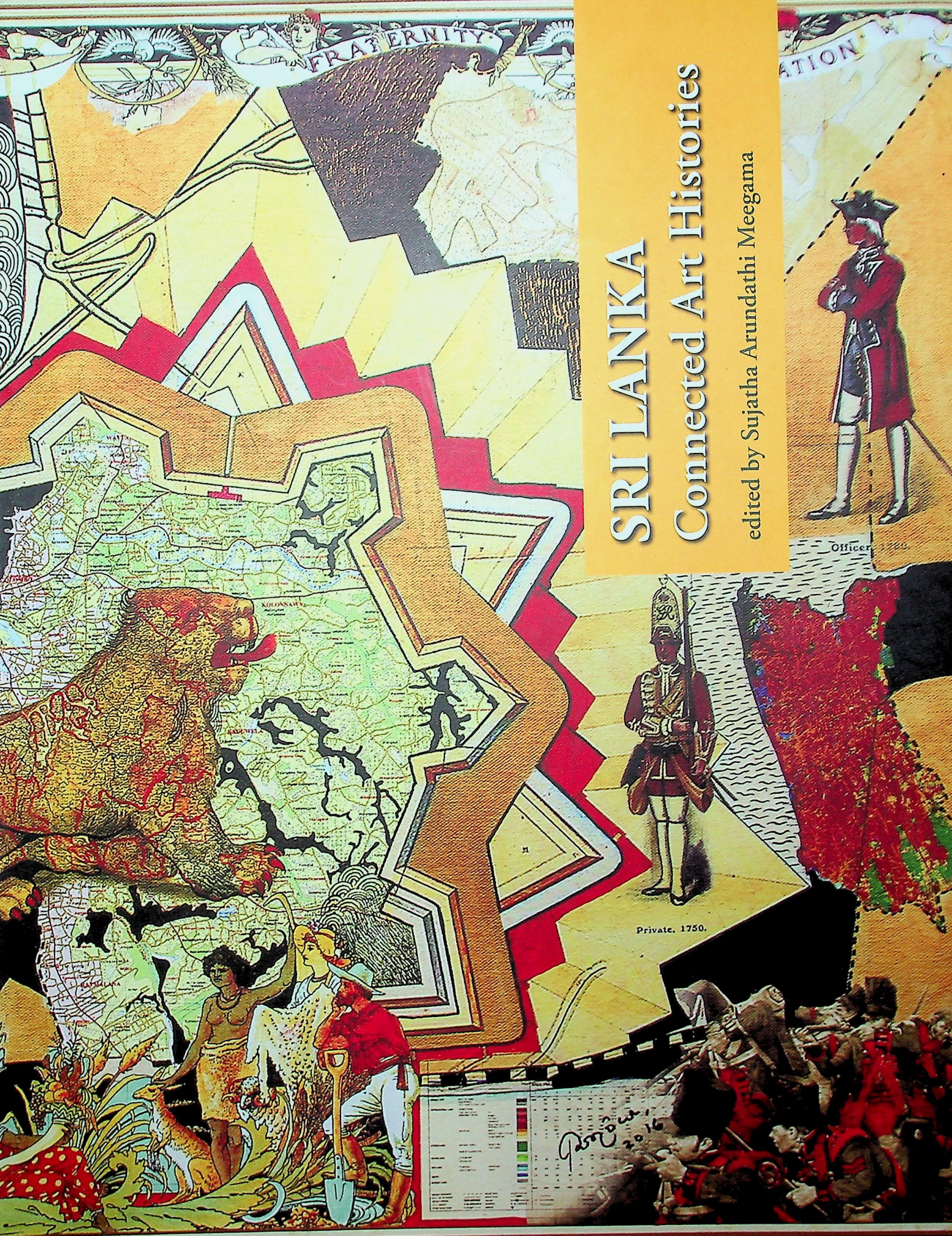


SRI LANKA

Connected Art Histories

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Political Boundaries or Cultural Zones? Recontextualizing the Iconography of Post-Polonnaruva Buddha Images

Packiyathan Ahilan



One could argue that the search for a unique culture-specific Buddha image that belongs exclusively to Sinhala Buddhism has been one of the major preoccupations of most art-historical narratives about Sri Lanka.¹ This has created an ambivalent position and a negation of the artistic contributions of the people from South India/Tamil Nadu and the Tamil community in Sri Lanka, branding them as “aliens and conquerors” of Sri Lanka.

The following quotations help us understand these underlying prejudices of Sri Lankan historical narration towards the Tamil community in Sri Lanka and also create a platform for my larger research questions about the so-called exclusiveness and purity of Sri Lankan art.

It is only in the epics *Cilappatikaram* and *Manimekali* and the Sri Lankan Buddhist chronicle *Mahavamsa* that significant evidence on early historic Buddhism in Tamilakam is available. The *Mahavamsa*² is generally silent on Buddhist centres in Tamilakam. Tamilakam is not mentioned even in connection with Buddhist monks who went to Anuradhapuram from Vanasvasi region in order to consecrate the Mahastupa at Anuradhapura in the reign of Dutthagamini.³

The extreme south of the Indian peninsula, nearest to Ceylon, is inhabited by People who call themselves Tamils, and speak a language known by the same name. They have spread themselves over some of the northern districts and the Eastern coast of the Island of Ceylon during the last seven centuries, ousting the original Sinhalese population of those regions....⁴

The kingdom of Anuradhapura, the classical Sinhalese kingdom, lasted nearly 1,500 years and the city of Anuradhapura lasted just as long as the capital city.... Thus the Tamils on the Island, in particular the mercenaries, became sources of support for South Indian invaders....⁵

These narrations from three different textual sources map the historical mentality of authors towards South India/Tamil Nadu as well as the Tamils of Sri Lanka. This has created a binary understanding of the art histories of Sri Lanka and raised obstacles in appreciating the complex sociocultural phenomenon of producing art and cultural objects. In this essay, I explore the iconographical features of Buddha images belonging to the post-Polonnaruwa period (13th–18th centuries) in comparison to those of Buddha images from Nagapattinam in South India, suggesting a connected art history between these two regions.

1
Standing and seated Buddhas,
Dambulla Caves, 18th century.
Courtesy Department of
Archaeology, Sri Lanka.

The Buddha Image in the Anuradhapura Period

The story of Buddhism as well as the historical narrative of Sri Lanka begins with the period of the Anuradhapura kingdom from the 3rd century BCE to the 10th century CE.⁶ The Anuradhapura kingdom was a contested space for all future sociopolitical challenges of the Sri Lankan island in terms of Sinhala-Tamil ethnic rulers, Tamil- and Sinhala-speaking Buddhists, various schools of Buddhism, and Buddhist and non-Buddhist religious practices.⁷

According to the *Mahavamsa*, the Buddha image was originally produced during the reign of Devanampiya Tissa, 3rd century BCE.⁸ But there is hardly any evidence to support this dating. In fact, archaeological evidence has proved that the earliest Buddha images in Sri Lanka were discovered at the Abhayagiri and Maha Illuppallama sites in Anuradhapura (figure 4) and dating to the 2nd century CE.⁹ Standing Buddha images from Abhayagiri, Toluville, Puvarasamkulam, Madirigiriya as well as other important sites from the Anuradhapura period strongly reflect visual idioms in common with the Amaravati School of sculpture. The shared features of these images can be identified as the following: massive forms; head covered with snail-shell curls; the right hand in abhaya mudra (sometimes vitarkamudra); and the left hand holding the drapery. The folds of the robe are usually carved in convex flutings and some of the figures have slender bodies with thin drapery and concave ridges.¹⁰

Nevertheless, it can be gleaned from the writings of Sri Lankan scholars about Andhra Pradesh (Amaravati or Nagarjunakonda) and its relationship with Sri Lanka that Andhra is treated as a separate entity or a land de-located from “South India”, which many identify with Tamil Nadu only.¹¹

The Buddha Image in the Polonnaruwa Period

From the time the Cholas of Thanjavur captured Anuradhapura in the 10th century, the term “South Indian” becomes more prominent in the historical narration. Sri Lankan kings shifted the capital from Anuradhapura to Polonnaruwa, a city that was easier to defend against any “South Indian” attacks which could control the route to Ruhuna.¹² Historians and art historians of the Polonnaruwa period have identified that the tradition of the Anuradhapura Buddha continues with some variations in its plasticity and expression such as stiffness, rigidity, strength, vigour and “with half closed inner looking eyes and closed lips gentle smile” which indicates the “joy of bliss”.¹³ The notable Buddha statues of the period were bigger than those of Anuradhapura in scale (figure 2). According to Paranavitana, the Polonnaruwa Buddha lacks spiritual character in expression when compared to the Anuradhapura sculpture.¹⁴ This statement by Paranavitana about the lack of spirituality in the Polonnaruwa-period Buddha has its roots in the prejudiced view of Anuradhapura as the golden era and the notion that Sri Lankan art reached its high point at Anuradhapura. Paranavitana’s statement also marks the presence of “South India” as a source that invisibly degrades the spirituality of the Buddha images.

The Buddha Image in the Post-Polonnaruwa Period

The continuous external invasions of the island and the long periods of civil war, mainly in the 13th century, forced the rulers to repeatedly transfer the seats of government: to Dambadeniya (1215–72), Yapahuwa (1272–1300), Kurunegala (1293–1341), Gampola (1341–1415), Kotte (1415–1514), and finally to Kandy (1514–1815). In short, the new kingdom shifted more or less to the southern part of the island and also to the hilly areas.¹⁵

2
Seated Buddha in stone,
Gal Vihara, Polonnaruwa,
11th century. Photograph:
P. Ahilan.

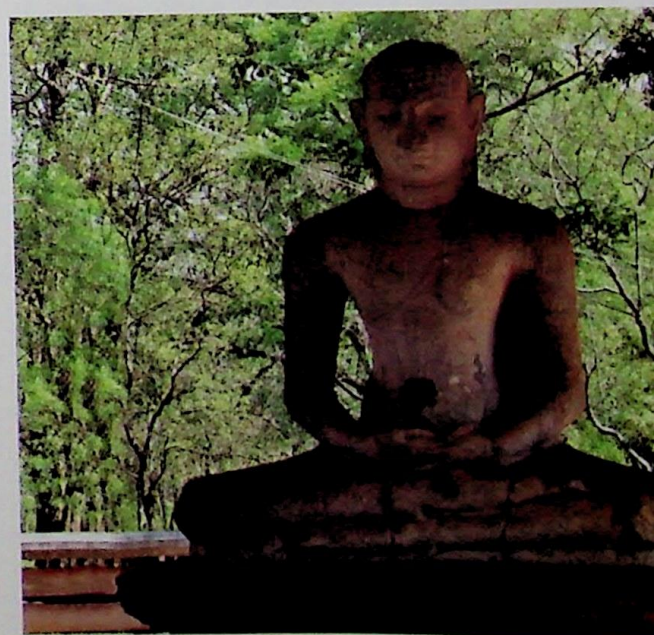
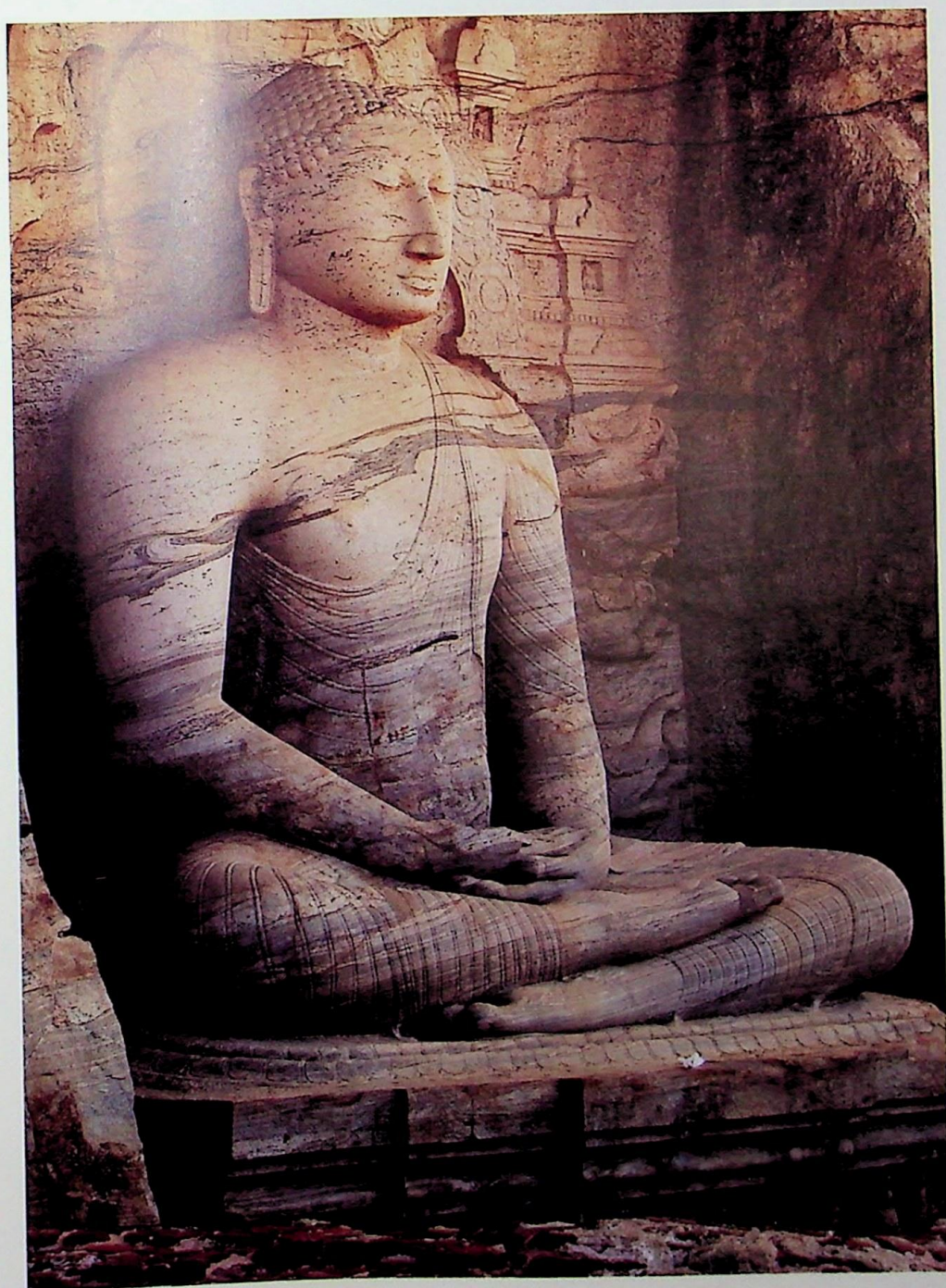
3
Seated Buddha, Gadaladeniya
Rajamaha Vihara, 1344.
Photograph: P. Ahilan.

4
Samadhi Buddha in stone,
Anuradhapura, 2nd century CE.
Photograph: P. Ahilan.

The shifts in geographical location also led to changes in the making of the Buddha image. The iconography of the Buddha saw a basic change when the kingdom moved to Gampola (figure 3); however, Buddha images from the short period of governance in Dambadeniya and in Kurunegala that could be used for comparison have not come to light. From the Gampola period to the Kandy period, we clearly see a changing phenomenon in the Buddha image. H.T. Basanayake writes

about the post-Polonnaruva period:

These Buddha images, though basically have followed the same conventional patterns of the earlier periods, manifest marked difference in their conception, expression and plasticity. However this period has not been able to build up any significant distinctive tradition peculiar to the period. The Buddha images of this period carry different traits and features....¹⁶



The above-mentioned statement by Basanayake identifies the post-Polonnaruva Buddha images as carrying new traits and features but he makes a contradictory statement that there was hardly any significance in its tradition. He thus places the Buddha images of this period in an ambivalent position.

Basanayake further identifies differences in the Buddha image after the decline of the Polonnaruva period. Once again I quote his long statement on the Buddha images of the Gampola period:

One of the striking characteristics of this period is the pronounced differences of the facial type. The fearful expression of the full open eyes creates a feeling of terror rather than tranquility and devotion. This facial type is quite contrast to the *dhyana* type of the Buddha. Noteworthy examples for this type are found in *Lankatilaka* and *Gadaladeniya*. The serene and the benign qualities had been further decreased by plasticity of the various bodily features of the image. The unpleasant manner of disposition and formation of the facial features such as eyes, ears, lips and *siraspata* have disturbed the super-human character and the *dhyana posture* of the image. Furthermore the squarish nature of the shoulders, the unnatural and unshapely manner of making the various parts of the body has diminished the noble bodily features of the Buddha....¹⁷

This essay does not dwell on the expressive or aesthetic value-based statements made by Basanayake on the Buddha image in the above-cited essay. But the statement quoted clearly describes the iconographical differences of the Buddha image in the post-Polonnaruva period. Basanayake identified the following formal characteristics in the post-Polonnaruva Buddha images: (a) Full open eyes, unlike the half-closed eyes of previous periods. (b) No

uniformity in the wearing of robes in this period, but most of the images have the right shoulder bare and a fold of robe over the left shoulder, which falls to the front. (c) The folds of the robe follow schematic lines. (d) The *siraspata*, or symbol on the head, is the main feature. (e) The introduction of new features: *ketumala* (fiery energy emanating from the top of Buddha's head), *prabhamandala* (aureole) and *makaratorana* (archway with makaras, mythical aquatic creatures). (f) In standing images, the domination of *vitarkamudra* (teaching gesture) instead of the *varadamudra* (boon-dispensing gesture) of earlier periods.¹⁸

Most historians and art historians of the post-Polonnaruva period have mentioned that these changes might have happened due to connections with South India.

This period witnessed the continuity of intercourse, cultural and otherwise, with South India as well as further India. Hence the Dravidian school was beginning to be felt in no small a degree in all forms of art and letters.¹⁹

However, historians do not clearly indicate which tradition of South India shared its artistic traits to create the then new phenomenon of the post-Polonnaruva Buddha images. It is in this perspective that Nagapattinam becomes an important site for our discussion.

The Nagapattinam Buddha Image

Nagapattinam (Nagapatnam or Negapatam in earlier literature) is a district of Tamil Nadu, on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. It was bifurcated from the composite Thanjavur district in 1991. Nagapattinam came to prominence in history during the Chola period (9th–12th century) and served as an important port for the Cholas' naval and commercial expeditions to Southeast Asia. The medieval Tamil epic *Manimekhalai* describes Nagapattinam as a place of pilgrimage for all Buddhists.²⁰

5
Seated Buddha from Nagapattinam, Tamil Nadu, India, 11th–12th century. Now in the Government Museum Chennai. Photograph: N. Thiagarajan.



Archaeological finds since 1856, mainly from the vihara sites in Nagapattinam, have marked the importance of Buddhism in the history of Tamil Nadu as well as the South Asian region as a whole. T.N. Ramachandran prepared a detailed catalogue on the Nagapattinam findings (1954) for the Government Museum at Chennai, in which he wrote:

Nagapattinam is of untold interest owing to recent diggings in localities called Vellippaliyam and Nanayakkara Street in Nagapattinam which have exposed as many as 350 Buddhist bronzes which unfold an interesting phase of Nagapattinam's history and have recovered for us a lost page in the history of South Indian Buddhism.²¹

The great Pali commentator Dhammapala (later 5th to 6th century), in his writings on the *Nettipakarana*, mentions that he composed his work at the Dharmakosa Vihara, which was situated at Nagapattinam. Later, the Pallava king Narasimhavarman II (700–728) constructed another vihara at Nagapattinam for the benefit of Chinese merchant guilds, and this temple came to be called the “China Pagoda” or “Puduvelli gopuram”.²² Under Chola rule (871–1250), Nagapattinam was the headquarters of the region of their governance, and was known as “Cholakula Vallippattinam”, besides being the prominent port used not only for trade but also as conquering gateway to the east. During the period of Rajaraja I (985–1040), the Sailendra ruler Mara Vijayattungavarman of Sri Vijaya (Sumatra) built a vihara at Nagapattinam, which was called Chudamani Vihara.²³ A copperplate inscription (11th century) states that Rajaraja Chola gifted a village “Anaimankkalam” for the maintenance of this vihara. Later, Kulottunga Chola I (1070–1120) reissued the grant. The Vaishnava legends recorded in *Guruparampara* works note that Thirumankai Alvar ransacked the Buddhist vihara of Nagapattinam with

The South Indian Presence

- Sanghamitra, a Tamil bhikku of the Chola country, who lived in the early part of the 4th century, came to the island and converted the king to Mahayana.
- Thera Buddhadatta, a Tamil bhikku from the Chola country of the 5th century, held charge successively of Buddhist monasteries in Anuradhapura, Kaveripattinam and Kanchipuram.
- Dhammapala (early 6th century) from Tambarattha (modern Tirunelveli district) became the successive head of the Maha Vihara in Anuradhapura and the Bhataraditta Vihara in Kanchipuram.
- Dipankara or Buddhapriya Thera (circa 1100), sometimes called Choliya Dipankara, was a disciple of the Sri Lankan monk Ananda Vanaradana.
- Vajrabodhi (6th–7th century), an adherent of Vajrayana, travelled to the island from Madurai.
- Buddhamitra and Mahakasyapa (12th century), referred to in the Sri Lankan texts as “Chola Theras”, came to the island. It is said that the two works *Uttodaya* and *Namarupaparichcheda* were composed at their request.
- Anuruddha (12th century), the head of Mulasoma Vihara in Kanchipuram, was very popular in the island and in Burma, through his texts, one of which was *Namarupaparichcheda*.
- Dharmakirti (13th century) of the Pandya country (including the regions of Madurai, Sivagangai, Virudhunagar, Theni, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli, Thoothukudi and Kanyakumari) was another celebrated Buddhist monk, who was invited to Sri Lanka by King Parakramabahu II and organized an international Buddhist conference there.
- According to an inscription on a stone slab from Nagapattinam, a mission of 22 Tamil theras were invited to visit the island, for the upasampada (rite of higher ordination) of the Mahavihara sect of Sri Lanka.
- “Damila Gahapatis” (Tamil householders) and “Damila Vanijas” (visiting Tamil merchants) and navikas (sailors) are frequently mentioned as donors individually and with local elite groups in the early Brahmi inscriptions at Sri Lankan Buddhist sites.



its golden image of Buddha, and used the ruined segments to build the temple of Srirangam.²⁴ These events clearly demonstrate the importance of Buddhism in Nagapattinam through the ages.

In 13th century, Marco Polo of Venice visited Nagapattinam on his way to China and described an "Eastern Stupa" in Nagapattinam.²⁵ Furthermore, a Chinese merchant of the 14th century and a 15th-century Burmese inscription also mention Nagapattinam's Buddhist tradition. Buddhism flourished in Nagapattinam until the 15th century and the buildings of the vihara survived until the 18th century. However, the emerging domination of Shaivism and Vaishnavism during the Pallava and Chola periods (7th–14th centuries) had already started to defeat Buddhism in the South Indian regions and under these conditions, the Sri Lankan island became a shelter for Tamil Buddhists, creating a strong bond between the two Buddhist communities.²⁶ The Buddha images speak about and represent this forgotten link between the two communities. However, as Sri Lankan historian K.M. de Silva writes:

With the rise of three Hindu powers in South India, the Pandyas, Pallavas and Colas in the fifth and sixth centuries CE, ethnic and religious antagonisms bedevilled relations between them and the Sinhalese kingdom. These Dravidian states were militantly Hindu in religious outlook and quite intent on eliminating Buddhist influence in south India. In time south Indian Buddhism was all but wiped out by this aggressive Hinduism and as a result one supremely important religio-cultural link between south India and the Sinhalese kingdom was severed.²⁷

The earliest discovery in Nagapattinam is an inscription in Tamil on the pedestal of a bronze image found in March 1856 along with four

other images.²⁸ This and most of the inscriptions found refer to the images of Buddha as Nayakar; a few call them Nayanar and Thevar. None of the images bear inscriptions in any language other than Tamil; neither Sanskrit nor Pali was used.²⁹ The dates of the images cover a vast period from the 8th to the 13th century. Studies on maritime Buddhism in South India have shown the importance of Buddhism in terms of the mass production and export of Buddhist bronzes from Nagapattinam. In his study on archaeological sites and evidence of maritime Buddhism in South India, Dr Dayalan states:

The mass production of bronzes in Nagapattinam indicates that the place was an important centre for Buddhism in India and a large number of Buddhist bronzes was exported from here to various other Buddhist centres.³⁰

All the iconographical features of post-Polonnaruva Buddhas listed above can be identified in the Nagapattinam Buddha images as well (figures 5–7). In addition: the majority of the Nagapattinam Buddha images have the urna mark on the forehead; they exhibit a variety of palm marks and mudras; and the images stand on lotus pedestals.

So, one can see that the Buddha images from Nagapattinam and from post-Polonnaruva regions in Sri Lanka have similarities in terms of their iconography. From Lankatilaka (figure 8) of the Gampola period, to Dambulla where the Buddha images date to a later period (figure 1) and Degaldoruva in Kandy, the images show a number of examples of these similarities. In general, historians recognize this new phenomenon, which is different from the Anuradhapura and Polonnaruva periods and appears strongly after these historical eras. With this background, Gunapala Senadheera's observation on Kandy-period Buddha sculpture throws further light on our understanding of the similarities between these periods:

6
Standing Buddha,
Nagapattinam, 10th century,
now in the Government
Museum Chennai. Photograph:
N. Thiagarajan.

7
Standing Buddha,
Nagapattinam, 12th–13th
century, now in the Indian
Museum, Kolkata. Photograph:
P. Ahilan.



The sculptors of the Buddha image of this period appear to have followed more or less the same techniques as those applied by their predecessors in the Gampola Period. It is for this reason one finds it difficult to draw a demarcation separating the products of one period from those of the other. However, one feature that is commonly seen here is the South Indian technique that influenced most of the artist works of this period.³¹

However, there are no serious studies about the connections and the culture that Sri Lanka shares with South India. This is true not only in regard to sculpture, but also painting and architecture, both in the post-Polonnaruva period as well as the ancient and medieval periods in the island. What is the reason for this situation?

Art Historiography in Sri Lanka

The modern writing of history and art history in India and in Sri Lanka was for the most part

undertaken by the British colonizers with an underlying imperialist agenda. British colonial historiography in India mainly operated on the racial distinction between “Aryan” and “Dravidian” as a mechanism for “divide and rule”. In Sri Lanka the same racial polarities were followed using “Sinhala” and “Tamil”, fixing the Sinhalese as Aryans versus the Dravidian Tamils. This developed into a metanarrative based on the concept of Sinhala-Buddhist versus the “Others”.³²

This is the background of an anti-Tamil sentiment prevalent in Sri Lanka throughout history, which in recent times erupted into endless bloodshed on the island.³³ The negative feeling even encompassed South India. This situation has led to a negation of the presence of the South Indian factor through the millennia of formation of the cultures of the island. Furthermore, Sri Lankan historians consider that any reference to South India threatens the “originality” and the “purity” of the Sinhalese legacy. But, behind this Sinhala Buddhist curtain there is a great deal of evidence, both artistic and non-artistic, that shows the strong connection between South India and the island of Sri Lanka through the ages; just one example is the mention of Tamil bhikkus (Buddhist monks) in the *Culavamsa*, a Pali record of the rulers of Sri Lanka. In the Polonnaruva period there was a vihara called Demala Vihara or Demala Mahasaya (Tamil Vihara)—this ruined vihara is still extant in Polonnaruva. As Professor Leslie Gunawardana stated:

The Dravidian monk was a familiar figure in ancient Sri Lanka. Some monks came from South India to make significant contribution to the development of Buddhist thought in Sri Lanka.³⁴

A list of Buddhist monks and teachers who travelled between the Tamil regions of South India and Sri Lanka helps us understand the historical nature of this cultural connection (see box on page 72).³⁵

8
Seated Buddha, Lankatilaka
Rajamaha Vihara, 1344.
Photograph: P. Ahilan.

In fact, most Buddhist pilgrims of the medieval period who came to the island travelled from South India, especially from Nagapattinam. Wu-Hing and She-Hung, Buddhist monks from China, came to Nagapattinam from where they are said to have gone to Sri Lanka.³⁶ All this historical evidence provides the background to our understanding of the similarities between the Buddha image in Nagapattinam and post-Polonnaruva Buddha sculpture on the island.

Conclusion

The idea of the past is constructed for the present by the sociopolitical needs of present communities, and the political concept of the modern nation-state as well as geographical boundaries. These boundaries have varied over the millennia which adds deeper confusion to the understanding of cultural contacts, travel and migration of people in the premodern era. In the case of Sri Lanka, our efforts to understand the multiple perspectives in the histories of the island are complicated by recent archaeological findings and physical geography. If one goes back to the Paleolithic period, today's Sri Lanka was connected to the "Indian mainland":

The sea separating Sri Lanka and South India as a unifier and the lands on either side of it were parts of a single cultural region. In the core of this region would be Sri Lanka, Kerala and Tamilnadu. At the periphery would be the southern parts of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh.... It will be shown that migrations and cultural influences were flowing across the narrow sea in both directions from prehistoric times. Until the emergence of major polities embracing large parts of this region, it is not proper to speak of movement of people or flow of influences or political incursions from

one part to another as foreign. These were interactions within the region. As Sudharshan Seneviratne has emphasized, the island's "close proximity to Southern fringe of the subcontinent made for the incorporation of Sri Lanka into the cultural vortex of the neighboring landmasses". The acceptance of this geographical reality will help to view the events of the prehistoric and protohistoric period in this region with a different perspective—a perspective that doesn't treat South India as foreign in relation to Sri Lanka.³⁷

In Sri Lankan art-historical narration the term South India figures superficially and ambivalently in the geographical and sociocultural sense. Art historians of the post-Polonnaruva period have clearly identified the iconographical changes in the Buddha image and suggest that it was brought about by a South Indian connection with Sri Lanka, and this article has attempted to pinpoint the actual location or school from where these changes originated—Nagapattinam in Tamil Nadu. It also interrogates the notion of "South India" in Sri Lankan historical and art-historical discourse, which always labelled Andhra as separate from "South India", consciously or unconsciously. This essay stresses the need to rethink the frameworks of art history and fixed ideologies in Sri Lankan art-historical writings. Such argument certainly requires more evidence and more detailed studies on the processes of change or transformations of styles of the Buddha images in Sri Lanka as well as in the connected lands in proximity to the island. In the future, I hope to develop these preliminary ideas by examining the physical movements of craft guilds between neighbouring lands and patterns of patronage for art works, which will surely lead to a deeper understanding of the nature of shared cultures.

Notes

- 1 The writings about the premodern art of Sri Lanka have been dominated by historians and archaeologists, even today. The practice of writing about art by historians and archaeologists has been rooted in the colonial practice of writing history. One who studies premodern Sri Lankan art cannot ignore their writings but must understand their limitations in terms of art history.
Professor Senarat Paranavitana's claim that "The distinctive contribution which Ceylon has to make to the study of the art of India, or of Asia as a whole, lies therefore in the art of Sinhalese" can be traced to the British construction of Sri Lanka's past. S. Paranavitana, *Art of Ancient Sinhalese*, Colombo: Lake House Investments Ltd., 1971, p. 6. See note 4 below.
- 2 The *Mahavamsa* is a Pali chronicle for the source of ancient history of Sri Lanka written by Mahanama in the 6th century. Sinhala-centrist writers have "used" the *Mahavamsa* to present their own misinterpretations against Tamils and South India.
- 3 R. Champakalakshmi, "Buddhism in Tamil Nadu: Patterns of Patronage in Buddhism", in *Buddhism in Tamil Nadu*, edited by John Samuel, Chennai: Institute of Asian Studies, 1998, p. 84.
- 4 S. Paranavitana, *Art of Ancient Sinhalese*, p. 55. Senarat Paranavitana retired in 1957 from the position of Archaeology Commissioner and was appointed as a research professor of archaeology in the University of Ceylon. In post-independence Sri Lanka, he promoted the notion of the Sinhalese as Aryans in a very strong way through his teaching and writing and misinterpreted the evidence for Sinhala superiority and Sinhala "purity". Professor Indrapala has identified this as "The Paranawidhana factor" and has mentioned that this factor "also had its impact on perceptions of the history of Tamils in the Island". K. Indrapala, *The Evolution of an Ethnic Identity*, Colombo: Kumaran Book House, 2006, p. 29.
- 5 K.M. de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, Sri Lanka: Vijitha Yapa Publications, 2005, pp. 18, 24.
- 6 R.A.A.S. Ranaweera and Piyadasa Ranasinghe, "Libraries in Sri Lanka in the Ancient Anuradhapura Period: A Historical Account (250 BC–1017 AD)", *Journal of the University Librarians Association of Sri Lanka*, Vol. 17, No. 1, January 2013, p. 66; de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, pp. 14–31.
- 7 In dealing with Tamil rule, one could refer to at least two Pali chronicles, namely the *Dipavamsa* and *Mahavamsa*, written in the 4th and 6th centuries CE respectively. For example, Sena and Guttaka ruled Anuradhapura for 22 years in the 2nd century BCE and Elara, another "Damila" (Tamil) and non-Buddhist king, ruled there for 44 years. The latter is said to have followed the traditional practice of offering alms to Buddhist monks. See S.K. Sitrapalam, "Tamils of Sri Lanka: Historical Roots of Tamil Identity", in *Dealing with Diversity*, edited by Georg Frerks and Bart Klem, The Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, 2005, pp. 231–75.
- 8 *Mahavamsa* XXXVI: 128, cited by Leelananda Prematilleke, "Early Buddhist Sculpture: Buddha, Bodhisattva and Divinities (to the end of 10th century)", in *The Art and Archaeology of Sri Lanka*, edited by Leelananda Prematilleke, Senake Bandaranayake, S.U. Deraniyagala and Roland Silva, Colombo: Central Cultural Fund, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 2005, p. 629.
- 9 Prematilleke, "Early Buddhist Sculpture", p. 631.
- 10 Douglas Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, London: British Museum, 1954; Osmund Bopearachchi, "Andhra-Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka: Early Buddhist Sculptures of Sri Lanka", in *New Dimensions in Tamil Epigraphy: Select Papers from the Symposia Held at EPHE-SHP, Paris in 2005, 2006 and a Few Invited Papers*, edited by Appasamy Murugaiyan, Chennai: Cre-A Publishers, 2012, pp. 49–66; Prematilleke, "Early Buddhist Sculpture", p. 635.
- 11 See Prematilleke, Bandaranayake, Deraniyagala and Silva (eds.), *The Art and Archaeology of Sri Lanka*; de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*.
- 12 de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, p. 87.
- 13 H.T. Basanayake, "The Sculpture of the Polonnaruwa Period", in *The Art and Archaeology of Sri Lanka*, edited by Prematilleke, Bandaranayake, Deraniyagala and Silva, pp. 655–56.
- 14 S. Paranavitana, *Art and Architecture of Ceylon: Polonnaruwa Period*, Colombo (printed in Bombay): Arts Council of Ceylon, 1954, pp. 34–35.
- 15 de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, pp. 415–17.
- 16 Basanayake, "The Sculpture of the Polonnaruwa Period", p. 668.
- 17 H.T. Basanayake, "The Sculpture of Dambadeniya and Gampola Periods", in *The Art and Archaeology of Sri Lanka*, edited by Prematilleke, Bandaranayake, Deraniyagala and Silva, pp. 687–88.
- 18 Ibid., pp. 688–91; see also Nandasena Mudiyanse, *The Art and Architecture of the Gampola Period*, Colombo: Gunasena, 1963, pp. 72–77.

- 19 Ibid., p. 72.
- 20 S. Rajavelu, "Nagapattinam—A Medieval Port of South India", <http://www.themua.org/collections/files/original/d17afdb7c37f492e6c286329778f9b71.pdf> 2014.
- 21 T.N. Ramachandran, *The Nagapattinam and Other Buddhist Bronzes in the Chennai Museum*, Chennai: Directorate of Museums Tamil Nadu, 2005, pp. 16–17.
- 22 Ibid., pp. 16–19.
- 23 Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, Vol. I, University of Madras, 1935, p. 224.
- 24 Ibid., p. 129.
- 25 Ramachandran, *The Nagapattinam and Other Buddhist Bronzes*, p. 18.
- 26 T.N. Ramachandran, "Buddhism in Tamil Nadu", in *Story of Buddhism*, edited by A. Aiyappan and P.R. Srinivasan, Chennai: Department of Information and Publicity, Government of Tamil Nadu, 2000, p. 58.
- 27 de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, p. 23.
- 28 Ramachandran, *The Nagapattinam and Other Buddhist Bronzes*, p. 24.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 D. Dayalan, "Archaeological Sites and Evidence of Maritime Buddhism in South India", <http://www.pnclink.org/pnc2011/english/ppt/D.%20DAYALAN.pdf>.
- 31 Gunapala Senadheera, "The Sculpture of the Kandy Period (1477–1815)", in *The Art and Archaeology of Sri Lanka*, edited by Prematilleke, Bandaranayake, Deraniyagala and Silva, p. 708.
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- 33 P. Ahilan, *Race and Art History*, Baroda, unpublished master's degree thesis, 2001, pp. 7–12.
- 34 R.A.L.H. Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough: Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka*, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1979, p. 48.
- 35 Ramachandran, *The Nagapattinam and Other Buddhist Bronzes*, pp. 18–23. The source for the final example in the box on p. 72, of Tamil donors mentioned at Sri Lankan Buddhist sites, is R. Champakalakshmi, "Buddhism in Tamil Nadu", p. 82.
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- 37 Indrapala, *The Evolution of an Ethnic Identity*, p. 48.