultural Affairs and Government Press, 1968.
- Lottermoser, Friedgard. 'Minor Pāli Grammar Texts: The *Saddabindu* and its "New" Commentary,' *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 11 (1987), 79–109.
- Luce, Gordon H. *Old Burma – Early Pagan*, Locust Valley, NY: Augustine, 1969.
- Luce, Gordon H. and U. Ba Shin. 'A Chiang Mai Mahāthera Visits Pagan (1393 AD),' *Artibus Asiae* 24, 3 (1961), 330–7.
- Luce, Gordon H. and U Pe Maung Tin. 'Inscriptions of Burma, Edited and Translated,' *Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission* 1 (1960), 1–28.
- Malalasekera, G. P. *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1928.
- Malalasekera, G. P. *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1994.
- Pichard, Pierre. *Inventory of the Monuments at Pagan*, Vol. 2. Paris: UNESCO, 1993.
- Pichard, Pierre. *Inventory of the Monuments at Pagan*, Vol. 4. Paris: UNESCO, 1994.
- Rohanadeera, Mendis. 'The Noen Sa Bua Inscription of Dong Si Mahabo, Prachinburi,' *Journal of the Siam Society* (1988), 89–98.
- Schalk, Peter. *Buddhism among Tamils in Tamil Ilam and Tamilakam*, 2 vols. Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2004.
- Sirisena, W. M. *Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia*. Leiden: Brill, 1978.
- Skilling, Peter. 'New Pāli Inscriptions from Southeast Asia,' *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 23 (1997), 123–57.
- Skilling, Peter. 'The Advent of Theravada Buddhism to Mainland Southeast Asia,' in *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of Southeast Asia*. Bangkok and Lumbini: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009, 104–19.
- Stargardt, Janice. 'The Oldest Known Pāli Texts, 5th–6th Century,' *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 21 (1995), 199–213.
- Tun, U Than. 'History of Buddhism in Burma, AD 1000–1300,' *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 51 (1978), 77–87.
- Tun, U Than. 'An Original Inscription Dated 10 September 1223, that King Badon Copied on 27 October 1785,' in *Études birmanes en hommage à Denise Bernot*, ed. Pierre Pichard and François Robinne. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1998, 37–42.
- Tun, U Than. *Hnaung-dwe Kyauksa-mya*. Yangon: Myanmar Historical Commission, 2005.
- Verardi, Giovanni. *Hardships and Downfall of Buddhism in India*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011.
- von Hinüber, Oskar. *Die Sprachgeschichte des Pali im Spiegel der südostasiatischen Handschriftenüberlieferung*, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 8. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1988.
- Walburg, Reinhold. *Coins and Tokens from Ancient Ceylon*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008.

## Chapter 4

### Primary sources

- The Book of Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka)*, Vol. 1, *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, ed. I. B. Horner. London: Luzac for Pali Text Society, 1949.
- Butsaraṇa of Vidyacravartī*, ed. Bambarendē Siri Sivali Thera. Colombo: A. Gunaratne, 1968.
- A Chronicle of the Thūpa and the Thūpavaṃsa*, trans. N. A. Jayawickrama. London: Luzac for Pali Text Society, 1971.
- Cūlavāṃsa: Being the More Recent Part of the Mahāvāṃsa*, ed. and trans. Wilhelm Geiger, 2 vols. 1925–9; reprint London: Pali Text Society, 1980.
- Daiwagnakāmadhēnu*, ed. C. A. Seelakkhanda. Benares: Vidyā Vilās Press, 1906.
- Dambadeṇi Asna*, ed. D. D. Ranasinha. Colombo: J. D. Pranandu, 1928.
- 'Dāṭhāvāṃsa,' ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1 (1884), 109–50.
- Dimitrov, Dragomir. *Mārgavibhāga – Die Unterscheidung der Stilarten. Kritische Ausgabe des ersten Kapitels von Daṇḍins Poetik Kāvyaśāstra und der tibetischen Übertragung Śān nāg me loṅ nebst einer deutschen Übersetzung des Sanskrittextes*. Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 2002.

- Dimitrov, Dragomir. *Śabdālaṃkāraḍaṣaḍāvibhāga – Die Unterscheidung der Lautfiguren und der Fehler. Kritische Ausgabe des dritten Kapitels von Daṇḍins Poetik Kāvyaḍāraśa und der tibetischen Übertragung Sñān ṅag me loṅ samt dem Sanskrit-Kommentar des Dpañ Blo gros brtan pa und einer deutschen Übersetzung des Sanskrit-Grundtextes*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011.
- Geiger, Wilhelm. *The Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa and their Historical Development in Ceylon*, trans. E. M. Coomaraswamy. Colombo: H. C. Cottle, Government Printer, 1908.
- Handsome Nanda*, trans. Linda Covill. New York: New York University Press, 2007.
- The Jātaka*, Vol. 1, ed. V. Fausbøll. Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 2000.
- Jinacarita*, or, 'The Career of the Conqueror,' trans. Charles Duroiselle Ahmedabad: Parimal Publications, 1982.
- The Katikāvatas: Laws of the Buddhist Order of Ceylon from the 12th Century to the 18th Century*, trans. Nandasena Ratnapala. Munich: Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, 1971.
- Kāvyaḍāraśaya*, ed. Dharmakīrti Dharmārāma. Peliyagoda: Satyasamuccaya Press, 1925.
- Kāvyaḍakṣaṇa*, also known as *Kāvyaḍāraśa: with commentary called Ratnaśrī of Ratnaśrījñāna*, ed. Anantalal Thakur and Upendra Jha. Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1957.
- Khuddaka-Pāṭha: A Pali Text*, ed. R. C. Childers. London: Trübner, 1869.
- Life of the Buddha*, trans. Patrick Olivelle. New York: New York University Press, 2008.
- Mahābodhivaṃsa*, ed. S. A. Strong. London: Pali Text Society, 1891.
- The Mahāvaṃsa*, or, *The Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, trans. Wilhelm Geiger. 1912; reprint Colombo: The Ceylon Government Information Department, 1950.
- Moggallāna-pañcīkā-ṭīkā*, ed. Aggadharmābhivaṃsathera. Rangoon: Zabu Meit Swe Press, 1955.
- The Nyāyabindu of Śrī Dharmakīrti with a Sanskrit Commentary by Śrī Dharmottarācārya*, ed. Candraśekhara Śāstrī. Banares: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1954.
- Paranavitana, Senarat and H. W. Codrington, eds. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, Colombo: Archaeological Department, 1943.
- Saddanīti: La Grammaire Palie D'Aggavaṃsa, I Padamālā (Pariccheda 1–XIV), II Dhātumālā (Pariccheda XV–XIX), III Suttamālā (Pariccheda XX–XXVIII)*, ed. Helmer Smith Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1928–30.
- Sāsanavaṃsa*, ed. Mabel Bode. London: H. Frowde, 1897.
- 'Siya-Bas-Lakara and a Theory of Suggestion,' trans. N. P. Unni. *University of Ceylon Review* 12, 1–2 (1964), 21–8.
- Siyabas Lakara or Sinhalese Rhetoric by King Silāméghavarṇa, Paraphrased by Ratnamadhvacārya Mahā Thēra*, ed. Jayatilaka, Hendrick. Colombo: Lakrivikiraṇa Press, 1892.
- Subodhālaṅkāra, Porāṇa-ṭīkā (Mahāsāmi-ṭīkā) by Saṅgharakkhita Mahāsāmi, Abhinava-ṭīkā (Nissaya)*, ed. Padhmanabh S. Jaini. Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 2000.
- Visuddhimagga: The Path of Purification*, trans. Bhikku Ñāṇamoli. 1959; reprint Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 2010.

## Secondary sources

- Ariyapala, M. B. *Society in Mediaeval Ceylon: The State of Society in Ceylon as Depicted in the Saddharma-ratnāvalīya and other Literature of the Thirteenth Century*. 1956; reprint Colombo: Department of Cultural Affairs, 1968.
- Berkwitz, S. *History of the Buddha's Relic Shrine: A Translation of the Sinhala Thūpavaṃsa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Bhikkhu Bodhi. *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Ariyuttara Nikāya*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2012.
- Blackburn, Anne. 'Magic in the Monastery: Textual Practice and Monastic Identity in Sri Lanka,' *History of Religions* 38, 4 (1999), 354–72.
- Blackburn, Anne. 'Buddhist Connections in the Indian Ocean: Changes in Monastic Mobility, 1000–1500,' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 68 (2015), 237–66.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes. *Buddhism in the Shadow of Brahmanism*, Handbuch der Orientalistik 24. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Collins, Steven. 'On the Very Idea of a Pali Canon,' *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 15 (1990), 89–126.
- Collins, Steven. *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities: Utopias of the Pali Imaginaire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Collins, Steven. 'What is Literature in Pali?,' in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon Pollock. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, 649–88.
- Cone, Margaret. *A Dictionary of Pali. Part 1, a-kh*. Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2001.

- Deegalle, Mahinda. 'Buddhist Preaching and Sinhala Religious Rhetoric: Medieval Buddhist Methods to Popularize Theravāda,' *Numen* 44, 2 (1997), 180–210.
- Deegalle, Mahinda. *Popularizing Buddhism: Preaching and Performance in Sri Lanka*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006.
- Dimitrov, Dragomir. 'The Legacy of the Jewel Mind: On the Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhalese Works by Ratnamati,' *Habilitationschrift*, Philipps-Universität Marburg, 2014.
- Godakumbura, C. E. *Sinhalese Literature*. Colombo: Colombo Apothecaries, 1955.
- Gornall, Alastair. 'How Many Sounds are in Pāli? Schism, Identity and Ritual in the Theravāda Saṅgha,' *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 42, 5 (2014), 511–50.
- Hallisey Charles. 'Works and Persons in Sinhala Literary Culture,' *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon Pollock. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003, 689–746.
- Liyanage, Wasantha Amarakeerthi. 'Narrative Methods of Sinhala Prose: A Historical and Theoretical Study of Sinhala Prose from Twelfth Century Narratives to Post-Realist Fiction,' PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004.
- Malalasekera, G. P. *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*. 1928; reprint Colombo: M. D. Gunasena, 1958
- Masson, J. L. and M. V. Patwardhan, *Aesthetic Rapture: The Rasadhīyaya of the Nāṭyaśāstra*. Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1970.
- Monius, Anne. E. 'The Many Lives of Daṇḍin: The *Kāvyaḍarśa* in Sanskrit and Tamil,' *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 4, 1 (2000), 1–37.
- Nagaraj, D. R. 'Critical Tensions in the History of Kannada Literary Culture,' in *Literary Cultures in History*, ed. S. Pollock. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003, 323–83.
- Norman, K. R. *Pali Literature: A History of Indian Literature VII.2*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983.
- Pannasara, Dehigaspe. *Sanskrit Literature Extant among the Sinhalese and the Influence of Sanskrit on Sinhalese*. Colombo: Wimaladharmā Hewavitarane Esqr, 1958.
- Pathmanathan, S. *The Kingdom of Jaffna, Part I*. Colombo: Arul M. Rajendran, 1978.
- Perriera, T. L. 'Whence Theravāda? The Modern Genealogy of an Ancient Term,' in *How Theravāda is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, ed. Peter Skilling et al. Chiang Mai: Silksworm Books, 2012, 443–571.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 'The Cosmopolitan Vernacular,' *Journal of Asian Studies* 57, 1 (1998), 6–37.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 'The Social Aesthetic and Sanskrit Literary Theory,' *The Journal of Indian Philosophy* 29 (2001), 197–229.
- Pollock, Sheldon. *The Ends of Man at the End of Premodernity*. Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2005.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 'Ratnaśrījñāna,' *Encyclopedia of Indian Wisdom: Dr. Satya Vrat Shastri Felicitation Volume*, ed. R. K. Sharma. Delhi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 2005, 637–43.
- Pollock, Sheldon. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006.
- Veidlinger, Daniel. *Spreading the Dhamma: Writing, Orality, and Textual Transmission in Buddhist Northern Thailand*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.
- von Hinüber, Oskar. 'Pali as an Artificial Language,' *Indologica Taurinensia* 10 (1982), 133–40.
- Warder, A. K. *Pali Metre: A Contribution to the History of Indian Literature*. London: Pali Text Society, 1967.
- Wijayawardhana, G. D. 'The Influence of Sanskrit Alankāra Śāstra on Early Sinhalese Poetry,' PhD dissertation, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, 1963.
- Wijesekera, O. H. de A. 'Pali and Sanskrit in the Polonnaruwa Period,' *Ceylon Historical Journal*, 4 (1954–5), 102–5.
- Wright, J. C. 'The Pali *Subodhālaṅkāra* and Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 65, 2 (2002), 323–41.

## Chapter 5

### Primary sources

- Messenger Poems: By Kālidāsa, Dhoyī & Rūpa Gosvāmin*, trans. Sir James Mallinson. New York: New York University Press and JJC Foundation, 2006.

*Sāradīpikā Kōkila Sandeśa Varṇanāva*, ed. Hāḍigallē Paññātissa. Borella, Sri Lanka: Lankabhīnava Viśruta Yantralaya, 1945.  
*Sāvul Sandeśaya*, ed. Rā Tennekoon. Colombo: M. D. Gunasena, 1955.

## Secondary sources

- Ali, Daud. *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Barnett, Lionel D. 'The Manavulu-Sandesaya: Text and Translation,' *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1905), 265–83.
- Berkwitz, Stephen C. *Buddhist History in the Vernacular: The Power of the Past in Late Medieval Sri Lanka*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Berkwitz, Stephen C. *Buddhist Poetry and Colonialism: Alagiyavanna and the Portuguese in Sri Lanka*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Berkwitz, Stephen C. 'Sinhala Buddhist Appropriations of Indic Cultural Forms: Literary Imitations and Conquests,' *Religions of South Asia* (forthcoming).
- Biedermann, Zoltán. 'The *Matrioshka* Principle and How It was Overcome: Portuguese and Habsburg Imperial Attitudes in Sri Lanka and the Responses of the Rulers of Kotte (1506–1598),' *Journal of Early Modern History* 13 (2009), 265–310.
- Bronner, Yigal. 'Birds of a Feather: Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa's *Hamsasandēśa* and its Intertexts,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 133, 3 (2013), 495–526.
- Buddhadatta, Polwatte Śrī. *Pālisāhityaya*. Colombo: Svabhasha Prakasakayo, 1966.
- Chakravarti, Chintaharan. 'The Origin and Development of Dūtākāvya Literature in Sanskrit,' *Indian Historical Quarterly* 3, 1 (1927), 273–97.
- Cowell, E. B., ed. *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, Vol. 2, trans. W. H. D. Rouse. 1895; reprint Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1994.
- De Silva, Premakumara. 'God of Compassion and the Divine Protector of "Śrī Pāda": Trends in Popular Buddhism in Sri Lanka,' *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* 34, 1–2 (2008), 93–107.
- Godakumbura, C. E. *Sinhalese Literature*. Colombo: The Colombo Apothecaries' Co., 1955.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. 'The Touch of the Real,' *Representations* 59 (1997), 14–29.
- Gunasekara, Bandusena. *Kōṭṭē Yugayē Sandēśa Kāvya*. Colombo: Department of Cultural Affairs, 1997.
- Hallisey, Charles. 'Works and Persons in Sinhala Literary Culture,' in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon Pollock. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003, 689–746.
- Hopkins, Steven P. 'Lovers, Messengers, and Beloved Landscapes: *Sandēśakāvya* in Comparative Perspective,' *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 8, 1–3 (2004), 29–55.
- Hopkins, Steven P. 'Sanskrit in a Tamil Imaginary: *Sandēśakāvya* and the *Hamsasandēśa* of Veṅkaṭanātha,' in *Passages: Relationships between Tamil and Sanskrit*, ed. Kannan M. and Jennifer Clare. Pondicherry: Institut français de Pondichéry, 2009, 281–312.
- Hopkins, Steven P., trans. *The Flight of Love: A Messenger Poem of Medieval South India by Veṅkaṭanātha*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Jayasuriya, Edmund. *Sālaḷihini Sandēśa of Toṭagamuve Śrī Rāhula Thera*. Colombo: Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology and Central Cultural Fund, 2002.
- Kulasuriya, Ananda. *Sinhala Sāhityaya 4*. Boralessgamuwa, Sri Lanka: C. S. Visidunu Prakasakayo, 1997.
- Narayana Rao, Velcheru, David Shulman and Sanjay Subrahmanyam. *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nāyaka Period Tamilnadu*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Nicholas, C. W. and S. Paranavitana. *A Concise History of Ceylon: From the Earliest Times to the Arrival of the Portuguese in 1505*. Colombo: Ceylon University Press, 1961.
- Pannasara, Dehigaspe. *Sanskrit Literature: Extant among the Sinhalese and the Influence of Sanskrit on Sinhalese*. Colombo: Wimala David Hewavitarane, 1958.
- Pieris, Anoma. 'Avian Geographies: An Inquiry into Nationalist Consciousness in Medieval Lanka,' *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 33, 3 (2010), 336–62.
- Pollock, Sheldon. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006.
- Sannasgala, Puñci Bandara. *Sinhala Sāhitya Vamśaya*. Colombo: S. Godage and Brothers, 2009.
- Śāstri, Satyavrat. *Essays on Indology*. Delhi: Meharchand Lachhmandass, 1963.



- Shulman, David. *The Wisdom of the Poets: Studies in Tamil, Telugu, and Sanskrit*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Sugatavamsa, Hatarabage. *Pāli Sandēsa Sāhityaya*. Colombo: S. Godage and Brothers, 2015.
- Sumanasuriya, K. T. W. 'Sandēsa,' in *Sinhala Sāhityalatā*, ed. Kotamale Amaravansa. Colombo: S. Godage and Brothers, 2000, 262–73.

## Chapter 6

### Secondary sources

- Afanador-Pujol, Angelica J. 'The Tree of Jesse and the "Relación de Michoacan": Mimicry in Colonial Mexico,' *The Art Bulletin* 92, 4 (2010), 293–307.
- Asher, Frederick. 'On Maurya Art,' in *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture*, ed. Rebecca M. Brown and Deborah S. Hutton. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, 421–43.
- Bailey, Gauvin. *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America 1542–1773*. Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Bandaranayake, Senake. *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture*, Studies in South Asian Culture 4. Leiden: Brill, 1974.
- Bandaranayake, Senake. 'Sri Lanka and Monsoon Asia: Patterns of Local and Regional Architectural Development and the Problem of the Traditional Sri Lankan Roof,' in *Senerat Paranavitana Commemorative Volume*, ed. Leelananda Prematilleke et al. Studies in South Asian Culture 7. Leiden: Brill, 1978, 22–44.
- Bandaranayake, Senake. *The Rock and Wall Paintings of Sri Lanka*, revised edition. Pannipitiya: Stamford Lake, 2006.
- Bandaranayake, Senake. 'The Periodisation of Sri Lankan History and Some Related Historical and Archaeological Problems,' reprinted in *Continuities and Transformations Studies in Sri Lankan Archaeology and History*. Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 2012, 121–52.
- Baxandall, Michael. *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Berkwitz, Stephen C. *Buddhist Poetry and Colonialism: Alagiyavanne and the Portuguese in Sri Lanka*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Biedermann, Zoltan. 'Diplomatic Ivories: Sri Lankan Caskets and the Portuguese-Asian Exchange in the Sixteenth Century,' in *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia*, ed. Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello. New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Bridges, Nicole N. 'Kongo Ivories,' in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000, accessed 23 October 2016, [www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/kong/hd\\_kong.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/kong/hd_kong.htm).
- Carvalho, Pedro Moura. *Luxury for Export: Artistic Exchange between India and Portugal Around 1600*. Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2008.
- Chaiklin, Martha. 'Ivory in Early Modern Ceylon: A Case Study in What Documents Don't Reveal,' *International Journal of Asian Studies* 6, 1 (2009), 37–63.
- Codrington, K. de B. 'Western Influences in India and Ceylon: A Group of Sinhalese Ivories,' *Burlington Magazine* LIX (1934), 239–46.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. 'The Tree of Jesse and Indian Parallels or Sources,' *The Art Bulletin* 11, 2 (1929), 217–20.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. 'An Ivory Casket from Southern India,' *The Art Bulletin* 23, 3 (1941), 207–12.
- Coomaraswamy Ananda K. *Medieval Sinhalese Art, 1908*. New York: Pantheon, 1956.
- Eco, Umberto. 'Innovation and Repetition: Between Modern and Postmodern Aesthetics,' *Daedalus* 134, 4 (2005), 191–207.
- Fagg, William and Ezio Bassani. *Africa and the Renaissance: Art in Ivory*. New York: The Center for African Art, Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1988.
- Farago, Claire. 'On the Peripatetic Life of Objects in the Era of Globalization,' in *Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art since the Age of Exploration*, ed. Mary D. Sheriff. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012, 17–41.
- Gschwend, Annmarie Jordan. 'The Marvels of the East: Renaissance Curiosity Collections in Portugal,' in *The Heritage of Rauluchantim*, ed. Nuno Vassallo e Silva. Lisbon: Museu de Sao Roque, 1996, 82–127.
- Gschwend, Annmarie Jordan. 'Rarities and Novelties,' in *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500–1800*, ed. Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2004, 32–41.

- Gschwend, Annemarie Jordan. 'Catherine of Austria: A Portuguese Queen in the Shadow of the Habsburg Court?' *Portuguese Studies Review* 13, 1–2 (2005), 173–94.
- Gschwend, Annemarie Jordan and Johannes Beltz. *Elfenbeine aus Ceylon. Luxusgüter für Katharina von Habsburg (1507–1578)*. Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 2010.
- Hartkamp-Jonxis, Ebelte. 'Coveted by Princes and Citizens: Sri Lankan Ivory Carvings for the European Market 1550–1700,' Public lecture, Asian Civilizations Museum, Singapore, 11 June 2014.
- Holt, John Clifford. *The Buddha in the Crown: Avalokitesvara in the Buddhist Traditions of Sri Lanka*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Holt, John Clifford. *The Buddhist Visnu: Religious Transformation, Politics, and Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Huntington, John C. *The Art of Ancient India Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain*. New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1999.
- Jaffer, Amin. *Luxury Goods from India: The Art of the Indian Cabinet-Maker*. London: V&A Publications, 2002.
- Jaffer, Amin and Melanie Anne Schwabe. 'A Group of Sixteenth-Century Ivory Caskets from Ceylon,' *Apollo* 149 (1999), 3–14.
- Levenson, Jay A., ed. *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries*. Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2007.
- Mark, Peter. 'Towards a Reassessment of the Dating and the Geographical Origins of the Luso-African Ivories, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries,' *History in Africa* 34 (2007), 189–211.
- Marques, Susan Lowndes. *Portuguese Expansion Overseas and the Art of Ivory*. Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1991.
- Meegama, Sujatha Arundathi. 'From *Kovils* to *Devalas*: Patronage and "Influence" at Buddhist and Hindu Temples in Sri Lanka,' PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2011.
- Meegama, Sujatha Arundathi. 'Albrecht Dürer in Sri Lanka: An Ivory Carver's Response to a European Print,' in *Connected Cultures: Art Histories of Sri Lanka*, ed. Sujatha Arundathi Meegama. Mumbai: Marg, 2017.
- Meister, Michael W., ed. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India – Lower Dravidadesa 200 BC–AD 1324*, New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies and University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.
- Nandadeva, Bilinda Devage. 'Flowers for the Dhamma Painted Buddhist Palm Leaf Manuscript Covers (Kamba) of Sri Lanka,' in *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art. Routledge Critical Studies in Buddhism*, ed. Stephen C. Berkwitz, Juliane Schober and Claudia Brown. London: Routledge, 2008, 159–71.
- Nelson, Robert S. 'Appropriation,' in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff, 2nd edn. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003, 160–73.
- Perera, Gaston. 'Ivory Caskets,' unpublished working paper, 2010.
- Pigouchet, Philippe. *Book of Hours*, for Simon Vostre, 1498. Incunable 1498, C25 Rosenwald Collection, Washington, Library of Congress.
- Ross, Emma George. 'Afro-Portuguese Ivories,' in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000, accessed 20 November 2014, [www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/apiv/hd\\_apiv.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/apiv/hd_apiv.htm).
- Schroeder, Ulrich von. *Buddhist Sculptures of Sri Lanka*. Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publications, 1990.
- Silva, Nuno Vasallo e. 'An Art for Export: Sinhalese Ivory and Crystal in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' in *Re-exploring the Links: History and Constructed Histories between Portugal and Sri Lanka*, ed. Jorge Flores. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007, 279–96.
- Strathern, Alan. *Kingship and Conversion in Sixteenth-Century Sri Lanka: Portuguese Imperialism in a Buddhist Land*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Strathern, Alan. 'Towards the Source-Criticism of Sitavaka Period Heroic Literature, Part Two: The Sitavaka Hatana: Notes on a Grounded Text,' *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* 34, 1–2 (2008), 45–72.
- Tilakasiri, Jayadeva. 'Ivory Carving of Sri Lanka,' *Arts of Asia* (1974), 42–6.
- Watson, Arthur. *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*. London: Oxford University Press, 1934.

## Chapter 7

### Primary sources

- Archivo General de Simancas. Secretaría de Portugal, Codex 1551.
- Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, ed. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, 6 vols. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1855–76.

- Arquivo Histórico Militar, Lisbon. Div. 1/ 1/ 2/ 2, Codex 'Livro dos Irmãos.'
- Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. Chancelaria de D. Filipe II, Doações, livro 21.
- Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. Registos paroquiais, Lumiar.
- Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon. Codex 51-X-5.
- Cervantes, Don Miguel de, *Don Quixote*, trans. Edith Grossman. London: Vintage, 2005.
- Correia, Gaspar. *Lendas da Índia*, ed. M. Lopes de Almeida, 4 vols. Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1975.
- Couto, Diogo do. *Da Asia de Diogo do Couto Dos Feitos, que os Portuguezes fizeram na Conquista, e Descobrimto das Terras, e Mares do Oriente*, 15 vols. Lisbon: Livraria de São Carlos, 1973–5.
- Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros das Monções*, ed. R. A. Bulhão Pato and A. Silva Rego, 10 vols. Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias/Imprensa Nacional, 1880–1982.
- Esperança, Friar Manuel da. *Historia Serafica da Ordem dos Frades Menores de S. Francisco na Provincia de Portugal. Primeira parte, que contem seu principio, & augmentos no estado primeiro de Custodia*, 3 vols. Lisbon: Officina Craesbeeckiana, 1656–1721.
- Pereira, Maria Celeste, Fernando A. A. Lemos and Rosa Trindade Ferreira, *Documentos Inéditos para a História de Telheiras e do seu Convento*. Lisbon: Centro Cultural de Telheiras, 2007.
- Queiroz, Fernão de. *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceilão*. Colombo: The Government Press, 1916.
- Rājāvāliya or a Historical Narrative of the Sinhalese Kings from Vijaya to Vimala Dharmasuriya II*, ed. B. Gunasekara. Colombo: Ceylon Government, 1926.
- Schurhammer, Georg. *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times*, 4 vols. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1973–82.
- Schurhammer, Georg and Ernst August Voretzsch, *Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bahu und Franz Xavers 1539–1552. Quellen zur Geschichte der Portugiesen, sowie der Franziskaner- und Jesuitenmission auf Ceylon, im Urtext herausgegeben und erklärt*, 2 vols. Leipzig: Verlag der Asia Major, 1928.
- Trindade, Frei Paulo da. *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, ed. F. Lopes, 3 vols. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962–7.

## Secondary sources

- Abeysinghe, Tikiri. *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon 1594–1612*. Colombo: Lake House, 1966.
- Antoninus, A. J. B. *The Martyrs of Mannar: From Authentic Documents*, 2nd edn. Colombo, St. Joseph's Press, 1945.
- Biedermann, Zoltán. 'The *Matrioshka* Principle and How it was Overcome: Portuguese and Habsburg Attitudes toward Imperial Authority in Sri Lanka and the Responses of the Rulers of Kotte (1506–1656),' *Journal of Early Modern History* 13, 4 (2009), 265–310.
- Biedermann, Zoltán. 'Diplomatic Ivories: Sri Lankan Caskets and the Portuguese-Asian Exchange in the Sixteenth Century,' in *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia*, ed. Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello. New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Biedermann, Zoltán. *Island Empire: Renaissance Portugal, Sri Lanka, and the Beginnings of Habsburg Colonialism in Asia*, forthcoming.
- De Silva, C. R. and S. Pathmanathan, 'The Kingdom of Jaffna up to 1620,' in *University of Peradeniya History of Sri Lanka*, Vol. 2. Peradeniya: The University of Peradeniya, 1995.
- Earle, T. F. 'Black Africans versus Jews: Religious and Racial Tension in a Portuguese Saint's Play,' in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 345–60.
- Figuerôa-Rego, João. '“A honra alheia por um fio”: os estatutos de limpeza de sangue no espaço de expressão Ibérica (sécs. XVI–XVIII),' PhD dissertation, Braga, Universidade do Minho, 2009.
- Gschwend, Annemarie Jordan and Johannes Beltz, *Elfenbeine aus Ceylon: Luxusgüter für Katherine von Habsburg (1507–1578)*. Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 2010.
- Jaffer, Amin and Melanie Anne Schwabe, 'A Group of Sixteenth-Century Ivory Caskets from Ceylon,' *Apollo* 149 (1999), 3–14.
- Jayasinghe, Sagara. *The Black Prince's Chapel: The Church Built by a Sinhalese Prince in Portugal*. Colombo: Vijitha Yapa, 2015.
- Nicholas, C. W. 'Civil Wars and the Emergence of Parakramabahu the Great,' in *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*, Vol. 1, Part 2. Colombo: Ceylon University Press, 1960, 438–60.
- Paranavitana, Senarat. 'The Dambadeni Dynasty,' in *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*, Vol. 1, Part 2. Colombo: Ceylon University Press, 1959, 613–35.
- Paranavitana, Senarat. 'Gampala and Rayigama,' in *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*, Vol. 1, Part 2. Colombo: Ceylon University Press, 1959, 636–52.

- Paranavitana, Senarat. 'The Kōtṭe Kingdom up to 1505,' in *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*, Vol. 1, Part 2. Colombo: Ceylon University Press, 1959, 660–83.
- Paranavitana, Senarat. 'The Pedigree of the Alagakesvaras,' in *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*, Vol. 1, Part 2. Colombo: Ceylon University Press, 1959, 653–59.
- Pereira, Maria Celeste, Fernando A. A. Lemos and Rosa Trindade Ferreira. 'O Convento de Nossa Senhora da Porta do Céu,' *Cadernos de Telheiras*, 2ª série, 1 (2008), 29–57, accessed 28 October 2016, [https://issuu.com/gruvless/docs/cadernos\\_de\\_telheiras](https://issuu.com/gruvless/docs/cadernos_de_telheiras).
- Perera, L. S. 'Dynasty of Manavamma,' in *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon* Vol. 1, Part 1. Colombo: Ceylon University Press, 1959, 315–43.
- Perera, L. S. 'The Period of Dynastic Instability,' in *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*, Vol. 1, Part 1. Colombo: Ceylon University Press, 1959–60, 300–14.
- Perniola, Vito. *The Catholic Church in Sri Lanka: The Portuguese Period. Original Documents translated into English*, 3 vols. Dehiwala: Tisara Prakasakayo, 1989–91.
- Pieris, P. E. *The Prince Vijaya Pala of Ceylon, 1634–1654: From the Original Documents at Lisbon*. Colombo: C. A. C. Press, 1927.
- Pollock, Sheldon. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men. Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006.
- Ricci, Ronit, ed. *Exile in Colonial Asia: Kings, Convicts, Commemoration*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.
- Schwartz, Stuart. *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Somararatne, G. P. V. 'Grand Eunuch Ho and Ceylon,' *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series 15 (1971), 36–47.
- Strathern, Alan. *Kingship and Conversion in Sixteenth-Century Sri Lanka: Portuguese Imperialism in a Buddhist Land*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Thundy, Zacharias P. *Buddha and Christ: Nativity Stories and Indian Traditions*. Leiden: Brill, 1993.
- Viterbo, Sousa. 'Relações de Portugal com alguns potentados africanos e asiáticos,' *Arquivo Historico Portuguez* 2 (1904), 443–62.
- Viterbo, Sousa. 'D. João, Príncipe de Candia,' *Arquivo Historico Portuguez* 3 (1905), 354–64, 441–59.
- Werake, K. M. M. 'A Re-examination of Chinese Relations with Sri Lanka during the 15th Century AD,' *Modern Sri Lanka Studies* 2, 1–2 (1987), 89–102.
- Wickremasinghe, Sirima. 'Successors of Parākramabāhu I: Downfall of the Polonnaru Kingdom,' in *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*, Vol. 1, Part 2. Colombo: Ceylon University Press, 1959, 507–28.
- Xavier, Ângela Barreto. 'Dissolver a Diferença – Conversão e Mestiçagem no Império Português,' in *Itinerários: A Investigação nos 25 Anos do ICS*, ed. Manuel Villaverde et al. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2008, 709–27.
- Xavier, Ângela Barreto. 'Conversos and Novamente Convertidos: Law, Religion, and Identity in the Portuguese Kingdom and Empire,' *Journal of Early Modern History*, 15 (2011), 255–87.

## Chapter 8

### Primary sources

- Baldaeus, Phillipus. *A True and Exact Description of the Great Island of Ceylon*, trans. Pieter Brohier. Maharagama: Saman Press, 1960.
- Cūlavamsa*, trans. Wilhelm Geiger. Colombo: Government Press, 1953.
- De Queyroz, Fernão. *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, trans. Father S. G. Perera, 3 vols. Colombo: Government Printer, 1930.
- De Saram, Lewis. 'The Dutch Embassy to Kandy in 1731–32: Diary of Wijesiriwardhana Maha Mudiyanse, Otherwise Called Lewis de Saram, Maha Mudaliyar,' trans. Paul E. Pieris, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch* 21, 62 (1909), 1–34.
- Francois Valentijn's Description of Ceylon*, ed. and trans. Sinnappah Arasaratnam. London: Hakluyt Society, 1978.

- Knox, Robert. *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* (1681), ed. J. H. O. Paulusz. Dehiwala: Tisara Prakasakayo, 1989.
- Lewis J. P. 'Andrew's Journal of a Tour to Candia in the Year 1796,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch* 26, 70 (1917), 172–229.
- The Mahāvamsa*, trans. L. C. Wijesinha. 1889; reprint. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1996.
- The Pybus Embassy to Kandy, 1762*, ed. R. Raven-Hart. Colombo: National Museums, 1958.
- The Rājāvaliya: A Comprehensive Account of the Kings of Sri Lanka*, trans. A. V. Suraweera. Rathmalana: Vishva Lekha, 2000.
- The Rājāvaliya or a Historical Narrative of Sinhalese Kings*, trans. B. Gunasekara. Colombo: Information Department, 1953.
- Śaśanāvātirnavarṇaṇāva, ed. C. E. Godakumbura. Moratuva: Dodangoda and Company, 1956.
- Van Goens, Ryckloff. *Memoir of Ryclof Van Goens, Jun. Governor of Ceylon, 1675–1679, to his successor Laurens Pyl*, trans. Sophia Pieters. Colombo: Government Printer, 1910.
- Van Spilbergen, Joris. *Journal of Spilbergen, the First Dutch Envoy to Ceylon*, trans. K. D. Paranavitana. Dehiwela: Sridevi Press, 1997.

## Secondary sources

- Abeyasinghe, Tikiri. 'The Politics of Survival: Aspects of Kandyan External Relations in the Mid-Sixteenth Century,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka*, New Series XVII (1973), 11–21.
- Abeyasinghe, Tikiri. 'The Kingdom of Kandy: Foundations and Foreign Relations to 1638,' in *University of Peradeniya, History of Sri Lanka*, Vol. 2, ed. K. M. de Silva. Peradeniya: University of Peradeniya, 1995, 139–61.
- Arasaratnam, Sinnappah. 'Introduction: The Dutch in Ceylon and South India, 1700–1750,' in *Memoir of Julius Stein Van Gollenesse, Governor of Ceylon, 1743–1751*, trans and ed. S. Arasaratnam. Colombo: Department of National Archives, 1974, i–vii.
- Arasaratnam, Sinnappah. 'Oratorians and Predicants: The Catholic Church in Ceylon under Dutch Rule,' in *Ceylon and the Dutch, 1600–1800: External Influences and Internal Change in Early Modern Sri Lanka*. Aldershot, New Hampshire: Variorum, 1996, 216–22.
- Biedermann, Zoltán. 'Imagining Asia from the Margins: Early Portuguese Mappings of the Continent's Architecture and Space,' in *Architecturalized Asia. Mapping the Continent through Architecture and Geography*, ed. V. Rujivacharakul, H. H. Hahn, K. T. Oshima and P. Christensen. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013, 35–52.
- Biedermann, Zoltán. *Island Empire: Renaissance Portugal, Sri Lanka, and the Beginnings of Habsburg Colonialism in Asia*, forthcoming.
- Codrington, H. W. *A Short History of Ceylon*. 1929; reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1994.
- De Silva, C. R. *The Portuguese in Ceylon, 1617–1638*. Colombo: H. W. Cave, 1972.
- De Silva, C. R. 'The Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Sitāvaka,' in *University of Peradeniya, History of Sri Lanka*, Vol. 2, ed. K. M. de Silva. Peradeniya: University of Peradeniya, 1995, 61–104.
- De Silva, R. K. and W. G. M. Beumer. *Illustrations and Views of Dutch Ceylon, 1602–1796*. London: Serendib Publications, 1988.
- Dewaraja, Lorna S. *The Kandyan Kingdom, 1707–1760*. Colombo: Lake House Investments, 1972.
- Dewaraja, Lorna S. 'The Kandyan Kingdom 1638–1739: A Survey of its Political History,' in *University of Peradeniya, History of Sri Lanka*, Vol. 2, ed. K. M. de Silva. Peradeniya: University of Peradeniya, 1995, 183–209.
- Dewaraja, Lorna S. 'The Kandyan Kingdom and the Nāyakkars, 1739–1796,' in *University of Peradeniya, History of Sri Lanka*, Vol. 2, ed. K. M. de Silva. Peradeniya: University of Peradeniya, 1995, 281–320.
- Dewaraja, Lorna S. *The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka: 1707–1782*, 2nd edn. Colombo: Stamford Lake Publication, 2008.
- Don Peter, W. L. A. *Studies in Ceylon Church History*. Colombo: The Catholic Press, 1963.
- Don Peter, W. L. A. *Francis Xavier, Teacher of Nations*. Colombo: Evangel Press, 1987.
- Ferguson, Donald. *The Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon*. 1927–30; reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1998.
- Holt, John Clifford. *The Religious World of Kīrti Śrī: Buddhism, Art and Politics in Late Mediaeval Sri Lanka*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Holt, John Clifford. *The Buddhist Viṣṇu: Religious Transformation, Politics, and Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

- Jayawickrama, Sarojini. *Writing that Conquers: Re-reading Knox's An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon*. Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 2004.
- Malalgoda, Kitsiri. *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society, 1750–1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- Nelson J. H. *The Political History of the Madura Country, Ancient and Modern*. 1868; reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989.
- Obeysesekere, Gananath. *The Doomed King: A Requiem for Śrī Vikrama Rājāsinha*, forthcoming.
- Perera, S. G. *Life of Father Jacome Gonsalves*. Madurai: De Nobili Press, 1942.
- Perera, S. G. *Life of the Venerable Father Joseph Vaz, Apostle of Ceylon*. Galle: Loyola Press, 1953.
- Perera, S. G. *Historical Sketches*. Colombo: Catholic Book Depot, 1962.
- Perniola, V. *The Catholic Church in Sri Lanka: The Dutch Period*, Vol. 1, 1658–1711; reprint Dehiwala: Tisara Prakasakayo, 1983.
- Pieris, Paul E. *Sinhale and the Patriots, 1815–1818*. Colombo: The Colombo Apothecaries, 1950.
- Pieris, Paul E. *The Dutch Power in Ceylon, Some Documents Relating to the Rise of the Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1602–1670*. 1929; reprint London: Curzon Press, 1973.
- Pieris, Paul E. *Ceylon: The Portuguese Era Being a History of the Island for the Period 1505–1658*, 2 vols. 1913–14; reprint Dehiwala: Tisara Prakasakayo, 1992.
- Sannasgala, P. B. *Sinhala Sāhityavañśaya*. Colombo: Cultural Affairs Department, 1994.
- Somaratna, Allepola H. M. ed. *Rajasiha Haṭṭana*. Kandy: Godamune Brothers, 1966.
- Strathern, Alan. *Kingship and Conversion in Sixteenth-Century Sri Lanka: Portuguese Imperialism in a Buddhist Land*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Swaminathan, K. D. *The Nāyakas of Ikkeri*. Madras: P. Varadachary and Co., 1957.
- Soratha Thero. *Sri Sumangalasabdakosaya*, Vol. 1. Colombo: Maligatenne, 1952.
- Vink, Markus. *Mission to Madurai: Dutch Embassies to the Nayaka Court of Madurai in the Seventeenth Century*. Delhi: Manohar, 2012.
- Wickramasinghe, Nira. *Dressing the Colonized Body: Politics, Clothing and Identity in Colonial Sri Lanka*. Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2003.

## Chapter 9

### Primary sources

- Hovy, Lodewijk. *Ceylonees Plakkaatboek: Plakkaten en andere wetten uitgevaardigd door het Nederlandse bestuur op Ceylon, 1638–1796*, 2 vols. Hilversum: Verloren, 1991.
- Memoir of Hendrick Zwaardecroon, Commandeur of Jaffnapatam, (afterwards Governor-General of Nederlands India), 1697, for the Guidance of the Council of Jaffnapatam, During his Absence at the Coast of Malabar Memoir*, trans. Sophia Pieters. Colombo: Cottle, 1911.
- National Archive, The Hague. Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), access number 1.04.02, inventory numbers 3571, 3573, 3878.
- Sri Lanka National Archive, Colombo. SLNA 1/2711, 1/4146, 1/4607, 1/4613, 1/4673, 1/4692, 1/4740.

### Secondary sources

- Allen, Richard B. *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014.
- Arasaratnam, S. 'Social History of a Dominant Caste Society: The Vellalar of North Ceylon in the 18th Century,' *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 18, 3–4 (1982), 377–91.
- Arasaratnam, S. *Ceylon and the Dutch, 1600–1800: External Influences and Internal Change in Early Modern Sri Lanka*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1996.
- Banks, Michael. 'Caste in Jaffna,' in *Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan*, ed. E. R. Leach. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960, 61–77.
- Biedermann, Zoltán. *The Portuguese in Sri Lanka and South India: Studies in the History of Diplomacy, Empire and Trade, 1500–1650*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014.
- Chatterjee, Indrani and Richard Eaton, 'Introduction,' in *Slavery in South Asian History*, ed. Indrani Chatterjee and Richard Eaton. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006, 1–16.



- De Raat, Lex. *The Life of Governor Joan Gideon Loten, 1710–1789: A Personal History of a Dutch Virtuoso*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2012.
- Dewasiri, Nirmal. *The Adaptable Peasant: Agrarian Society in Western Sri Lanka under Dutch rule, 1740–1800*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- D'Oyly, Sir John. *A Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom*. Dehiwala: Tisara Prakasakayo, 1974.
- Ekama, Kate J. 'Slavery in Dutch Colombo.' ResMA dissertation, Leiden University, 2012.
- Irving, D. R. M. 'Trading Tunes: Thomas Forrest, Malay Songs and Musical Exchange in the Malay Archipelago, 1774–1784,' in *Intercultural Exchange in Southeast Asia: History and Society in the Early Modern World*, ed. Tara Alberts and D. R. M. Irving. London: Tauris, 2013, 203–55.
- Jones, Eric. *Wives, Slaves and Concubines: A History of the Female Underclass of Dutch Asia*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010.
- Jurriaanse, M. 'The Compilation of the Customary Law of Jaffna,' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* (BKI) 110, 4 (1954), 293–304.
- Kanumoyoso, Bondan. 'Beyond the City Wall: Society and Economic Development in the Ommelanden of Batavia, 1684–1740,' PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2011.
- Knaap, Gerrit. 'Europeans, Mestizos and Slaves: The Population of Colombo at the End of the Seventeenth Century,' trans. Robert Ross, *Itinerario* 5, 2 (1981), 84–101.
- Nadaraja, Tambyah. *The Legal System of Ceylon in its Historical Setting*, Leiden: Brill, 1972.
- Raben, Remco. 'Batavia and Colombo: The Ethnic and Spatial Order of Two Colonial Cities, 1600–1800,' PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 1996.
- Ricci, Ronit. *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Ricci, Ronit. 'Asian and Islamic Crossings: Malay Writing in Nineteenth-Century Sri Lanka,' *South Asian History and Culture* 5, 2 (2014), 179–94.
- Ricci, Ronit. 'From Java to Jaffna: Exile and Return in Dutch Asia in the 18th Century,' in *Exile in Colonial Asia: Kings, Convicts, Commemoration*, ed. R. Ricci. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016, 94–116.
- Rogers, John D. 'Post-Orientalism and the Interpretation of Premodern and Modern Political Identities: The Case of Sri Lanka,' *Journal of Asian Studies* 53, 1 (1994), 10–23.
- Ross, Robert. *Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983.
- Rupesinghe, Nadeera. 'Negotiating Custom: Colonial Lawmaking in the Galle Landraad,' PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2016.
- Schrikker, Alicia. *Dutch and British Colonial Intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780–1815*, Leiden: Brill, 2007, 89–92.
- Schrikker, Alicia. 'Caught between Empires: VOC Families in Sri Lanka after the British Takeover, 1806–1808,' *Annales de démographie historique* 2 (2011), 127–47.
- Schrikker, Alicia F. 'Conflict Resolution, Social Control and Law-Making in Eighteenth-Century Dutch Sri Lanka,' in *Exploring the Dutch Empire: Agents, Networks and Institutions, 1600–2000*, eds. Catia Antunes and Jos Gommans. London: Bloomsbury, 2015, 227–44.
- Schrikker, Alicia F. "'Op de dijk gezet." Schuld, onrust en bestuurlijke onzekerheid in Jaffna in de achttiende eeuw,' in *Aan de overkant. Ontmoetingen in dienst van de VOC en WIC (1600–1800)*, ed. Lodewijk Wagenaar. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015, 145–65.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 'Slaves and Tyrants: Dutch Tribulations in Seventeenth-Century Mrauk-u,' *Journal of Early Modern History* 1, 3 (1997), 201–53.
- Taylor, Jean Gelman. *The Social World of Batavia, European and Euroasians in Colonial Indonesia*, 2nd edn. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009.
- van Rossum, Matthias. *Kleurrijke Tragiek. De geschiedenis van slavernij in Azië onder de VOC*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2015.
- van Vollenhoven, C. ed. 'Ceilonsch volksrecht opgetekend in 1707. Met glossarium van P.S. van Ronkel,' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* (BKI) 75 (1919), 240–80.
- van Wamelen, Carla. *Family life onder de VOC. Een handelscompagnie in huwelijks- en gezinszaken*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2015.
- Vink, Markus. "'The World's Oldest Trade": Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century,' *Journal of World History* 24, 2 (2003), 131–77.
- Wagenaar, Lodewijk. *Galle, VOC-vestiging in Ceylon: beschrijving van een koloniale samenleving aan de vooravond van de Singalese opstand tegen het Nederlandse gezag, 1760*. Amsterdam: Bataafsche Leeuw, 1994.

- Wagenaar, Lodewijk. 'The Cultural Dimension of the Dutch East India Company Settlements in Dutch-Period Ceylon, 1700–1800,' *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*, ed. Thomas Da Costa Kauffmann and Michael North. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014.
- Ward, Kerry. *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Warren, Jim. *The Sulu Zone, 1768–1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981.
- Worden, Nigel. *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Worden, Nigel, and Gerald Groenewald, eds. *Trials of Slavery: Selected Documents Concerning Slaves from the Criminal Records of the Council of Justice at the Cape of Good Hope, 1705–1794*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2005.
- Worden, Nigel, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of a City*. Kenilworth: David Philip, 2004.

## Chapter 10

### Primary sources

- British Library, London. India Office Collections, Correspondence in P 317/94, P 318/1, P 318/9, P 318/12, P 318/17.
- 'Great Battle Against British Rule,' *The Sunday Times Magazine*, 9 February 2014, accessed 13 August 2014, [www.sundaytimes.lk/140209/magazine/great-battle-against-british-rule-84509.html](http://www.sundaytimes.lk/140209/magazine/great-battle-against-british-rule-84509.html).
- Jayasuriya, Kusuma. *Waduga Hatana*, trans. Udaya Meddegama. Colombo: Department of Cultural Affairs, 1966.
- National Archives, Kew, London. CO 54/56, CO 54/60, CO 54/61, CO 54/66, CO 54/70, CO 54/71, CO 54/73, CO 54/74, CO 54/114
- Perera, K. F. *Ehalepola Hatanaya*, trans. Udaya Meddegama. Colombo: Subhadraloka Press, 1911.
- 'Obituary of Lieut. Col. Hardy,' *The Gentleman's Magazine* 4 (1835).
- Sri Lanka National Archive, Colombo. Lot 19/96.
- Sri Lanka National Archive, Kandy Branch. Lot 21 51/B.
- Vimalananda, Tennakoon. *Sri Wickrema, Brownrigg and Ehelapola: Being Letters Addressed to the Home Government from 1811–1815 by Major General John Wilson and Lieut-General Robert Brownrigg, Governor of Ceylon*. Colombo: M. D. Gunasena, 1984.

### Secondary sources

- Alavi, Seema, ed. *The Eighteenth Century in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Bates, Crispin. *Mutiny on the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Rebellion of 1857*, 6 vols. New Delhi: Sage, 2013.
- Bayly, C. A. *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780–1830*. London: Longman, 1989.
- Bayly, C. A. 'The First Age of Global Imperialism, c.1780–1830,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 26 (1998), 28–47.
- Bayly, C. A. *The Origins of Nationality in India: Patriotism and Ethical Government in the Making of Modern India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Bayly, C. A. *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2000.
- Biedermann Zoltán, 'The *Matrioshka* Principle and How it was Overcome: Portuguese and Habsburg Imperial Attitudes in Sri Lanka and the Response of the Rulers of Kotte,' *Journal of Early Modern History* 13, 4 (2009), 265–310.
- Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- De Silva, K. M. *A History of Sri Lanka*. Chennai: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Dewaraja, Lorna, *The Muslims of Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Lanka Islamic Foundation, 1994.

- Dirks, Nicholas. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 2001.
- Godakumbura, C. E. *Sinhalese Literature*. Colombo: The Colombo Apothecaries' Co., 1955.
- Guha, Ranajit, ed. *Subaltern Studies IV*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Jayawardena, Kumari. *Perpetual Ferment: Popular Revolts in Sri Lanka in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 2010.
- Marshall, Peter, ed. *The Eighteenth Century in Indian History: Evolution or Revolution?* Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Metcalf, T. R. *Ideologies of the Raj*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Pieris P. E. *Sinhalese and the Patriots, 1815–1818*. 1950; reprint Delhi: Navrang, 1995.
- Prakash, Gyan. 'Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (1990), 383–408.
- Roberts, Michael. *Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan Period: 1590s to 1815*. Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Press, 2004.
- Rupesinghe, Nadeera. 'Negotiating Custom: Colonial Lawmaking in the Galle Landraad,' PhD dissertation, University of Leiden, 2015.
- Schrikker, Alicia. *Dutch and British Colonial Intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780–1815*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Sivasundaram, Sujit. 'Buddhist Kingship, British Archaeology and Historical Narratives in Sri Lanka c. 1750–1850,' *Past & Present* 197, 2007.
- Sivasundaram, Sujit. 'Appropriation to Supremacy: Ideas of the "Native" in the Rise of British Imperial Heritage,' in *From Plunder to Preservation: Britain and the Heritage of Empire, c. 1800–1940*, ed. Peter Mandler and Astrid Swenson. Oxford: British Academy Publications, 2013, 149–70.
- Sivasundaram, Sujit. *Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka and the Bounds of an Indian Ocean Colony*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Sivasundaram, Sujit. 'Materialities in the Making of World History: South Asia and the South Pacific,' in *Oxford Handbook for History and Material Culture*, forthcoming.
- Stokes, Eric. *The Peasant Armed: The Indian Revolt of 1857*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1986.
- Strathern, Alan. *Kingship and Conversion in Sixteenth-Century Sri Lanka. Portuguese Imperialism in a Buddhist Land*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Strathern, Alan. 'Treachery and Ethnicity in Portuguese Representations of Sri Lanka,' in *Engaging Colonial Knowledge: Reading European Archives in World History*, ed. Ricardo Roque and Kim Wagner. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 217–34.
- Strathern, Alan. 'The Vijaya Origin Myth of Sri Lanka and the Strangeness of Kingship,' *Past & Present* 203 (2013), 3–28.
- Tambiah, Stanley J. *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand Against a Historical Background*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Vimalananda, Tennakoon. *The Great Rebellion of 1818: The Story of the First War of Independence and the Betrayal of the Nation*. Colombo: M. D. Gunasena, 1970.
- Vimalananda, Tennakoon. *The British Intrigue in the Kingdom of Ceylon*. Colombo: M. D. Gunasena, 1973.
- Wickramasinghe, Nira. 'Many Little Revolts or One Rebellion? The Maritime Provinces of Ceylon/Sri Lanka between 1796 and 1800,' *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 32 (2009), 170–88.
- Wickremesekera, Channa. *Kandy at War: Indigenous Military Resistance to European Expansion in Sri Lanka, 1594–1818*. Vijitha Yapa: Colombo, 2004.
- Wilson, James. 'Reappropriation, Resistance and British Autocracy in Sri Lanka, 1820–1850,' *The Historical Journal* (forthcoming).
- Wilson, Jon. *The Domination of Strangers: Modern Governance in Eastern India 1780–1835*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

## Chapter 11

### Primary sources

- Bocarro, António. *Década 13 da História da Índia*, ed. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner. Lisbon: Academia Real das Ciências, 1876.
- Couto, Diogo do. *The History of Ceylon from the Earliest Times to 1600 A.D. as Related by João de Barros and Diogo do Couto*, ed. and trans. D. Ferguson. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1993.

- Cūlavamsa: Being the More Recent Part of the Mahāvamsa*, ed. and trans. Wilhelm Geiger, 2 vols. 1925–9; reprint London: Pali Text Society, 1980.
- Dharmakīrti, Devarakshita Jayabahu. 'Saddharmalankaraya,' trans. V. and C. B. Cooke, in *An Anthology of Sinhalese Literature up to 1815*, ed. C. H. B. Reynolds. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970, 233–65.
- The Dipavamsa*, trans. Hermann Oldenburg. 1879; reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2004.
- Mahāvamsa, The Great Chronicle of Sri Lanka*, trans. Ananda W. Guruge. Colombo: Associated Newspapers of Ceylon, 1989.
- Pieris, P. E. *Ribeiro's History of Ceylon with Notes from de Barros, de Couto and Antonio Bocarro*. Galle: Albion, 1909.
- Queyroz, Fernão de. *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, trans. and with introduction by S. G. Perera, 3 vols. 1931; reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992.
- Rājāvāliya*, ed. and trans. A. V. Suraweera. Ratmalana: Vishva Lehka, 2000.
- Sītāvaka Haṭana*, ed. Rohini Paranavitana. Colombo: Madhyama Saṅskṛitika Aramudala, 1999.
- Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (AD 629)*, trans. Samuel Beal. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1994.
- van Spilbergen, Joris. *Journal of Spilbergen: The First Dutch Envoy to Ceylon, 1602*, ed. and trans. K. D. Paranavitana. Colombo: Sridevi Printers, 1997.

## Secondary sources

- Berkwitz, Stephen C. *The History of the Buddha's Relic Shrine: A Translation of the Sinhala Thūpavamsa*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Berkwitz, Stephen C. 'The Expansion of Buddhism in South and Southeast Asia,' in *Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asia and Europe: Encounters, Notions, and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Volkhard Krech. Leiden: Brill, 2011, 223–34.
- Berkwitz, Stephen C. *Buddhist Poetry and Colonialism: Alagiyavanna and the Portuguese in Sri Lanka*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Biedermann, Zoltán. 'Tribute, Vassalage and Warfare in Early Luso-Lankan Relations (1506–1545),' in *Indo-Portuguese History: Global Trends. Proceedings of the XIth International Seminar of Indo-Portuguese History*, ed. Fátima Gracias and Charles Borges. Goa: Maureen & Camvet Publishers, 2005, 185–206.
- Biedermann, Zoltán. 'The *Matrioshka* Principle and How it was Overcome: Portuguese and Habsburg Attitudes toward Imperial Authority in Sri Lanka and the Responses of the Rulers of Köçte (1506–1656),' *Journal of Early Modern History* 13 (2009), 265–310.
- Biedermann, Zoltán. 'The "Malwana Convention" Revisited: Notes on the Lankan Transition to Iberian Rule,' in *The Portuguese in the Orient*, ed. Gaston Perera. Kandy: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2010, 29–48.
- Caldwell, Ian and David Henley, eds. *Stranger-Kings in Indonesia and Beyond*, special issue of *Indonesia and the Malay World* 36 (2008).
- Collins, Steven. *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities: Utopias of the Pāli Imaginaire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Davies, R. R. 'The People of Britain and Ireland 1100–1400. I. Identities,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series 4 (1994), 1–20.
- De Silva, K. M. *A History of Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Publications, 2005.
- Dewaraja, Lorna. *The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka 1707–1782*. Colombo: Lake House Investments, 1988.
- Dewaraja, Lorna. 'The Indigenisation of the Muslims of Sri Lanka,' in *Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka, 1845–1995*, ed. G. P. S. H. de Silva and C. G. Urugoda. Colombo: Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka, 1995, 427–39.
- Dharmadasa, K. N. O. 'The Sinhala-Buddhist Identity and the Nayaka Dynasty in the Politics of the Kandyan Kingdom, 1739–1815,' in *Collective Identities, Nationalisms and Protests in Modern Sri Lanka*, ed. M. Roberts. Colombo: Marga, 1979, 79–104.
- Dharmadasa, K. N. O. *Language, Religion and Ethnic Awareness: The Growth of Sinhalese Nationalism in Sri Lanka*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1992.
- Duncan, James S. *City as Text: The Politics of Landscape in the Kandyan Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Falk, Nancy E. 'Wilderness and Kingship in Ancient South Asia,' *History of Religions* 13 (1973), 1–15.

- Flores, Jorge Manuel. *Os Olhos do Rei: Desenhos e Descrições Portuguesas da Ilha de Ceilão (1624, 1638)*. Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 2001.
- Gunawardana, R. A. L. H. *Robe and Plough: Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979.
- Gunawardana, R. A. L. H. 'The People of the Lion: The Sinhala Identity and Ideology in History and Historiography,' in *Sri Lanka: History and the Roots of Conflict*, ed. Jonathan Spencer. London and New York: Routledge, 1990, 45–86.
- Gunawardana, R. A. L. H. 'Colonialism, Ethnicity and the Construction of the Past: The Changing Identity of the last Four Kings of the Kandy Kingdom,' in *Pivot Politics: Changing Cultural Identities in Early State Formation Processes*, ed. M. van Bakel et al. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1994, 197–221.
- Gunawardana, R. A. L. H. *Historiography in a Time of Ethnic Conflict: Construction of the Past in Contemporary Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 1995.
- Gunawardana, R. A. L. H. *Periodization in Sri Lankan History: Some Reflections with Special Emphasis on the Development of the State*. Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 2008.
- Hallisey, Charles. 'Devotion in the Buddhist Literature of Medieval Sri Lanka,' PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1988.
- Hallisey Charles, 'Works and Persons in Sinhala Literary Culture,' in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon Pollock. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003, 689–745.
- Hobsbawm, E. and T. Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Holt, John Clifford. *The Religious World of Kirti Sri: Buddhism, Art, and Politics of Late Medieval Sri Lanka*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Holt, John Clifford. *The Buddhist Viṣṇu: Religious Transformation, Politics and Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Holt, John Clifford and Sree Padma, 'Buddhism in Andhra and its Influence on Buddhism in Sri Lanka,' in *Buddhism in the Krishna River Valley of Andhra*, ed. Sree Padma and A. W. Barber. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2008, 105–26.
- Jayawardena, Kumari. *Perpetual Ferment: Popular Revolts in Sri Lanka in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 2010.
- Li, Hui. *The Life of Hsien-Tsiang*. 1911; reprint Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1973.
- Lieberman, Victor. *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context c.800–1830*, Vol. 2, *Mainland Mirrors: Europe, Japan, China, South Asia and the Islands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Liyanagamage, Amaradasa. *State, Society and Religion in Premodern Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 2008.
- Monod, Paul Kléber. *The Power of Kings: Monarchy and Religion in Europe 1589–1715*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Nissan, Elizabeth and R. L. Stirrat, 'The Generation of Communal Identities,' in *Sri Lanka: History and the Roots of Conflict*, ed. Jonathan Spencer. London and New York: Routledge, 1990, 19–44.
- Obeyesekere, Gananath. 'Buddhism, Nationhood and Cultural Identity: A Question of Fundamentals,' in *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*, ed. Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, 239–44.
- Obeyesekere, Gananath. 'On Buddhist Identity in Sri Lanka,' in *Ethnic Identity: Creation, Conflict and Accommodation*, ed. Lola Romanucci-Rossi and George A. de Vos. London: Mayfield, 1995, 222–41.
- Obeyesekere, Gananath. 'Murder in the Cathedral'. Unpublished manuscript.
- Pathmanathan, S. 'South India and Sri Lanka, AD 1450–1650: Political, Commercial and Cultural Relations,' *Journal of Tamil Studies* 21 (1982), 36–57.
- Pieris, Anoma. 'Avian Geographies: An Inquiry into Nationalist Consciousness in Medieval Lanka,' *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 33, 3 (2010), 336–62.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 'Rāmāyana and Political Imagination in India,' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 52 (1993), 261–97.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 'Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History,' in *Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha, Carol Appadurai Breckenridge and Dipesh Chakrabarty. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2002, 15–53.
- Pollock, Sheldon. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009.

- Roberts, Michael. *Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan Period, 1590s–1815*. Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Publications, 2004.
- Roberts, Michael. 'Ethnicity after Said: Post-Orientalist failures in Comprehending the Kandyan Period of Lankan History,' *Ethnic Studies Report* 19 (2001), 69–98.
- Roberts, Michael. 'Sinhaleanness and its Reproduction, 1232–1818,' in *The Sri Lankan Republic at Forty: Reflections on Constitutional History, Theory and Practice*, Vol. 1, ed. Asanga Welikala. Colombo: Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2012, 253–87.
- Rogers, John D. 'Caste as a Social Category and Identity in Colonial Lanka,' *The Indian and Economic Social History Review* 41 (2004), 51–77.
- Rogers, John D. 'Early British Rule and Social Classification in Lanka,' *Modern Asian Studies* 38 (2004), 625–47.
- Ruddick, Andrea. 'National Sentiment and Religious Vocabulary in Fourteenth-Century England,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 (2009), 1–18.
- Sahlins, Marshall. 'The Stranger-King: or, Elementary Forms of the Political Life,' in *Stranger-Kings in Indonesia and Beyond*, ed. Ian Caldwell and David Henley, special issue of *Indonesia and the Malay World* 36 (2008), 177–99.
- Sahlins, Marshall. 'Alterity and Autochthony: Austronesian Cosmographies of the Marvellous,' *Hau: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 2 (2010), 131–60.
- Sahlins, Marshall. 'The Atemporal Dimensions of History: In the Old Kongo Kingdom, For Example,' unpublished paper.
- Sarkar, H. 'The Kings of Sri Sailam and the foundation of the Sailendra Dynasty of Indonesia,' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 141 (1985), 323–38.
- Schalk, Peter. 'Referents and Meanings of Sinhala/Siḥaḷa/Ciñkaḷam,' in *Kontinuitäten und Brüche in der Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Michael Stausberg. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012, 549–56.
- Schrikker Alicia, *Dutch and British Colonial Intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780–1815*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Scott, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Seneviratne, H. L., ed. *Identity, Consciousness and the Past: Forging of Caste and Community in India and Sri Lanka*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1997.
- Sivasundaram, Sujit. 'Ethnicity, Indigeneity, and Migration in the Advent of British Rule to Sri Lanka,' *American Historical Review* 115, 2 (2010), 428–52.
- Sivasundaram, Sujit. *Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka and the Bounds of an Indian Ocean Colony*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- Skilling, Peter. 'Theravāda in History,' *Pacific World*, Third Series 11 (2009), 61–93.
- Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*. London: Penguin, 1991.
- Strathern, Alan. 'Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan Period 1590s to 1815 by Michael Roberts,' *Modern Asian Studies* 39 (2005), 1007–20.
- Strathern, Alan. *Kingship and Conversion in Sixteenth-Century Sri Lanka*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Strathern, Alan. 'Towards the Source-Criticism of Sitāvakan Heroic Literature. Part 2: The *Sitāvaka Haṭana*: Notes on a Grounded Text,' *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* 34 (2008), 45–72.
- Strathern, Alan. 'Sri Lanka in the Long Early Modern Period: Its Place in a Comparative Theory of Second Millennium Eurasian History,' *Modern Asian Studies* 43 (2009), 815–64.
- Strathern Alan, 'The Vijaya Origin Myth of Sri Lanka and the Strangeness of Kingship,' *Past and Present* 203 (2009), 3–28.
- Strathern, Alan. 'The Role of Sinhala Group Identity in the "Sinhala Rebellion" Against Bhuvanekabahu VI (1469–77),' in *The Portuguese in the Orient*, ed. Gaston Perera. Kandy: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2010, 13–27.
- Strathern, Alan. 'Treachery and Ethnicity in Portuguese Representations of Sri Lanka,' in *Engaging Colonial Knowledge: Reading European Archives in World History*, ed. Ricardo Roque and Kim Wagner. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 217–34.
- Strathern, Alan. 'Vijaya and Romulus: Interpreting the Origin Myths of Sri Lanka and Rome,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 24 (2013), 51–73.
- Strathern, Alan. 'Religion and Empire,' in *The Encyclopedia of Empire*, ed. John M. MacKenzie. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016.
- Sundberg, Jeffrey. 'The Abhayagirivihāra's Pāṃṣukūlika Monks in Second Lambakaṇṇa Śrī Lankā and Śailendra Java: The Flowering and Fall of a Cardinal Center of Influence in Early Esoteric Buddhism,' *Pacific World*, Third Series 16 (2014), 49–185.



- Sundberg, Jeffrey and Rolf Giebel. 'The Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi as Chronicled by Lü Xiang: South Indian and Śrī Laṅkān Antecedents to the Arrival of the Buddhist Vajrayāna in Eighth-Century Java and China,' *Pacific World*, Third Series 13 (2011), 129–222.
- Tambiah S. J. *Buddhism Betrayed? Religion, Politics and Violence in Sri Lanka*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Vimalananda, T. *The Great Rebellion of 1818*. Colombo: M. D. Gunasena, 1970.
- Walters, Jonathan. 'Mahāseṇa at the Mahāvihāra: On the Interpretation and Politics of History in Pre-Colonial Sri Lanka,' in *Invoking the Past: The Uses of History in South Asia*, ed. Daud Ali. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999, 322–66.
- Walters, Jonathan. 'Buddhist History: The Sri Lankan Pāli Vāṃsas and their Community,' in *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia*, ed. Ronald Inden, Jonathan Walters and Daud Ali. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 99–164.
- Watts, John. *The Making of Polities: Europe, 1300–1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Wickramasinghe, Nira. 'Many Little Revolts or One Rebellion? The Maritime Provinces of Ceylon/Sri Lanka between 1796 and 1800,' *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 32, 2 (2009), 177–88.
- Wickremeratne, U. C. 'Lord North and the Kandyan Kingdom, 1798–1805,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1973), 31–42.
- Winans, Edgar Vincent. *Shambala: The Constitution of a Traditional State*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962.

'This valuable volume, offering access to much recent research and thoughtful analysis, will rightly capture the attention of Sri Lanka and South Asia specialists. *Sri Lanka at the Crossroads of History* has much to offer other readers and interlocutors also, especially scholars of world history and Indian Ocean studies, including those debating the comparative reach and value of "cosmopolitanism" as an analytical concept.'

**ANNE M. BLACKBURN, CORNELL UNIVERSITY**

**T**he peoples of Sri Lanka have participated in far-flung trading networks, religious formations, and Asian and European empires for millennia. This interdisciplinary volume sets out to draw Sri Lanka into the field of Asian and Global History by showing how the latest wave of scholarship has explored the island as a 'crossroads', a place defined by its openness to movement across the Indian Ocean.

Experts in the history, archaeology, literature and art of the island from c.500 BCE to c.1850 CE use Lankan material to explore a number of pressing scholarly debates. They address these matters from their varied disciplinary perspectives and diverse array of sources, critically assessing concepts such as ethnicity, cosmopolitanism and localisation, and elucidating the subtle ways in which the foreign may be resisted and embraced at the same time. The individual chapters, and the volume as a whole, are a welcome addition to the history and historiography of Sri Lanka, as well as studies of the Indian Ocean region, kingship, colonialism, imperialism, and early modernity.

**Zoltán Biedermann** is Senior Lecturer and Head of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies at UCL. He is the author of *The Portuguese in Sri Lanka and South India* (2014) and numerous articles and book chapters on the history of European expansion and knowledge production in the Indian Ocean region.

**Alan Strathern** is Associate Professor of History at the University of Oxford and Tutor and Fellow in History at Brasenose College. He is the author of *Kingship and Conversion in Sixteenth-Century Sri Lanka* (2007), and a number of journal articles and book chapters.

**UCLPRESS**

Free open access versions available  
from [www.ucl.ac.uk/ucl-press](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/ucl-press)

FRONT COVER IMAGE:  
Johannes van Keulen, *Nieuwe Pasciert  
van Oost Indien* (1680). Courtesy of  
the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

COVER DESIGN:  
Rawshock design

£45.00

