

**FASHIONS
OF
ROYALTY**

*The Kandyan Kingdom of
Sri Lanka*

Other Books of the Author

- Art and Tradition of Sri Lanka

**FASHIONS
OF
ROYALTY**

*The Kandyan Kingdom of
Sri Lanka*

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Dedication

'Some people come in life as blessing'

Mother Theresa

To

my mother

*whose wisdom and courage have been the catalyst of my
life forever.*

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FOREWORD

This collection of writings is very vital for university academia and fellow researchers in the stream of Humanities and Social Sciences. Furthermore, the content leads the reader to a new perspective of the subject through a sound dialogue narrated through validated recorded historical data, historical visual information, and logical analyse of scholars of the subject area. Therefore, the reader is guided into cross referencing over a variety of data gradually and will gain reliable and analytical interpretation of the subject.

Vidyajothi Emeritus Professor Nimal de Silva

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Katubedda.

PREFACE

This book aims at discussing the fashion of the Kings and Queens during the Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka (15th Century – early 19th Century).

There are plenty of visual records to study the background of this setting such as sketches and descriptions made by observer – participants of the period, historical murals, carvings and sculptures of the period. Wall paintings which depict the dress of the era, sketches of foreign diplomats are observed in the research. Historical details about the Kandyan dress are well documented visually even more in the early administrative eras. Original written sources and true pictorial evidences were used for the research. Besides, the Kandyan tradition has a living culture as well. Therefore, when dresses of the Kandyan era are examined the Kandyan period is remarkably marked with very significant signs with ample visual and written evidences. Museum collections of dresses belonging to the era were observed. Therefore, pictorial data were cross checked with different literary sources such as temple murals and particular literature, research work pertaining to the subject, enabling to build a strong logical analysis of fashions of the Kings and Queens of the Kingdom of Kandy.

The Firstly, the study tries to testify the reliability of chosen images of the Kings and the Queens of the Kandyan Kingdom. The reliability of factors is taken as the key in presenting the chronology of costumes of the Kandyan Kingdom.

This collection of writings on fashion of royalty of the Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka is based on fundamental documents that intend to discuss the original majesty of the royalty of the Kandyan Kingdom. In the ancient administrative eras of Sri Lanka, royal majesty was depicted almost uniformly in every temple mural. It can be suggested that the sartorial etiquettes of royalty who were depicted in the early administrative eras were based on ancient doctrine. However, the presentation of the Kandyan royalty in their recordings is rather exotic and different from early depictions. Each King shows individual aesthetic appreciation in his sartorial etiquettes. Their many dress categories, shapes and silhouettes, materials, colour, patterns and jewellery show intricate delicacy in fashion.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Vidyajothi Emeritus Professor Nimal de Silva who spent his precious time with providing Significant comments which increased the validity of my research.

My sincere thank goes to Mrs Jans for her diligent proofreading of this book.

Finally I would like to thank Deshamanya Mr. Sirisumana Godage and his dedicated staff for their co- operation and assistance in the publication.

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INTRODUCTION

Fashion, an essential dynamic human activity, earns its survival by influencing others. Influencing is the key in Fashion change that have been evolved with the history. This work explores the behavior of fashion in a certain historical context which is expected to bring light to the foundation of Sri Lankan fashion.

Kandy was the last Kingdom of ancient Sri Lankan administration extending from the 15th century AD to 1815 almost 3 ½ Centuries (Silva 2005, 134,301p). The Kandyan Kingdom was located in the central hills of the country. The Kandyan era is the last and the first era of early administration during which both Western and Eastern foreign influences spread over the Kingdom rapidly, namely South Indian, Western (Portuguese, Dutch, British) and Siamese. These influences had a huge impact on the dress of royalty in every aspect such as novel dress items and patterns, silhouette, accessories, headdresses, dress materials, colours and even the methodology of wearing. With the passing of time these foreign influences were mixed with native aesthetics, creating hybrid fashions and thus evoked original fashion.

Chapter one discusses the sartorial taste of the King. The chapter highlights four main phases where clear demarcation of fashion in relation to foreign influences can

be seen. The first phase is Kandy, its establishment and the royalty who were surrounded by Portuguese influences. The second phase is Kandy with the royalty who were brought up by the Portuguese (the real change). The third is the Buddhist revival period and the last is Kandy with *Nayyakkar* Kings.

Chapter two discusses how fashion is enacted between the superior status (*ran doli*) and the secondary status (*yakada doli*) queens of the Kandyan Kingdom.

Chapter three gives political factors influencing fashion of the Kandyan royalty. Their dress shows direct correlation with the concurrent political pressure.

Chapter four gives a review of diplomatic relations and foreign trade activities of The Kandyan Kings. These two political and economic factors had direct correlation in influencing foreign fashion over royalty.

Chapter five gives some context of Colour and the dress of the royalty of the Kandyan Kingdom. Colour of dress has been derived through inherited values, norms and customs.

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CHAPTER 1

Kings of the Kandyan Kingdom

In Kandyan society the King was the head of civil institutions. 'Sovereignty' was considered as divine. The King and the royal family occupied the highest status. Historian Lorna Dewaraja (1988, 197) states that "whole political system of the Kandyan Kingdom was based upon and the social system revolved around a monarchy which in theory, was absolute". In theory the power of the King was absolute. He was lord of the soil. Court rituals bristled with symbols of the god King as Coomaraswamy claims (1956 p.19), 'The king ruled as an absolute monarch; his ministers could advise but not control his actions ; with him rested all decisions as to peace and war'. Robert Knox (1966, 70) also states concerning the King's manner, 'none can reproach the King'. The early traditional written records which describe the customs and rules about royalties explained well the consistency in traditional values and norms of the legitimacy of the King. A Kandyan *sannasa* writes advice to King Bhuvanaika Bahu V who ruled from Gampola in A.D. (1372/3 – 1405/6 or 1407/8 as follows,

'O Royal Prince! You must not mix with other castes or families. Do not intermarry with other castes. Do not go

bare bodies. Do not let them approach you. Do not allow them canopies, carpets, beds, chairs or appointments to high office. Do not allow them to wear jackets, hats, sandals or use umbrellas. If they do wear and then they should be seized and tried and the heads of those found guilty must be shaved on one side, their eyes must be chopped off, they must be made to suffer the thirty –two tortures such as having the hands lopped off, etc., and banished from the country. If one of your class mixed with one of them, they should be tried, and you should neither eat or drink with them, but have him trounced and relegated to a lower caste. have no more intercourse with his descendants. have such under your control. Maintain you the laws of the land, the laws of the king, and the laws of morality’ (Pieris 1956, 251).

The following are gives the significant Kings who ruled the Kingdom of Kandy.

1. SenasammataVikramabahu	(1469-1511)	42
2. Jayavira	(1511- 1552)	40
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(Chronology – Silva, de K.M. 1981. A History of Sri Lanka, Delhi: Oxford University Press. p742.)

The earliest name of the Kingdom was *Senkadaganuwara*. Senasammata Vikramabahu (1469-1511) was known to be the first who established *Senkadaganuwara* as the royal seat. De Silva (2005) states that the first phase of the Kingdom had three successors consecutively Senasammata Vikramabahu (1469-1511), Jayavira (1511-52) and Karaliyadde Bandara (1552-82). However, according to Hettiarachchi’s (1968,123-129) detailed analysis of early Kandyan Kings, there was another Jayavira II (1521-1551) between Jayavira I and Karaliyadde Bandara. This entire period was 113 years. During this period, the low country was heavily influenced by Portuguese. Western influences did not penetrate much into the people of the hill country. In the mean time, Kandy had been engaged in constant conflicts with low country royalty of the Sitavaka Kingdom. The Kandyan King expected better military aid from the Portuguese. The Portuguese were willing to give support but they demanded the King’s support. King Vikrama Bahu of Kandy strived to obtain Portuguese support. According to Vikramabahu’s administrative records it is clear that Portuguese pressure on the Kandyan administration was considerable. It is recorded that the King was forced to become a close friend of the Portuguese if he was to have Portuguese military aid against Mayadunne of Sitavaka (da Silva 1967, 18). Many Kandyan elites and princes embraced Christianity during this period. The situation entirely changed when King Karaliyadde Bandara of the Kingdom of Kandy was expelled to Mannar by Rajasimha I of Sitavaka (Gunasekara 1990,89 and Silva 2005,159). Karaliyadde Bandara took with him Kusumasana Devi and Yamasinha Bandara who were the next successors of the Kandyan Kingdom. After Karaliyadde Bandara’s death Kusumasana Devi and Yamasinha Bandara were

completely dependent on Portuguese protection. In the mean time, the Kandyan Kingdom was in being anarchy without a successor.

The second period starts with Rajasimha I of Sitavaka (1581-93). His reign would have brought some influences to Kandy because Kandy was the secondary tentacle of the Sitavaka Kingdom during his reign. However, his effect would not have been very strong. The people who were brought up by the Portuguese were instrumental in bringing about a real change. Konnappu Bandara (baptismal name D.Joao and had later taken the name of Vimala Dharma Suriya I [Don Peter 1983,143-144]), Kusumasana Devi (baptismal name Dona Catherine) and Yamasinha Bandara (at his Baptism he had taken the name of Dom Plilip [Don Peter 1983,143]) were educated, instructed and enforced by the Portuguese. These royalties and elites who grew up under Portuguese protection embraced all the influences of the Portuguese then took over the Kandyan Throne (Perera 1930, 483). The education imparted to princes was knowledge of the manners and customs of royalty in the West. Konnappu Bandara later known as King Vimala Dharma Suriya I's father was Virasundara Bandara and the mother was a Dunuvila Bandige (Paulusz, 1952.p.25p). During the young age of Dom Joao (Vimala Dharma Suriya I) was sent to Goa under the commissary of the Franciscan fathers of Colombo. He remained in the Collage of the Magi for fifteen years. It was recorded that "he learnt not only Catechism and good customs but also to read and write Latin" (Perera 1930,708). The instructors presumably drew inspiration from the literature of the middle ages and they produced them for the specific purpose of instructing princes, some works of which genre had been composed by the Franciscans themselves.

It was the first time when Sri Lankan princes were given an education in Western disciplines. For the first time they learnt European languages and had an acquaintance with the literature (Portuguese and Latin) and they were introduced to Western culture. They were able to familiarize themselves with and even imbibe Western thoughts, ideas and attitudes (Peter 1983, 157,158).

Therefore, Vimala Dharma Suriya I showed more Western oriented dress styles than the ancestors of the Kandyan Kingdom. A detailed description of his royal majesty is described in the Journal of The Dutch Admiral Joris Van Spilbergen who visited Kandy in 1602 (Paranavitana, K.D. trans.1997.Journal Of Spilbergen:the first dutch envoy to ceylon 1602. Published by the Author).

The successor of King Vimala Dharma Suriya I was King Senarath(1604-1633). He was a cousin of King Vimala Dharma Suriya I and had been a monk when he was requested to take over the throne. Senarath was a cousin of King Vimala Dharma Suriya I, (Paulusz 1952, p.28.) Knox says that 'after the departure of the former King queen Dona Catherine married the chief priest and by him had the present King of Rajasimha II and his father ruled the country during his young age' (Knox 1966,p.61-62.). Rajavaliya states that 'Vimaladaham Suriya, when he was dying after a reign of 12 years in the hill-country, caused the son of his mother's younger sister, who was a monk to be disrobed and sent away from him' (Gunasekara B, (edit.) 1900,p.100).

The successor of King King Senarath(1604-1633) was King Rajasimhe II (1635 -1687 AD).He grew up in a strong Western environment. The mother, queen Dona Catherine's influences over her children was strong. Therefore, under to her supervision appreciation of Western elements would

have been greater in the palace. Marcelis Boschewer says that King Rajasinha II could read, write and speak Portuguese, indeed, at this time he was closely involved with foreigners, as he was fighting or negotiating with the Portuguese, Dutch, French and Danes at various times. Donald Ferguson gives an interesting description about Rajasimha II and his letters. Original letters in Portuguese were written by the King in 1652 to Jacob Van Kittensteijn (Ferguson, 1909). As a participant observer Robert Knox reports his habits, Western etiquettes (Knox 1966, p.62,67). Queen Dona Catherine kept Franciscan friars at the royal palace to teach the Portuguese language and Western etiquettes to her children. One of the Princes tutored by the Franciscans was Rajasimha who succeeded Senarat as King in 1635; another was Vijayapala, Prince of Matale. Subsequently he fled to the Portuguese to escape his brother Rajasimha, proceeded to Goa, became a Christian, and lived there. Kusumasana Devi's other children, by her first husband, King Vimala dharma suria I also received an education from the Franciscans in Kandy. Queen Antanassin was a well educated and accomplished lady who could even write good verse in Portuguese. (Peter Don W.L.A, 1983, Franciscans and Sri Lanka, p.156/157.)

Vimala Dharma Suria II (1687-1707) was the successor to King Rajasimhe II. A new cultural impact influenced Sinhalese Kings at this time together with the higher ordination introduced from Siam. Buddhism became almost stagnant in the 18th Century A.D. This century marked the signpost of revivals in Buddhism. It was recorded that in 1689 AD Vimala Dharma Suriya II's envoys visited Siam in order to invite competent Siamese monks to re-establish the higher ordination. It was recorded that in 1689 AD Vimala Dharma Suriya II's envoys visited Siam and with them

twenty cloths embroidered with gold, twenty silk cloths, and various other articles were sent to the Sri Lankan King (Pieris 1945, 103). The main influences came from Siam from where higher- ordination¹ was brought three times to re-establish the 'Upasampadava' during the 18th century.

During King Kirithi Sri Rajasimhe's reign a new cultural impact influenced the dress of Sinhalese Kings, together with the higher- ordination introduced from Siam.

King Narendrasimha (1707-1739) was the successor to Vimala Dharma Suria II (1687-1707) whose reign was about 32 years. During the reign of King Narendrasimha (1707-1739) the existing Sinhalese Buddhist tradition was blended thoroughly with South Indian culture. The elementary reason was, King Narendrasimha the last Sinhalese King by blood had several matrimonial alliances with South Indian princesses (Raghavan n.d, 54). However, this tradition could be seen from King Rajasingha II (1635-1687) as he had a royal consort from South India (Knox 1966, 63) Raghavan claims that as a result of King Narendrasingha's marriage the Nayakkar supremacy started. King Narendrasingha's wife was a princess of 'Madura', subsequently married her other two sisters, died without children, nominating the brother of the queens to succeed him, This began the Malabar dynasty (Raghavan n.d, p.54). The Nayakka of Madurai were

¹ Two embassies sent to Arkan by king Vimaladharmasuriya II (1687-1707 AD) for the purpose of bringing over competent monks to Ceylon to revive the 'Upasampada' for Buddhist monks. Mudiyanse Nandadewa (26pp) JRAS vol xv-xvii (1971-1974)

During the Sri Vijaya Rajasimha's reign embassies were sent to Arkan (1689 AD) Pieris P.E (102pp) JRAS vol xxxvi (1945)

Regarding the re-establish the 'Upasampadava' with a letter three messengers are sent-1750 AD. translated by Codrington H.W (99pp) JRAS vol xxxvi part iv (1944-1945)

governors of provinces under the Vijayanagar empire, with the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire, the Nayakka of Madurai, like those of Tanjor, assumed independence (Raghavan n.d, p.27). After King Narendrasimha *Nayakkar* kingship began. This era had four Malabar Kings. The era began with Sri Vijaya Rajasimha (1739-47), Kirthi Sri Rajasimha (1747-82), Rajadhirajasimha (1782-98) and Sri Wikrama Rajasimha (1798-1815); the last King of the Kandyan Kingdom who bore the crown until the British captured the capital in 1815.

(Narendrasingha) + South Indian Royal Consort



Vijaya Rajasingha

(Brother of the South Indian Princess)



Kirthi Sri Rajasingha

(Brother- in- low of Vijaya Rajasingha and brother of the south Indian princess)



Rajadhirajasingha

(Brother of Kirthi Sri Rajasingha)



Sri Wickrama Rajasingha

Brother- in- low of Rajadhirajasingha and brother of the late monarch's queen)

Nayakkar royal clan of the Kandyan Kingdom

(Dewaraja, L. S, 1988. *sec ed. The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka 1707-1782. Pannipitiya: Stamford Lake (Pvt) Ltd, p.38-45*)

The series of royal marriages with South Indian families had created in Kandy, towards the middle of the eighteenth Century quite a colony of Nayakkar relatives of the King (Dewaraja 1988,43). Hence Raghavan expresses that from 1739 to 1815 Kandy had its own impact on the sociocultural landscape of the political alliances with South India. This situation opened the door to Tamil social and cultural influences. They brought their own cultural habits from the same reign. The Nayakkar Kings' era marks an important historical phase in South Indian dress inspirations

Swarna Kalyana vidiya (one of the streets of the town of Kandy), King gave his favorites houses here. *Ashthawanka Vidiya* or *kumaruppu vidiya* was the present Malabar street. The name is said to signify 'a very precious gem' and to convey the idea of elusiveness. Only relations of the King were allowed to reside here. Davy also (1821, 68p) speaks on Malabar street that Malabar princes reside and which the Singaleze are forbidden to approach. Madure *Wahalkada* was situated near the west end of Malabar street, Tamils from India, who came to see the King had stop here (Turners 1918-1919,79p).

CHAPTER 2

Queens of the Kandyan Kingdom

Queens used to dress properly all the time. Temple murals show that they wore elaborate and delicate dresses and these splendid costumes were displayed on ceremonial occasions. Plenty of foreign influences were reflected in the costumes of the Queens and elite females, because they were the first ladies of the country. Each Kings' identity could be clarified according to recorded visual and written information, but the queens' identities are hardly evident. They are represented by common royal majesty in temple murals. Three categories of Queens are evident according to dress etiquettes. The first category was native Sinhalese who were influenced by Western fashions. Royal females including the Queen, princesses and their relatives of the early 16th Century were converted to Christianity. When Karalliyadde Bandara (1552-82) (Father of Queen Dona Catherine), was expelled to Mannar by King Mayadunne of Sitawaka (1521-81), Karalliyadde Bandara and his two children accepted the Catholic faith, expecting political protection from the Portuguese (Lankananda 1996, verses 73,76), they acquired considerable Portuguese cultural influences. During the colonial occupation Queen Dona Catherine was a direct victim of Portuguese political pressures. The Portuguese

kept her under their command as she was the rightful heir to the Kandyan throne. Queyros (Perera 1930, 483) expresses how she was cared for and isolated purposely from her own people. It is said that "the general places Portuguese to guard the princess and not allowing the Chingalaz to speak to her" (Perera 1930, 483). Nevertheless, Francisco de Silva, who had brought the princess to the hill noticing her loneliness, then supplied a Portuguese lady (Catherina de Abreu) and four religious of the Order of St. Francis and one from the Society of Jesus for her company (Perera 1930,482). The education imparted to princes and princesses' consisted of knowledge of the manners and customs of royalty in the West. When she married King Vimala Dharma Suriya I and became Queen of Kandy she had enormous power, wealth and connections and much awareness of following Western dress etiquettes.

According to the records of the observant participant, the Dutch Admiral Joris Van Spilberjen had an opportunity to meet and observe royal princesses during his stay in Kandy in 1602. It was recorded that 'the General was brought into the chamber of the Queen where she sat with her children. The prince and princess were all dressed in the Christian manner' (Paranavitana, 1997. 32p). Queen Dona Catherine had the service of Franciscan friars for her children's education. Francisco Negrao was in Kandy for nine years and was tutor to King Senarat's children. After the departure of King Wimal Dharma Suriya I queen Dona Catherine married his successor Senarath and had one child who became King Rajasimhe II later (Paulusz, 1952. p.29p). Paulusz gives an array of names of King Wimala Dharma Suriya I's and King Senarath's children. These children were Rajjuru Maha Adasin, Kumarasinghe Astana, Tikiri Adasin, Udamalla Adasin and Vijayapala Astana (Paulusz, 1952.p.29p). Peter Don in the book on Franciscans

and Sinhalese says these children's names were recorded as Prince *Maha Astana*, Princesses *Suriya Mahadassin* and *Atanassin*. The princesses *Suriya Mahadassin* and *Atanassin* became Senarath's Queens after Dona Catherina's death.

King Narendrasimha's reign onwards ample South Indian Nayakkar queens were fetched. Almost of all the Queens of superior status were fetched from South India they led some standards in clothing styles which represented their culture (Dewaraja 1988, 43). Therefore, two categories of Queens appeared. Dewaraja (1988, 49p) claims that during this period the King's secondary wives were known as *yakadadoli*, meaning iron palanquin, since they were entitled to such a vehicle as opposed to the *randoli* or golden palanquin which was the preserve of the chief Queen. Dewaraja cite Pieris P.E. (1988, 51p) that the Nayaks who gave their daughters to the King's of Kandy were polygars. Andreas Nell gives the details of Nayakkar princesses who were married to King Sri Wickrama Rajasimha as *Venkada Rankayammal*, *Muttu Kanamma Devi* and *Venkadayammal*; (Andreas, N., 1916). Nayakkar Queens preceded the South Indian dress style which was quite different from the existing Kandyan queens' dresses. According to temple murals they can be identified with Canopy or kerchief (*mottappiliya*). The whole body is fully covered by *mottappiliya* according to social laws or religious purposes. This dress style definitely affected only one status of women as it never blended with the Sri Lankan women's dress code. In the Degaldoruwa temple murals Nayakkar female royalties are depicted in *mottappiliya*. Nayakkar dress habits were limited only to themselves and their dress habits never changed from their original South Indian dresses. It can be suggested that their peer pressure might have been stronger than the Sinhalese traditional requirement of changing according to Sri

Lankan culture because they had enough South Indian ladies at the royal palace to keep their tradition intact.

Yakadadoli were native consorts who belonged to elite families of the Kandyan Kingdom. It is little known that Sri Vira Parakrama Narendrasimha (1707-39) had a Kandyan wife, a noble lady of exquisite beauty, the daughter of Monaravila, Disava of Matale, a great favorite of the King's father, King Wimala Dharma Suriya II (Dewaraja 1988 49p). Few native elite families are mentioned in Lawrie's Gazetteer of the Central Province of Ceylon (1898) who provided *yakadadoliys* to the King. *Udamale Deiya*, the Queen of King Vijaya Raja Sinha of Hanguranketa (91734-47) granted the estate of Peradeniya, the area of present botanical garden (Lawrie, 1898. Vol.II 718p). The Mampitiya family provided most of the *yakadadolis* for the Kings of the Kingdom. Kirthi Sri Rajasimha had six daughters and two sons by his favorite *yakada-doliya* Mampitiya *dugganna unnanse*, daughter of the late Disava of Bintanne. After Kirti Sri Rajasimha's death she was the mistress of his successor, Rajadirajasimha. Her daughters married Tamil relations of the King. The daughter is said to have married *Dalawa Kumarasami Nayaka Unnanse*, nephew of the King. Another daughter is said to have married *Buddasami Nayaka Unnanse*, a relative of the King (Lawrie, 1898. Vol.II 528p). Attaragama was known as a royal village, often held by the dowager Queens. *Udamale Dewi Bandige Unnanse*, the widow of King Kirti Sri dedicated lands to the *vihara* (Lawrie, 1898. Vol.I 82p). *Aluthgama dugganna Unnanse*, the daughter of Amgahawela Korale was the favorite concubine of King Rajadhirajasimha (Lawrie, 1898. Vol.I 24p). *Dawlagala walwwa* was a lady, a concubine of King Rajadhirajasimha by whom she had children (Lawrie, 1898. Vol.I 135p)

Summary

Kandyan royalty exerted considerable influences derived from Western, South Indians and Siamese cultures. When the administrative, economic, social and religious power was in charge of a particular group, different cultural dresses became popular. These influences have caused a huge impact on Sri Lankan dress in every aspect like novel dress items and patterns, silhouette, accessories, headdresses, dress materials, colours and even the methodology of wearing changed. Ultimately the Kandyan dress became the hybrid formation of cross-cultural features, the original agent of influence was hardly evident as Ralf Peries states on social organization in the Kandyan Kingdom, “It is not the ‘race’ that matters but ‘culture’” (Pieris 1956, 3).

Several key foreign cultural influences can be identified as follows,

1. Western cultural influences

The Portuguese

The Dutch

The British

2. Eastern cultural influences

South Indian

Siamese

CHAPTER 3

Political Factors Influencing Fashion

In Chapter three it is intended to discuss how new sartorial etiquettes were accepted as political needs of the Kings. The political configuration of the 15th Century of Ceylon was an upheaval caused by internal conflicts and external interference. Dress was used as an object of accomplishing political stability by Kandyan Kings in their Kingdom. This strategy was gradually developed from the beginning of the 15th Century AD.

From the 15th century onwards the Kandyan Kingdom was heavily influenced by three European nations consecutively, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British. In the meantime, Sri Lanka was divided into two main administrative units in the West and Centre (Kotte, Kandy) and one subordinate unit in the North (Jaffna). The Kingdoms of Kotte and Kandy had often internal conflicts. The situation is well described by the Historian Abeyasinghe (1973,11-21) “as for the first four decades Kandy had to resist the superior power of Kotte which was trying to re-establish its authority over the central highlands”. During the reign of Parakamabahu VI (1411-66) The Kandyan Kingdom became a subordinate unit of the Kotte Kingdom, administered by an official appointed by him (Silva

2005 139p). Further Silva cites the inscription of Madavala (2005,139p) that in 1458 this official was the elite, Jothiya. As well as he (Silva 2005 139p) provides more evidences citing the historical chronicle Rajawaliya, that elite Jothiya neglected or refused to pay tribute to Kotte later on, thus challenging the authority of the Kotte ruler. It is possible to assume that during this period the Kandyan Kingdom struggled to free themselves from the Kotte Kingdom. According to the historical chronicle Rajawaliya when the Kandyan Kingdom ceased to pay tribute and assumed the status of an independent Kingdom, during the reign of Dharma Parakramabahu of Kotte (1489-1513) the army which was sent by the Kotte ruler succeeded in bringing back tribute of substantial value (Silva 2005 141p). According to the historical stone slab of aluthnuwara it was recorded that king Senasammatha Vikamabahu freed the Kingdom of Kandy from Kotte and more over he annexed more divisions which previously belonged to Kotte (Encyclopedia of Sinhalese, 433p). Senasammatha Vikamabahu (1474-1511) established the Kandyan Kingdom as an independent Kingdom after fifty years of domination by the Kotte Kingdom. (Silva 2005 140p). Therefore, it is clear that the Kandyan Kingdom had many internal conflicts with the Kingdom of Kotte. This situation later developed rapidly. After 1521 the Kotte Kingdom was effectively divided between two brothers, one ruling from Kotte and the other from Sitavaka. This was the adversary that Kandy had to face. The internal troubles of Kotte and Sitavaka and their external conflicts with the Portuguese helped to stabilize the fledgling Kingdom. Henceforth till 1592, Kandy, hedged in by three ambitious neighbours was shifting loyalties, contracting matrimonial alliances, and applying diplomatic pressures as survival tactics. Dewaraja (1985/86 121p) who is exponent of the Kingdom of Kandy and foreign affairs explains that the Portuguese in the middle

of the sixteenth century dominated more of the world and more of its trade than any other country. They were armed with the best artillery that Europe could produce and had the technical skills of ship-building and navigation at their disposal. Moreover, Dewaraja explains (1985/86 121p) that it is in 1592 that the real saga of the Kandyan Kingdom begins. The absorption of the Kingdoms of Kotte and Sitavaka by the Portuguese as a part of their dominions made Kandy the sole repository in respect of Sinhala power. Kandy had no military power compared to the Portuguese. Politically too she was weak (Dewaraja 1985/86 125p). Therefore, they had to follow survival strategies.

King Jayavira (1511-52) of the Kingdom of Kandy who succeeded King Senasammatha Vikamabahu (1474-1511) of Kandy maintained good alliances with Westerners as he expected political protection from them. The trend of events in the fifteenth would have it that King Jayavira (1511-52) should strain and strive for an alliance with the Portuguese. He feared that King Bhuvaneka Bahu VII (1521-51) of Kotte would sooner or later attempt to annex his Kingdom, and also the plans of that monarch's younger brother, the restless and over-ambitious Mayadunne of the Sitavaka Kingdom. During King Jayaweera's reign Kandy had again begun to pay tribute to Kotte (Encyclopedia of Sinhalese, 434p). Historian Abeyasinhe (1973,12p) states that under Prakramabahu VI (1412-1467) the Kandyan territories had been a part of the Kingdom of Kotte, and their succession during the turmoil that followed that ruler's death was an act of rebellion. To re-establish their authority over the Kandyan lands became, therefore a principle objective of the later Kotte ruler and during the next four decades. Kandy had to face many wars with the low country Kings of Kotte and Sitavaka Kingdoms during 1540. Abayasinghe (1973,19p) states that earlier in

1545 the Kandyan ruler had urged the Portuguese to persuade Buvanekabahu to dissociate himself from the war alliance. The Portuguese with their reputation for superior weapons and military tactics, doubtless, appeared the best choice as allies. Therefore, according to the invitation of the King of Kandy several Portuguese military groups marched to Kandy in 1543, 1546 and 1547 (Encyclopedia of Sinhalese, 434p).

Christian religion also influenced the King. It is said that the Portuguese were inspired by the twin motives, love of God and the lust for gold to undertake voyages to the East (Dewarja 1985/1986, 121p). King Bhuvaneka Bahu VII (1521-51) of Kotte invited the Franciscans when they visited Sri Lanka, but opposed the conversion of his subjects to Christianity, because his purpose in getting them to his kingdom was not the spiritual welfare of his people but to have Portuguese aid in his quarrels and fights with his brother, Mayadunne (1521-81), of the Sitawaka Kingdom (Peter Don 1983 p.145). Buddhism was the state religion and the Buddhist King was accepted by the people. Therefore, the Sinhalese King tried other strategies in order to get Portuguese support.

Historian Abayasinhe (1973, 14-15 p) states that the Kandyan ruler offered to pay the salaries and expense allowances of the Portuguese soldiers coming to reinforce his defenses, such money being calculated on a more generous scale than the Portuguese government itself paid. The King also offered the Portuguese a factory at the Trincomalee bay of North East Sri Lanka, to be garrisoned by them, the expenses thereon also being borne by the King. A yearly tribute of 15 tusked elephants and 300 oars for the gallery was also suggested. As the need for Portuguese aid became more pressing, the King subsequently added other concessions such as he would give his daughter in marriage to whomsoever the

Portuguese wished, and would embrace the Christian faith with the heir and the members of the royal household. Andre de Souza, a Portuguese of high office visited Kandy and his journey exemplified Kandyan expectations and Portuguese response (Silva 1967, 38). Gaspar Correa (-1583) was one of the earliest historians to chronicle the Portuguese exploits in the Orient (Ferguson, 2010, 3p). Correa recorded that Antonio Moniz was sent with a hundred men on behalf of the King of Kandy (Ferguson, 2010, 72p). At the Kingdom the King received him with many honours, listening to his doctrine and showing great willingness to become a Christian, and to visit the King of Portugal, to pay him his tribute (Ferguson, 2010, 72p). From 1539 onwards Correa (Ferguson, 2010, 3p) deals with very important events in the scheme of the King of Kandy to get Portuguese military aid in exchange for his conversion to Christianity. According to Correa, 18th August 1546 Jorge de Sousa recorded that they had news from Ceylon that the King of Kandy had turned Christian through the teaching of Father Francisco (Ferguson, 2010, 72, 85p). Vira Vikrama, alias Jayavira was baptized on 9th March 1546 under the name of Dom Manuel. At the occasion, the King was presented a small band, which put him into high spirits giving him greater courage, in addition, he requested symbolic payment in the form of a Portuguese style coat and cap (Silva 1967 31/45/48). Silva (1967 35p) claims that to the Franciscan Fraternity the news was a full-scale triumph, as King Vikrama Bahu was the biggest catch to fall into their net. Silva concludes (Silva 1967 29p) that the story of the attempts of the Franciscan missionaries to plant the seed of the Gospel in the Kingdom of Kandy is a classic example of how the spread of Christianity in the land was inextricably entangled with political intrigue.

The King embraced Christianity at the last moment. It can be assumed that it was his last chance. Correa recorded that “ then the King had sent his ambassador to the Governor in order to confirm and ratify great peace with his Christianity (Ferguson 2010,72p). The real intention of being a Christian was to ensure the peace and security of the Kingdom. Robert, Raheem and Colin (1989,3) observe the relationship between religious conversions of the Portuguese and the Westernization of dress form. They remark that the male converts had to ensure that they adopted the ‘carapuca’ (a kind of cap) on baptism. This cap is said to have been prevalent in the Island. The converts were commonly called ‘hat wearer’ because of the practice of wearing the hat on every occasion. Even though the authors discuss Christianity and its status during the 19th Century in Sri Lanka, it provides an important hint of how much dress and the Christian faith were linked together.

Nevertheless, Roman Catholicism and Protestant Christianity were supported by the Kings of the Kandyan Kingdom. Christianity was not only tolerated but also was respected in the Kandyan Kingdom. In 1547 two friars entered the Kingdom of Kandy, without any opposition and built a church on a piece land donated by King Jayavira Bandara, the successor of King Vikramabahu (Don Peter 1983,143). In 1547, King Jayavira Bandara donated a land to build a church. This church was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Don Peter 1983 p.43).

The next generation of royalty embraced Christianity without any hesitation. When King Karalliyadde Bandara (1552-82) who succeeded King Jayavira of the Kingdom of Kandy, was expelled to Mannar by King Mayadunne of Sitawaka (1521-81), Karalliyadde Bandara and his two children accepted the Catholic faith expecting political

protection from the Portuguese (Lankananda 1996, verses 73,76). King Karalliyadde Bandara was baptized as Dom Joan. As the protection of the sovereignty always depended on foreigners the latter had great power to influence the King. Most of the early Kings of the Kandyan Kingdom from their childhood grew up under Portuguese protection.

King Vimala Dharma Suriya 1 (1592-1604) who succeeded Karalliyadde Bandara maintained a faithful alliances with the Dutch for the first time as he had many conflicts with Portuguese. He was an intelligent King who was able to earn the trust of both native civilians and the foreigners. The Portuguese tried to conquer the Kingdom of Kandy several times. The Portuguese Captain Pedro Lopes de Sousa planned to escort Dona Catherina, the daughter of King Kaalliyade Bandara into the Kandyan Kingdom to place her on the throne there. This plan was unsuccessful, and after a decisive battle with the Portuguese Konappu Bandara, who later became King Wimala Dharma Suiya I, married her and acquired a new legitimacy as the King of Kandy (Paranavithana 1997 61p).

Dewaraja (1985/86 212p) also explains that the Portuguese in Sri Lanka had three broad aims: to annex Kandy and complete the conquer of the Island: to exploit her economic resources and to spread the Gospel. In order to conquest the Kingdom of Kandy the strategies which were outlined by the Portuguese Captain General in Ceylon Don Jeronimo de Azevedo (1594-1612) are described as follows,

“I carried continuous war into that Kingdom, attacking it twice a year with the entire body of troops with the aim of making its life ebb away, by killing off the inhabitants or capturing them by destroying its food supplies and driving the cattle away into our conquered territories”. (1985/1986,121p)

In the meantime, King Vimala Dharma Suriyal destroyed all the fortresses of the Portuguese; most of the Portuguese were killed. Four years after the defeat of General Lopes Don Jeronimo de Azavedo led his expedition to Kandy in 1602 but ended in a disastrous defeat for the Portuguese (Paranavithana 1997 62p). Therefore, King Wimala Dharma Suiya I had become an enemy of the Portuguese. The King had his court fortified with ramparts and several fortresses in suitable places. There he constantly held a strong and reliable garrison well established so that his enemies, the Portuguese, could hardly reach Kandy (Paranavithana 1997,39p). Therefore, the King strove to obtain Dutch aid as he had many conflicts with both native royalties and the Portuguese.

The Dutch admiral Joris Van Spilbergen (1568-1620) visited Kandy in 1602 at the request of King Vimala Dharm Suriya I (Paranavithana 1997 25P). It was recorded that on 3rd July a clerk returned from the King of Kandy with two of the King's agents and with letters, presents of golden rings and a large spear for the General. The King of Kandy through his letters and his agents of the Portuguese who served him offered all friendship and cargo that he was able to give and requested that the General would come and visit him in his royal court in Kandy (Paranavithana 1997 25p). Furthermore, the King sent a letter to the admiral presenting the friendship of his friends and enmity of his enemies (Paranavithana 1997 26). By the middle of the seventeenth century the maritime province of Sri Lanka passed into the hands of the Dutch who were first invited by the King of Kandy to help him oust the Portuguese. At this time the Dutch led Europe in maritime cartography and navigational techniques and held commercial outposts and fortified factories from Amsterdam to Nagasaki (Dewaraja 1985/86 122).The King expected to obtain more sophisticated acquaintance. Spliberger in

reality was representing a small trading enterprise which was concerned with trade negotiation for immediate profit. However, he found that the King's interests were more on the lines of military assistance to oust the Portuguese from the Island (Paranavithana 1997 5p).

King Vimala Dharma Suriya I showed great interest in being a close friend of the Dutch. According to the Dutch Admiral Joris Van Spilbergens records King Vimala Dharma Suriya I had paid much attention to arranging the interior decorations of the royal court in accordance with Western etiquettes. The King had himself shown all Western etiquettes that they followed personally showing them to the Dutch Admiral. According to the Dutch observations the royal family had learnt Western music and the Dutch language, as the King had a collection of Western musical instruments with him.(Ferguson, 1927, p.384.) It is evident that royalties learnt Western languages for both communication and prestige.

Gifts were exchanged between the two parties; the friendship was tightened. The general had presented the King with "a portrait of his princely excellency sitting on horseback in full armour in form and size of horse and person, as he appeared at the battle in Flanders AD 1600 on 2 July, with which the king was wonderfully pleased" (Ferguson 1927, 384).The King Vimala Dharma Suriya I expressed his desire by hanging the portrait in his room. According to the original record, the incident was described as, "The King had the portrait of his excellency hung in his room that it might always be in his sight" (Ferguson 1927, 384).According to King Vimala Dharma Suriya I's own words he wanted Kandy to become a Netherlands. The king expresses his feelings as, "Candy is now Flanders" (Ferguson 1927, 384). He used his education, and awareness of Western culture to

impress the Dutch Admiral. As the royalties gradually learnt Western languages, embraced the religion, and followed social etiquettes, they made a suitable ambience and encouragement to those who valued the Western way of life. Christianity brought with it not only a religious faith but also a culture, mainly Christian religious culture (Don Peter 1983, 158). This attitude was observed by the Dutch and concluded as “Dona Catherine visits no pagodas, what Don Joan the King does is mostly to please the Sinhalese’ (Ferguson 1927,400). It seemed that his real attempt was to win over the foreigner faith. Their judgment about the King was positive. The Sinhalese King was recommended by the Dutch admiral as “since Vimala Dharma Suriya I was baptized as a Christian he grew up as a great and strong man, physically sound and a man of great power and very intelligent (Paranavithana 1997 37p).

Even though the First generation of the Kingdom of Kandy was converted to a Western life style coercively, the next generation was taught and trained the Western culture by their parents. Queen Dona Catherine kept Franciscans friars at the royal palace to teach the Portuguese language and Western etiquettes to her children. One of the princes tutored by the Franciscans was Rajasimha II (1635-1687) who succeeded Senarat as King in 1635; another was Vijayapala, King of the District of Matale in the Central hills of the county. Subsequently he fled to the Portuguese to escape his brother Rajasimha II (1635-1687), proceeded to Goa, became a Christian, and lived there (Pieris 1927). King Vijayapala had constant conflicts with his brother Rajasimhe II of Kandy. The Vijayapala had been executed at the Lakegala division in 1656 by command of Rajasimhe II (Paulusz 1952, 22). Paulusz (1952, 22) states that a proposal was sent to the Dutch Governor Ryckloff van Goens (1660-63) by King Vijayapala of Matale requesting Dutch aid. A proposal was that the Dutch

political council should support him in an attempt to regain his lost heritage. It was urged that he be restored to the throne, especially that of Kandy. It was recorded that the Dutch had made a careful inquiry into his personal and family history from the messengers. Paulusz (1952, 22) claims that the inquiry of his right heir for the throne was purposely made, because the Dutch looked to gain many advantages from the partnership. They were unwilling to embark on a costly adventure with an ally who might prove to be an imposter. Therefore, King Vijayapala had to make a great effort to win the trust of the foreigner. King Vijayapala was completely converted into the Western way of life (Pieris, 1927). The dress of King Vijayapala is well described in his collection of letters (Pieris, 1927). On his Baptism, he dressed as a Portuguese.

“He was dressed in high black shoes. Lined with white satin, white stockings, and a short cloak lined with white with rich buttons of gold, a round bonnet of black velvet, with buckles of the finest diamonds, and at the base of the aigrette a jewel of great value encircled by a large number of the costliest pearls, with gold lace over a vest of white tissue. Round his neck he wore an eagle set in a scallop shell, adorned and made entirely of rubies” (Pieris, 1927, 44-45).

Captain Joao Rebeiro who was an eye-witness of the ceremony also describes the King’s hair and beard styles as, “His long hair was curled at the ends, and his beard was worn in the Portuguese fashion, with a mustache which was not very fall” (Pieris, 1927, 10).

Similarly, the period from 1658-1796 is generally regarded as the Dutch period. A set of letters written by King Vijayapala to the King of Portugal is in the Museum of Lisbon. Most of the letters reveal his personal desires, attitudes and expectations. Once he wrote as “I seek your friendship

because you are a people of good faith, generous nature, great intelligence, and high reputation, such no other nation possesses (Pieris 1927 27p). King Vijayapala says that “though I am a Chingalaya by blood I am a Portuguese in my ways and my affections” (Pieris 1927,10) He was purely influenced by Western culture, not only did he admire Western culture, but also he considered Western culture as the best (Pieris 1927,27). The following description of Prince Vijayapala’s normal behaviour has been preserved by an eye-witness, Captain Ribeiro as, ‘he was always very cheerful and friendly with the Portuguese: but when he spoke with the natives, his bearing was royal, austere, and very stately’ (Pieris P.E, 1927 11p). He often wrote to the King of Portugal requesting political protection. Each letter he carefully composed about his self-development that he gained as a Christian. His explanations definitely had the intention of impressing the Westerners. Prince Vijayapala continuously reported to the Portuguese King about his gradual development and increased the attempt when the internal enmities increased. Prince Vijayapala wrote as, “I learnt very good customs and etiquettes and some special habits which royal persons employ” (Pieris 1927, 31).

The successor of King Senerath was King Rajasimha II (1635-1687). He totally followed Western dress styles. Marcelis Boschewer says that King Rajasinha II could read, write and speak Portuguese. Indeed, at this time he was closely involved with foreigners, as he was fighting or negotiating with Portuguese, Dutch, French and Danes at various times (Ferguson, 1909 43p). Ferguson (1909 42,43 p) states that Rajasimhe’s Buddhism was greatly permeated by Hinduism and to some extent by Christianity.

Rajasimhe II (1635-1687) of Kandy solicited Dutch help against the Portuguese (Dewaraja 1988 4p). Silva (Silva

2005, 172p) claims that negotiation between Rajasimhe II and the Dutch was conducted over a long period, but were successfully concluded in 1638. Each side hoped to use the other for its own ends. For Rajasimhe II the sole objective was the expulsion of the Portuguese and he was willing to pay a heavy price for this. Rajasimhe was prepared to assign them a monopoly of the spice trade of the Island in return for aid against the Portuguese. Silva (2005,189p) explores that in April 1665 three months after Rajasimhe’s first appeal for assistance, two Dutch companies marched into the Kandyan Kingdom. Silva (2005 189) determines that the aim of the Dutch was not to save Rajasimhe but to expand Dutch power. However, during the period of 1629-36 Dutch cruisers destroyed nearly 150 Portuguese ships, most of them in the straits of Malacca or off the Malbar coast (Silva 2005,718p). The extension of Dutch control over all the ports of the Island had an economic motive which was to establish dominance over the trade of the Island. Many ports of the east coast had been brought under Dutch control between 1666-1668 and then in 1670, a decision was taken to establish a commanding position in the Island’s trade. Cinnamon had been successfully and exclusively controlled almost from the very moment of the establishment of Dutch rule. The export of elephants, areca and pearls was now declared a monopoly of the company (Silva 2005 189p).

Silva (2005 73p) states that Rajasimhe II had personally planned his campaigns, led his troops to battle, met and discussed matters with foreign ambassadors, fashioned foreign policy and centralized the control and management of affairs in his own hands. Robert Knox (156p) states that the King cared not that any should talk with ambassadors, but himself, with whom he took great delight to have conference. Moreover, Knox states that Rajasimhe II had personally

attended to all correspondence with foreign nations. Furthermore Knox (150-151) explores more descriptions of the King's attitudes as his state and grandeur would appear in his reception of ambassadors, who are were received with great honour and show.

Both Rajasimhe and the Dutch attacked the Portuguese the Batticalao fortress and conquered it on 18th May 1638. The Portuguese were driven away with Dutch help in 1658 (Silva 2005 273).

The Kandyan Kingdom since 1739 had been ruled by South Indians. South Indian Nayakkars' were not popular with the Sinhalese elite as their South Indian kinsmen dominated the court. Tamil Nayakkars had to face two powerful enemies, one was the Dutch and the British European pressures and the other was Sinhalese chiefs who kept an eye on the throne.

Mendis G.C (2005 13-21) explores how British power was gradually developed in the Kandyan territory from the late 18th Century AD. The British East India Company came to trade in the East at the beginning of 17th Century AD, it was fully aware of the importance of the cinnamon of Ceylon. Turner L.J.B (1919 157p) speaks of the commercial resident of the British in Ceylon. The commercial resident was the head of the cinnamon department, the most important revenue producing department of the day. The first commercial resident under the British was Robert Andrews, in addition to his duties as superintendent of revenue he was Ambassador to Kandy. The British attacked Trincomalee on 18th August 1795 and conquered it eight days later. The British, and the King of Kandy, Kirthi Sri Rajasimhe (1747-1782) appealed at this time for the aid of the Madras Government of the English

East India Company against the Dutch, and the Madras Government sent John Pybus in 1762 for the preliminary negotiations. The King offered a harbour and a share of the cinnamon trade, but the King didn't receive the aid (Mendis 2005, 14p). Silve K.M.D (2005 246p) state that Andrew Robert was urged to impress upon the Kandyan monarch the danger of other nations who sought opportunities of trading in Trincomalee. Andrews succeeded in persuading the Kandyans to send ambassadors to Madras to continue the negotiations. The Madras Government sent an embassy to Rajadhirajasimhe (1782-1798) proposing an alliance with him to expel the Dutch from Ceylon and received an embassy. Furthermore, the British offered the Kandyans a trade outlet on the coast which they could use for obtaining an adequate supply, with the right to employ ten ships for this purpose (Silva K.M.D 2005 247p). One of the chief objectives of the British was the expansion of their trade. They proposed to build a road from Colombo to Trincomalee through the Kandyan Kingdom, but it was not only rejected and was looked upon with suspicion by King Sri Wickrama Rajasimhe, whose policy was to keep all Europeans out of his Kingdom.

The Nayakkar Kings' biggest issue was the chief ministers who were always against them. In the meantime, Elite of the Kandyan Kingdom tried to obtain British aid to expel the Nayakkar Kings out of the Kingdom. They continuously carried on strategic negotiations with the British. Pilimathalvva, the chief Adigar was the leader of the Sinhalese party and he aimed at becoming King himself. He tried to obtain the support of the British to make himself King. Fedrick North (1798-1815), the British Governor at that time, tried to maintain a faithful alliance with King Sri Wickrama Rajasimhe

and rather than agree with Pilimathavva's proposal. Robert Brownrigg (1812) was sent with instructions to maintain friendly relations with the King of Kandy. Brownrigg tried to make the King agree to a commercial treaty and failed. He began then to consider the conquest of the Kandyan Kingdom (Mendis 2005,20-21p).

On the contrary, the Nayakkar Kings realised that they had enemies not only without their Kingdom but also within. Therefore, their instinct drove them to become more patriotic and to become the lavish patron of Buddhism in the Kingdom. Dewaraja (1989 165p) state that the relationship between the King and the Sangha (priests) had always been one of mutual interdependence. The King defended the faith and the faith legitimized the King. On the other hand, for a religion to play its socio-political role effectively it must receive the recognition and support of the state. It was the duty of the King to promote religion, to build places of worship, to contribute to the maintenance of the Sangha and to use his power to enforce religious regulations relating to doctrine, ritual or social observance. The Nayakkar Kings recognised this duty as one of prime importance (Dewaraja 1988 165p). Special care was taken by King Kirti Sri Rajasimhe to look after ailing monks. A palm leaf manuscript, belonging to Morathota Dhammakkhanda records that when the monk was ill, King Sri Wickrama Rajasimhe (1798-1815) having provided for all the medical care even visited the patient in his bed-chamber. Another duty which the Nayakkar kings continued to perform was royal participation in religious festivals. Dewaraja (1988 168p) claims that the festivals not only provided an opportunity to display royal pomp and pageantry in public.

This century marked a sign-post of revivals in Buddhism. The Nayakkar Kings proceeded with the former Sinhalese Buddhist Kings' ways. The scope of these revivals was to re-establish the higher-ordination (Upasampada) of priests. The main influences came from Siam from where higher-ordination was brought three times to re-establish the 'Upasampadava' during the 17th and 18th centuries. Venerable Valivita Saranankara of Malwatta Viharaya was presented the status of Sangha Raja by King Kirthi Sri Rajasimhe. The King presented luxurious and exclusive items to the high-priest. The Vatapath which that was awarded to Ven. Sangha Raja Saranankara thero by King Kirthi Sri Rajasingha was made of brocade fabric and with a handle of ivory studded with precious stones is still seen at the exhibition of the Temple of Malwatta, Kandy.

The King had his education under Buddhist priests, who conveyed a more Buddhist way of life. Sri Vijaya Rajasimhe and Kirti Sri Rajasimhe were both heirs to the throne under the tutelage of the monk Venerable Valivita Saranankara . It is known that the queens of Sri Vijaya Rajasimhe embraced Buddhism. Obeysekera cites William Granville (2017,337p) that the King engaged in meditation on his deportation to Vellor by the ship Cornwallis, not surprising in someone trained by learned Buddhist monks. It seemed that they gradually succeeded in obtaining not only the Buddhist priests' but also civil acceptance. They all embraced the name Rajasimha in order to signify the great worrier King Rajasimha IIs' majesty over them. Not only that, they dressed according to the accepted tradition. Their dress had a resemblance to the dress of King Rjsimha II. Their dress shows direct correlation with the concurrent political pressure.



Venerable Valivita Saranankara-Malwatta Viharaya



The Vatapotha (fan) awarded to the Sangha raja as insignia of office by King Kirthi Sri Rajasingha.



Brocade bag awarded to the Sangha Raja by King Kirthi Sri Rajasingha on behalf of the King of Siam (Sir Jayathilaka D.B (1934), Sarananakara the last Sangha Raja of Ceylon, Visidunu prakashakayo (pvt) Ltd, No 471, Lake rd, Borlasgamuwa, p.51.)

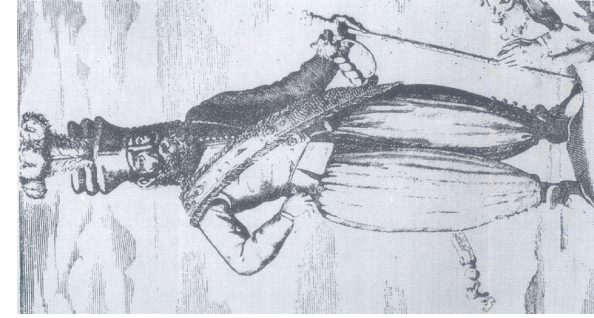


A robe of brocade material, Malwatta Viharaya

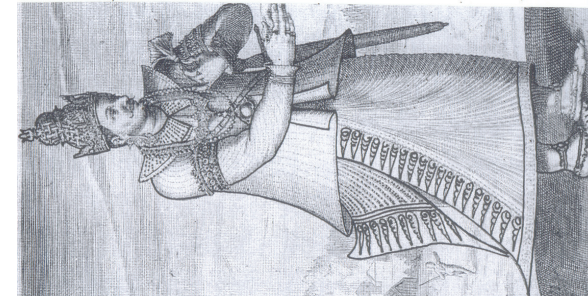
Theoretical Analysis: Influence Process

Pictorial evidences representing different time period of the Kingdom, depicted the Kings' gradual development of Western dress desire. Early King Vimala Dharma Suriya I (1592-1604) showed himself in a half a way Western etiquette. He experimented partially without taking a high risk thus it was successful as they obtained the Westerners' aid without any objection from his own people. Therefore, it can be suggested that he learnt by his experiments that wearing foreign clothes gave them a profitable outcome. His novel styled royal costumes were neither similar to full Western etiquettes nor traditional Sinhalese costume inherited from previous generation. It was developed by him through experiment by mixing the traditional outfit and Western dress styles together. But finally, by constant practice throughout many generations they realized that converting to Christianity and the wearing of Western dress was the best and only way to win over the Westerners. Therefore, it is possible to recognize that the Kandyan royal costume was a result of a chain of experiments of multiple experiences. Experience is explained in Social sciences as the accumulation of knowledge or skill that resulted from direct participation in events or activities (Rose 1962).

This learnt behavior enhanced through generations. When the third generation began the Sinhalese King was hardly identified as a Sinhalese as his dress was totally foreign. According to historical records made by foreigners King Rajasimha II (1635-87) and Prince Vijayapala from the District of Matale wore full western costumes. These royal costumes can be identified as 'experimented costumes' according to the following details.



The 3rd Generation King
Rajasimha II



The 2nd Generation of
the Kandyan Kingdom
The King Vimala
Dharma Suriya I

1. Experiment is a process undertaken to discover something not yet known or to demonstrate something known. Robert Knox (1966) commenting on King Rajasimha's dress habits says "he does not always keep to one fashion, but changes as his fancy leads him". Therefore it can be suggested that he always sought new ways.
2. The King's Western dress was curious and strange even to foreigners. Robert Knox (1966, 62) states about King Rajasimha's dress as 'his apparel is very strange and wonderful, not after his own country-fashion, or any other, being made after his own invention'.
3. Invented dress items ignored even standard Western dress habits. According to Robert Knox's (1966, 63) description of the Kings hat, it was a combination of many dress items as, "he wears a cap with four corners like a Jesuit, and a feather standing upright before, like that in the head of a four-horse in a team, a long band hanging down his back after the Portuguese fashion".

Many historical records are evidence that all the Kings of the Kandyan Kingdom paid full attention to maintaining good alliances with foreigners no matter whether they were Portuguese, Dutch or British. The Royalties constantly proceeded with the usual procedure of sending valuable gifts, paid attention to foreigners, converted Christianity and in the meantime they practiced the Western dress. However, as dress is a powerful signifier, it uplifted and impacted more than other strategies.

CHAPTER 4

A Review of Diplomatic Relations and Foreign Trade Activities of the Kandyan Kings

Diplomatic Relations of the Kandyan Kings

One of the most eminent influences on the costumes of the Kandyan era was diplomatic relationships. Diplomats frequently visited the Kandyan Kingdom for various political reasons, particularly to reduce the conflicts between them and the Kandyans. Diplomatic relations affected royalties to have a passion for foreign clothing attainments because royalty had direct communication with and a foreign dignitary chance to consume foreign dress habits very closely.

The early Kandyan Kings had many Western political advisers. Not only that but also royalty was always fed with new ideas by foreign employees who maintained close correspondence with the royal family. Many Portuguese, French and Dutchmen were appointed to high ranks in the royal court and served the King loyally. On the occasion of the first Dutch Admiral's (Joris Van Spilbergen) visit to Kandy, he was accompanied by two of Vimala Dharma Suriya's agents, both of whom were Portuguese (Paranavitana 1997,25). Nevertheless at the Kandy city limits, Spilbergen was welcomed by the King's chief Modelier Emmanuel

Dios, another Portuguese who worked in the King's service (Paranavitana 1997,29). The King might have sent them purposely to this important moment as they were the most faithful to the King. During King Senarath's reign a Dutch officer named Marcellus Boschower (1612- 16 AD) a Hailed high office in the Kandyan court. He spent three years at the royal court. The King designated Boschower as *Migamuve Rala* (prince of Nigambo), and he served as military and naval commander in the most important companies of King Senarath's reign (Hulugalla 1999,89). *Gascoign Adigar* the famous French character had a close relationship with King Rajasimha II (Hulugalla 1999,126). And also another Frenchman named Monsieur de Lanarolle (1672AD) held the office of Secretary and his two sons also entered into state employment after his father's departure (Hulugalla 1999, 133).

At the beginning of the Kandyan Kingdom many high ranking foreign officers used to visit the King to maintain good relationships between the two parties. Dutch Admiral Joris van Spilberjen visited King Vimala Dharma Suriya I in 1603 AD to make a good alliance between them. John Pybus, Hugh Boyd (1762, 1782 AD) visited Kandy to obtain the King's permission to have trade alliances with them. Out of these significant personalities, fifty four Dutch ambassadors visited Kandy between 1701- 1750 AD (Abeyasinghe 1985/86, 26-33). When they visited it was the custom to exchange gifts to show their allegiance. The dispatch of gifts to the Kandyan Kings was carried out by the Dutch as well as British as an essential and important annual custom. The Portuguese also carried out this custom in a small scale. The dispatch of gifts was denoted by the use of the Sinhalese words *panduru pakkudam* (meaning tribute from subordinates) and the Portuguese word *sagoate* (having the same meaning) and the Dutch documents

described it as *jaarlijkse gebruik* (yearly practice) (Abeyasinghe 1985/86, 21-4).

Abeyasinghe T.B.H (1985/86, 34, 35) in his thorough observation on diplomatic missions of the Dutch gives a list of gifts which was usually sent to the King of Kandy as a 'yearly practice'. It was recorded that a Dutch officer named Ras Macquet brought gift of a coach for the new King of the Kandyan Kingdom in 1740 AD (Abeyasinghe 1985/86, 31). Most of the gifts were different kinds of imported textiles as follows,

1. Persian gold, silver clothes
2. Harlem Silk cloth
3. White Dutch Velvet
4. Chinese Silk, Damask
5. 15 varieties of Bengal textiles
6. Textiles from different parts of India like Surat, Coromandel and Tuticorin.
7. Handkerchiefs
8. And varieties of cloth from the information given that they were Red Blue and Purple colour.
9. Besides many minutia as Persian Rose water, gold and silver threads, tobacco, Medicinal stuff, Candy sugar and powder sugar, sandalwood, Japanese lacquer wear, horses and coach bodies and black dogs.

Moreover, The Dutch were careful about special events of the Kandyan Kings such as coronations and marriages and sent gifts without fail. Abeyasinghe T.B.H (1985/86,25) remarks, "The annual diplomatic mission was the instrument through which the informal agreement between the Kings of Kandy and the Dutch East India company was sustained and

renewed periodically”. There were also more benefits to the Kings of Kandy.

As a result of above activities the early Kandyan Kings appeared as Western gentlemen. Even the crowns of King Vimala Dharma Suriya I, King Senarath (1604-35), King Rajasimha II (1635-87), displayed Western features. According to Robert Knox’s description about King Rajasimha II’s cap his desire for western accessories are clearly expressed. It was recorded that, ‘The King wore a cap with four corners like a Jesuits three tiers high, and with a feather standing upright in front, like that in a head of a fore –horse in a team, a long band hanging down his back after the Portuguese fashion. King Senarath’s cap was similar to the ‘*Ispiya*’ cap which shows Portuguese fashion. This is a conical hat made out of fabric and is displayed at the Museum of Kandy.

- **Foreign Trade Activities**

The royalty and nobles appreciated and adapted foreign dresses, material and accessories that came through trade and foreign relationships. Foreign cloths and accessories spread among locals thorough the economic and cultural exchange of goods instead of money. During the Dutch occupation the people from the highlands came to Colombo with arecanut and other trade items which they would exchange for cloth (Arsarathnam 1958,161).

The foreigners’ main aim was to improve their trade activities both inland and outside through sea trade with the support of the Sinhalese Kings. Hence foreign messengers frequently visited the Kandyan Kingdom to negotiate commercial dealings. John Pybus met King Kirthi Sri Rajasimha to negotiate the trade in cinnamon and latter he gifted two pieces of muslin to the King (Reven-Hart 1956).

Luxurious textiles, accessories and other exquisite articles were imported for the use of royalties and nobles during the Kandyan era. Queyros (Perera 1930, 736,754) states that during King Vimala Dharma Suriya I’s reign ‘*Vinthanna*’ was the main port at export and import of cloths. During those days rich cloths of silk were used (Perera 1930, 736,754). According to Christopher Schweitzer’s (1676AD) travel records the shirt and waistcoat of King Rajasingha II was made of the finest cotton, with gold. His complete garment was made out of coloured silk and he wore leather shoes and stockings. These luxurious materials and trims might have been imported from Europe. According to early records it was said that an officer of the Dutch East India Company named Van Golle took great effort to find some particular silk from India and some lace for neckerchiefs for Lewke Adigar as the Adigar particularly wished to have them (Dewaraja 1988,102).

In the late seventeenth – Century, the sartorial taste of Sri Lankans improved as many nationalities brought cloth from all parts of the ‘Coromandel’ coast into the Archipelago in large quantities, the Portuguese, Danish, English, French and Indian merchants bringing a great deal of cloth (Arsarathnam 1958,170) .

Somana, Brocade (gold threaded fabric), Silk and Muslin were luxurious textiles used only by royalty and high nobles. King Vimala Dharma Suriya I wore a somana as lower garment. This textile material was imported from Indonesia by Sinhalese merchants by that time. Jayathilaka (2003, 31p) states, ‘Before the occupation of the seaboard by European invaders, Sinhalese merchants used to frequently visit the Buddhist countries in the far East, and pilgrimages formed an excellent means of communication between Ceylon and those lands’ In 1506 AD Portuguese merchants brought Brocade fabrics from Sumatra (Ferguson 1907, p.326). Indonesian textiles like somana, silk, and brocade were

broadly imported by the Dutch East India Company during the 17th Century. According to pictorial evidences Kirthi Sri Rajasimha (1747-82) and Sri Vikrama Rajasimha (1798-1815) used to wear brocade waist coats as upper garment. The major articles that were imported from India were textiles. Muslin was imported from Bengal. This textile material was widely used by nobles. Muslin was used as a major material for making the King's shirt (*yata kameese*). By the 16th century Sri Lanka had well established trade links with three Indian regions as trade in the Bay of Bengal, the west coast of India and the southern coast. The Bengali traders also brought in textiles such as silk and muslin (Silva 2005, 233).

During the Dutch occupation South Indian and Indonesian textiles were largely brought to Sri Lanka. Therefore during that time a common sartorial sense appeared among Sri Lankans. The Dutch maintained a textile monopoly within the country. They strategically made the environment to depend only on their textiles. First of all they achieved the autocratic power over all maritime lands around Sri Lanka. The political expansion of 1665 AD and the increase in the lands and subjects of the Dutch in Ceylon deeply influenced their trade policy (Arsarathnam 1956, 159). In 1666 Trincomalee was taken and fortified and in 1668 Kottiyar and Batticaloa were occupied. By 1670 the Dutch power had extended, in some form or other, to most of the lands along the coastline.

They could now supply all these people with their clothing (Arsarathnam 1956, 158). Then they strictly restricted other private trading activities carried out by Hindus and Muslims and increased discriminatory duties. To begin with, a duty of 5% on cloth, 20% on salt and ¼ real on each amanam of arecanut was imposed in all Dutch ports on all Muslim and Hindu merchants. In 1665 this was raised to 10% on cloth, 30% salt (Arsarathnam S, 1958, p.160).

Indian textiles were largely sold in Ceylon in relation to Dutch commercial expansion. They brought weavers and painters from India to improve the textile trade and settled them in Jaffna (Arsarathnam 1956, 158). The Dutch had their factories in numerous Indian states (Arsarathnam 1956, 160). Painted and dyed cloths began to be popular as the Dutch opened residents factories in all the seven ports of Madura and the attempt to foster weaving, painting and dyeing of cloth in Jaffna was also part of this activity (Arsarathnam 1956, 161)

South Indian Textiles through Traditional Channels for Kings dress.

Colvin R De Silva claims that 'to the Sinhalese accustomed as they were to the ancient system, it seemed an 'arbitrary' deprivation of that property which they had enjoyed under the Kandyan, Portuguese and Dutch governments. Abeyasimhe et. al. (2015 87p) point out that, 'Even though the Kandyan Kingdom had a Land tenure system referred to as (*Raja Kariya*), by the 18th Century the Kandyans had realised the importance of international trade and continued free trading through Chilaw and Kalpitiya ports (Abayasinghe and et al. 2015, 83p). Specially, they exported elephants, arecanut, pepper, wax and imported textiles from South India. The cultivators had four important needs seed grain, agricultural implements, cattle and coarse cloth. Generally, they obtained these from local lenders or Moor and Chetty merchants (Silva 1942, 361p)

Silva (2005, 232, 233, 234p) states that at the time of the Dutch conquest of the Portuguese possessions on the Island, Sri Lanka had well-established trade links with three Indian regions: the trade of the Bay of Bengal, of which Sri Lanka's was a unit, the West coast of India and the South (the entire coast of the southernmost parts of India from Travancore through Madras

to Fort St George). This pattern of trade persisted throughout the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century. The Bengali traders also brought in textiles (Silk and Muslins) and in return they took in a wide assortment of the Island's produce. The southern trade was perhaps the most important of all, being the lifeline to the peasant economy of the Kandyan Kingdom. The major article of import from this region was textiles. The trade with India was in the hands largely, of foreigners, some Tamils, Malabari Muslims and *Chetties*. The *Chetties* and other Hindus were perhaps, the largest group numerically. Many of them had long been settled in the ports of Colombo, Galle and Jaffna, and were an important link with the Indian traders. Silva cites Wikremeratne (2005, chapter 17 notes 723p) that '*Uliyama*' the residence taxes on Muslims and *Chetties*, also the obligation to enumerated service in Jaffna, as well as its partial or total communication. *Chetties* were located all-round the country. The Malabari Muslim traders had blood relations living in Mannar, Galle and Batticaloa. Muslims first came to identify in the 8th Century onwards in Ancient Sri Lanka (Pieris 1964, 105p). They reached the peak of their commercial activities during the 13th and 14th Centuries in India. They were known as Moors by the Portuguese in Sri Lanka. They resided in the Kandyan Kingdom and were known as *marakkala*. The low Country moors were known as *hambankara* by the up-country Sinhalese (Pieris 1964, 105p). The Dutch and the British wanted to monopolize all trade activities in the country, not particularly textiles. They concentrated more on the export trade of textiles. Therefore, both nations established a supply chain of inland textile manufacturing industry which was almost all exported. During the Dutch occupation as discussed above, the Dutch tried to reduce other traders' activities and gain the whole profit. In the period 1659-70 the Dutch extended their authority to the ports

in other parts of the Island as well, thus effectively reducing the Kandyan Kingdom to the position of a land locked state. In 1670, the decision to monopolize the predominant ports of the Island's trade was taken. The three items which sought to dominate were the import of textiles and the export of areca and elephants. The first two of which directly affected the Kandyan Kingdom (Silva 2005,234). A decline in trade produced a general shortage of clothing in the community at large. It seemed that the Dutch couldn't supply all the textile needs of the Kandyan Kingdom. On the other hand, it showed that the textile trade of the Kandyan Kingdom had solely depended on traditional traders. Therefore, the Dutch adopted a policy of selective restrictions and incentives affecting the Indian traders. While the Bengal, Surat and North Malabar traders were offered incentives as an encouragement to trade with the Island, restraints though not as severe as those of 1670-were imposed on the South Coromandel traders by whom the textile trade was carried out on a large scale. The VOC regarded the boat traffic with South India as being especially harmful to its interests and was, therefore, intent on keeping it under control. These boatmen had an expert knowledge of the coast of the Island and the Dutch cruisers had virtually no success in hampering them in their efforts to beat the restrictions. There were many reasons for that. The Governor Becker found that the senior officials of the company at Galle had formed a partnership to engage in illegal private trade in cloth. Such corruption was the chief reason why the smuggling of cloth continued until the end of the eighteenth century. Thus, the company's profits from textiles never matched their true potential (Silva 2005,235). Not only that the Dutch were reluctant to prevent trade activities carried out by Muslims in the country as they had long been connected with the Island's people and the Kandyan

Kingdom. Jan Schreuder the Governor of Ceylon between (1757-1762) reported that the Company had lost its profit as *Nayakkar*, *Malabar* and *Chetties* often travelled to the Kandyan Kingdom. However, it is seen that in 1694 the Bengal shippers were encouraged to resume sailing to Jaffna and Galle, given greater freedom to deal with indigenous private traders and were granted permission to bring in certain types of textiles. Textiles were more freely available than before (Silva, 2005,235p). Therefore, it can be summarized that the consumption of South Indian textiles by the royalty of Kandy was not much affected by the Dutch trade monopolization. During the early British period the cloth Industry appeared to have been located in many parts of Ceylon. The great centres were Jaffna and Mannar. In 1805 there were weaving families in Batticaloa, Puttalam and Chilaw . In the Colombo District the industry was almost in *Chaliya* hands as many *chaliyas* were traders and weavers. *Chaliyas* are the modern *salagama* cast (Silva 1942,388p).*Parava*,*Chalya*,*Vahumpura*, *Bervayo* and *Padu* people were also involved in the industry(Silva 1942,522). There were 26,301 *Chaliyas* in 1827 (Silva 1942,391p).

The cloth was generally coarse, except the cloth of Jaffna whose more elegant fabrics necessitated the import of finer quality cotton thread from India. The Jaffna cloth which was often dyed with *Chaya* and *sapan* was much esteemed and was exported in considerable quantities to the coast. *Chaya* root (Indian madder) affords a fine dye and was used in Ceylon and India for dying cloth. The root grew wild in the districts of Mannar, Jaffna patam and the Vanniya and was monopolised by the Government(Silva,1942,488p). The cotton used for the coarser varieties was produced in Ceylon itself, for it grew well in various parts of the Island. The Dutch had established a plantation in Mannar which was North kept up until 1803

(Silva 1942,523).W.C Gibson, a merchant of Galle, asked for a grant of 157 acres of land in Tangalla, on which to plant Indigo (Silva 1942,325p foot notes).

The English equivalent to the Sinhalese, the first commercial resident under the British was Robert Andrews, who in addition to his duties as superintendent for revenue was Ambassador to Kandy (Turner 1918-1919, 157p).‘So little was the commerce of this country’ said North, and that so engrossed, that its effects were not felt a few miles outside the principal ports (Silva, 1942 455p). The English India Company also carried on many strategic approaches to have sole textile profits. They imposed more tax on the most demanded items. the chief country with which Ceylon traded was India, about four-fifths of the imports, particularly grain and cloth (Silva ,1942,451p). The Board of Revenue and Commerce imposed a completely revised tariff which was instituted as from February 1803. A duty of 2,1/2 % was levied on all imports except china goods, which were free, and cloth, which paid 7,1/2% (Silva,1942,446p). It may be noted that the duty on cotton cloth was raised to 8% in 1815. Custom duties were revised in 1820. The import duties on grain and cloth being’ such articles of import from India as are the growth of the Island, and the produce of which therein can be increased (Silva,1942,448p). The stamp duty on cloth was akin to the bazaar tax, being an excise duty on cotton cloth produced in Ceylon. During the British period cloth industries appeared to have been located in many parts of Ceylon(Silva,1942,522p). The Dutch had levied it at 7,1/2% in Jaffna and Mannar and the farms had realized over 13,500 rix dollar a year.

The British needed traditional traders’ support for their military marches to Kandy. As a favour the British gave incentives to carry on their trading which was obviously textiles. Major Arthur Johnston gives some information

pertaining to trading between 1803-1804 (Johnston, 2015). Arthur Johnston's account is important because it is a first-hand account dealing with the British in Kandy during the time. He (Johnston, 2015, 55p) says that *Pangaram*, a large village, inhabited chiefly by *Lubbies* and situated on the banks of the great river (a trading centre) which passes Candy. It seems that Kandyan trading happened via their centre. Further he says that they acted as not only traders but also as guides to the British. The necessity of experienced guide, so great, there are either Kandyan immigrants who have settled in our possessions, or *Lubbies*, as they only know the high roads, these people are in general perfectly well acquainted with the common paths that lead from one village to another. *Lubbies* might have obtained this expertise as they were used to travelling from village to village for trading for a long time. Arthur Johnston was able to recognise some particular group by whom the trading happened between South India and interior Ceylon. He shows that a sect of *Mohammedans* settled chiefly on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. They conducted the chief interior trade of Ceylon and much of that with the neighbouring coasts (Johnston, 2015, 101p). Pieris cites Doyly (1964 295p) saying that Moors were used to handing over tax to the government royal store correctly. It can be seen that in the latter part of the Kandyan era South Indian textiles were supplied to the King more by traditional trading channels. South Indian textiles are more referred to in the Kings clothing. Turner (1918-1919, 76-82p) who collected information about the town of Kandy about the year 1815 AD from some reliable persons of Kandy says that the information was supplied to him by T.B. Keppitipola Basnayeke Nilame, partly from D'Oyly and called from various sources notably Unambuwe Ratemahatmaya and Giragama Diyawadana Nilame. According to them *Hetti vidiya* was for *Chetties*

(*hetti*) whose business it was to supply cloths from India for the King's use, reside here. The gold cloth, coloured jackets are obtained from Indian *Chetties*. The King was presented with many South Indian textiles at the Annual *dakuma* (show) by the King's Chief ministers. Descriptions of annual payments paid by Disava of Sabaragamuva to the government of Kandy as a traditional custom was prepared by H. Right in 1818 September and October and is given by Ralph Pieris (1964, 126p). The list consisted of a variety of South Indian textiles. Their terms show South Indian origin.

- *Kattu tuppotti* cloth
- *Kasav tuppotti* cloth
- *Suruttu tuppotti* cloth
- *Tharapodi sarasa* cloth
- *Gindangi* cloth
- *Kilakara* cloth
- *Anakuchchi* cloth
- gopola

Textiles were supplied to the King through foreign traders, except the gifts that he received by foreign diplomats as an honour. The European trade companies and Asian merchants brought a variety of textiles to the court of the Kandyan Kingdom. Europeans tried to monopolise the textile trade in the country but from the beginning, they failed as traditional channels had been mere rooted in the culture, tradition and the social system of the Kandyan Kingdom. Even though European and Asian textiles had been referred in the dress of the King since the beginning of the Kandyan Kingdom, the dress of the latter part was referred to more as South Indian textiles.

CHAPTER 5

Some Context of Colour and the Dress

Colour is the most treasured and significant cultural expression of the historical dress of the Kandyan Kingdom. Colour signifies meanings of beliefs, rituals and traditions of the Sri Lankan culture. Perception of colour of dress has been derived through inherited values, norms and customs. Therefore, colour, dress and culture have been interwoven into the lives of the people.

‘Culture’ is, in the words of Tylor, anthropologist, (Tylor 1913,1) “Culture taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”. Furthermore, he remarks that the condition of culture among the various societies of mankind, in so far as it is capable of being investigated on general principles, is a subject apt for the study of laws of human thought and action. Therefore, culture can be assumed as a continuous chain which is nourished by human thoughts and experiences from time to time. According to Boulton (Puri and Tyler 1998, 327) culture stands upon its values and norms. Boulton refers to values as collective beliefs

about what is right, good and desirable that have developed within a particular social group. They are conceived at a relatively abstract level and provide guiding principles for living. Norms refer to expected ways of behaving in specific situations, which reflect the values of the group. According to social psychologist Kaiser (1997, 352) the characteristics of culture are (1) transmitted (2) learned (3) shared and (4) transformed. Boulton (Puri and Tyler 1998, 327) states that the society is the culture. He explains that ‘because people live together in social groups, they tend to share common experiences and come to develop common ways of thinking and acting. The broad set of assumptions or world view of a social group is its culture.

Colour had been played as a symbol of expression of the status, values and norms of the royal clan. Coomaraswamy (1956, 13p) claims that in Sinhalese history when ruler and people met together, they were united by a common religion and a common culture, in sympathy and with mutual respect. Further he (Coomaraswamy 1956,15p) explains that the Kandyan Sinhalese were an independent and self-contained community, with a culture and art which had for all an equal appeal and a state religion which was also the religion of the people . This background set their perception over colour and dress. Psychologists in general regard all perception as subjective in that an individual tends to interpret information according to his existing beliefs, attitudes and general disposition (Hann and Jackson 1987,11p). Perception refers to a use of assumptions to integrate incoming sensory information into a model of the world based upon which we make decisions and take action (Smith, et al 2003. 149p). Coomaraswamy (1956,47p) states that art is of first importance as the form of culture which most easily

humanises his toil and spiritualises his ideas. All art is a very essential part of culture, an integral and inseparable part of any noble 'civilization'. Buddhism became indeed the chief patron rather than the opponent of fine arts.

Colour is a factor which related to visual perception of a person. Colour had been a successful stimulus in influencing foreign attire as well as an inhibitor during Kandyan reign. During the Kandyan era limited colour was used in dresses. White was mostly used and yellow, green, red and blue were limited. As a result of the factors of availability, durability and cost, each colour was given characteristic value and symbolic meaning. Tones and hues of colours are rarely evident. Colour of the fabric can be traced out of collections at Museums. Four borders, braid edging, the innermost border and the centre are always subjected to highlight with symbolic colours. In this chapter it is intended to discuss some selective colours which meant much for the Kandyan dress.

White

White was the mostly used colour. It shows equality, peace and purity. The perception of white has not been changed even today. When Sinhalese Buddhists observe the eight precepts white clothes are worn to denote purity. People who belong to different castes, status wear white which contributes to equality at the temple. White was an auspicious, symbol. According to the travel journal description of Dutch Admiral Spilbergens who visited the Kingdom of Kandy in 1602 King Vimala Dharma Suriya I was clad in white cloths at their historic meeting (Paranavithana, 1996). 'Mandarampurapuwata' reported that King Senarath wore white clothes on the way back to the Kadyan Kingdom after defeating the Portuguese at Randenigala (Lankanana 1996, Verse 241). Knox in the reign of Rajasimha II (1634-

1687) wrote that the noble wear doublets of white or calico, and about their middle a cloth of white next their skin (Knox 1966, p.). Furthermore, he described that the country caps are all of one colour either white or blue. According to traditional rumours Dolapihilla (2006, 218) describes that no men may wear a full white dress during Sinhala times. Besides, it was the auspicious colour of the monarch. McDowall's welcome was described as "All the entrances there were three or four small bronze cannon beside which stood seven or eight soldiers clad in white from head to foot, each carrying a gun covered with puffed white muslin" (Mons Jonville 1948, 14). And also it is said that "offensive weapons were also draped in white as an emblem of peace" (Mons Jonville 1948, 5). Rebeiro who was in Ceylon from 1640-1656 stated that high status people wore white cotton cloth, a kind of fine white shirt of cotton with narrow sleeves trimmed before and behind with stripes of a finger (JRAS vol XI no 39 1889). Heyt in his careful description of a Dutch embassy to Kandy in the reign of Kundasale (1707-1739) shows the chiefs in white tuppotti. In the time of Kirthi Sri Rajasimhe (1747-1782) the paintings in the temple represent the chiefs wearing round white hats, white muslin pleated jackets. Traditions says that the round white hat was introduced in this reign (Codrington, 1910. 17p). It is noticed that the majority of the examples represent the chiefs wearing white pleated jackets with loads of white muslin. The state dress was white in cotton shown by the picture of the conference between the Dutch governor and the Kandyan ambassadors in 1772, now at Amsterdam. Kandyan ambassadors wore their state dress, the material is apparently white silk. The collar is white (Codrington, 1910. 19p). Doyly in his diary, dated June 16, 1812 recorded that courtiers were presented with a white round hat by the King (Codrington, 1910. 19p). Davy who was in the Kandyan province shortly

after the accession and who got much of his information from chiefs acquainted with the late King's court stated that 'chiefs wear a square white hat, the jacket is of white silk, the collar is of white colour' (Codrington, 1910. 19p). According to Coomaraswamy embroidered on white cotton, was a copy of part of an embroidered jacket said to have been used by a Queen in the eighteenth Century (Coomaraswamy 1956 pate xxx p 333). White denoted importance and significance of the occasion to Sinhalese Kings and high officials.

Black

Black was an insignificant colour in Sinhalese dress. Black was always used to highlight borders of cloths in a small quantity and a full dress of black has not been depicted. The reason might be black depicted demons, bad spirits, sin and misery in the culture. In the Degaldoruwa temple murals, a Brahmin named *jujaka* of '*vessantara jataka*' is depicted in black colour. In Sinhalese folk stories, there are some characters like the Black prince. The influence of the black colour occurred with the change of the culture with Christianity. Christians participated in funerals in black. Some historical events described how Sinhalese people were gradually influenced by black dresses. By Kirthi Sri Rajasimha's days it became a custom to wear black at a cremation. According to traditional stories Dolapihilla (2006, 11) explains that all commoners, Adigars and the successor to Sri Vijaya's wore black turbans, somana, cloths at the cremation of Sri Vijaya. Dolapihilla explains that black was the mourning colour of the Sinhalese. Coomaraswamy (1905, 9) also states that blue cloth called *KaluKangan* was used for mourning purposes and for awning during the Kandyan Kingdom. The customs at a funeral is explained by Dolapihilla (2006, 11) as, "The box of rice sent by relatives to a bereaved house was covered not

with white as usual, but a piece of black cloth, and old men of the early twentieth century found a black piece of cloth to wrap round the head on a sad occasion". Here, Adigars wore black without hesitation as it was a special fashion colour of attire. John Davy (1921, 122) explains that at funerals it was a custom to wear a black mask and handkerchief by the person who was to be associated with funeral rituals. Therefore, it can be suggested that there was a tendency for changing traditional perceptions of colour through constant foreign influences.

Yellow

Yellow is bound to the Buddhist and Hindu religions and have been practised from time immemorial. It is a unique colour of Kandyan culture worn only by Buddhist monks and Hindu Brahmins at reign. Buddha sculptures were painted in yellow. It was considered as a sacred colour and unacceptable to be worn by people other than spiritual personalities. Even the King was not fully clad in yellow, because it might have been considered as a sin. Therefore, yellow has been given a high position and an unreplaceable colour. Ordinary people were difficult to be influenced by dresses of widespread yellow. Although there were some fashions and accessories of yellow, there were hardly seen any costumes of which the main colour was yellow. On the other hand, Buddhist monks and Brahmins had no substitute colour and they were given high position when they were in yellow robes. When the Franciscans visited Kandy during the days of Vikramabahu (1542-1551) the sight of Buddhist monks were prominent to them because of the colour of their robes. It was expressed as, "Royal activities embellished the town with places of Buddhist worship and soon yellow-robed members of the Buddhist clergy were among the most prominent townsfolk" (Silva 1967, 2). The importance that was given to the colour

yellow by the society is reflected in the statement, 'abandoning the yellow robe' to denote disrobing. There were deviant colours of Buddhist robe but they were hues of yellow. This unique colour remains as a sacred colour to date, which is evident from retraining of using political parties for their colour codes. Yellow decorations are only used for funerals of Buddhist monks.

Gold

The early European travellers and ambassadors to the court of the region were impressed by the gold embroidered costumes of the rulers. The Kings of the Kandyan Kingdom were renowned for their conspicuous display of objects made of Gold, especially elaborate jewellery, other items of regalia and gold encrusted garments that were the stuff of legends. The coronation of Prince Vijayapala (Prince of Matale District) younger brother of King Rajasimha II is described in detail, showing how the colour gold symbolised as an emblem of royal majesty.

'He was dressed in high black shoes. Lined with white satin, white stockings, and a short cloak lined with white with rich buttons of gold, a round bonnet of Black velvet, with buckles of the finest diamonds, and at the base of the aigrette a jewel of great value encircled by a large number of the costliest pearls, with gold lace over a vest of white tissue. Round his neck he wore an eagle set in a scallop shell, adorned and made entirely of rubies (Pieris, 1927, 44-45). Gold textiles, gem studded crown, ring sets, cabaya (coat) of gold tissue were also described in king Kirthi Sri's clothing habits. According to Pybus's embassy to Kandy in 1762, he carefully describes that the King's upper garment seemed an open robe of gold tissue. The description of his sartorial taste is more into gold and dazzling gems (Reven-Hart 1956,57).According

to examples of jewellery which are displayed at the regalia gallery at the Museum of Colombo, neck chains and pendants of royalty are of gold.

One of the most important and long lasting ways of symbolizing the wealth and power of the court has been through sumptuous dress. The history of the high-status textiles, especially those created from silk and gold has been intimately tied to the rise of royal court. Gold was the key symbol of prestige and high social status yet lacked sacred meaning, it could be adapted more readily to changes in Fashion and dress (Maxwell, R. 2003, 77p). Court rituals bristled with symbols of the god King as Coomaraswamy (1956,19p) that 'The king ruled as an absolute monarch; his ministers could advise but not control his actions; with him rested all decisions as to peace and war. Everywhere past and present in Asia and Europe, gold evokes similar responses and signals a clear message: the owner controls great wealth and power, and he or she possesses objects of enormous value' (Maxwell, R. 2003, 72). Gold dress denotes the signal of royal status. According to a good example, Velagedera, the King's personal attendant, reported around February 25, 1815 that Ahelepola *adigar* had 'Put the golden hat and jacket' of the King upon himself despite Velagedera's protest (Obeysekera 2017 336p). Silk and gold textiles in the Indic court were not just the preferred fabric for state ceremonials. They provided a means of visualizing the complex status systems that supported court rituals. Then the formal relationship of subjects to the ruler, his recognition and patronage, and the resulting honours and office were reflected in the prompt and ceremony and especially in the garments worn on occasions of state ritual (Maxwell, R. 2003, 73).

Red, Green and Blue

The colours are rare and only used in royalties' clothes. Turner (1918-1919, 76-82p) explains that *Hetti vidiya (chetties) (hetti)* whose business it was to supply cloths from India for the Kings use, reside here. The Gold cloth, cloths, coloured jackets and cloth are still (by even 1830) obtained from Indian *chetties*. Professor Obeysekera cites William Granville (2017 332p) who had been an eye witness of the King Sri Wikrama Raja Simhe when his deportation to Vellore in 1816 speaks about his sartorial etiquette when the ship reached the shore Pulicat as 'He appeared on deck decorated as he was when he took his leave of the shores of Ceylon. It would be difficult to describe this dress. He wore enormously wide trousers of satin stiped yellow, green and red, with a multitude of gold buttons down their outward seems from the hip to the ankle. A white satin waistcoat richly embroidered with gold flowers, a gold band encircled the edge round the neck. Professor Obeysekera claims that it seems that we are once again presented an image of the King en robed as a form of the god *Sakra* (Obeysekera 2017, 341p). Professor Obeysekera selects an image of the King from Asgiriya Raja Maha Vihara, Kandy to show the King's multicolored visual delicacy (Obeysekere 2017,342p).

Conclusion

As a community, people had common perception of values and norms of certain colours and that was cleared through common ceremonies like temple, funeral and marriage ceremonies. Perception of colour is unique to individual cultures.

- White -purity
- Black -misery
- Yellow -Sacred
- Gold - Dignity



Gold cloth of King Sri Wickrama Rajasimhe (regalia gallery at the National Museum of Colombo/
Courtesy the National Museum of Colombo)



King Sri wickrama Rajasimha, Asgiri Temple painting.

CHAPTER 6 NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE 1

KING VIMALA DHARMA SURIYA I (1592-1604)

(Paranavitana, K.D. trans.1997. *Journal of Spilbergen: the first dutch envoy to Ceylon 1602*. Published by the Author, plate 2), (Coomaraswamy, A.1956. *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, Colombo: National Museum. p.330)

This description is based on re production of original sketches done during the first Dutch visit to Kandy. The earliest known portrait of a Sinhalese King is that of Vimala Dharma Suriya I., in A.D 1602, given in Spilbergen's¹ 'Historiael Journal'. 1605, and reproduced in '*Indische Batikunst*', by Rouffaer and Jouynboll, Vol. III.' (Coomaraswamy A; 1956, '*Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*', National Museum Colombo, p.33,XXIIplate). Orientalist Nell (Vol.III,No.49) suggested that as Spilbergen and other Dutch visitors were accompanied

¹ Journal of Spilbergen gives the details of the first Dutch envoy to Ceylon in 1602. The description was the first extensive description of Ceylon by a Dutchman based on his personal experience at the court of the King of Kandy, 36 years before the Dutch East India Company secured a foothold in the Island in 1638. (Paranavitana, K.D. trans.1997. *Journal Of Spilbergen: the first Dutch envoy to Ceylon 1602*.Published by the Author)

by artists to get first hand information of the country the illustration in the *Indiae Orientali* would be a good likeness of Vimala Dharma Suriya and his attire.

Ananda Coomaraswamy (1956,33) describes the dress of the King as ‘the Sinhalese King wears a jeweled crown surmounted by a *trisula* (trident), and having a Buddha figure in the front; a jacket and ‘*mante*’² and a patterned *tuppottiya*³, probably of muslin with gold or silver thread’. Long sleeved jacket is open at the centre front. It is possible that King Vimala Dharma Suriya I introduced the jacket as an upper garment for Kings as *hette* or jacket (with long sleeves) which

2 Mante or tippet is the collar. (Codrington, H.W. 1910. Notes on Some of the Principal Kandyan Chiefs and Headmen and Their Dresses. H.C Cottle. Government Printer. Ceylon.p.17/36)

3 Tuppotti-The tuppotti consisted of three cloths. Each long 12 cubits long. Occasionally tuppotti is made by attaching two 6 cubit pieces together. Each is called padaya. For the arrangement of the lower garment a minimum three *tuppotti* cloths are required since early days. In 1910 Codrington in the glossary to ‘Notes on Some of the Principal Kandyan Chiefs and Headmen and Their Dresses’, *tuppottiya* or *tuppotti* introduced as a cloth of some fifteen or twenty cubits in length, folded round the waist and legs.

- The first one is white tuppotti
- Red tuppotti (pachchawadama)
- Somana-Gold embroidered muslin called kasau tuppotti

Basically tuppotti fabric was known as ‘Kavani’ or ‘Somana’. These cloths were mostly imported textiles from Indonesia or from India by the Dutchess. In the mean time some were made by Kandyan artisans who were largely involved in weaving under the Kandyan Lease-hold land tenure system called ‘Rajakariya’. Cloths which were woven in the Kandyan territory can be identified from their traditional designs and motifs. Depota- lanuwa, gal bindu, bo-leaves, katuru-mala, diya-rella are still practised by weavers of Kandy (Coomaraswamy 1956)

might have been adapted from the Portuguese. There is some basis for this hypothesis because the name of the jacket as stated by Codrington is Juwan *hette*, deriving its name from Vimala Dharma Suriya I’s baptismal name was Don Juan Wimala Dharma Suriya I (Codrington 1910,19). Since the jacket was also known as, *kameesa*⁴ *hette*, *mantehette*, the Sinhalese oriented names, it shows clearly that it was derived from the Portuguese. The ‘*tuppotti*’ is a long cloth by which the King’s lower garment was arranged.

The King is depicted with anklets. Paul E. Pieris(1992,45.p) claims that anklets are called *virakkala* a worrier’s anklet. This is a good instance of the Dravidian influence on Sinhalese.

The headdress of the King is conical in shape. The headdress of King Vimala Dharma Suriya I, seems to have been made of fabric because clear woven patterns can be seen in the headdress. And it is more like a cap. In the seal of Wimala Dharma Suriya I he is depicted with a similar conical cap (Pieris 1992. 356p). According to early records caps were an essential sartorial item of the Portuguese dress. It is said that in 1498 Vasco da Gama presented fifty scarlet *barret* caps to the King of Calicut (Codrington 1910,26). In 1506 Dom Lourenco da Almeida gave six scarlet *barret* caps to one of the state officers of Ceylon (Ferguson 1907,355).

Therefore Codrington (1910,26) suggests that “The early Kandyan hat is not unlike the *barret* caps of the early Portuguese period”. Therefore, it can be suggested that the king would have been used to wearing a headdress which was arranged like a Portuguese caps.

4 *Kamise* - shirt (Codrington, H.W. 1910. Notes on Some of the Principal Kandyan Chiefs and Headmen and Their Dresses. H.C Cottle. Government Printer. Ceylon.p.22)



Woven patterns on the headdress of King Vimala Dharma Suriya I

Portuguese, Dutch and British dress patterns, designs, materials and trimmings exerted influences on Kandyan royal costumes. Portuguese influences are more prominent in Kandyan royalty costumes than Dutch and British influences. The Portuguese were the first Europeans who were able to build a solid image in the East for the first time. Therefore their varied dress patterns, sewing methods, techniques of

embellishing the dresses rapidly influenced the natives and Westerners were the long lasting fashion trend setters in Sri Lankans from the 16th Century AD. Ananda Coomaraswamy in his careful observation of textiles, embroidery and costumes of India and Ceylon says that before the arrival of the Portuguese people were not very much used to ready made garments. He explains that weaving is at once the oldest and the most important of the industrial arts. The robes wore usually woven in the shape and size required for use, and only rarely and locally cut into fitting garments. So that tailoring was a comparatively unimportant craft (Coomaraswamy 1913,194). Therefore it can be suggested that foreign influences indeed promoted this unimportant craft into a highly valid and craft.

According to the literature descriptions and rare sketches, Portuguese dress items can be identified. Caps, coat, *kastane* sword (ceremonial sword), *kamesa* (shirt), breeches were the mostly influenced dress items. Two important Portuguese dress items are described by da Silva (1967,48) as *cabaya* and *barrette*. *Cabaya* means a long coat worn by men. *Barrete* is a cap of European style. da Silva (1990,490) in his 'Fidalgos in the Kingdom of Kotte' has identified five kinds of Portuguese caps as follows:

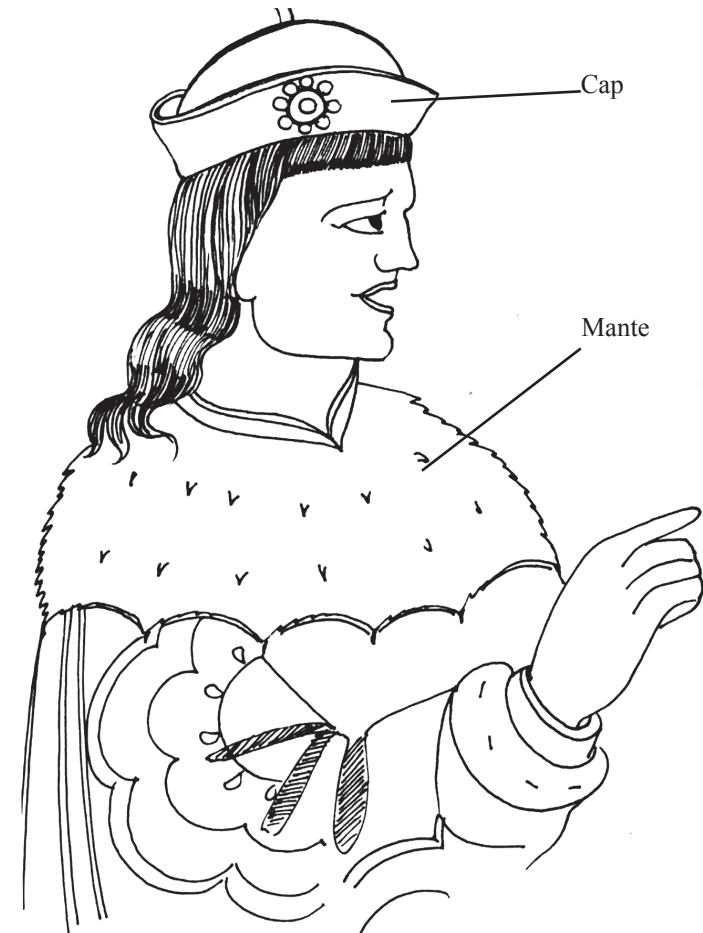
1. *Chapeo*
2. Sun - hat - The author suggested that this may be the cap with a wide brim called the *sombreiro*.
3. *Barrete*
4. *Carapuço*
5. Night cap

Da Silva (1990,490) suggests that short trousers or breeches were worn for work, usually worn by sailors on a ship. According to de Silva S. Jayasuriya and Wijetunge

R's (1998,9) research on 'Portuguese borrowings in Sinhala' it was found that the Sinhala term *kalisa(ma)*/trouser was derived from the Portuguese word '*Calcao*'⁵. Da Silva (1990, 490) also describes some other accessories of Portuguese males such as doublet or coat (*giboa*), stockings (*meias*), shoes (*sapatos*), boots (*botas*), slippers (*chinelas*) and a long cloak. The Kandyan King's costume was heavily influenced by these dress items. He suggests that Portuguese Captain-Generals would have worn hats with plumes. Robert Knox (1966,62) remarks that King Rajasimha II used to wear a cap with plumes (feathers). It is obvious that the Portuguese doublet and breeches would have been very much in vogue at the time. Breeches were generally fastened above the knees in the 16th century.

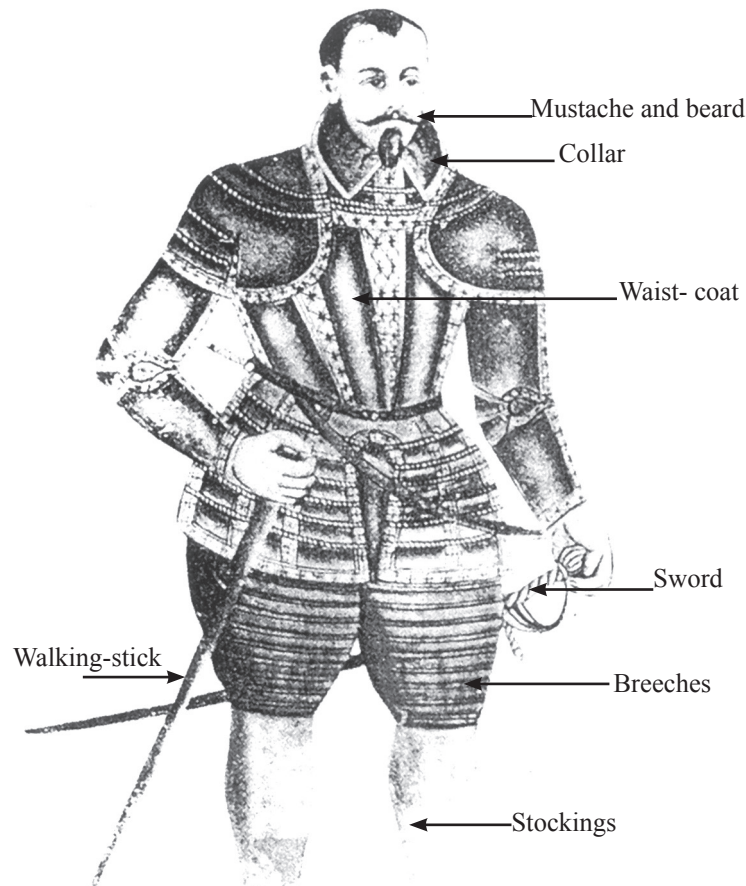
It is obvious that Westerners who were richly clad with exquisite dresses were definitely subjected to thorough observation by the natives. Except the King of Portugal nineteen Portuguese captain generals visited Sri Lanka during the 16th Century A.D (Silva 2005,743).

5 They have dealt with lexical and phonological borrowings from Portuguese into Sinhala. De Silva S. Jayasuriya and Wijetunge R, 1998, 'Portuguese Borrowings in Sinhala', *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (C. B)*, New Series, Vol. XLIII, p.8.



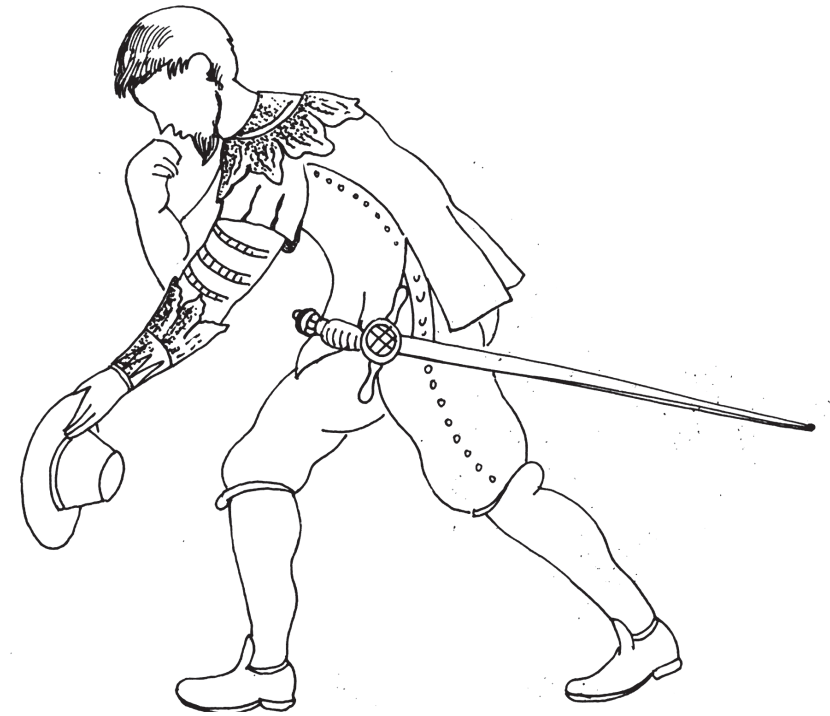
King of Portugal (1495-1521), Dom Manuel the Fortunate⁶
(Ferguson, D.1907. The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (C. B)*, Vol.XIX, No.59, p284)

6 Dom Manuel the Fortunate, King of Portugal, 1495-1521, from *Leitura Nova (I de Alem Douro)* in the Torre de Tombo. (The signature is that of the King Rey) from A journal of the first Voyage of Vasco da Gama by kind permission of the Hakluyt Society, Ferguson D., 1907, The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (C. B)*, Vol.XIX, No.59, p284.



Portuguese Captains-General, Jeronimo de Azavedo⁷
 (Roberts, M.2004. *Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan Period (1590-1815)*. Colombo:Vijitha Yapa Publications. Plate 7)

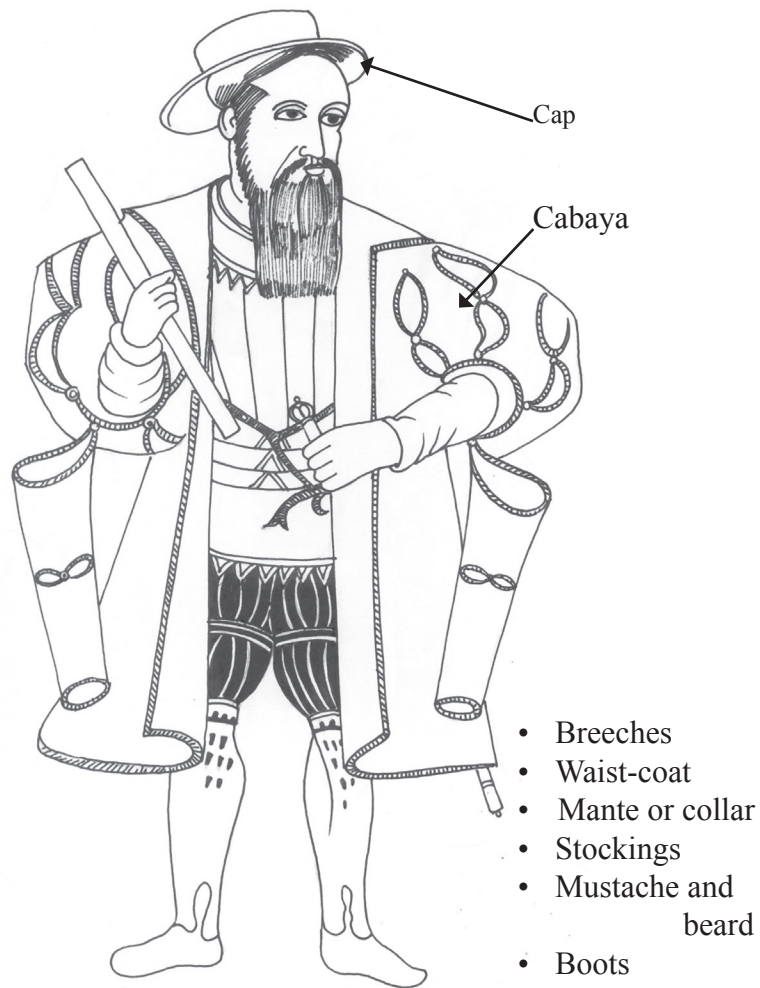
⁷ Roberts M,2004, 'Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyan Period (1590-1815)',Vijitha Yapa Publications, Unity Plaza 2,Colombo 4. Plate 7. Jerenimo arrived in Ceylon in 1594 accompanied by a large force, including many Cavaliers and Fidalgoes (nobles) from Goa and other places. Baultjens A.E. and Cantab B.A., 1898,Don Jeronimo De Azevedo Governor of Ceylon from 1594 to 1611 AD, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (C. B)*,Vol.XV,No.49,p.207.



Portuguese Captains-General , Pedro Lopes de Sousa⁸
 (Silva, De R.K. and Beumer, W.G.M.1988. *Illustrations and views of Dutch Ceylon*,London : Serendip Publications. p.16)

- * Breeches
- * Mante or collar
- * Stockings
- * Beard
- * Waist-coat
- * Sword
- * Hat
- * Shoes

⁸ The drawing is from Baldaeus in 1672.Silva De R.K, Beumer W.G.M,1988, Illustrations and views of Dutch Ceylon, Serendip Publications, London,p.16.



Dom Francisco De Almeida⁹

(Ferguson, D.1907. The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (C. B)*, Vol.XIX, No.59, p289)

⁹ Copied from the Hakluyt Society, Commentaries of Afonso Daldoguerogue, II, 48, The Document of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506, Ferguson D., 1907, The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (C. B)*, Vol.XIX, No.59, p 289.

An Explanatory List by Portuguese Words Depicted by the Sinhalese.

Words associate with dress and dressing

	Portuguese term	Sinhala term
1	<i>Alfinete</i>	A pin
2	<i>Bastam</i>	A cane, a staff (<i>bastama</i>)
3	<i>Bico</i>	A point thus <i>bico</i> (nip of a pen) in dress making the Sinhalese <i>Bikkuva</i> for pattern cut to a point. Sinhalese lace makers apply it to points in lace.
4	<i>Cabaleire</i>	A bunch of <i>casle</i> hair
5	<i>Cabaya</i>	A jacket. A short jacket. (<i>kaba kuruttu</i>)
6	<i>cache</i>	Is described in Portuguese as a sort of Indian cloth. These Sinhalese apply it to a roll of cloth kept for sale by Chetties, Muhammadan, hawkers and parawas (<i>kacchiya</i>)
7	<i>calcoens</i>	Breeches, trousers, they say <i>kalisan</i> in Sinhala.
8	<i>camisa</i>	A shirt (<i>kamise</i>)
9	<i>casquinha</i>	A thin rind, applied to the gold shells which on each side partially enclose the glass or coral bead of a necklace (<i>kaskinna</i>)
10	<i>castana</i>	A sword, the Sinhalese headmen's' swords are <i>kastana</i> . These are ornamental and made of gold or silver. The blades are short and curved and the hilts with guard so small and ornamental that a small hand cannot be inserted to grasp the sword. It is noticeable that the coronation of her Majesty Queen Victoria four swords were carried before, one being a blunt sword called <i>curtanha</i> and emblematic of her prerogative to mercy.
11	<i>Chapeo</i>	A hat (<i>toppiya</i>) The Sinhalese have borrowed several forms of hats from the Portuguese.
12	<i>chinelas</i>	Slippers (<i>cinela</i>)
13	<i>Chipo botam</i>	Mother of pearl. Buttons. <i>Sippi</i> buttons
14	<i>Chiripos</i>	Sandals (<i>sereppu</i>)
15	<i>Conta</i>	A bead
16	<i>continna</i>	A small bead

17	<i>Coral</i>	Coral
18	<i>cordao</i>	A hat band, <i>koradan</i> . Twisted thread.
19	<i>diamante</i>	A diamond
20	<i>fitra</i>	Ribbon (<i>pitta</i>)
21	<i>godrin</i>	A blanket, a silk quilt, in Sinhala (<i>gurinna</i> is a quilted coverlet of Portuguese origin.
22	<i>golpe</i>	A pocket, this was applied in Ceylon to the front flap of the breeches. Now disused.
23	<i>joya</i>	A jewels, <i>joyatax</i> – the tax upon <i>joya</i> and ornaments which are made or consists of gold, silver or other metal, stone, pearl, ivory, glass, coral, chank or bone.
24	<i>juan</i>	John, the jacket worn by the Kandyan chiefs is named <i>juvan hette</i> , it came into fashion from the time of the <i>Appoohamy</i> Don <i>Juvan</i> , who after betraying the Portuguese and renouncing Christianity became King under the title of Vimala Dharma Suriya.
25	<i>Lenco</i>	A handkerchief (<i>lensuva</i>)
26	<i>meas</i>	(plural) stockings (<i>mes</i> in Sinhala) socks.
27	<i>mostra</i>	A pattern.
28	<i>poeria</i>	Dust raised by the wind. In the Indo-Portuguese hair powder, (<i>puyara</i>) in Sinhala, hair powder is largely used on the faces of women and children when fully dressed on public occasions.
29	<i>sacco</i>	A sack or bag or pocket (<i>sakkuwa</i>).
30	<i>sapato</i>	A Shoe (<i>sapattuwva</i>)
31	<i>saya</i>	A women's petticoat (in Sinhala <i>saya</i>)
32	<i>sed</i>	Silk
33	<i>toalha</i>	A towel (<i>tuvaye</i>)

*(Neli, Louis, 1888-1889, An Explanatory List by Portuguese Words Depicted by the Sinhalese. The Orientalist, A Journal of Oriental Literature, Arts and Science, edited by Williom Goonetilleke, Vol III, 41p)

FIGURE 2

KING SENARATH (1604-1633)

(Dissanayaka, S. B. 1997. Diyathilaka Nuwara. Colombo: Department: of Archeology. plate 20)

A royalty possibly believed to be King Senarath is depicted in a scroll painting (*pethikada*) of Aratthana Viharaya (Dissanayaka 1997, plate 20). *Mandarampurapuwatha* states that King Senarath erected the viharaya during his reign (Lankananda 1996, verses 414-8). Furthermore, a *sannasa* (royal grants) which is now in possession of the Viharaya claims that King Senarath handed paddy land back to the viharaya (Dissanayaka 1997, 162). Dissanayaka (1997, 73) states that three scroll paintings are in possession of the viharaya, are believed to have been donated by King Senarath. It is clear that King Senarath's contribution to the development of the viharaya is considerable. Therefore it is possible to assume that the royalty who is depicted in the Aratthana scrolls depicts King Senarath.

According to the scroll, the King wore a long sleeved jacket with a frilled collar. The lower garment is with a long frilled part, circular formed frill at the abdomen, hat and jackets fastened with gold buttons. The neckline was in a V shape. A certain amount of frills had been tucked at the edge of each sleeve. Unlike King Vimala Dharma Suriya I's attire his jacket also has been fastened with golden buttons. The '*tuppotti*' style was more complicated than King Vimala Dharma Suriya I's simple fashion. The cap seemed to have been made of fabric like King Vimala Dharma Suriya I's headdress was. Just as was Vimala Dharma Suriya I, King Senarath too is bare footed and he is also shown with anklets.

FIGURE 3**KING RAJASIMHA II (1635-1687 AD)**

(Knox, R.1966. Historical Relation of Ceylon. Colombo: Tissara Prakasakayo)

The King Rajasimha II 's image was depicted in the manuscript of Robert Knox (8 February 1641 – 19 June 1720). Knox was an English sea captain in the service of the British East India Company. He was taken captive by the troops of the King of Kandy King, Rajasinghe II. He was a captive of the Kingdom for 20 years. Knox wrote the manuscript An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon, an account of his experiences on Ceylon, and was published in 1681.

King Rajasimha II devoted more attention to his apparel. He had his own ideas about fashion. His costume is described according to Robert Knox's description as follows,

His apparel is very strange and wonderful, not after his own country fashion, or any other, being made after his own invention. On his head he wears a cap with four corners like a Jesuits three tear high, and a feather standing upright before. Like that in a head of a fore –horse in a team, a long band hanging down his back after the Portuguese fashion, his doublet after so strong a shape,...the body of one ,and the sleeves of another colour, he wears long breeches to his ankles, shoes and stockings (Knox 1966,62).

In fact, his costume differs from the early King's costumes. He is richly clad as a European gentleman. The King totally followed Western dress styles. Unlike other Kings he wore shoes, stockings and trousers. The trousers drape straight from the waist up to ankle. The trousers seem to be a loose garment. The lower ends of the trousers are tight and fastened with buttons. As Robert Knox claims the headdress indeed is not a crown but a cap. According

to historical description King Rajasimha II always wore a wonderful headgear which is completely different from the traditional practice of the King. But he admired and believed that his headgear was the best. This hat was a gift from the Dutch. According to King Rajasimha II's letters to the Dutch the King thanked them for the gifts. "The four plumes are very good, and as such I welcomed them" (Ferguson 1909, 264).Ferguson (1909, 269) suggests that they were doubtless Raja Sinhas' wonderful headgear, as described and depicted by Knox.

It is doubt whether Robert Knox himself was able to observe the King. However, according to his description he later lived as a free civilian among the Kandyans. Knox and his companions were allowed to stay in villages chosen by the King and allowed to roam around the area. After his father's tragic death, Knox shifted to a place called Handpanadara (modern *Deyaladha Amuna Pattuwa*), South East of Kegalle (present village Etiriyagala). There he stayed for two years from 1664-1666 earning his living by knitting caps and other garments. From Bandara Coswatte, like a wanderer of no fixed abode, Robert Knox, on the orders of the King shifted to Legundeniya in the Kandy District about 6-7 miles from Gampola accompanied by his comrades John Loveland, John Marry, and William Bay. They lived there for three years from 1667-70 A.D. In his book 'A Historical Relation of Ceylon' Robert Knox gives his impressions of Legundeniya. Eladetta in Udunuwara, was also a village being the home of Robert Knox for nearly ten years from about 1670. (Lawrie, A.C, Gazetteer of the Central province of Ceylon. 1898. Colombo: George, J,A, Skeen, Government printer. Ceylon. Vol.1. p.208). Historian Dewaraja claims that among the British sources, the earliest study is the writing of Robert Knox that inexhaustible mine of information regarding almost any aspect of the History of the Kandyan Kingdom. Knox depicted the

conditions he observed during his period of captivity from 1660-1679. These conditions tally very closely, except in minor details with those given by British writers of the early nineteenth Century. (Dewaraja, 1988 p.16). Therefore it can be suggested that if he was not able to record according to his own observation definitely his description was based on true information gathered from natives.

FIGURE 4

KING KIRTHI SRI RAJASIMHA (1747-1782 AD) (Temple of Dambulla)

In the statue of King Kirthi Sri Rajasimha in the Dambulla Temple¹⁰ the royal attire is well depicted. The lower garment consisted of loose white pantaloons with wide legs gathered at the ankles. Kirthi Sri's trousers differ from Rajasimha II's trousers. Vangeyzel (2008, 99) claims that the royal costume in the 18th Century consisted of a loose garment with frills at the ankles. The 'hette' or jacket worn over the tunic had a long tail at the back. This was made of rich material such as brocade, velvet, silk or cloth of gold. The jacket has long sleeves. A high *mandarin* neck has a wide and two pieced frilled collar. King Kirthi Sri's upper garment is described as *mojahette* and is still well preserved at Kundasale Viharaya. It is woven with silk thread and has a frilled collar around the neck in the sculpture (Sinhalese Encyclopedia s.v. "Lakdiva Enduma"). He is shown, wearing an eight-cornered crown is made of gold. At the peak of the crown a five-branched gold flowering tree. This is traditionally called *borale* or *malgaha* (Codrington 1910, 22). According to

10 In a stone letter of the Dambulla temple Kandyan Kings are mentioned as 'in the year of saka 1619 King Wimala Dharma Suriya II, son of Rajasimhe II'. As well A sannasa (royal grant) had been granted to the temple by King Senarath. (Lawrie, A.C, 1898. Vol.1.p 121)

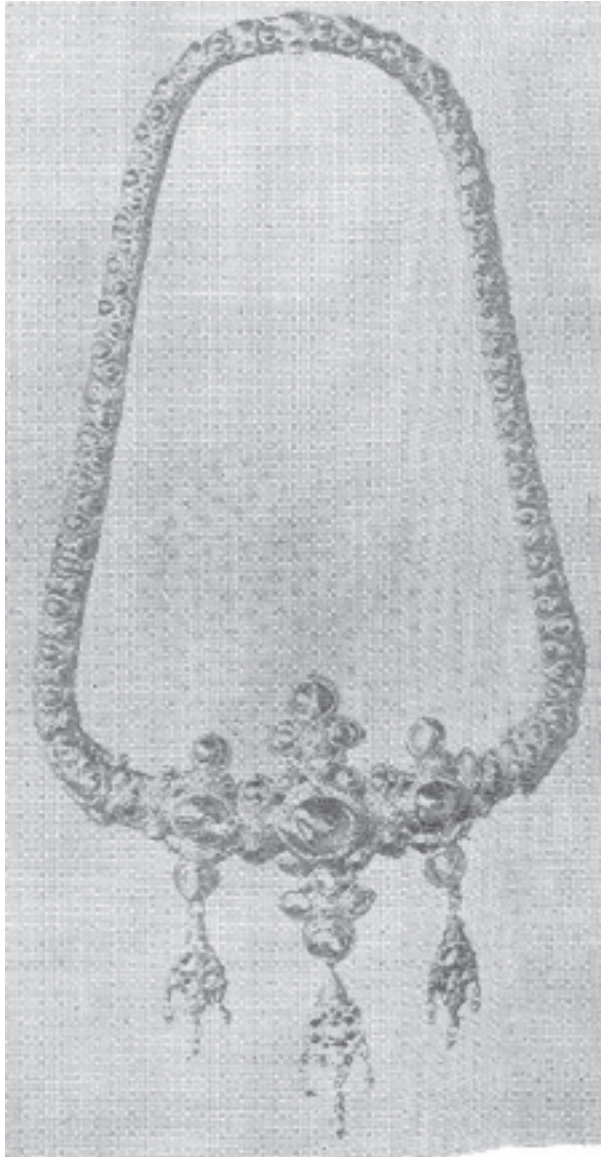
Codrington (1910,22) this is similar to the headgear which was used after 1833. Paul E. Pieris (1992,44) describes an exquisite necklace called '*Maha Derisana Male*' of King Kirthi Sri Raja Sinha at the Temple of the Tooth. Professor Suraweera (1976,270) claims that the word '*derisana*' was derived from the Tamil word '*terisanam*', which gives the meaning of show (*darshanaya*).

King Kirthi Sri's costume was a blend of Western, South Indian and specially Siamese influences.

According to Pybus's¹¹ embassy to Kandy in 1762, he carefully describes the King's costume as follows,

The upper garment seemed an open robe of gold tissue, with a close vest underneath, and a broad belt richly embroidered with gold round his waist. He had upon his head a cap of scarlet cloth embroidered with gold, much in form of an Armenian's cap, upon the top of which was a small crown set with precious stones, several rings on his fingers, a short dagger in his left hand, the hilt of which was gold set with precious stones, and on his right side was a large broad sword, not girt upon him but resting against the chair of state, its hilt like wise was of gold set with precious stones. His shoes were made in the manner of the Chinese sandals, of crimson velvet embroidered with gold, and a plate of gold seemed to run round the out side of the soles (Reven-Hart 1956,57).

11 In 1762 A.C. , the British Government at Madras despatched an Embassy to the court of his Majesty King Kirti Sri Rajasinha, with the object of entering into an alliance with Ceylon. John Pybus, a member of the Madras Council, was selected to lead the embassy, which left Trincomalye on May 5, 1762, His Journal has handed down to posterity a comprehensive description both of Sinhala court etiquette and of the condition of Ceylon at that period. (Reven-Hart, R. trans. 1956. The Pybus Embassy to Kandy-1762, The National Museum of Ceylon, Historical Series Vol.I.)



'Maha Derisana Male' of King Kirthi Sri Rajasimha
(Pieris, P.E. 1992. *Ceylon the Portuguese Era. Vol.1. Tisara
Prakasakayo.p.44*)

The description tallies well with the statue of Kirthi Sri at the Dambulla temple. More details can be identified from the statue. His regalia consist of a number of chains. These chains are arranged in different proportions. The central one has a large pendant hanging from a row of chains winding down from the hip. The longest chain comes to knee level. This royal regalia shows positive traces of the Siamese regalia style.

For the custom of higher ordination a new royal dress was introduced by Siam. At the higher ordination *tuppotti* with white pantaloons and many accessories are worn by the apprentice. The apprentice is dressed as a Siamese King at the higher ordination ceremony. The dress became a signifier of state, religion for the next generation. The original Siamese dress is depicted in a photograph which is displayed at the museum of Malwatta, Kandy. Robes of brocade fabric, numerous utensils gifted by the Siamese royal court to Ven.Valivita Saranankara are still in the Museum of Malwatta, Kandy.

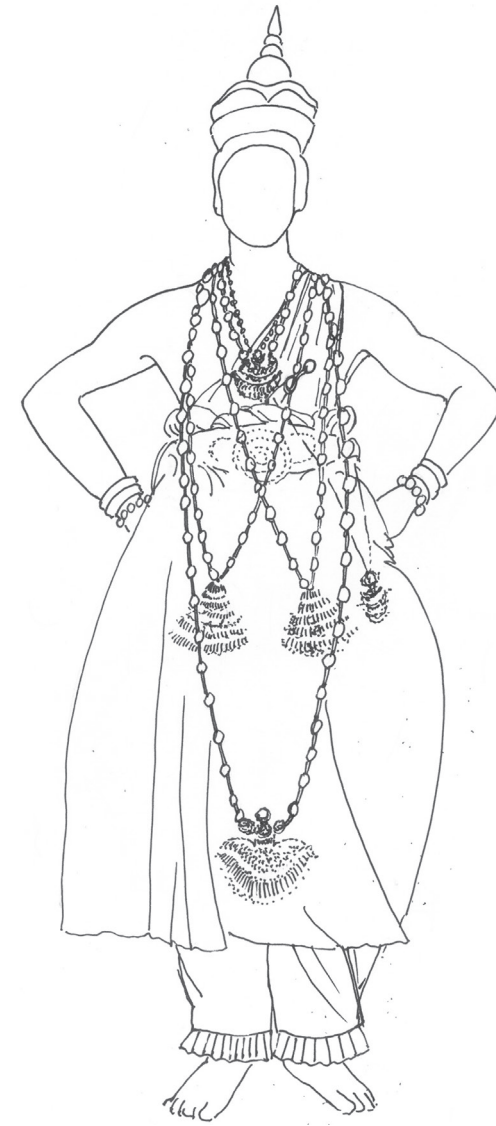
Because of the frequent visits and contacts with Siam Sri Lankan Kings were gifted many luxurious textiles and other accessories. The Sri Lankan Kings gradually got accustomed to embroidered cloths with gold threads and dazzling gems in the Siamese tradition. According to the description of Sinhalese envoys, Siamese Kings dress explains as follows, The Kings' dress was explained by Sinhalese envoys.

The Siamese King wore on his head a crown of three tiers blazing with gems of all colour. Rings set with large and flashing diamonds were worn on his hand. His coat (Kabaya) was of cloth embroidered with gold and was secured with diamonds buttons (Pieris 1945,103).

Gold textiles, gem studded crown, ring sets, cabaya (coat) of gold tissue were also described in king Kirthi Sri's clothing habits.



The apprentice is worn as a King at the higher- ordination ceremony-
Museum of Malwathu Viharaya.



The apprentice is worn as a King at the higher- ordination ceremony-
(Seven Pendants according to different proportionate) Museum of
Malwathu Viharaya.

The main dress form also shows similarities with Javanese royal court dress as shown below.



Javanese Generals

Javanese Generals : (Max, de. Bruijn. and Remco, Raben. ed.2004. The world of Jan Brandes.1743-1808, Drawings of a Dutch Traveler in Batavia,Ceylon & South Africa, Waanders Publishers, Rijks museum,Amsterdam., p.228,illustration59)



A Javanese General

Javanese General,:(Tessup H.I,1990, '*Court Arts of Indonesia*', the Asia Society Galleries, New York, in association with Harry N, Abrams,INC,New York. ,p.205.)

FIGURE 5**KING SRI VIKRAMA RAJASIMHA (1798-1815)****(Museum of Kandy)**

Description of the portrait is included in the introduction of Saparamadu S.D, (D'Oyly J¹², 1975, (sec.edit.), 'A sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom, ed.L.J.BTurner, Published as the CHJ, Vol.24, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka, Tisara Publishers, p.10). A colour copy is displayed in the Museum of Kandy. Andeas Nell in his careful description about the portrait of the Kandyan Queen also mentions about a portrait of the last Kandyan King Sri Wikrama Rajasinha. He says that Sir John Douglas who visited Tanjor in 1871 by order

12 After the annexation of the Kandyan provinces by the British in 1815 and the deportation of the ruler, the general executive and judicial authority was formally and expressly delegated by the governor to Board of Commissioners at Kandy. The members of the original Board were John D'Oyly resident and first commissioner. (Dewaraja, L. S. 1988 Sec. ed. The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka 1707-1782. Pannipitiya: Stamford Lake (Pvt) Ltd.p.17). K.M.de Silva sees that D'Oyly was an expert on Kandyan affairs, he had built an efficient intelligence network and was in communication with the disaffected chiefs. (Silva, de K.M, 2005 (The first Sri Lankan Edition). A History of Sri Lanka. Colombo: Vijith Yapa Publications.p.297)

Saparamadu S.D states that Sir John D'Oyly attended Westminster school and thereafter had a distinguished career at Cambridge winning a large number of prizes and scholarships while also playing a prominent part in social and athletic events in the university. After graduating in 1796 D'Oyly secured a cadetship in the Ceylon civil service, was one of the first batch of civil servants to be sent out to Ceylon after the country was declared as a Crown Colony. He arrived in Ceylon in September 1801. D'Oyly soon exceeded his original responsibilities. Instead of attending to negotiations directly with the court he set himself up as a super espionage agent for the British over the Kingdom of Kandy (D'Oyly J, 1975, (sec.edit.), 'A sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom, ed.L.J.BTurner, Published as the CHJ, Vol.24, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka, Tisara Publishers, p.vi).

of the Ceylon government, saw the life sized portrait in gilt frame of Sri Wikrama Rajasinha's third Queen, Muttu Kanamma Devi's at her house at Tanjor. Nell suggests that the Queens portrait might have been drawn by Samuel Daniell, probably after 1815, in India. (Andreas, N., 1916, Portrait of a Kandyan Queen, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (C. B)N. & Q., Vol XXIV, part VI, n.i, xcvi-c). Most probably the King's portrait would have been drawn at the same time.

King Sri Wikrama Rajasimha's wore a broad *mante* with a wad of gathers round the neck up to the shoulders. His lower shirt (*yatakameesaya*) was of fine muslin. A sleeveless jacket worn over it might have been of brocade or decorated fabric. Bo-leaf shaped tassels were attached at the armholes. A Bo-leaf shaped bracelet was worn as an ornament on his wrist. He carried a handkerchief and had a *thilaka* mark on his forehead which signifies his Tamil origin.

The hair would have been thick and long and lay on the back as Kirthi Sri Rajasimha did. The King maintained long hair which would have been combed back and parted at the centre. Then he tied his hair in a loose knot as shown in the portrait. The beard seems to be neatly waxed. A thin moustache lay over the upper lip and its ends are curved upward like spikes in fashion conscious King Rajasimha II's style. But the representations of Vimala Dharma Suriya I and Rajasimha II (1635-87) are shown with short hair.

Even though the religion, social organization, court etiquettes were similar to the South Indian Nayakas region, the royal dress was different from its original roots. It is obvious that Sri Lankan Nayakkar Kings followed the Kandyan tradition. Fondness for gold, luxurious textiles as brocade, silk fabrics and long hair and the *thilaka* mark on their forehead were the same as South Indian Nayak's. Nicolas Pimenta described (1599) the Nayak of *Gingee* as follows:

The Nayakkar of Gingee used to wear silk cloths. He wore a large gold chain and had decorated his face with pearls and gems. He had long hair which was tied as a knot at the top of the head and was adorned with pearls and gems (Sastri 1955,304).

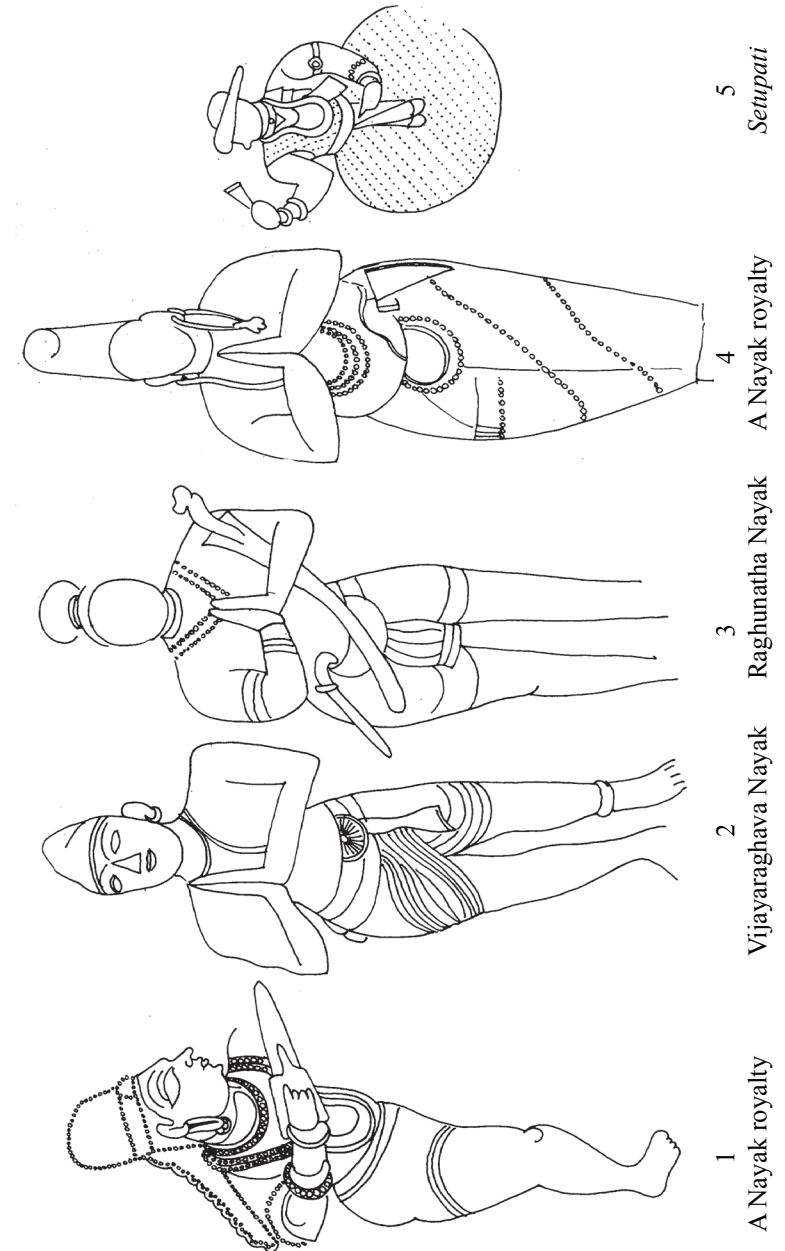
Figure 1 Ceiling Mural at the Valmikanatha Shrine, Tiruvarur, late 17th Century (Rao V.N, Shulman, Subramanyam S, 1992, Symbols of Substance court & State in Nayaka Period Tamilnadu, Figure No.11)

Figure 2 Bronze image from the Tanjavur Art Gallery, (Rao V.N, Shulman, Subramanyam S, 1992, Symbols of Substance court & State in Nayaka Period Tamilnadu, figure No.7).

Figure 3 Raghunatha Nayaka, Kumbhakonam from the Mandapa at Ramasvami Temple, (Rao V.N, Shulman, Subramanyam S, 1992, Symbols of Substance court & State in Nayaka Period Tamilnadu, Figure No.6).

Figure 4 A Royal donor, Bhuvaraha Temple, Srimushnam, 17th Century, (Michell .G. 1995, *New Cambridge History of India, Architecture and Art of Southern India (Vijayanagar and the Successor States)*, New York: Cambridge University Press p.183)

Figure 5 Mural, Ramalingavilasa, Ramanathapuram, (Rao V.N, Shulman, Subramanyam S, 1992, Symbols of Substance court & State in Nayaka Period Tamilnadu, figure No16)

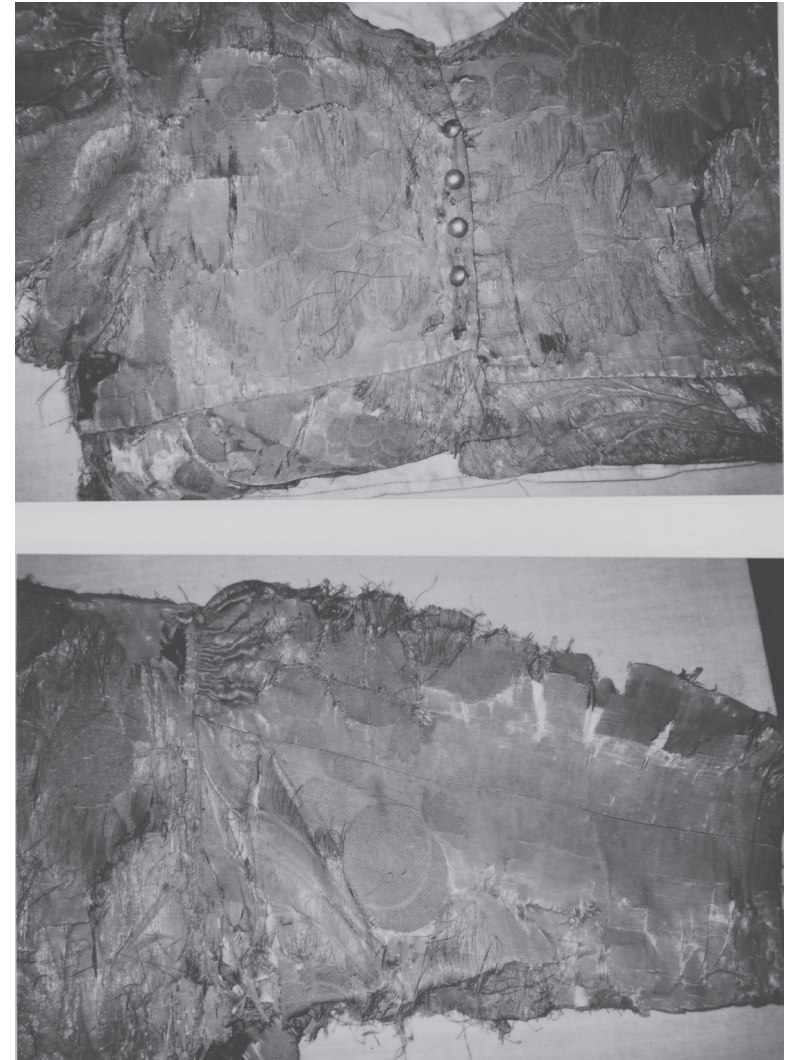


1 A Nayak royalty
2 Vijayaraghava Nayak
3 Raghunatha Nayak
4 A Nayak royalty
5 Setupati
South Indian Nayak's with their attires.

The front of the jacket
The back of the jacket



Some exquisite jackets of the last king have been conserved by the National Museum of Colombo. (Vangeyzel, G.E. 2008. *Traditional Textiles, In the Colombo National Museum*. Published by National Museum Colombo.p.240-main register 24.11.395)



Golden coloured jacket before conservation (Curtsey Museum of Colombo) Conservation of Ancient textile collection in the Department of National Museum (Sri Lanka Netherlands Cultural cooperation programme) from 3rd July to 16th August 2017

Vangeyzel (2008,240) describes another golden coloured jacket which had been possessed by the King. The register of the Colombo Museum remarks that the jacket is believed to have belonged to the last King of Kandy and later purchased from H.B Andris of Trincomalee street in Kandy city in 19.07.1924. Vangeyzel (2008, 240) describes that this is made of a cloth patterned all over. The ground is with large floral motifs of leaves and buds. The sleeves of the jacket are puffed and at the front of the jacket are gold buttons. The author claims that the fabric of the jacket is an imported material. Further she (2008, 240) details that this is a hand woven fabric with gold metallic yarn, in the centre is a floral motif woven with a curled metallic gold filament. The King used to have a cross belt which was used to gird the sword upon the wearer. Vangeyzel explains that this is a maroon coloured fully embroidered velvet belt which consisted of a gold buckle and a badge. The yarn used for the embroidery is gold and silver metallic yarn. The author (Vangeyzel 2008, 296) suggests that stitches which were used for the design were similar to a 'French not' design.

Professor Tennakoon Vimalananda explores an interesting description of costumes and jewellery of the Last King in his book 'Sri Wickrama, Brownrigg and Ehelepole'. The work consisted of a collection of letters addressed to the home government from 1811-1815 by Major General John Wilson and Lieut. General Robert Brownrigg Governor of Ceylon. The Memorandum mentions of the delivery of an array of the King's jewels on 13th March 1815 by *adigar* Ehelepole an array of jewelery is mentioned. There were three bundles of jewelery. One proved to contain a complete suit of gold armour with the exception of the shoes and of the head

pieces which probably consisted of the crown and cap about to be mentioned. The second bundle contained a gold crown and a cap of the *Cingalese* (Sinhalese) form, the upright part of which was a band or circlet of gold and the top plaited linen according to the custom of the country some ornaments appendages of the crown either unscrewed or broken were separate one was in the form of a plume resembling in some degree the feathers of the Prince of Wales Arms except that the number of divisions was five instead of three and were said to be snakes' heads of the species called *Covre Caselle*. This jewel was of gold set with stones the remaining appendages consisted of several changes of tufts for the top of the crown, and one or two ornamental pieces of gold set with stones. The third bundle of various rich ornaments were produced of gold and precious stones. Fine details were given about breast ornaments (attached to gold chains) very large, the centre stone of a great size of rubies, emerald and tulle diamond. Medallions of gold and rubies, gold bracelets set with stones were mentioned. Besides, a necklace of massy gold bezels closely joined set with diamonds the front part made to fall on the breast and much enlarged (Vimalananda, 1984,447,448,449p).

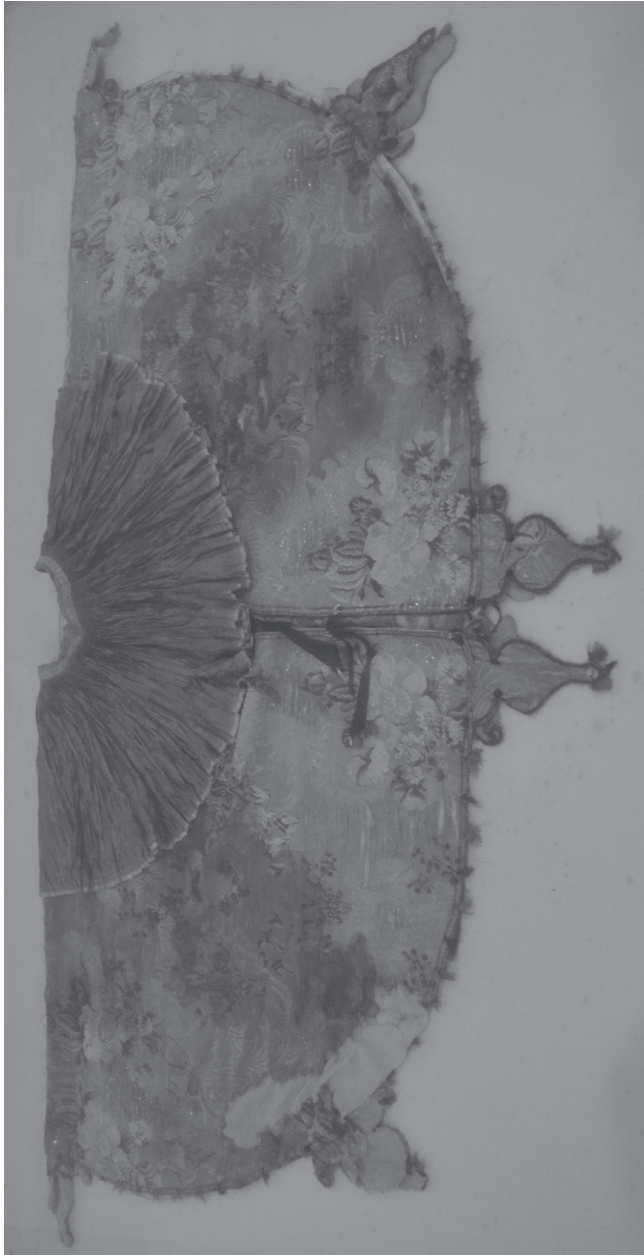
Moreover, Professor Tennakoon Vimalananda has published some well documented articles of original form pertaining to the story of the first war of independence of 1818. D'Oyly states that the regalia of the last King was safely delivered by the Disava of Uva on 2nd November 1816 (Vimalananda 1970,85p). A sword with gold hilt, studded with small red stones and diamonds at the end, A sheath of wood covered with blue velvet, very much worn, with some gold work, red velvet band with gold embroidery,

three cloths enfolding it, a gold four cornered cap or crown with carved work at top, the four faced and four corners studded with stones principally red. A few emerald and blue sapphires, A large brocade cloth a gold crest or top knot, A four cornered block beaver hat, gold laced, surmounted with white feathers all round the brim were handed over. Robert Brownrigg (Vimalananda 1970, 235,236p) informed that a list of property belonging to Ehelepola nilame was handed over and now ordered to be deposited in the treasury as royal property. Furthermore, he claims that a royal whip set with gold and some precious stones with crystal knob was found among Ehelepolle's property and immediately recognised as the whip the King used.

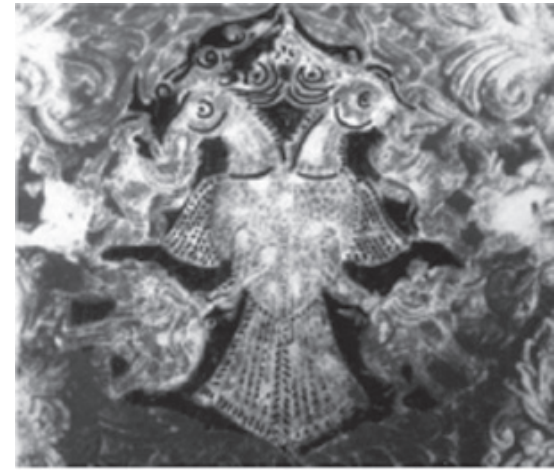
The original agent of influence is evident in the art and craft of the jewellery (design and motif, terms for the jewellery). Kandyan royal jewellery is a combination of different cultural attainments. However designs, decorations and even terminology give positive hints to identify their original agent of influence. Coomaraswamy (1956, 211) in his 'Medieval Sinhalese Art' says, "The Kandyan jewellery as might be expected, much of it shows strong Tamil influences". Moreover, he suggests that much of the gold jewellery is of South Indian design. The principle forms have distinctive names such as '*kurulu padakkama*' = *bherunda* (double headed bird).



Cross belt of Sri Vikrama Rajasimha (Curtsey Museum of Colombo) Conservation of Ancient textile collection in the Department of National Museum (Sri Lanka Netherlands Cultural cooperation programme) from 3rd July to 16th August 2017

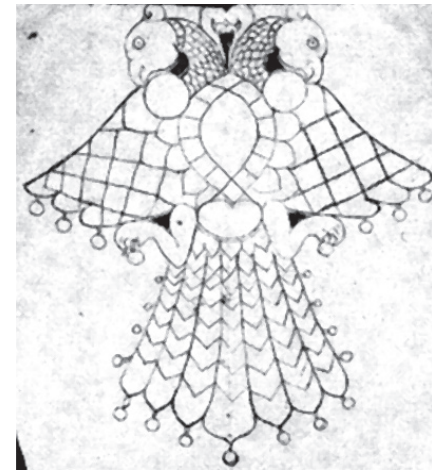


Mante of King Sri Vikrama Rajasimha (Curtsey Museum of Kandy)



Ceiling panel, virabhadra temple, Keladi, 16th Century.

Ceiling panel, virabhadra temple, Keladi, 16th Century (Michell .G. 1995, *New Cambridge History of India, Architecture and Art of Southern India (Vijayanagar and the Successor States)*, New York: Cambridge University Press, p.66).

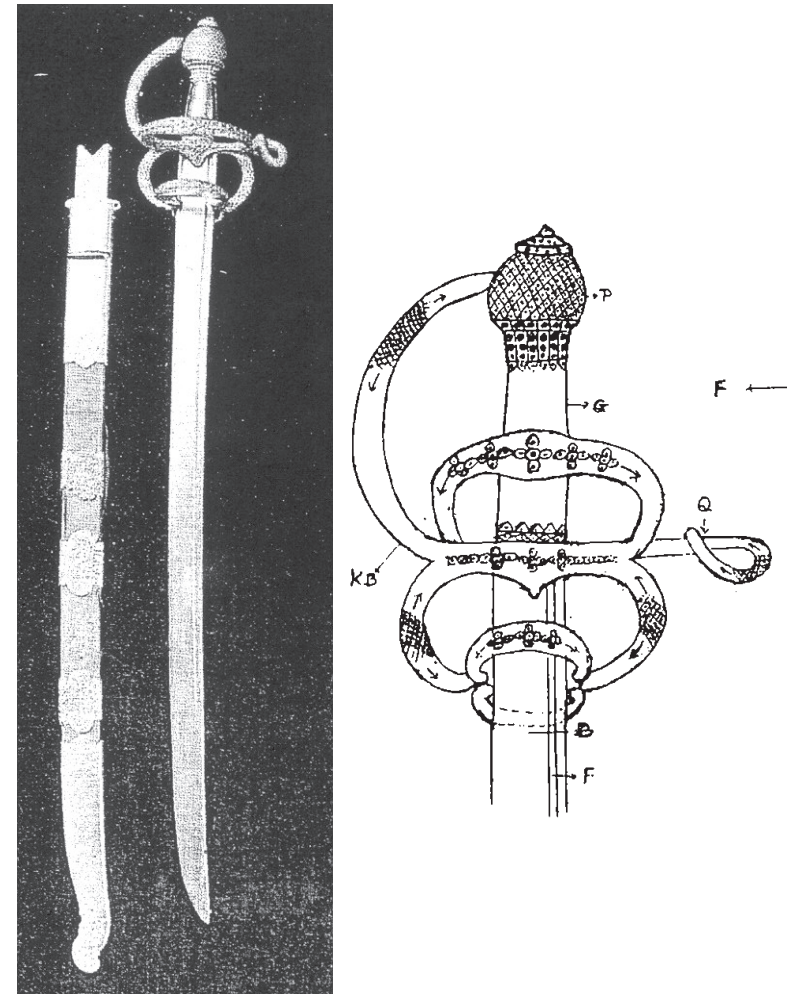


Design for a pendant for King Sri Wickrama Rajasimha.

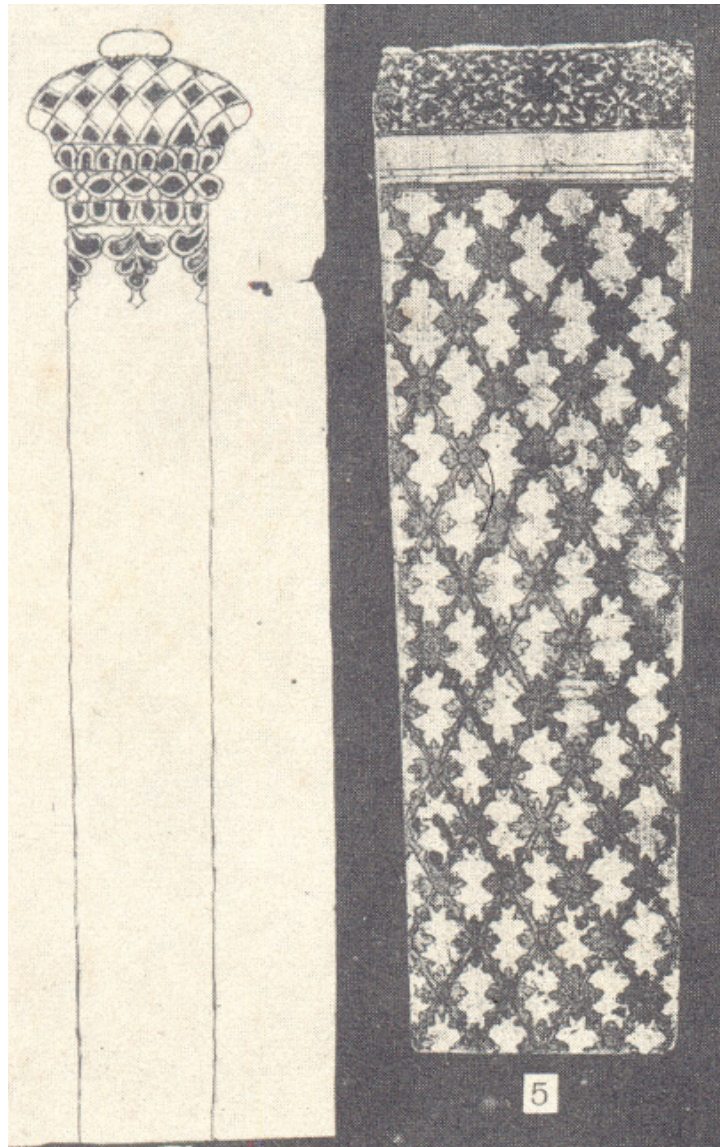
Design for a pendant for King Sri Wickrama Rajasimha. Working drawing of heirlooms of the Mangalagama *galladdo*, Coomaraswamy A; 1956, 'Mediaeval Sinhalese Art', National Museum Colombo, p.330, plate XXIII (6).

P.H.D.H De Silva (Silva 2002, 94) explores three 'kastane' swords which belonged to King Kirti Sri Raja Simha and Sri Wickrama Raja Sinha. These swords are known as ceremonial swords which were carved and studded with precious stones. De Silva (Silva 2002) says 'kastane' swords as ceremonial swords of rank which were very much in vogue during the Dutch and British periods in Sri Lanka. Nevertheless, he (Silva 2002, 96) explains that the word 'kastane' is derived from the Portuguese word 'castao' which gives the meaning of hilt (a walking stick). Among them King Sri Wickrama Raja Sinha's sword shows more foreign influences in design and carvings. De Silva (Silva 2002) in his careful observation says that the guard is complicated with several branches which take the form of a serpent. In his discussion he suggests that it resembles a European sword. The serpent-like knuckle guard is special for Sri Lankan swords. In 'Vijayantatantra' it is stated that the serpent is an unlucky design (other unlucky animals were jackal, mule, camel, cow, egret and owl) on a royal sword and that it would bring disaster upon the king and his subjects (Jayasuriya 2001). Therefore it can be suggested that the serpent designed *kastane* was made because the king admired foreign designs or this sword might have been a gift from the Dutch or British.

da Silva Cosme (1990) suggests that the walking stick, *bastam* or *bastao* and belt were other Portuguese accessories which needed to complete the outfit of a Portuguese gentlemen. The Kandyan King also seemed to have followed the same tradition. Rajasimha II and Sri Wickrama Raja Simha were depicted in their full costume with walking sticks.



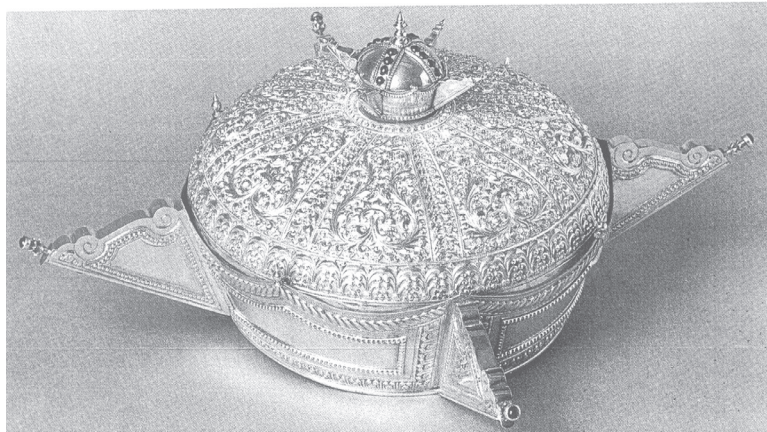
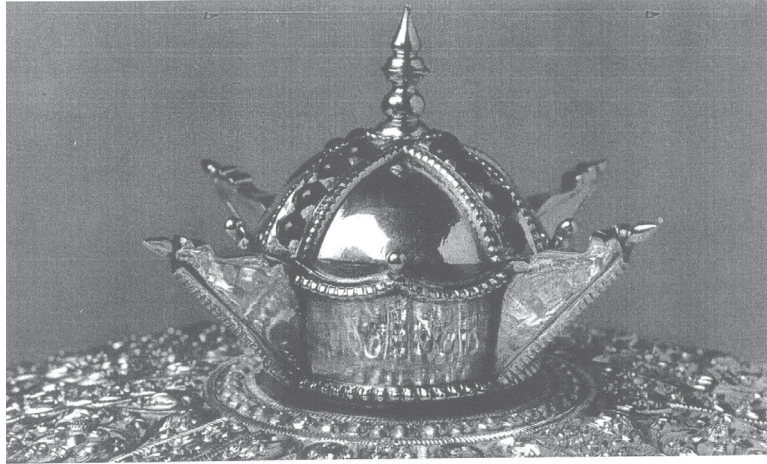
Sri Wickrama Raja Sinha's *kastane* sword, National Museum, Colombo.
(De Silva P.H.D.H., 2002, The Sword of State of King Sri Wickrama Raja Simha of Kandy, Sri Lanka, Royal Anniversary Year Book: London, Vol.7.p.95)



Design for gold-mounted and jeweled cane for King Sri Vickrama Rajasimha. (Coomaraswamy A; 1956, 'Mediaeval Sinhalese Art', National Museum Colombo. p330, plate XXIII (4,5))

Crowns of the Kandyan Kings

One interesting aspect of the crowns of Kandyan Kings is that they were all different from each other. Each crown was a silent indication of their personal traits and particular fashion preferences. Moreover, according to early records the King had many headgears instead of the crown. Even though King Senerath in murals of Araththana Vihara was depicted with a cap, he possessed three crowns of Gold, Silver and Bronze (Goonaratne 1995, 227). Those were royal insignias of Kumarasimha Mahastane, Vijayapala Mahastane and Rajasimha II. It can be believed that as the heir of the Kandyan Kingdom Rajasimha II would have been given the gold crown. Robert Knox states too that King Raja II wore a gold crown at court ceremonies. Lawrie states (1898, 175) that King Raja II's golden crown was now a possession of the Dodanwela Maha Dewale. Moreover, Lawrie (1898) explains that the crown was of thin plain gold. However, Robert Knox (Knox 1966) further says that the King always preferred to wear a cap rather than his crown. Coordrington (1910, 26) suggests that this cap had similar features to the Portuguese *barret* caps. Davy (1821, 116) expresses that ordinary dress of King Sri Wikrama Rajasimha consisted of a high four-cornered cap of a particular form and ornamented with tassels. Moreover, Davy (1821, 123) explains that the golden crown was seldom worn "but a cap, for superstitious motives, was generally substituted for it". Cordrington (1910, 26) states that a small square hat of Kirthi Sri Rajasimha is still preserved in the Dalada Maligava. Therefore it is evident that instead of the crown all Kings wore multi fashioned caps.



The Silver Crown of King Senerath (Goonaratne, B. 1995. *The Epic Struggle of the Kingdom of Kandy*. London : Argus Publications. p.227)

FIGURE 6

KING SRI WIKRAMA RAJASIMHA

(Davy, J. 1821. *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and of Its Inhabitants*, London: Longman,p.107)

In the preface of the book by Davy it is said that this work is formed from original materials collected in Ceylon, during a residence on that station, on the medical staff of the army, from August, 1816 to February 1820. Dewaraja claims that he was an independent writer like Knox. (Dewaraja, 1988 p.63).

Davy explores (1821,153p) the ordinary dress of the late King as a shirt, a jacket over it with long sleeves and a rich tupetty in Sinhalese fashion, or loose trousers in the Malabar style. He wore a high four cornered cap of a particular form and ornamented with tassels. Moreover he (Davy 1821, 157p) describes the his etiquettes in ceremonial occasions as ‘when the King appeared on state occasions, he was either dressed in the most magnificent robes, loaded with a profusion of jewellery, or in complete armour of gold, ornamented with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. To make the scene more impressive, and add to its solemnity, night was the favorite time to give audience and transacting business. In the statements delivered by Adigars who handed over the King’s regalia to Robert Brownrigg in both 1815 and 1818 give similar descriptions about the King’s jewels (Vimalananada 1970 & 1984).

FIGURE 7**QUEEN DONA CATHERINE (1602-1613 AD).**

(Silva R.K de, Beumer W.G.M, Illustrations and views of Dutch Ceylon, Serendip Publications, London, p.16)

The first Queen image of the Kandyan era was marked by Queen Don Catherine (1602-1613 AD). The drawing is from Baldaeus in 1672. Silva R.K and Beumer say that ‘we have adapted pictures from Brohier’s translation of Baldaeus’ Description of Ceylon, as published in the Ceylon Historical Journal Vol III, July 1958-April 1959, No 1-4 to support our Illustrations. We have also drawn on the observations, views and comments of many other contemporary writers.

Despite Baldaeus’ visual representation of the Queen’s sartorial etiquettes, literary reviews both show that direct Portuguese influences were manifested in her dress habits. According to the illustration she wore a long robe like a draped dress which had a front opening. This may be the original shape of Portuguese elite women’s dress. These kinds of garments were known as ‘*roppilios*’ which indicates a large loose garment in Portuguese (Ferguson 1927, 396). Apparently ‘*roupilha*’, dim of ‘*roupa*’ (Portuguese), means any loose garment. (Ferguson, D., 1927, (b) The visit of Spilberjen to Ceylon in May 1602, The Earliest Dutch Visit to Ceylon, JRAS(CB), Vol. XXX, No. 80, p. 396). In the Suriyadoya Vihara murals a similar kind of garment is depicted. Loose sleeves had been gathered at the elbow. The skirt part was voluminous and ‘hand made lace bands’ would have been attached all over making a horizontal design. Lace works was an exquisite Portuguese influenced item of Sinhalese ladies’ dress during the 16th century. Perera S.G (1992, 45-60) gives some Portuguese words in connection

with lace making. *Biralu* (bobbin), *Bikkuva* (in dress making the Sinhalese use *Bikkuva* for a pattern cut to a point. Lace makers apply it to points in lace. A belt was worn at the waist. The method of wearing could be easy and simple. She tied her hair at the top as a knot. She might have arranged her hair in the Portuguese fashion.



Suriyagoda Vihara mural

FIGURE 8
ROYAL LADIES WITH MANTE JACKET AND LONG LOWER GARMENT
(Murals of Gangarama Temple, Kandy)

The monastery of Gangarama belongs to the group of Kandyan temples that contains valuable eighteenth century paintings. The inscription of King Kirti Sri Rajasimhe (1747-1780) indicated on the face of the boulder containing the colossal statue of the Buddha, refers to the renovation of the image and the building of the two storeyed shrine replete with paintings. The evidence of the epigraph as well as the style of the Buddha image, indicate that the history of the monastery would go back to a period belonging to the 18th Century. The *Culavamsa* relates in detail the work conducted by the order of King Kirti Sri Rajasimhe at Gangarama. According to this account, the temple was earlier destroyed by the Dutch and the King is said to have restored it to its original condition. He bestowed great wealth to the painters and other workers, all these activities were finally written in an inscription on the rock (Chatiwongs N., Prematilake L., Silva R., 1990, Paintings of Sri Lanka (Gangarama), Colombo: Archeological Survey of Sri Lanka, Centenary Publications, Central Cultural fund, 32p).

This Painting shows that a popular scenery of attending the Buddha by a retinue of royal ladies, on that occasion all wore short sleeved *mante* jackets with a collar part) and a long lower garment. Ananda Coomaraswamy (1956, 34) in his 'Medieval Sinhalese Art' describes it as, "The dress of women of high caste consisted of a *hette* with *mante* like that of a man, and a cloth (*helaya*) round the loins arranged in various ways". Sartorial sense similar to the above is depicted in various temple paintings at Hanguranketha Rajamaha Viharaya, Gangarama

Rajamaha Viharaya, Malagammana, Kulugammana, Medawala Rajamaha Viharaya, Degaldoruwa Rajamaha Viharaya and Dambulla Rajamaha Viharaya of the 18th Century.

Mante jacket was a newly introduced sartorial item for local queens' costume as mentioned earlier. It shows direct influences of Portuguese fashion. Coomaraswamy (1905, 20) also states that the female jacket shows either Portuguese or Dutch influences. This dress style belonged to local queens who did not follow western dresses. Therefore, it is clear that the jacket was introduced in later periods. With the arrival of Queen Dona Catherine the rest of the local queens were subjected to change accordingly. It is quite visible through pictorial evidences that Sinhalese queens did not follow the same dress styles of Dona Catherine, but were influenced only by some elements such as *mante*, jacket, hair pin and lace of Western fashions.

The lower garment which was meant to be worn with the *mante* jacket was long up to the ankles. The lower garment consisted of many pieces of cloths; each was arranged at different levels and that arrangement emphasised the body contour. The whole arrangement seemed as, series of fabrics wrapped around the posterior.

The methodology of wearing the lower garment is time consuming and a sensual effort. At first lowest one might have been worn by wrapping it around the waist. Then the second one hangs from the back up to the ankle and in front the lower end rises upward and is tucked at the hip. The shortest one which goes around the back and again it is also tucked at the hip at the front side. The dress was tightened to the waist by a belt. Finally two falls including deep and short falls were hanging from the front. These falls would have been worn separately at the end of the dressing. In many paintings at a glance it is seen as pleated fall, obviously the artist must

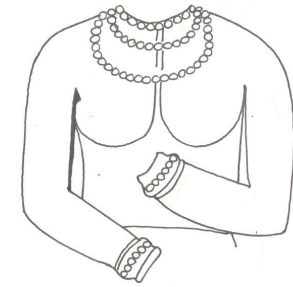
have depicted it with subtle coloured stripes. At the end, the abdominal part of each woman is seen as very bulky as several wads of fabric are gathered at the hip.

The lower garment style shows a positive trace of South Indian influences. The lower garment arrangement is similar to the 17th century Nayak queens' and noble women's costume. The Indian style of lower garment is called *sakaccha* style which comes down to the ankles. The goddesses and queens wore their lower garment in the same pattern. In this garment the front was arranged in a decorative style with fan shaped ends (Kumari 1995,34). However, it is evident that their full costume was meant to express more the body forms and enhance its beauty than the Sri Lankan users did. Each piece was utilized to emphasise every subtle curve of the body.

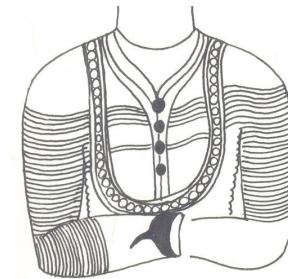
Folding was also a main construction technique in the elite female dress. The Queen's dress mainly consisted of a long lower cloth which comes down to the ankles. All queens wore several cloths as a girdle below the waist, wound very tightly to the hip emphasizing the sinuous rills of the female body. Narrow strips, wide long pieces, suspending folds were attached to the dress. Again, many folds are beautifully arranged in different proportions as short, long and deep folds at the front and those might be detachable items. Besides, around the waist many patterned folds hung. Their utility and meaning were magnificent. There is a stress on the decorative value of the suspended items, arabesque (allover spread) or complex linear rhythms to the main body cloth. The most exotic concept of these items was emphasizing the dynamic movement of the dress. Folds were suspended vertically and buttressing over the waist, some loosely draping many fabrics in wide folds. When females were engaged in slow, rush or rapid whirling dancing activities these suspended items became lustrous and anthropomorphic.



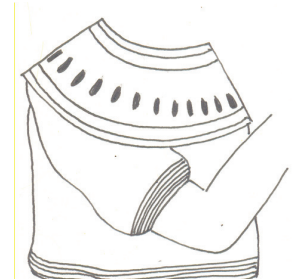
a- Murals of Degaldoruwa.



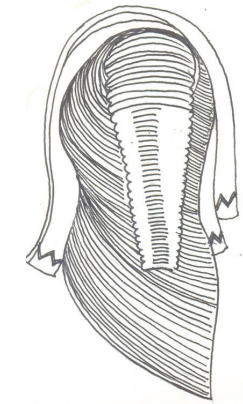
b- Murals of Degaldoruwa



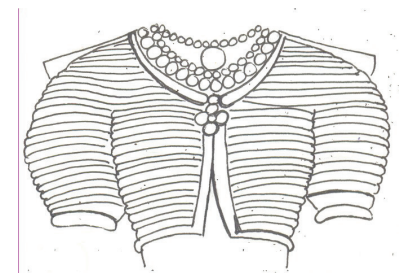
c - Murals of Suriyagoda



d- Murals of Gangaramaya

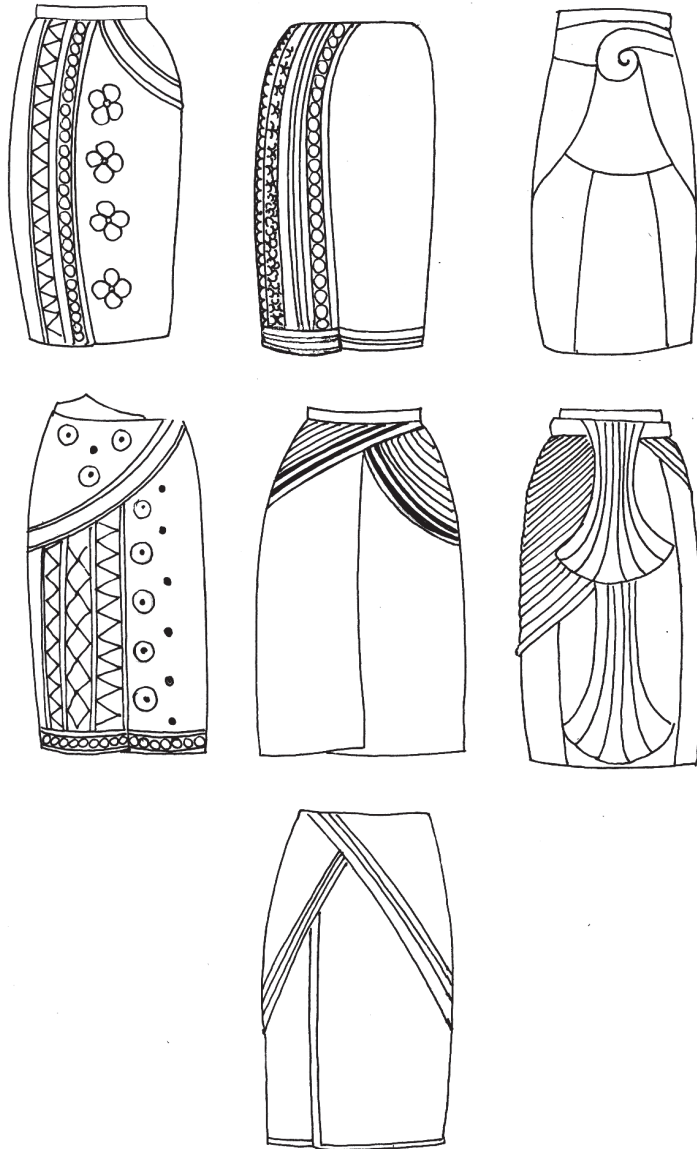


e- Murals of Degaldoruwa



f- An Ivory figure in Museum of Kandy

Mante Jacket Styles of Kandyan Royal Ladies.



Varied dressing styles of the lower garment (according to ivory figures in the Kandy museum display).



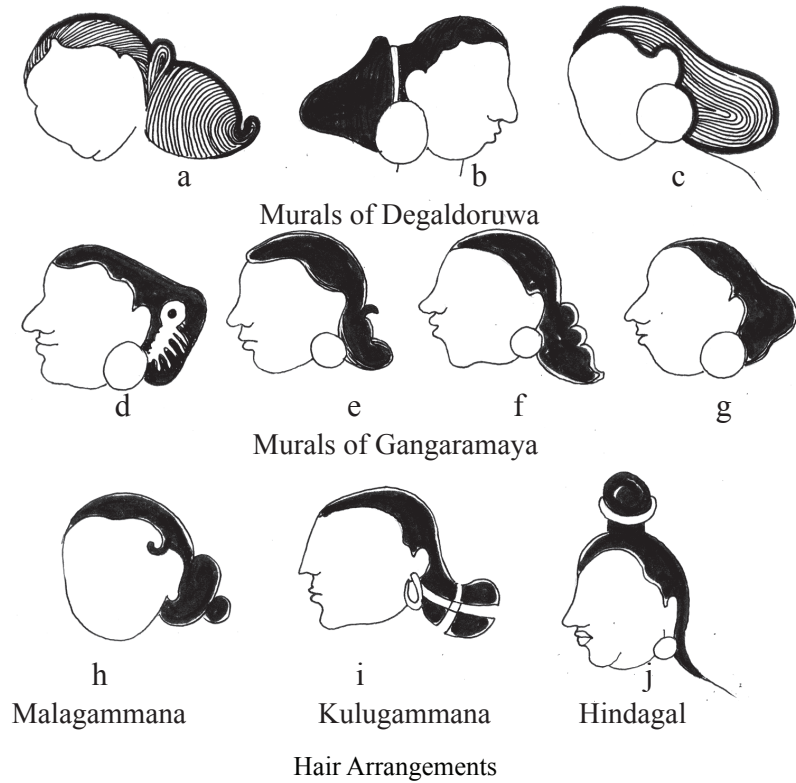
Queen of Tirumala, Alagarkoil, 17th Century
 Queen of Tirumala, : (Michell, .G. 1995, New Cambridge History of India, Architecture and Art of Southern India (Vijayanagar and the Successor States). New York: Cambridge University Press. p.185)



Queen of Krisnadevaraya , Vijayanagar Period Queen of
Krisnadevaraya : (Huntington, S.L and Huntington, J.C. 1985. The Art
of Ancient India, New York: Wea Therhill, p.586)

Hair Arrangements

Hair arrangements were multifaceted. Elite females followed a variety of hair styles and head gear according to their desires, current trends, tradition, religion, social standards. The most followed hair arrangement was a chignon during this period. In South Indian fashion of hair arrangements it was called the *koppu* design (Kumari 1995, 43). In the Hindgala murals a women had a chignon at the top of her head and a circular band had been attached .This style is called the *sikhanda* fashion in South India as shown in Figure j. After the hair was arranged many suitable jewellery had been attached. Women used to comb their hair with a parting in the middle and tied into a big chignon above her nape (Figure. a). Sometimes the chignon was left as a loose knot (Figure c). Parting hair is known as *simantha sima* in South Indian contemporary literature. In another figure, a woman had her chignon on the left side in a vertical shape (Figure b). According to the Gangaramara murals elite females would have been always concerned with new fashions. The knot had been tied into four different fashions. In one example a woman tied her chignon in four knots (Figure f). The knots appeared in a bunch. According to Malagammana murals the hair was combed backward and a small circular chignon was tied at the side and from the chignon a small bun was suspended. It seems that almost all the women preferred to arrange their hair in buns. They might have used wigs to arrange their hair in different styles. According to de Silva S. Jayasuriya and Wijetunge R's (1998, 10) research on 'Portuguese borrowings in Sinhala' they found that the Sinhala term of *havariya* (wig) was derived from the Portuguese word '*cabeleira*'. The bun is always decorated with attractive accessories. In the Suriyagoda murals the hair was decorated with a gem studded hair pin. These fashionable items might have been introduced by the Portuguese during their occupation.



Hair Arrangements

Paintings of Suriyagoda – (Chatiwongs N., Prematilake L., Silva R., 1990, Paintings of Sri Lanka (Suriyagoda), Colombo: Archeological Survey of Sri Lanka, Centenary Publications, Central Cultural fund.)

Jewellery

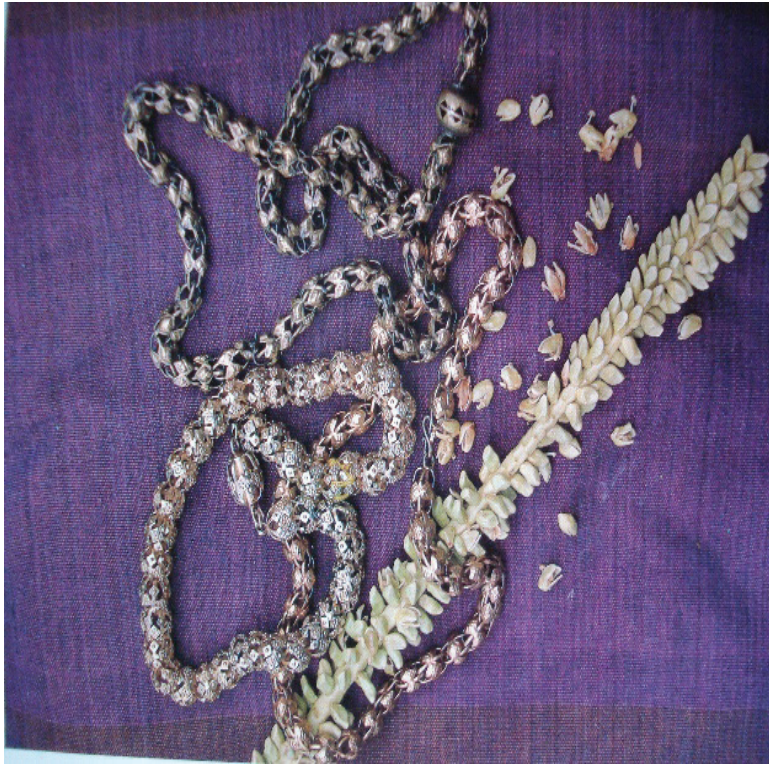
Coomaraswamy (1956, 211) indicates a range of jewellery worn by Kandyan females, like ear-rings, chains, pendants, girdles, bracelets and finger rings. Different kinds of jewellery were also described in the last will of a Kandyan woman (Lawrie 1898, 159). This last will was made in 1707 A.D. The jewellery that mentioned in the last will were, single-fold chain, golden ear pins, girdle, small girdle, golden hair bangle, golden earrings, silver bracelets, double rings, foot rings. Therefore, it was true that Kandyan women possessed a range of jewellery. Garlands and large pendants were

essentially worn by queens and elite females. Coomaraswamy suggests that in the case of kandyan chains, these are names of flowers or seeds such as *pol-mal-malaya* (coconut- flower –necklace), *aralu-malaya* (aralu-seed- necklace) and are highly characteristic of Indian art. Coomaraswamy remarks that these names are reminiscent of the garlands of real flowers which play such an important part in Indian festivals. Kumari, N.Y's (Kumari 1995) study of 'Social life as Reflected in Sculptures and Paintings of late Vijayanagara period' also gives a positive comment on Coomaraswamy's suggestion. She (Kumari 1995,50) too remarks that 'apart from gold, pearl, diamond and gem neck ornaments, there are necklaces made of seeds, beads, flowers, cotton seeds and other humble material like *guriginja* seeds and garlands of *pikili* flowers. There were many evidences in Indian jewellery history apart from garlands, made of flowers; some necklaces were inspired by flowers and leaves. 'natyashastraya' of Bharath explains about necklaces that were inspired by flowers (Sinhalese Encyclopedia s.v. "Abharana"). *Kanja* (a jewellery like a lotus), *manjari* (a jewellery made in the form of a bunch of flowers). Moreover, another Indian jewellery text book 'manasaraya' gives several examples of flower and leaf inspired jewellery (Sinhalese Encyclopedia s.v. "Abharana"). In 'manasaraya' all jewellery are categorized into four as *pathrakalpa*, *chithrakalapa*, *rathnakalapa*, *mishrakalpa*. It is said that jewellery which were shaped like leaves and strings were called *pathrakalpa*. Precious Stones which were cut presumably in different shaped flowers called *rathnakalapa* and also stones which were gilded in jewellery like leaves were called *mishrakalpa*. It was a good example that Indian goldsmiths might have been inspired by many flowers and seeds for jewellery. Therefore it can be suggested that Indian

jewellery concepts would have influenced Sinhalese jewellery as well. During the reign of King Vikrama Bahu of Kandy it is said that the queen offered her *talla* pendant to Kobbakaduva Vihara (Codrington 1931, 65). Davy (1821, 124-125) describes the marriage ceremony of the King of the Kandyan Kingdom. He explains that during the ceremony the Queen wore two necklaces given by the King.



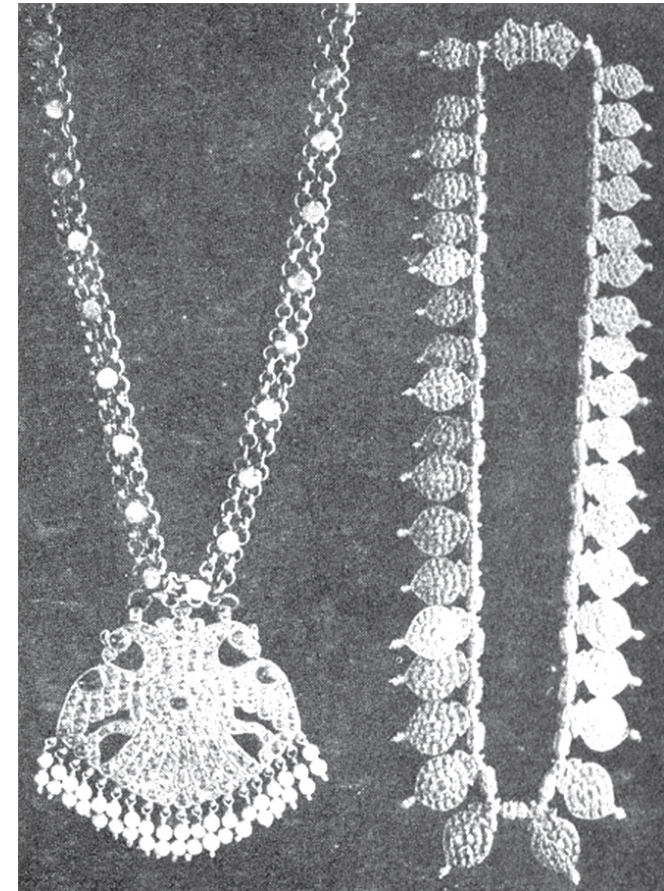
Necklaces of seeds and flowers
aralu-malaya (aralu-seed- necklace)
(Serendib 2003)



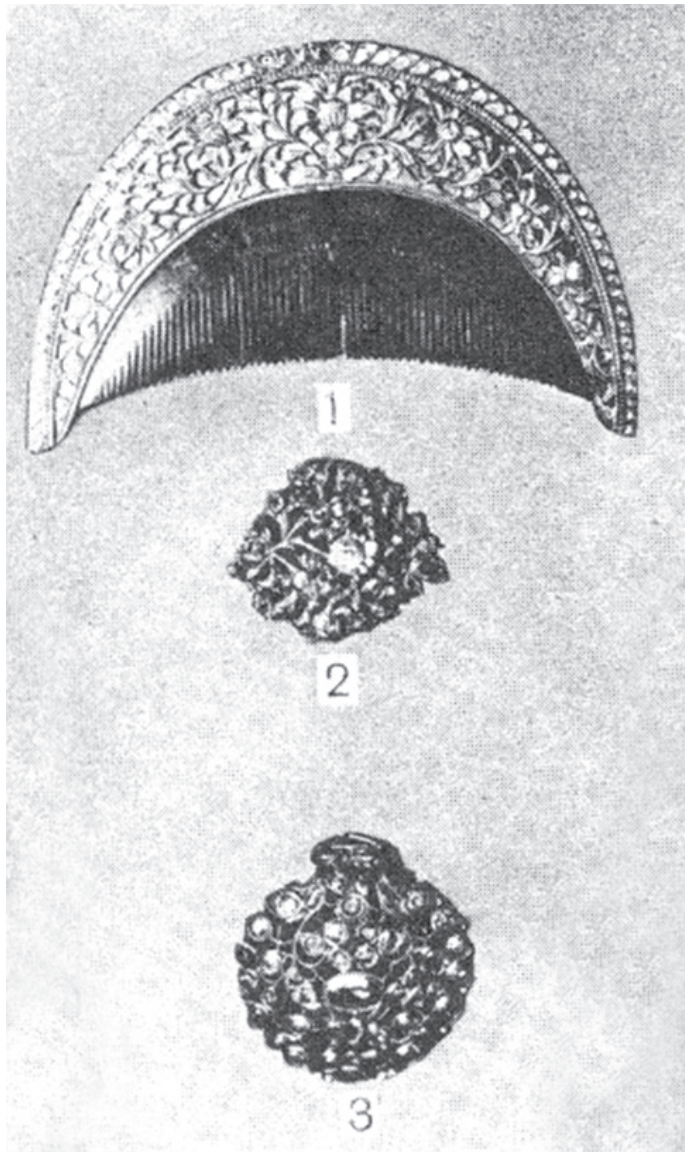
Necklaces of seeds and flowers
pol-mal-malaya(coconut- flower
(Serendib 2003)

Western influences are clearly evident in names and designs of Kandyan jewellery. *Alpentiya* (pin), *Arungole* (ear-ring), *Avana* (Fan), *Boralikkama* (medal), *Ganchuva* (hook), *Gesbara* (waist-belt) are such words which might have entered the native culture with design elements from the Portuguese (Perera 1922,45-60). Da Silva Cosme (1990,499) states that the Portuguese *bracelet/ brascal* has left its traces in the Sinhala word *barsal* and he also states that *karabu* for ear-ornament is derived from *cravo* which gives the meaning

of small nail and also spice. Further the author claims that *arungola* for the era-ring in Sinhala is derived from the word of *argola* meaning iron-ring. Coomaraswamy (1956, 343) suggests that Jewellery items of combs, brooches, rings show low-country Dutch influences. Coomaraswamy (1956) also labels brooches, buttons and ear-rings as Indo-Portuguese jewellery.



South Indian design influenced jewellery (Coomaraswamy, A. 1956. Mediaeval Sinhalese Art. National Museum Colombo, plate XXIII.)



European design influenced low country jewellery. (Coomaraswamy, A. 1956. Mediaeval Sinhalese Art. National Museum Colombo, XLIX)

FIGURE 9

ROYAL LADY WITH MANTE JACKET AND LONG LOWER GARMENT

(Murals of Degaldoruwa, Kandy)

Degardoruwa Vihare, Kandy According to a *Sannasa* dated 1786 AD the temple was restored during the time of King Kirithi Sri Rajasimhe. It is mentioned that engravings and decorations were done under the patronage of the King. The King granted painters to the temple. An image of the Buddha of twelve cubits in length in reclining posture and six other images in sitting posture and twenty four Buddha images to be engraved on the ceiling of the vihara were completed during the period. (Lawrie, A.C, Gazetteer of the Central province of Ceylon. 1898. Colombo: George, J,A, Skeen ,Government printer. Ceylon. Vol.1. p.138)

The full costume consisted of a mante jacket and a wrapped cloth over the hip. The loose waist coat with proportionate mante jacket has short sleeves. The lower garment seems to be a combination of multifaceted folds, pleats, knots and drapes. The lower garment comes down to the ankle. Around the waist, a wide belt of cloth has been wrapped. Held ends beautifully fall at the centre front.

FIGURE 10

A ROYAL LADY

(Davy, J. 1821. *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and of Its Inhabitants*, London: Longman, p115.)

The Queen is in full dress, uses a jacket with a kind of ruff, hanging from the neck over the shoulders. The ornaments they wear, besides rings, are silver or crystal bangles and earrings.

FIGURE 11**KING AND QUEEN (A Wooden Panel, Museum of Kandy)**

Canopy or Kerchief traditionally called as *mottappiliya* was a newly introduced dress item from South Indian dress styles during the Kandyan reign. The whole body was fully covered by *mottappiliya* according to social laws or religious norms. These social etiquettes definitely affected only one category of elite women because it never blended with the Sinhalese women's dress code. *Mottappiliya* was definitely a Queen's dress code because in a wooden panel, where the King and Queen are painted, the Queen wore a *mottappiliya*. This might have directly come from South Indian Nayak Queen's dress etiquettes. It seems that dress habits of Nayaks' were limited only to themselves. This costume might have been arranged using a long lower cloth. The hood part would have been arranged by one edge of the lower garment.

FIGURE 12**SOUTH INDIAN NAYAKKA QUEENS WITH MOTTAPPLIYA (Murals of Degaldoruwa)**

Twisted, rotated and twirled surfaces were presented in the *mottappiliya* dress, coiling a large piece of fabric around the body. This technique gave freedom to clothing from the limitations of the fabric's vertical and horizontal axes, by spiralling it around the body.

FIGURE 13**ELITE FEMALE WITH MOTTAPPILIYA (Murals of Hanguranketha)**

(Chatiwongs N., Prematilake L., Silva R., 1990, Paintings of Sri Lanka (Hanguranketa) .Colombo: Archeological Survey of Sri Lanka, Centenary Publications, Central Cultural fund)

The vihara is known as *Damunumeya* vihara. There are two time periods mentioned about the building of the vihara. In 1635 AD the chief man of the village of *Damunumeya* had built a vihara. On the other hand, it was said that in 1763 AD a vihara was first built in the village *Damunumeya* in *Megodatihe Hanguranketa of Hewaheta* (Lawrie, A.C, Gazetteer of the Central province of Ceylon. 1898. Colombo: George, J,A, Skeen, Government printer. Ceylon. Vol.1. p.324) .

Methodology of wearing *mottappiliya* is similar to the description of the figure twelve.

FIGURE 14**NAYAKKAR AND NATIVE ROYAL CONSORTS (Murals of Degaldoruwa)**

In the Degaldoruwa murals two categories of Queens can be identified by their costumes. Some noble women were depicted in *mottappiliya* and some were depicted in *mante* jacket and long lower garment. However, in those paintings it is clearly evident that the women who wore *mottappiliya* were respected and treated immensely well by the royal family and noble women. Hence it can be suggested that *mottappiliya* might have been practised as a superior royal queens' dress for some time.

FIGURE 15**A QUEEN WITH LANSOLUWA (Murals of Hanguranketa) (Chatiwongs N., Prematilake L., Silva R., 1990, Paintings of Sri Lanka (Hanguranketa), Colombo: Archeological Survey of Sri Lanka, Centenary Publications, Central Cultural fund)**

The dress style of *Lansoluwa*¹³ which is often thrown over the shoulder was a popular item. *Lansoluwa* was a kind of long shawl that had been worn by Sinhalese women for a long period of time. It was normally worn with a simply wrapped cloth (*redda*) for the lower part. However, during the Kandyan reign, *lansoluwa* had been used to cover the woman's head. It seems like the *mottappiliya* of South Indian Queens. In the Hanguranketa, Degaldoruwa, Suriyagoda and Hindagala murals this practice is clearly visible. However, the dress is different from South Indian Queen's *mottappiliya*. South Indian Queens are always depicted with well covered bodies. *Lansoluwa* had not been used to cover the upper body properly as always it hardly covered the upper body. This etiquette is similar to early Sinhalese women's dress practice. It would have been worn as a fashionable item as it was always adorned with beautiful traditional designs with multiple colours. Some of the traditional Sinhalese designs are *gal-bindu*, *panawa*, *lanuwa*, *thitha* and the four petalled flower (Coomaraswamy 1959). Furthermore these women are always depicted with the King. Therefore these women definitely resemble local queens. The style of covering the

13 *Lansoluwa*-Thiranagama Rathnasara Thera and Sirinimal Lakdusinga explain that *lansolu* is a long cloth which was used to cover Sinhalese women's' bust with it during the Kandyan period. Ven. Ratnasara T, 1955 (Januaray/February), Ancient Textiles of Ceylon, Ceylon Today, p.16. Lakdusinge S,'Redipili Pitaratatau Ape MuthunMiththo'Vidurava, Vol.19, No.!, p.46.

head with the *lansoluwa* would have been adapted to local Queens' dress styles during the Kandyan reign. The Queens of the Gampola era never covered their heads. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the local queens might have made an effort to follow South Indian Queen's *mottappiliya* as foreign queens were considered superior to local queens. Robert Knox (1966,170) says that "Sinhalese women used to wear well embroidered cloths when they go out".

The dress styles that are *mottappiliya*, *lansoluwa* and *ohoriya* show South Indian influences. The way of draping a long cloth around the body and covering the upper part with its held end, and similar sartorial practices can be seen among South Indian noble women and Kandyan aristocratic female. Elementary forms of *mottappiliya* and *lansolu* can be identified in South Indian paintings. However, in South Indian paintings the dress features are depicted in an exaggerated way to emphasise the rhythm of the body. Most of the Kandyan dress features might have been derived from South Indian dress practices. However, in Sri Lankan practise, unique dress features such as South Indian, Western and native were blended into one tradition.

The draping method was associated with such construction methods as folding, pleating, gathering and knotting. This draping method of the dress is unique to Asia. Coomaraswamy (1913) sates that in Asia a dress is arranged by a large piece of cloth by knotting, pleating or folding over the body rather than tucking pins or sewing.

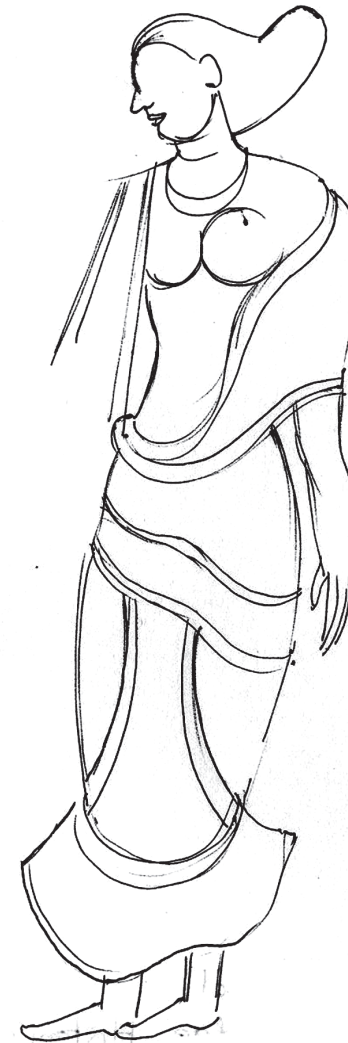
Bare upper body is common in men's' clothing. Usually, women wore cloths draped covering their bodies, while men did so cloths and shawls.

The main characteristics are,

- Using wads of fabrics to arrange a dress.
- The dress is arranged with pleats, knots, drapes, folds and gathers without sewing or without using pins.
- Emphasizing body contours - Arranging different proportions of fabrics in different ways, using many drapes to emphasizing the body shape.

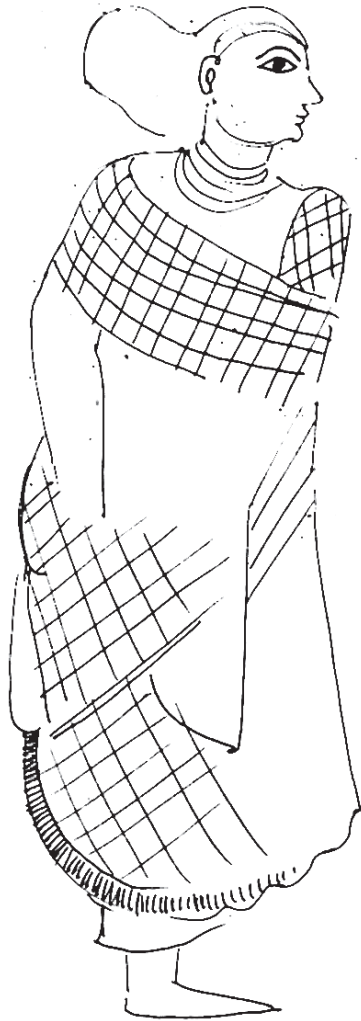
These characteristics make clear margins between early East and West. In fact, East and West mark clear demarcations in their culture, religion and social, and as a result of this difference, the identity of Asian people differs from that of West. The greatest exponent of the traditional philosophy of art, Ananda Coomaraswamy (1913.194) in his careful observation of textiles, embroidery and costumes of India and Ceylon observes the difference between East and West as follows:

‘Before the arrival of the Portuguese, people were not much used to ready made garments. Weaving is at once the oldest and the most important of the industrial arts. The robes are usually woven in the shape and size required for the use, and only rarely and locally cut into fitting garments, so that tailoring is a comparatively unimportant craft’



Attendant Woman

16th Century Lepaksi paintings, (Michell. G. 1995, *New Cambridge History of India, Architecture and Art of Southern India (Vijayanagar and the Successor States)*, New York: Cambridge University Press. Figure No.164)



A Lady

Vijayanagara Period Ladies from Ranga Mantapa, Lepaksi,
(Saletore, R.N.,1982,*Vijayanagar Art*, Sundeep Prakashan,
Delhi., Figure No.5.)



A Lady

17th Century, Story of Bhikshatana, Chidambaram, Vijayanagara
Period, (Michell .G. 1995, *New Cambridge History of India,
Architecture and Art of Southern India(Vijayanagar and the
Successor States)*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
Figure No.170).

FIGURE 16

**A QUEEN WITH LANSOLUWA (Murals of Hindagala)
(Chatiwongs N., Prematilake L.,Silva R., 1990, Paintings
of Sri Lanka (Hindagala), Colombo: Archeological Survey
of Sri Lanka, Centenary Publications, Central Cultural
fund)**

Tradition says that the temple was built in the time of Queen *Hena Kada Biso Bandara* in 955 AD. She gave a copper *Sannasa*, which was lost before 1820. In the time of King Kirti Sri Rajasimhe the high priest Sangha Raja got from the King the charge of all the temples. (Lawrie, A.C, Gazetteer of the Central province of Ceylon. 1898. Colombo: George, J,A, Skeen, Government printer. Ceylon. Vol.1. p.350)

Methodology of wearing lansoluwa is similar in everywhere.

FIGURE 17

ROYAL LADIES (Kulugammana Temple Murals, Kandy)

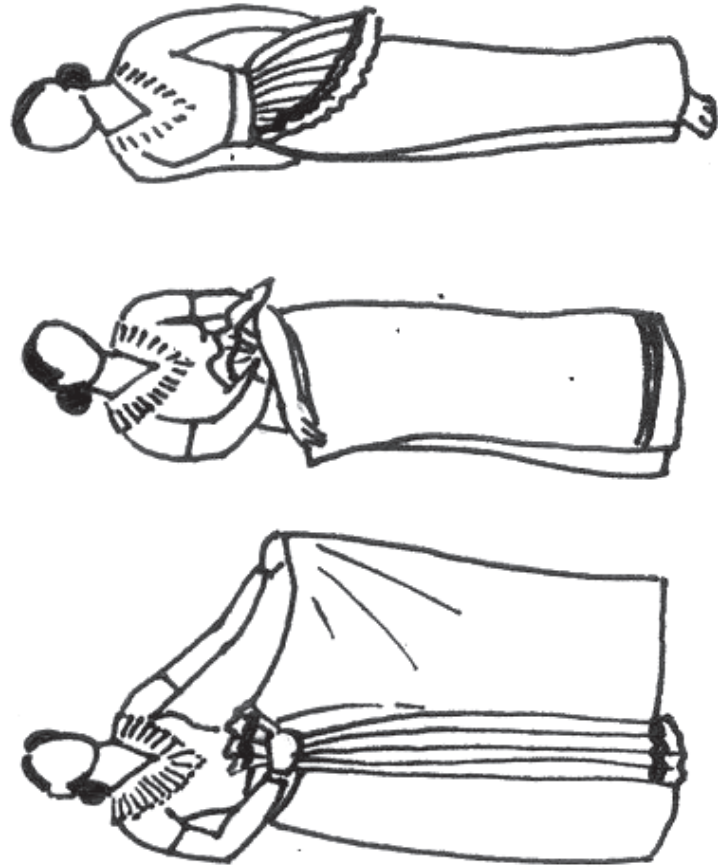
Tradition says that King Bhuwaneka Bahu V gave a Sannasa. Kulugammana *walawwa* was in olden days the principle *walawwa* in Harispattuwa (Lawrie, A.C, Gazetteer of the Central province of Ceylon. 1898. Colombo: George, J,A, Skeen, Government printer. Ceylon. Vol.1. p.487).

In the Kulugammana temple murals the Queens are shown with full costume with mante jacket and redda. Finally, they wore a shawl that was thrown over the shoulder in a loose manner. According to the continuing tradition of wearing redda it can be assumed that redda is a simply wrapped cloth which goes around the waist. One end of the cloth is gathered as a

pleated wad then tightened to one side of the waist and the other end goes around the body and tucked into the other side of the hip. Then the other end is pulled out and arranged as a pleated fall which is called *neriya* among the inhabitants. The pleated fan part is useful for easy moving of the legs and also it serves as a decorative item of the redda.

The long lower garment with *neriya* and folded fold which flows at the shoulder to ankle is known as *ohoriya*. *Ohoriya* was another dress code, introduced, modified and completed during the reign of with the help of foreign influences. Coomaraswamy (1956, 34) claims that “*Ohoriya* is no doubt of Tamil origin”. In fact, the dress could not be seen in women’s etiquette of the Gampola era. The evolution of the *ohoriya* can be narrated with the support of temple paintings. Ananda Coomaraswamy (1956, 34) suggests that *ohoriya* is derived from the long lower garment. This dress is code show in Hindagala and Malaagammana temple murals where the oldest form of *ohoriya* is shown. There women were depicted without the jacket. According to these paintings it can be suggested that the *ohori pota* (the long fold which flows over one shoulder) had been used to cover the upper body earlier. Later *ohoriya* was completed with a body fitted jacket. *Ohoriya* with jacket is an amazing blend of Eastern and Western flavor.

In the Kulugammana temple murals Queens are shown with full costume with mante jacket and redda. Finally they wore a shawl that was thrown over the shoulder in a loose manner.



Methodology of wearing redda



Mural of Hindagala

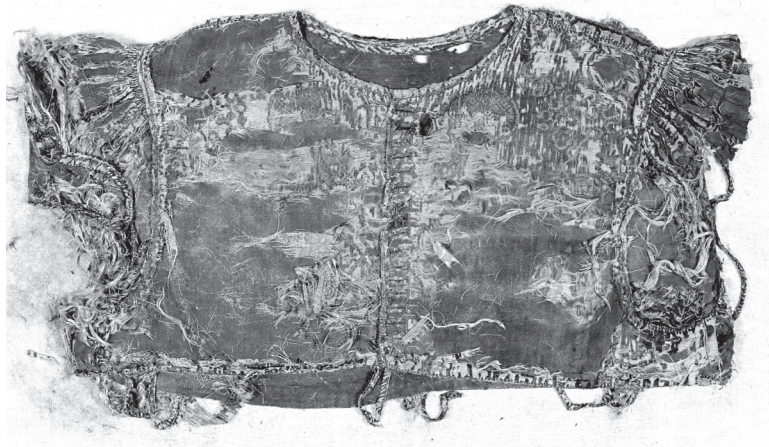
FIGURE 18**QUEEN VENKATA RANGAMAL**

(Andreas,N.,1916,Portrait of a Kandyan Queen, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (C. B)N. &Q., VolXXIV, partVI,n.i,xcv-c,p,xcv.)

The portrait of the last Queen of Kandy was reproduced from the engraving by William Daniell,R.A,in 1834 the Oriental Annual, Nell suggests that the Queen's portrait might have been drawn probably after 1815 in India. Nell Suggested that there is no historical foundation for a visit of Sammuael Daniell to the Kandyan Kingdom. Nell suggested that the relations between the British Government and the court, after the war of 1803 were such as to prevent any Englishman travelling in the interior and taking a portrait of the Queen. It was also mentioned in records that while they remained in the neighborhood of the Kandyan majesty's residence Mr. William Daniell was permitted to make a portrait of the queen. Nell gives the details of Nayakkar princesses who were married to King Sri Wickrama Rajasimha as *Venkada Rankayammal*, *Venkada Rankayammal*, *Muttu Kanamma Devi* and *Venkadayammal*; the latter two were daughters of *Degalsami* and married about 1811. Nell presumes Samuel Daniell drew the portrait of the 3rd or 4th Queen. In order to support his suggestion, the 3rd Queen was the Queen in whole house at Tanjore. Sir John Douglas saw the life sized portrait in gilt frame of Sri Wickrama Rajasimha during the visit he made in 1871 by order of the Ceylon Government. (Andreas,N.,1916,Portrait of a Kandyan Queen, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (C. B)N. &Q., VolXXIV,partVI,n.i,xcv-c,p,xcv)

The Queen of the Kandyan Kingdom displays as Venkata Rangamal in the picture would have worn more developed version of South Indian dress styles. According to her portrait she seems to be wearing a body fitted jacket with long sleeves flowing to the elbows. She wore a long lower garment and she covered her shoulders with a shawl. The shawl seems to be made of brocade or satin fabric. A jacket of the queen has been conserved by the National Museum of Colombo. This jacket is claimed by the grandson of Kiriporuve Mohottala as having belonged to one of King Sri Vikrama Rajasimha's Queens. Mr K.N.T Gunadasa of Karadana claims that it belonged to Queen Venkata Rangammal, wife of the last King of Kandy. It was mentioned that Mr. K. N. T. Gonadasa of Karadana donated the Jacket to the museum of Colombo in 01.02.1941 (main register 274). He had been a close friend of the grandson of Kiriporwe Mohottala. The grandson of Kiriporowa Mohottala sold the Jacket to Mr. K. N. T. Gunadasa later. Mr. K. N. T. Chandrasena (son of Mr K. N. T. Gundasa) remembered that he was 15 years old when the donation was happened (Interviewed by the author 27.02.2018).

Vangeyzel (2008, 242) in her careful observation states that the jacket was made of an imported fabric. The fabric is of silk material and the floral pattern is in red, dark blue and golden yellow and was hand woven.



Jacket of the Queen *Venkata Rangamal* Jacket before conservation
(Curtsey Museum of Colombo) Conservation of Ancient textile
collection in the Department of National Museum (Sri Lanka
Netherlands Cultural cooperation programme) from 3rd July to 16th
August 2017



Jacket of the Queen *Venkata Rangamal* Jacket after conservation
(Curtsey Museum of Colombo) Conservation of Ancient textile
collection in the Department of National Museum (Sri Lanka
Netherlands Cultural cooperation programme) from 3rd July to 16th
August 2017

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FIGURE 1

KING VIMALA DHARMA SURIYA I (1592-1604)
 (Paranavitana, K.D. trans.1997. Journal of Spilbergen: the first
 Dutch envoy to Ceylon 1602. Published by the Author, plate 2,
 Coomaraswamy, A.1956. Mediaeval Sinhalese Art, Colombo: National
 Museum.p.330)



FIGURE 2

KING SENARATH (1604-1633)
 (Dissanayaka, S. B. 1997. Diyathilaka Nuwara. Colombo:
 Department of Archaeology. plate 20)

**FIGURE 3**

KING RAJASIMHA II (1635-1687 AD)
 (Knox, R.1966.Historical Relation of Ceylon. Colombo:
 Tissara Prakasakayo)

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 (Temple of Dambulla)

**FIGURE 5**

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(Museum of Kandy)

**FIGURE 6**

KING SRI WIKRAMA RAJASIMHA (1798-1815)
(Davy, J. 1821. An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and of Its
Inhabitants, London: Longman, p.107)

**FIGURE 7**

QUEEN DONA CATHERINE (1602-1613 AD)
 (Silva R.K de, Beumer W.G.M, Illustrations and views of Dutch
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**FIGURE 8**

ROYAL LADIES WITH MANTE JACKET
 AND LONG LOWER GARMENT
 (Murals of Gangarama Temple, Kandy)



FIGURE 9
 ROYAL LADY WITH MANTE JACKET
 AND LONG LOWER GARMENT
 Murals of Degaldoruwa, Kandy)

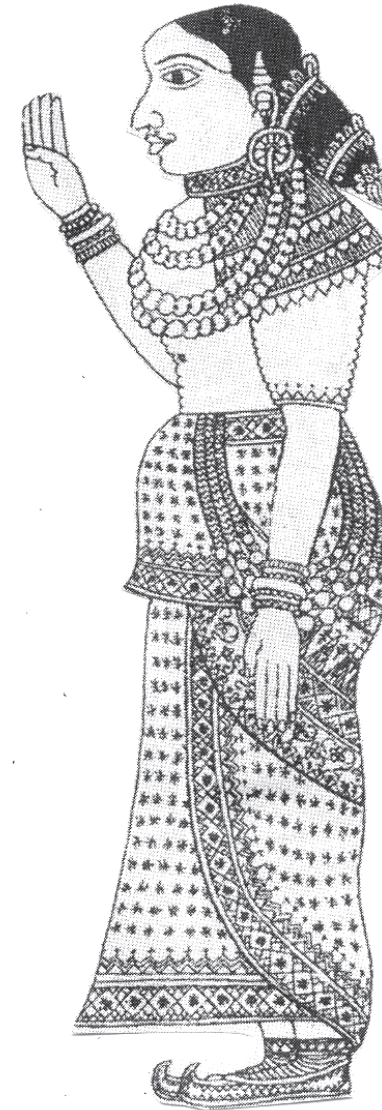


FIGURE 10
 A ROYAL LADY
 Davy, J. 1821. *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and of Its
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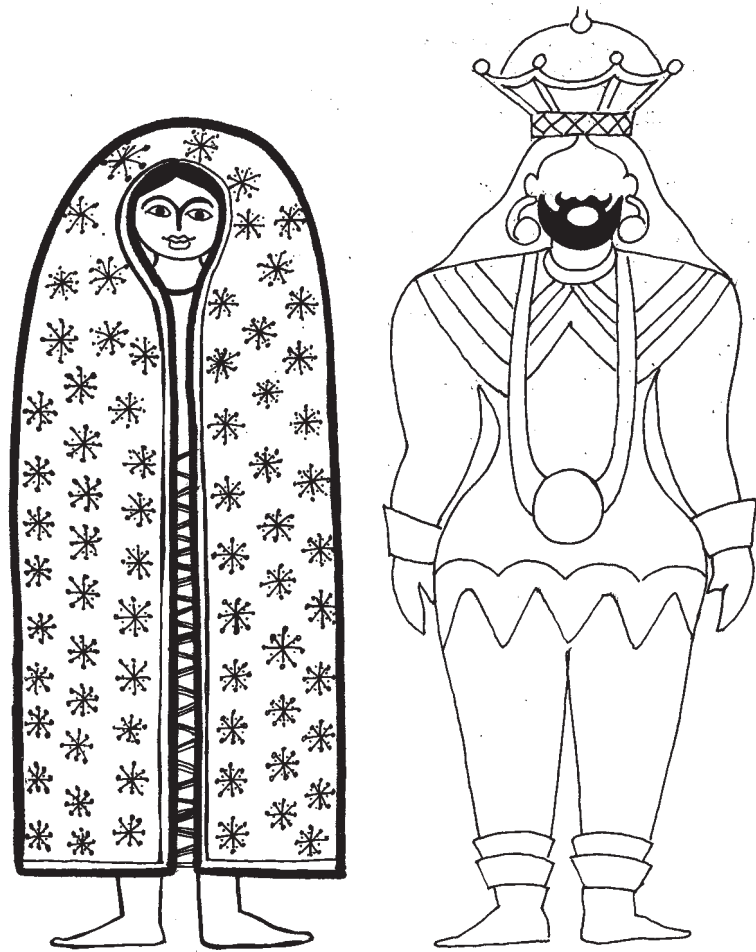


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 KING AND QUEEN
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FIGURE 12
 SOUTH INDIAN NAYAKKA QUEENS WITH MOTTAPPLIYA (Murals of Degaldoruwa, Kandy)



FIGURE 13

ELITE FEMALE WITH MOTTAPPILIYA (Murals of Hanguranketha, Kandy (Chatiwongs N., Prematilake L., Silva R., 1990, Paintings of Sri Lanka (Hanguranketa) .Archaeological Survey of Sri Lanka, Centenary Publications, Central Cultural fund)



FIGURE 14

NAYAKKAR AND NATIVE ROYAL CONSORTS (Murals of Degaldoruwa, Kandy)

**FIGURE 15**

A QUEEN WITH LANSOLUWA (Murals of Hindagala, Kandy)
 (Chatiwongs N., Prematilake L., Silva R., 1990, Paintings of Sri Lanka (Hanguranketa), Colombo: Archaeological Survey of Sri Lanka, Centenary Publications, Central Cultural fund)

**FIGURE 16**

(Murals of Hanguranketa, Kandy) (Chatiwongs N., Prematilake L., Silva R., 1990, Paintings of Sri Lanka (Hindagala), Colombo: Archaeological Survey of Sri Lanka, Centenary Publications, Central Cultural fund)



FIGURE 17
 ROYAL LADIES
 (Kulugamma Temple Murals, Kandy)



FIGURE 18
 QUEEN VENKATA RANGAMAL
 (Andreas, N., 1916, Portrait of a Kandyan Queen, Journal of
 Royal Asiatic Society (C. B)N.&Q., VolXXIV, partVI, n. i, xcvi-c, p, xcvi.)

LIST OF TEMPLE MURALS OF THE KANDYAN KINGDOM

1. Kandy - 36 sites

1.	Dalada Maligawa (Temple of the Tooth relic complex)
2.	Natha Devale
3.	Visnu Devale
4.	Pattini Devale
5.	Maha Vasala (royal palace complex)
6.	Malwatu Maha Viharaya
7.	Asgiri Maha Viharaya
8.	Gangarama Viharaya
9.	Nittawela Viharaya
10.	Pulleyar Kovil
11.	National Museum of Kandy
12.	Suriyagoda Viharaya
13.	Dodanwela Devale
14.	Danture Viharaya
15.	Gadaladeniya Viharaya
16.	Lankathilaka Viharaya
17.	Embekke Devale
18.	Hendeniya Viharaya
19.	UdaAludeniya Viharaya
20.	Sinhapitiya Viharaya, Hemmatagama
21.	Illupandeniya Rahjamaha Viharaya, Peradeniya
22.	Hindagala Viharaya
23.	Degaldoruwa Viharaya
24.	Galmaduwa Viharaya Kundasale
25.	Kundasale Viharaya
26.	Bambaragala Viharaya, Bambaragala

27.	Maliga Viharaya, Daladagama
28.	Medawala Viharaya
29.	Malagamma Viharaya
30.	Kullugamana Viharaya
31.	Sellavali Viharaya
32.	Walgampaya Viharaya, Pottapitiya
33.	Hendeniya Viharaya, Kandy
34.	Pilimathalawa-Handessa (art and craft village)
35.	Ellugoda (jewellery village)
36.	Matale (Silver craft village)

1. Hanguranketha - 13 sites

	Place
1	Vallahagoda Devalaya, Badulla
2	Pusulpitiya Viharaya, Kotmale
3	NilambeNuwara-Ganegoda Devale
4	Dalukgolle Viharaya, Hewaheta
5	Pasgama Devale
6	DiyatilakaNuwara-Royal palace, Hanguranketa
7	Pattini Devale - Hanguranketa
8	Visnu Devale - Hanguranketa
9	Mandanwela and Morapaya Viharaya
10	Wegama Viharaya
11	Arattana Viharaya
12	Hanguranketa pothgul Viharaya
13	Hanguranketha- (weaving village) Thalagune

3. Gampola - 4 sites

	Place
1.	Niyamgampaya Viharaya, Gampola
2.	Vegiriya devalaya, Gampola
3.	Pusulpitiya Viharaya, Kotmale
4.	Pitiyedevalaya, Dambarawa

4. Kegalle -1 site

	Place
1.	Mangalagama, Kegolle (Gold craft village)

4. Kurunegala- sites 11

	Place
1.	Narammala Giriguharamaya
2.	Narammala Viharagama
3.	Vijayasundaramaya-Dambadeniya
4.	Panavitiya Ambalama-Dambadeniya
5.	Gannepola-Polgahawela
6.	RidiViharaya-Bihalpola
7.	Nakkawatta Raja MahaViharaya
8.	Maddepola, Giriulla
9.	Nuwarakanda Raja Maha Viharaya, Alawwa
10.	Dambulla Rajamaha Viharaya
11.	Matale (Silver craft village)

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