

**17th Century Kandy;
Cosmopolitanism
& Co-existence**

Ālōkā

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King Vimaladharmasuriya and Admiral Spillbergen

*(by courtesy of Dr. R. K. de Silva and
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FOREWORD

ALOKA 4 is the fourth in the series of publications of the South Asia Policy & Research Institute and seeks to draw from the past in making an effort to follow trends in contemporary society.

The South Asia Policy and Research Institute (SAPRI), chaired by Madam Chandrika Kumaratunga, Former President of Sri Lanka, is a not-for-profit, non-partisan ‘Think Tank’ whose focus is the study of issues such as Good Governance; Conflict Prevention & Peace Building; Economic Development & Poverty Alleviation; Environment Protection; Cultural Heritage; Regional Economic Cooperation; and South Asia in a Multi-Polar World, and make recommendations to be implemented through an advocacy process.

ALOKA 4 presents to the reader the lecture on “The Many Faces of the Kandyan Kingdom 1591-1765: Lessons for Our Time ”, delivered by Prof. Gananath Obeyesekere, renowned anthropologist, to a packed hall on 23 April 2014 in Colombo. The tolerance and cosmopolitanism that prevailed in the Kandyan Kingdom under King Vimaladharmasuriya and his successors, vividly brought out by the speaker, are well illustrated in the publication.

Gananath Obeyesekere is Professor of Anthropology, Emeritus, at Princeton University and is the recipient of many academic awards. He is the author of over 100 scholarly articles and books, some of which have been translated into Japanese, Polish and Turkish. Among his best known works are:

- Land Tenure in Village Ceylon: A Sociological and Historical Study, Cambridge:, 1967 (reprinted 2008)

- Medusa's Hair: An Essay on Personal Symbols & Religious Experience –Chicago University 1981
- The Cult of the Goddess Pattini-Chicago 1984
- Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka (with Prof. Richard Gombrich) Princeton 1988;1990
- The Work of Culture: Symbolic Transformation in Psychoanalysis & Anthropology –Chicago 1990
- The Apotheosis of Captain Cook : European Mythmaking in the Pacific - Princeton 1992
- Imagining Karma: Ethical Transformation in Amerindian, Buddhist & Greek Rebirth –California 2002; 2006
- Cannibal Talk: The Man-Eating Myth & Human Sacrifice in the South Seas- California 2005
- The Awakened Ones : Phenomenology of Visionary Experience Columbia 2012

Professor Obeyesekere is presently working on several projects on the past of Sri Lanka while continuing his studies on Buddhism. In his work he hopes to employ source material such as palm leaf manuscripts dealing with the boundaries of the nation (kadaimpot) and little known popular histories (vitti pot) including accounts of small kingdoms and historical personages in the Kotte and Kandy periods. He is also completing a book on Sri Lanka's last king, Sri Vikrama Rajasinha to restore the human face of the king who has been unfairly subjected to negative criticism. Prof. Obeyesekere comments from time to time on current developments through newspapers. He appreciates comments, criticism and suggestions for improving the quality of his work.

C.D. Casie Chetty

Executive Director/SAPRI

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**17th Century Kandy:
Cosmopolitanism
&
Co-existence**

**By
Professor Gananath Obeyesekere**

[I apologize for this overlong paper but it is part of a longer three-volume project on Sinhala kingship with volume 2 dealing with Kandy up to the fall of the kingdom. In my oral presentation I shall drastically summarize the contents of this paper but it would be helpful if the reader has time and patience to read the full text. I am sure there are several errors of fact and interpretation, so comments and criticisms will be appreciated.]

PART I

THE KANDYAN KINGS

AND COSMOPOLITAN DISCOURSE

Introduction

This paper discusses the reign of Vimaladharmasūriya, the first consecrated king of Kandy (1591-1604) and his successors during whose reigns the Kandyan kingdom became a place that provided a home for diverse cultures and communities. Prior to this Kandy was ruled by three local kings, the first being Senāsammata Vikramabāhu (c. 1469-1511). Senāsammata means elected by the sēna or army or perhaps by members of the aristocratic class known as bandāras (“lords.”) Vikramabāhu tried to assert his independence from the sovereign kings of Kōṭṭe. That kingdom commenced with Bhūvanekabāhu V (1371-1408) and ended with Bhūvanekabāhu VII (1521-51) and his grandson Dharmapāla (1551-1597), the first Catholic sovereign. Vikramabāhu was badly defeated and had to pay a large tribute. After Dharmapāla died Kōṭṭe became part of Portugal which now had control over much of Jaffna in the north and the Maritime provinces in the south. The Portuguese were a

presence in Kōṭṭe from 1506 and had the support of Bhūvanekabāhu VII but not his brother Māyāduṇṇe, the ruler of Sītāvaka who was a foe of the Portuguese. His intrepid son Rājasinha I (1581-1593) at one time nearly brought the whole kingdom of Kōṭṭe and much of Kandy under his rule.

As for the fortunes of Kandy, Vikramabāhu was followed by his son Jayavīra Baṇḍāra (1511-1552) during whose time Catholic friars became a presence in the court.² In order to please the Portuguese and the king of Kōṭṭe he became a nominal Catholic until he was deposed and exiled by his son Karalliyadde Baṇḍāra (1552-1582) who became a devoted Catholic and publicly embraced Catholicism around 1562-1564. Consequently he became extremely unpopular with his subjects. Karalliyadde foolishly tried to invade Sītāvaka and was badly trounced by Rājasinha I. He was forced to flee with his wife, his infant daughter Kusumāsana Devi and his nephew Yamasinha Baṇḍāra in the direction of Trincomalee where he hoped to get Portuguese help. There he and his wife died of smallpox but his infant daughter and nephew were adopted by the Portuguese in Mannar and baptized as Dona Catherina and Don Filipe. It should be borne in mind that the preceding Kandyan kings were Baṇḍāras, not consecrated kings.

With the defeat of Karalliyadde, Rājasinha assumed control of the Kandyan kingdom but apparently the administration was left in charge of Vīrasundara Baṇḍāra who was a raja of Perādeni Nuvara in the large mountainous region south of Kōṭṭe known as the Four Kōrales roughly part of the present day Kegalla district. Rājasinha, fearful of Vīrasundara's ambitions enticed him to Sītāvaka and there ordered his brutal murder. It was his son Konappu Baṇḍāra who later became Vimaladharmasūriya I. He

is the principal actor in our text. The last of the Kandyan kings was Narēndrasinha (1707-1739) and after his death the throne was occupied by his affinal kin, the Nāyakas of Madurai (1739-1815).

Vimaladharmasūriya I and the beginnings of Kandyan cosmopolitanism

After the murder of his father, Vīrasundara's son Konappu Bandāra fled to Kōṭṭe with Salappu Bandāra, a confidant, and joined up with its king Dharmapāla and his Portuguese allies in their wars with Rājasinha, his father's killer. According to the Sinhala Rājāvaliya ("genealogy of kings") Konappu Bandāra left the hill country and went to the court of Dharmapāla who awarded him great honors.³ There he married the daughter of Tammita Bandāra aka Sembahap Perumal, another powerful Catholic convert. He was baptized (kulavādī) and lived in Colombo.⁴ Sembahap Perumal, also known as Bālasūriya ("younger sūriya") is the brother of Vīdiya Bandāra (Dharmapāla's father) and belonged to a powerful local dynasty that traced descent to a god known as Irugal Bandāra.⁵ We believe that Konappu also had close familial connections with this dynasty. Many of its members had the term sūriya (sun) attached to their names because their deity Irugal was born of the sun.⁶ It is significant that the Sinhala text uses the Portuguese term kasāda for marriage for the first time.⁷ The context of this marriage accounts for the use of this term because the marriage was conducted in Dharmapāla's court dominated by Catholic friars and converts. Dharmapāla himself was formally baptized in 1587 but whether this was before or after the marriage of Konappu is unclear. What is clear is that Dharmapāla had in 1580 already donated his kingdom to the king of Portugal. Soon afterwards Konappu killed his former

confidant Salappu (the reasons are not given) and he was tried by the Portuguese captains and exiled to Goa.⁸ According to Father Queyroz it was there that he was formally baptized as Don Joao of Austria.⁹ In Goa during his third year of residence he acquired fame as a warrior when he killed another famed Portuguese swordsman who is given the cognomen “Gajabāhu” in the Sinhala texts which also makes clear that Konappu had learned the art of fencing in training schools (ilangam) in his home country. No wonder he could split Gajabāhu in two!¹⁰

The next stage in the drama brings Konappu Bandāra once again in 1590 when, according to the Rājāvaliya, he volunteered to join the Portuguese forces to destroy Rājasinha and with this end in view he created disturbances in the hill country.¹¹ Whether this was so or not Konappu was in the Portuguese expedition of four hundred soldiers and two hundred lascarins led by a Portuguese captain who alongside with Yamasinha Bandāra aka Don Felipe entered the Kandyan territory, now under the domination of his arch enemy Rājasinha I of Sītāvaka. Konappu Bandāra turned against the Portuguese and proclaimed himself king of Kandy as Vimaladharmasūriya I, the first consecrated king of Kandy.¹² “The new king reverted to Buddhism and requested the Portuguese to depart from his kingdom” and the latter had no choice but to return to the Portuguese fort of Mannar.¹³ Vimaladharma means “of the pure doctrine” which befits the Buddhist aspirations of this erstwhile Catholic, the new title in effect canceling the old, namely, Don Joao of Austria, his baptismal name. It should be noted that prior to Vimaladharmasūriya there were no kings of Sri Lanka with the appellation sūriya or Vimaladharma, at least if one follows the conventional genealogy of kings in the Mahāvamsa/Cūlavamsa and the Sinhala Pūjāvaliya.¹⁴ If we are correct regarding the sūriya

antecedents of Vimaladharmasūriya, then it is not surprising that he would name his eldest son Rajasūriya, “the sun-king” and his eldest daughter Sūriya Maha Adahasin, “the great royal sun-princess,” ensuring the continuity of the “sūriya” clan name.

In spite of the failure of the first expedition, the Portuguese were undeterred. By virtue of Dharmapāla’s gift of his kingdom to the king of Portugal, the Portuguese justified their plan to sponsor Dona Catherina to the Kandyan throne and espouse her to a fidalgo or nobleman to further secure their position, in effect become sovereign rulers of the whole Island. In October 1594 another expedition was formed under the command of Pero Lopez de Souza but Konappu Baṇḍāra, now Vimaladharmasūriya, destroyed the whole regiment, captured the princess and married her as his chief queen. Historians tend to forget that Dona Catherina was also a member of the Baṇḍāra class like her father and his descendants although the Portuguese, in their ignorance or for strategic reasons, treated her as a daughter of a consecrated king and the legitimate heir to the Kandyan throne. The Dutch historian cum theologian Phillipus Baldaeus says that “the marriage was celebrated, the festivities were continued for 110 days with great magnificence and rejoicing” and of course the king gave various gifts to the inhabitants and promoted many notables, giving them “grants of lands and manors the better to secure their good will.”¹⁵ Fabulous celebrations of weddings and funerals were very much in the Kandyan royal style.

I will adopt the position that Vimaladharmasūriya reflects a modernity that was not permitted to come into being in later times. Vimaladharmasūriya’s queen Dona Catherina was viewed by the Portuguese as the rightful heir to the throne.¹⁶We know

little of her reaction to her forced marriage, if that was the case, although she was a faithful and gentle lady, a tragic figure dead at the age of thirty-five, having borne four sons and one daughter. Sri Lankan historians list her as Kusumāsana Devi, her birth-name, but she never gave up her faith as a Catholic. She was in reality not Kusumāsana Devi, the possessor of a very Sinhala name, but Dona Catherina, a believing Catholic with a Portuguese name. It therefore makes sense for an early Dutch source to say that “Dona Catherina visits no pagodas.”¹⁷ This might have been an exaggeration but there is little doubt that her faith was molded during her infancy in the Catholic and Portuguese dominated fort of Mannar. It seems that contemporary Sri Lankan historians want to force her change her faith!

The difference between the king and queen in respect of beliefs were quite remarkable. Konappu Bandāra was brought up as a Buddhist from his very birth and went to Goa as a young exile. There he was fully recognized as a Catholic such that Portuguese and Dutch sources continued to refer to him as Don Joao. This formal adoption of Christianity was quite common in Sri Lanka. Many Buddhists could become Christians, and some would even go to church. Yet at the same time they could continue to be Buddhists because, as Kitsiri Malalgoda pointed out in respect of conversions in the early British period, one could become a Christian nominally but remain at heart a Buddhist.¹⁸ Jesus is easily absorbed as one of the adopted Hindu gods, such as Viṣṇu or Saman both benevolent beings; and the Virgin Mary became one of the many mother goddesses, often identified with the Sinhala goddess Pattini, just as the goddess Pattini was transformed into the Virgin Mary by Catholic believers. The missionaries everywhere were aware of this dilemma but hoped, rightly, that in the next generation or two

the descendants of these formal converts would become “genuine” Christians.

Vimaladharmasūriya, now a Buddhist king, found out that the Tooth Relic had been sequestered in a village in the district of Sabaragamuva to protect it from the Portuguese. In the long history of Sri Lanka, kingship was incomplete without the royal presence of the Buddha in his Tooth Relic which legitimated the sovereign as a Buddhist king. In order to house the relic Vimaladharmasūriya had a “two-storey, superb relic temple [relic house] erected on an exquisitely beautiful piece of ground in the neighborhood of the royal palace.”¹⁹ Following the example of previous kings he publicly demonstrated his faith by going on pilgrimage to Śri Pāda, the holy footprint of the Buddha. More importantly he sent a delegation to Rakkhanga (Arakan in Burma) to bring monks to Sri Lanka to revitalize Buddhism owing to a lapse in the higher ordination (upasampadā). When they arrived within the sīma or ordination boundary the king himself “led the bhikkhus [and] had the ceremony of admission to the Order performed in this Great bhikkhu [monk] community on many of the sons of good family and thus protected the Order of the Enlightened One.”²⁰

Both Dona Catherina and Vimaladharmasūriya were familiar with Portuguese customs but what was striking is their adoption of Western ways of living. However, we would not have known of Vimaladharmasūriya’s openness to other cultures if we had to rely exclusively on Pali and Sinhala sources that barely mention his cosmopolitanism; nor that of his descendants. By contrast, according to Dutch accounts Vimaladharmasūriya was a great innovator and probably the first king to have his own vineyard, serving distinguished guests with wine. The Dutch envoy

De Weert mentions that the king had in his hand “a gold cup full of wine made from the grapes that grow in his house, and presented [it] to me to drink.”²¹ The Spilbergen embassy of 1602 recorded that on visiting the court they noticed “many Spanish chairs [and] a table on which all was arranged in the Christian manner.” The king himself during this short spell took some of the Dutchmen into the service of the court and “even began to learn to play several instruments.”²² Spilbergen was brought into the “chamber of the Queen where she sat with her children, the Prince and the Princess, who were all dressed in the Christian manner.”²³ This of course might be to please the guests but it is also very likely that the dress of the king and perhaps of chiefs were influenced by Portuguese fashions.²⁴ Paul E. Pieris summed up the situation neatly: “For a century Portuguese ideas molded the fashions of the Court at Senkaḍagala [Kandy], giving way in turn to the Dravidian influences which asserted themselves during the last century of its existence.” Unfortunately, “Dravidian influences” were not quite what Pieris and some other scholars imagined.²⁵

What is striking in the case of Vimaladharmasūriya, relative to the later Nāyaka regimes, is a much more open atmosphere in the court where distinguished foreign guests were permitted into the inner chamber of the palace to meet the royal family, a kind of openness that went into the regimes of his successors up to Narēndrasinha. Of course ambassadors had to pay homage to the king but not in the abject ceremonial style that the British and Dutch ambassadors had to endure especially during and after the reign on the great Nāyaka king Kīrti Śrī Rājasinha in the mid-18th century.²⁶ By contrast the Dutchman De Weert noted that after he greeted Vimaladharmasūriya “in the manner of our country, with one knee on the ground” he was also permitted to see his children

in front of him.²⁷ Further the Spilbergen embassy noted that when he became king Vimaladharmasūriya had “all new buildings to be constructed according to the Christian style;”²⁸ and mentions the “many well-constructed and well-populated towns” in the king’s territory.²⁹ As for the residents “they are well off and well clothed, viz: up to the middle of the body and carpous [cap] on the head.³⁰ Some who are of ample means wore ropillios [a vest] and wambays [Dutch for doublet] well adorned with rings. Their ears are adorned with precious stones and beautiful krisses at their sides.” As for the women “their clothes are neat, and they themselves are well fashioned in body and in appearance. Their headdress is made of their own hair without any tuft of silk or anything else. ... In this manner all Singales, adults as well as children, go about. They wear silver and gilted necklaces round their necks and rings on their fingers and toes and round their arms too decorated with precious stones. Their houses are beautiful and well- constructed.”³¹

The problem here is to reconcile this account with those of other observers, particularly Knox’s who in his famous “history” of the Kandyan kingdom mentions the very bare housing and clothes of ordinary people among whom he lived for nineteen years.³² It is very likely that the Spilbergen account refers to the people in the city of Kandy itself and especially those of the aristocracy; and perhaps other important cities the embassy visited, especially Bintänna-Alutnuvara, the alternative residence of the Kandyan kings and the location of the great pilgrimage center at Mahiyangana.³³ It seems that Kandy was in the time of Vimaladharmasūriya and his immediate successors a “city” in almost the modern sense where house and dress fashions were at a premium, not only Western fashions but also Javanese (for example, the ornamental kris knives that men wore) and of course indigenous and South Indian styles

for women. But it must be noted that many fashions depended on trade which was in the hands of South Indian Muslim merchants who were beginning to establish communities in the Kandyan area. No trade or businesses could be conducted without the knowledge of Tamil and also Portuguese such that kings and notables were fluent in both these languages, both being the lingua franca of much of South and Southeast Asia and well-known, widely diffused and understood in the Kōṭṭe and Kandyan kingdoms..I must admit that some of Vimaladharmasūriya's innovations would have come from his experience in Goa but this is part of his openness to other cultures. I do not know how long the vineyards of the king lasted, probably not very long after his death.

Vimaladharmasūriya followed Europeans styles in welcoming Dutch ambassadors, for example, when he embraced the Dutch general Spilbergen and being such a physically powerful person he actually “raised him up.”³⁴ There is a beautiful picture of the king shaking hands in Western style with Spilbergen.³⁵ And De Weert, the next Dutch envoy says that when the king was with some of his counselors he tried to kiss the king's hand as a token of honor but the king “took me in his arms and squeezed me heartily, so that he made my ribs crack.”³⁶ One of his reputed actions surely anticipates our own time when he informed De Weert “that he was prepared to send his own son, when of suitable age, to Europe, to be trained under Prince Mauritz [Prince of Orange].”³⁷ While it is unlikely that such personal innovations were continued by later kings, what is remarkable about the Kandyan kings from Vimaladharmasūriya I to Narēndrasinha is their openness and receptivity to other cultures and ways of life.

The Dutch chronicler Baldaeus wrote a fascinating description of Vimaladharmasūriya in spite of the king having ordered the killing of the Dutch envoy De Weert and the many sailors with him during the latter's second visit to Kandy.³⁸

“Don Jan was a bold and experienced warrior, as his life evinces, he was tall, of a black complexion, with a beautiful symmetry of body and a deep and commanding voice. He amassed vast treasures in money and jewels, erected many defenses, pleasure gardens and rest houses or inns for travelers called by the Cingalezen ambolan, preserved excellent order during his reign, was rigid and implacable towards the guilty, and on the other hand extremely generous and liberal in his rewards to the meritorious who had distinguished themselves in civil or military capacities amply rewarding them with money and honorable employments. He was a discerning statesman and knew well how to preserve and maintain friendship, and respect the treaties and contracts entered into with foreign kings and princes, except the Portugezen of whom on account of their jealousy of his power in Ceylon, he was a constant enemy. He ridiculed the idea of all religious tenets [dogmas?], permitting everyone a free exercise of it according to their own will and pleasure. In fact, he was in every sense of the word a finished courtier.”³⁹

Rājasinha II and the Kandyan Kaleidoscope⁴⁰

In respect of cosmopolitanism Kandy was very different from the Sītāvaka of Vimaladharmasūriya's contemporary and bête noire Rājasinha I whose historical experience made him an unyielding foe of the Portuguese and of the Catholic Church, in turn fanned by Portuguese fanaticism in respect of Buddhism and Islam.

By contrast the Kandyan policy of tolerance and cosmopolitanism was continued by Senerat(1604-1635), an ex-monk, his mother's sister's son (i.e., parallel cousin or "brother") and successor who married his widow Dona Catherina.⁴¹ He and his son Rājasiha II, in spite of their hostility to the Portuguese, continued a policy of tolerance that included Catholic refugees when they were being persecuted by the Dutch.⁴² Similarly when about four thousand Muslims were expelled by the Portuguese, they migrated to Kandy whence King Senarat dispatched them and settled them in the East Coast.⁴³ There is no doubt whatever that such actions had political implications because a friendly Muslim settlement would ensure the control of that region, increasingly threatened by the Portuguese. But the fact remains that the kings were tolerant of Muslims who were important allies and trading partners providing Kandyans with crucial items, especially salt and dried fish, fabrics and a variety of imported items. There were of course Hindu Tamil communities in Batticaloa on the East Coast whose king owed allegiance to Kandy as other local kings did. Vimaladharmasūriya cemented that alliance by marrying the king's daughter as a junior queen (*yakaḍa dōliya*).

It should be remembered that, under the influence of his mother, Rājasiha II was educated in his early childhood by Christian friars and "could read, write and speak Portuguese fluently, and was familiar with the manners and customs of many European peoples."⁴⁴ Like their Indian counterparts many kings were trained in the martial arts and in languages and several had the term *paṇḍita* (scholar, learned person) prefixed to their personal names.⁴⁵ Thus learning Portuguese (*pratikāl*) from friars was not an unfamiliar experience for Rājasiha and his descendants. It seems to me that a clear distinction must be made between the Catholic

friars who were the king's teachers and the Portuguese colonials, his enemies. Like good pupils the king had learned to respect his gurus irrespective of their faiths. However, there is another issue that I shall discuss presently in some detail in relation to Rājāsinha's descendants namely, unlike in the Portuguese territories of the lowlands, friars began to recognize that the dominant religion was Buddhism and that they no longer had the exalted position and political clout they exercised in the low country. Proselytization stopped at the gates of the palace, except under the orders of the reigning monarch. Further, we must remember that the Catholic Church was not in practice a unitary organization and we know that during this period there were Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, Augustinians and many smaller sectarian divisions. Thus while some priests inherited their colonial prejudices, others could be gentle and kind, in spite of their exclusivist notion of religion. This means that there was a double attitude to both the Portuguese and Catholicism by the Kandyan kings. Vimaladharmasūriya I, Senerat and Rājāsinha II were unrelenting in their hatred of Portuguese rule but this did not extend to Catholicism. In a sense it could not because Dona Catherina who was queen to both Vimaladharmasūriya and Senerat was a staunch Catholic and inculcated her values to her five children who were concurrently brought up in the Buddhist faith. When we move away from the royal family I must reiterate the fact that the general Sinhala population did not carry with them an exclusivist notion of gods and they could accept Jesus as they could the Hindu deities.

The Kandyan city and the villages nearby were a veritable display of diverse humanity. Spilbergen tells us once again in respect of Vimaladharmasūriya I: "Among these Singales there live many Moors, Turks and other heathens, who all have special

laws. Brahmos [Brahmins] are there in large numbers, who are very superstitious and respected by the other nations. These Brahmos never eat anything that has life.”⁴⁶ Additionally, there was a plentiful supply of Hindu ascetic wanderers such as āṇḍis and paṅtārams carrying on their own brands of faith! Spilbergen in his visit to Kandy mentions how he “was received there and accompanied thus to the city of Candy by some thousand armed soldiers of all nationalities, such as Turcken (Turks), Mooren (Moors), Singales, Cafferros (Kaffirs) and renegade Portuguese”⁴⁷

Knox tells us that many Englishmen captured during the reign of Rājāsinha II were kept as “prisoners” in the villages close to the city; and there were Frenchmen and perhaps some Danes and those Europeans who voluntarily wanted to live in these beautiful surroundings; or those who had succumbed to the myth of the noble savage.⁴⁸ This brings us to a feature of the city of Kandy, namely, that from the time of Vimaladharmasūriya I, the city encouraged and sometimes forced many European prisoners to settle there, not to mention other varieties of foreign humanity mentioned earlier, including different kinds of Muslims such as Malays and Javanese and speakers of different languages and dialects from India helping further to create, demographically speaking, an added sense of cosmopolitanism. The term “prisoner” is somewhat of a misnomer and has no relation to that term in contemporary usage everywhere because Kandyan “prisoners” were free to wander in a demarcated region containing many villages, some even living in the city of Kandy. However, villagers were held responsible if “prisoners” moved out of a permitted zone. Prisoners could practice crafts and sell their products and many of them were permitted, even encouraged, to marry Sinhala women, thus enhancing the complexion of many a fair Kandyan, another contribution, one might add, of Kandyan cosmopolitanism.⁴⁹

Rājāsīnha II was especially keen to have foreigners in his kingdom for a variety of reasons, as servants, as interpreters, craftsmen, soldiers, mechanics and gunners. He also seemed to have appreciated the variety of humanity in his domain, just as he loved to have a good stable and many animals and birds in his menagerie. Foreigners were part of the king's vast menagerie and as H.W. Codrington nicely put it "luckless Europeans as fell into his hands [were treated] as curiosities, much in the same way as the lion and other animals sent him by the Dutch."⁵⁰

Regime shift: the resurgence of Catholic proselytism in a Buddhist kingdom

I must now acquaint the reader of a "regime shift" that followed Rājāsīnha II, namely that of his son Vimaladharmasūriya II and his grandson Narēndrasīnha and which constituted a diacritical mark in the history of the Kandyan kingdom. First, is their familial relations with the Nāyakas that I shall soon document; and second is the stabilization of Dutch power following the Dutch annexation of at least part of the previous Portuguese territories, including their control of almost all of the harbours and ports.

The Dutch conquest implied the loss of place for Catholicism in the low country. The Dutch might have been religious liberals in Holland but not in Sri Lanka.⁵¹ "As soon as the Portuguese were expelled from the island, the Dutch took stern measures to root out all trace of Portuguese influence" and their rule saw a "ruthless suppression of Catholics in Ceylon" fearful of a reconquest by the Portuguese. "This challenge to the existence of the Catholic Church in Ceylon produced a response in the person of the Venerable Father Joseph Vaz and his Oratorian mission."⁵²

Kandyan support of Catholicism after Vimaladharmasūriya II cannot be understood without knowledge of this key event, that is, the enormously successful apostolic mission of Father Joseph Vaz in the Kandyan kingdom.

Joseph Vaz's model was the great Spanish missionary Francis Xavier, a disciple of Ignatius Loyola, and with him one of the founders of the Society of Jesus. He was also the first Jesuit to work in the East.⁵³ Xavier was especially noted for his success in converting the various castes in what is known as the Fishery Coast on the eastern side of South India and stretching from Tuttukuḍi (Tuticorin) to Kanyā Kumārī (Cape Comorin) and inhabited by fishing communities, generally designated as low castes but not Dalits. They were mostly Paravas who after Christian proselytism became a powerful caste claiming Kshatriya status.⁵⁴ Along with them were the Mukkuvas of the area around Travancore, and perhaps a loose aggregation of fisher-folk labeled Karaiyars.⁵⁵ These castes were poor and discriminated communities dominated by warlike "tribes" such as the Kallars and Maravars living in the Ramnad, the territory closest to Sri Lanka. The Maravars (frequent invaders of Sri Lanka) were under the suzerainty of the rulers of the Ramnad, the sētupatis or "lords of the bridge" who in turn owed allegiance to the Nāyakas of Madurai. The poverty and low status of the people of the Fishery Coast is central to understanding their acceptance of the universalistic and non-discriminatory message of Christ, some of whose disciples were fishermen. About the conversions on the Fishery Coast, Xavier could say that "often my hands are paralyzed with baptizing." And about the Mukkuvas: "in one month I baptized ten thousand persons," which in reality meant "the magic of large numbers," not even remotely an exact count.⁵⁶

What is even more remarkable is that Xavier did not know a single Indian language but was assisted by local disciples. The source of his success it seemed to me was not only the depressed communities' receptivity to the Christian message of social equality but also that Xavier adopted a Christological model which resonated with Hindu traditions of ascetic wanderers. He constantly visited village after village often barefoot.⁵⁷ He ate plain rice, seldom ate meat and no wine was available in the villages. He "slept on the bare ground or on a mat spread on the floor."⁵⁸ In contrast to the pleasure loving and arrogant Portuguese officials and settlers he wore a cassock patched and peeled, if I may say so, such that "he seemed very much the Christian counterpart of the sannyāsin," even though he wore black and not the yellow or saffron robe.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Xavier treated Hindus and other non-believers as demon worshipers, a pejorative attitude to other religions normal at that time.⁶⁰ He attacked idolatry "in a militant and aggressive manner." As Father Don Peter points out he "failed to see "that images were used in non-Christian religions for the same reason for which they were used in Christianity and Catholicism." And worse: on occasion he made even "children seize the idols and smash them to bits; then spit upon them and trample them underfoot." And as for the craftsmen who make such idols he urged in his instructions to missionaries to "banish such a person from the village to another."⁶¹

Joseph Vaz followed Xavier's ascetic model. He too slept on a mat on a cow-dunged floor like that of an ordinary poor household. It is as if he was familiar with the Buddhist injunction for monks to sleep on a low bed or on a pallet of straw. He traveled often barefoot with a few fellow priests. And like Xavier or Jesus

or the Buddha himself he was a wanderer, never staying at one place for long. He “never had a spare cassock and used one as long as it could last.” S.G. Perera tells us that even “non-Christians were most impressed by the ascetical life ... and in their eyes he represented the Eastern ideal of a man of religion, a Christian sannyasi or yogi, a man of prayer and penance and poverty.”⁶² Later on in the Kandyan areas his life style resembled the ascetic tradition of Buddhist forest monks, a highly idealized tradition that people were aware of through familiarity with, or rumors of, actual living examples and also represented in popular jātaḱa tales intrinsic to the living tradition of Buddhism. It is no wonder people called him mahā svāmi.⁶³

It was not only the ascetic life style that impressed the Sinhālas but also the fact that Joseph Vaz was a Konkani Brahmin and Brahmins were a species that they were thoroughly familiar with. Quite unlike his model Saint Xavier, he looked like Sinhālas in physique and complexion. And he was completely proficient in Tamil and Portuguese and soon learned Sinhāla, perhaps enough to converse. It is important to realize that most Sinhāla people he conversed with were far removed from the kind of discontented castes of the Fishery Coast. Politically, he was dependent on the good will of the gentle Vimaladharmasūriya II and his son Narēndrasinha, both Buddhists, such that he simply would not and could not castigate Hindu and Buddhist beliefs as “demon worship.” Vaz was aware that from his viewpoint Buddhists were heretics but that designation was something he could not publicly proclaim or articulate. Royal tolerance simply would not extend that far. S.G. Perera points out that Catholics viewed Protestants as “heretical enemies” or simply as “heretics” although this pejorative labeling was reciprocated by the Protestant Dutch.⁶⁴ Catholics

fleeing from Dutch persecutions or fears found refuge in the areas under Kandyan political control.⁶⁵ Father Joseph Vaz's missionary outreach embraced a vast area and there is little doubt that today's Catholic population in the Kandyan kingdom and much of the low country owed considerably to the apostolic work of Joseph Vaz and the tolerance of Kandyan kings.⁶⁶

Against the background sketched above one can now deal with the important new direction of Kandyan cosmopolitanism during the reigns of Vimaladharmasūriya II and his son Narēndrasinha. The former apparently ignored the treaty of 1638 between the Dutch and his father Rājasinha II which stated that the monarch "should not allow Roman Catholic monks and priests and other ecclesiastics to domicile themselves in his dominions"⁶⁷ In fairness to Rājasinha, he also seemed to have ignored much of the horrendous articles of that treaty including no. 17 that required the expelling of Catholic priests from his domain.⁶⁸ When one of the missionaries died Vimaladharmasūriya permitted him to be buried in Christian style in the Church in Kandy within the city limits itself, an action that would have been considered outrageous in later Nāyaka times. In spite of his support of Catholicism and the many Indian ascetic sects he remained a good Buddhist king concerned with the welfare of the sāsana or the Buddhist dispensation and civilizational order.

A splendid account of his Buddhist activities is found in chapter 97 of the Cūlavamsa devoted to him and I won't mention the details here except to note that the king's support of Buddhism is confirmed by the Catholics themselves in a report of 1701 of the Congregation of the Oratory (Oratorians). It says "that though the King of Kandy is zealous for his religion, he has permitted

the Fathers to perform public acts of Christian devotion, such as processions and feasts,” kinds of ceremonial activities to which Sinhala Buddhists were well attuned.⁶⁹ What the Oratorian report does not mention is that the king’s Buddhist tolerance extended also to other groups ensconced in Kandy, from Muslims to Brahmins and to the many South Indian wandering mendicants who were as much of a presence in the kingdom as the Catholics, not to mention Portuguese and European settlers.

Vimaladharmasūriya’s son Narēndrasinha who had known Father Joseph Vaz since childhood “not only continued the favors and benevolence of his father but regarded Father Vaz with even greater veneration.”⁷⁰ Father S.G. Perera’s statement is somewhat doubtful and sounds like a piece of apostolic propaganda. Nevertheless it seems likely that the king, being a sophisticated cosmopolitan, enjoyed the company of, and conversations with, Joseph Vaz and his disciple Father Jacome Gonçalvez, a much more problematic figure.⁷¹ Even though Vaz learned some Sinhala, these conversations between Kandyan kings and foreign visitors must I think have been in Tamil or Portuguese, both languages known to most Kandyan kings and chiefs.⁷² Like other Kandyan kings Narēndrasinha was highly educated and it is hard to believe that he did not have regular conversations with the sāmaneras he housed in his palace premises and with his teachers who were educated monks, even if not fully ordained! And being a monarch he surely had to consult his Brahmin purōhitas (counselors) in his court and perhaps even had conversations with other religious virtuosos. He had constructed popular shrines for Viṣṇu and Nātha, two of the most important gods in the Buddhist pantheon and it is hard to believe that the king had no conversations with the priests of those shrines! Kandyan kings could be tough against Catholic priests and

Buddhist monks on occasion but basically they were tolerant of other faiths.⁷³

Unfortunately, Narēndrasinha has had a bad press, exemplified in Dewaraja's view that there was public discontent with Narēndrasinha owing to his "inadequate support of Buddhism" because "it has always been the duty of the king to maintain the continuity of the Sangha by holding annual ceremonies of ordination." She adds that although he did "at times show a superficial interest in Buddhist art and literature, but no whole-hearted attempt was made to resuscitate the most vital organization, the Sangha, as the Nāyakkar kings did after him."⁷⁴ But if annual ordinations had been a continuing practice, there is no record of such a practice in the reign of his grandfather Rājasinha II or of Rājasinha's father Senarat, an ex-monk, according to the Cūlavamsa.

In addition to Narēndrasinha's inadequate support of Buddhism, Dewaraja posits the king's concomitant "partiality" for Catholics and the alien Nāyakas. For her the king's support of Catholic missions, similar to his support of the Nāyakas, was a "cause of resentment" against the king. Resentment against kings by factions in court or among the populace can be expected in kingship almost anywhere in the world but one must recognize that Narēndrasinha was not a Catholic in word or in deed and it is a mistake to translate tolerance as "partiality" for Catholics. I would say that tolerance for another religion ought to be considered a compliment to Narēndrasinha as an expression of his Buddhist and cosmopolitan values that commenced with the reign of Vimaladharmasūriya I.

It is time to recognize Narēndrasinha's Buddhist persona as it is expressed in the Cūlavam̐sa. If he was a crypto-Catholic in the guise of a Buddhist he would not have provided accommodation to novices in his palace premises in Kuṇḍasāle and performed other acts of Buddhist merit-making. He continued the grand tradition of giving alms to monks and had religious texts copied for their benefit.⁷⁵ Most importantly, "his heart was grieved" when he noted that the Palace of the Tooth Relic his father had erected in the capital had fallen into disrepair and he set about rebuilding it into a beautiful two-storey structure and "provided it with a portal resplendent with all kinds of brilliant ornaments" such that the building looked like a "mountain of silver." The text then says that the king had put in a graceful roof and had also "had thirty-two jatakas depicted in colored painting" and these jātaka tales are actually listed in the Cūlavam̐sa.⁷⁶ Earlier in his reign we are told that he went to Mahiyangana-Bintāna (aka Alutnuvara), where his grandfather Rājasinha was born, and offered several pūjas. Mahiyangana was one of the great pilgrimage centers and palace complexes and according to Buddhist myth it was here that the Buddha banished the demons resident there and cleared a space for Buddhism. It was such an important place that Narēndrasinha went twice again to Mahiyangana at the head of his great army (or following) where he "celebrated a great sacrificial festival."⁷⁷ He went on pilgrimage to Śri Pada and also once to Anuradhapura.⁷⁸ And just as he supported Christ as a kind of Viṣṇu, he also supported Viṣṇu by endowing the Viṣṇu shrine in Kandy with extensive maintenance villages. He also constructed a rampart or wall to enclose the Bodhi tree, the Buddhist temples and the shrine for the god Nātha, the future Buddha Maitreya in the city.⁷⁹ According to Codrington the king also built the Mahā Dēvāle for Viṣṇu in Kandy

in 1731 but, if Codrington is right this might mean that either he did extensive reconstruction of the already existent Viṣṇu shrine or that the present Mahā Dēvāle is the work of his later years.⁸⁰

It seems that Narēndrasinha had two important facets of his public identity: as the playful king given to poetry and the arts and along with it a high commitment to Buddhism. While there is plenty of precedent for the Buddhist practices, eroticism and the arts were hidden from the public gaze of the Pali chronicles. By contrast what is striking about Narēndrasinhais his openness towards “sellam” or “play” such that he was given the nickname sellam rajjuruvo (“the playful king.”)“Sellam” is a broad term that embraces music, poetry and the arts that were patronized by Kandyan kings who had special arenas for these activities and known as kavikāra maḍuva, “the hall for poetry and song.”⁸¹

In my view there is a deeper and unstated reason for the scholarly disparagement of Narēndrasinha owing to his popular designation as sellam rajjuruvo. In Narēndrasinha’s case sellam did include erotic enticements, mostly by dancing women accompanied by drumming and singing.(See appendix 1 for an account of some of these erotic poetry.) The women expressed longing for the king and some erotic texts mentioned similar longings for the seemingly austere warrior king, Rājasinha II, Narēndrasinha’s grandfather. I have detailed accounts of this tradition of erotic poetry in my current research but here I want to examine the reasons why this tradition has been near totally ignored by historians.

I attribute this to the development to what I have labeled in my work as “Protestant Buddhism” where, in the late nineteenth century and after, Protestant values have over time been transformed as true Buddhist values under the influence of

colonialism.⁸² I cannot deal with this phenomenon here except to say that for those of us educated persons living in colonial times (and among Buddhist neo-colonials of our time) it would have been unthinkable that Buddhist kings, not just poor Narēndrasinha, would engage in these practices. Unfortunately the classic Pali texts composed by monks also do not mention erotic practices and popular temple dancing because such forms of life were hardly the stuff of monastic interest and surely not conducive to “the serene joy and emotion of the pious,” the phrase that concludes each of the one hundred chapters of the Mahāvamsa/Cūlavamsa. Eroticism would be a taboo subject for these monks. However, harems are mentioned in many places in these texts and it is almost certain that it was a near universal and highly regarded institution among kings. For example according to the Daladā Sirita (“the conventions of the Tooth Relic”) it is said that in the time of Parākramabāhu IV (1302-1326) “the king with the harem, the ministers, the people of the city should for seven days hold an offering of rice, flowers, lamps with great pomp” in honor of the Tooth Relic.⁸³

However, note again that “sellam” is not only about Eros but also about secular and ritual dance, music and poetry and of course water-sports, the latter an extremely popular activity in Kandyan times among both kings and commoners, men and women. Apparently water-sports was an ancient and continuing practice because we know it existed even in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmani Abhaya aka Duṭṭhagāmunu (BCE 161-137), the most popular hero among the Sinhala. After he had trounced the Tamil forces, the Mahāvamsa tells us, he “disported himself in the water the whole day together with the women of the harem,” a wonderful give-away event ignored by our scholarly commentators.⁸⁴ The location of Narēndrasinha’s magnificent palace near the river in Kuṇḍasāle

is also significant because it is readily accessible to water-sports (diya keliya) as well as to literary and aesthetic activity.⁸⁵

I have documented in my continuing research that female temple dancers were well established in Śri Lanka and even the staid monks who wrote the sandēśa poetry describes them in great detail. Perhaps they were not so staid: once they started composing poetry in Sinhala praising and invoking the major gods such as Viṣṇu, they ceased to be entrapped in the Buddhist discourse of the Pali texts. The sandēśas describe in wonderful detail dancing women in temples and palaces and sometimes in more secular guise. They also describe the movements of peoples visiting shrines and enjoying themselves and especially at the great shrine complex for Viṣṇu in Devinuvara (Devundara, “the city of the god”).

One of the most beautiful poems of that period is from the fifteenth century Haṃsasandēśaya with its description of women sporting in the then-unpolluted Kelaniya River close to Colombo with oarsmen plying their trades.⁸⁶ Some of the paintings and sculptures after the seventh century also have beautiful depiction of female dancers, some in the nude, some engaged in sexual intercourse. The Cūlavāṃsa mentions the festivities in honor of the Tooth Relic “beautified by the sound of the five musical instruments” and “the dances and songs performed by the dancing girls” during the reign of Parākramabāhu IV.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, it is wrong to assume that when there are references to dancing women, they must necessarily imply erotic practice. It is hard to believe that dances in the Palace of the Tooth Relic had an erotic component in them. Rather they were celebratory in character and very likely they sang praises of the relic, perhaps analogous to popular ritual services known as tēvāva. Eroticism is a different sphere of

activity and well known in Sri Lanka both in the palace and in popular dances and poetry in village life prior to the development of “Protestant Buddhism” with its rigid control of sexuality and reification of “proper” behavior, especially for women.

But this is not how Narēndrasinha is represented in historical accounts. Dewaraja’s view of the king is typical of current prejudices about Narēndrasinha when she says that the king was given to “pleasure-loving so that the chiefs were at liberty to indulge in their intrigue much to the detriment of royal power.”⁸⁸ She quotes John Davy writing about a hundred years later (in 1821) to demonstrate the king’s “addiction to women, wine and song.”⁸⁹ Davy does mention that Narēndrasinha was “addicted to cruelty and drunkenness, and was remarkable for his vices only.”⁹⁰ But although Davy has some good accounts of village life, he was a colonial officer at the time of the fall of Kandy and his views of Kandyan kings expresses his colonial prejudices, his Christian Puritanism, and his near total ignorance of Sri Lankan history.⁹¹ The fact that these kings had multiple wives was surely another sign of unrighteousness from a puritan perspective. It ignored that almost all Sri Lankan kings engaged in similar practices, not to mention their harems, large or small, that were also the legitimate right of kings. Davy’s characterizations were typical of the biases that existed among the British of his time and cannot be taken seriously. Narēndrasinha’s attitude to the chiefs were much more complicated as I shall soon document.

Further admixtures: the Madurai connection

The cosmopolitanism of the Kandyan court could not be fully understood without reference to the Nāyakas of Madurai and

their impact on Kandyan kingship.⁹²In her important chapter on “The Nāyakkar dynasty and its origin” Dewaraja says that “Śri Vīra Pārakrama Narendrasimha, known to his subjects as Kuṇḍasāle deyyo, the last of the royal Sinhalese line of Sēnasammata Vikramabāhu, died in the year 1739. His brother-in-law who hailed from the outskirts of Madura in South India ascended the throne of Kandy as Śri Vijaya Rājasinha (1739-1747). He and the three kings who ruled after him until 1815, constitute the Nāyakkar dynasty, so called because of their association with the Nāyaks of Madura. In Kandy they were aliens, not only in race but in language, religion and culture as well.”⁹³

Many Sri Lankan historians assume that the presence of the Nāyaka dynasty resulted in the “Dravidianization” of Sri Lankan Buddhist culture. This is Dewaraja’s position also but she recognizes that the Cūlavamsa unreservedly praises all the Nāyaka kings. Dewaraja also clearly shows that while one would have expected rebellions owing to the presence of a foreign king, only a few did in fact occur. Moreover she adds that “we also have the unanimous verdict of all our sources that all the Nāyakkar rulers except the last were popular with their subjects.”⁹⁴ I find this statement somewhat strange: if the Nāyakas were aliens in respect of race, language, religion and culture why their enormous popularity? To deal with this issue we must move away from the Nāyaka kings to the impact of Nāyakas on Kandyan society and their influence on the courts during the reigns of Rājasinha II and his son Vimaladharmasūriya II and his grandson Narēndrasinha.

Long before the Nāyaka rule, the Kandyan kings had both political and marital relations with the Nāyakas. To properly understand these political and marriage alliances we must see the

larger Nāyaka presence in the Kandyan court. T.B.H. Abeyasingha noted that Telegu Nāyakas of Madurai “had long-established relations” with Kandy and during the reign of Vimaladharmasūriya I “troops sent by the nāyaks of Madurai and Meliapur, highly rated by the Portuguese as excellent fighters, played a valuable part in the Kandy defense forces.”⁹⁵ Dewaraja notes that “no less than a thousand men from Madura fought for Rājasinha [the second of that name] in the victorious battle of Gannōruva [against the Portuguese] in 1638.”⁹⁶ It is not likely all these Nāyakas went back home to Madurai. Some of them would have married Sinhala women, just as other immigrants and foreign settlers did. Whether this was the case or not the Nāyakas were surely a known presence in Kandy and it is unlikely that at least these regiments serving Kandyan kings were viewed as “alien” by the generality of the Sinhala public. It should be remembered that the Nāyakas were not Tamils but Telegu speakers, vaḍuga (northerners) originally from Andhra Pradesh and some from Karnataka. One has also to remember that Madurai has had important historical connotations for the Sinhalas. Their ancestral hero and founder Vijaya, having discarded his demon-wife Kuveni, brought a princess from Madurai as his mahēsi along with other Madurai women as wives for his followers. Both in mythic and practical terms the Nāyakas of Madurai were hardly aliens and therefore marital alliances with them could be seen as a further cementing of political and mythic relations with Madurai.

The first marital alliance recorded in the Cūlavam̐sa says that king Rājasinha “brought royal maidens [kaññā] from the city of Madhurā.”⁹⁷ What is striking is that this marriage alliance must have occurred when the notable king Tirumala (1623-1659) reigned in Madurai. Rājasinha assumed the throne in 1635 and his

reign showed considerable overlap with that of Tirumala who died in 1659 which would have given him plenty of time to contract an alliance with that important king. Consider the politics of both Madurai and Kandy where two redoubtable kings were in control: Tirumala who inherited the kingdom as an older man in 1623 and enjoyed a long reign until 1659; and an equally powerful figure Rājasinha whose reign of fifty two years lasted from 1635 to 1687.

Rājasinha had acquired great fame as the fierce opponent of the Portuguese beginning with his brilliant victory over Constantine de Sa at Randenivela in 1630 as a young warrior fighting on behalf of his father Senarat. It is certain his fame would have spread to Madurai which, unlike Kandy, did not wage open warfare against the Portuguese at this time. Nevertheless, the Portuguese were surely viewed with suspicion as possible enemies and a threat to Madurai's integrity and also because of their proselytism of the Paravas and other castes of the "fishery coast." Thus it is possible and likely that Rājasinha, given his fame, obtained one or more of Tirumala's daughters as his own mahēsi or mahēsis. Alternatively, the Cūlavam̄sa statement that Rājasinha married royal maidens could be interpreted to mean that he might have brought home daughters of Madurai rājas and married some of them as secondary queens known as yakaḍa dōliya in Kandyan kingship in contrast with ran dōliya, the chief queen or queens, a metaphorical distinction between palanquins (dōliya) of gold (ran) and iron (yakaḍa).⁹⁸

On the other hand multiple chief queens or mahēsis (ran dōliya) was an acceptable Sri Lankan royal custom. If so, Rājasinha's could have been a strategic marriage to Tirumala's daughter (or daughters) or with others connected with the Madurai

royal family. It is hard to believe that Tirumala did not welcome an alliance with a powerful neighboring king. We must also remember that Rājāsīnha also trounced the Portuguese in a famous battle at Gannōruva in 1638 with the assistance of a Nāyaka regiment. The battle of Gannōruva had to have been in the early part of Tirumala's reign and must have been motivation for both parties to cement the political alliance with a marital one.

Rājāsīnha's son Vimaladharmasūriya II (1687-1707) continued the Madurai connection in respect of marriage. The Cūlavamsa says that he "took to wife the daughter of the queen who was brought from Madhura, and made her his chief queen," implying that the king married his father's mahēsi's daughter.⁹⁹ On the face of it, this sounds improbable because that woman would be his sister, a kind of sibling marriage only found in Sinhala myth and unthinkable as far as the pious king was concerned. My hypothesis is that Rājāsīnha married a daughter of Tirumala's or some other rāja's mahēsi, a widow who already had an infant daughter (own or adopted) and Vimaladharmasūriya took that daughter as his chief queen, someone who was not a consanguine kin. She might have been addressed as "elder sister" but in this case sibling-ship is only a technicality.

If Dewaraja is wrong in suggesting that Narēndrasīnha's predecessors did not marry "royalty" she is right on target when she discusses the marriage of Narēndrasīnha, Vimaladharmasūriya's son, owing to Dutch documentation of an official visit by Sinhala emissaries to the Madurai kingdom.¹⁰⁰ I cannot go into the details of the two missions to secure brides for Narēndrasīnha but mention the fact that the Dutch were now in control of the coastal harbors and the Sri Lankans had to seek their aid in securing brides for the

king. Meanwhile Madurai itself was in steep decline consequent to Muslim invasions. The first mission was around 1706 when the powerful Madurai regent Mangammal was about to relinquish her rule to her grandson, the impetuous Chokkanātha in 1705 or thereabouts. Meanwhile the king's father Vimaladharmasūriya was probably ill and died in June 1707.

Naturally, the first mission had to be abandoned but the second mission was successful and the Cūlavam̃sa tells us that following previous custom the embassy “fetched princesses from the town of Madura and made them first mahēsis.”¹⁰¹ However, in the case of Narēndrasinha, the Cūlavam̃sa wording does not say that the king married from the ruling family but rather brought home “princesses” who of course could come from families without kinship connections with them; or alternatively from a family with kinship connections with the Madurai king; or to put it differently from an indirect line. If this assumption is correct then Piṭṭi Nāyaka (as the Dutch labeled him), the prospective bride's father was one of the many “kings” of the Madurai kingdom and his daughter or daughters or women related to him as “daughter” could easily be “princesses,” just as the Cūlavam̃sa informs us.

We know that the original bunch of princesses came with their own retinues of male and female relations. To begin with they might have been a numerically small but significant part of the royal entourage. But consider some further implications of their presence. Rājasinha having Nāyaka queens meant that his son and heir Vimaladharmasūriya II was in fact South Indian from his mother's side, genetically speaking, but more importantly he would have been brought up by his mother in Nāyaka ways, just as he was brought up in Buddhist ways, such that he turned out to be a truly

pious and good Buddhist king, even though a somewhat ineffectual ruler. It is said that Rājasinha had kept the prince confined to his palace for most of the time, perhaps fearful of his safety.¹⁰² If so, this would mean that he was brought up psychologically close to his mother or “mothers.”

William Hubbard who was a “prisoner” in Kandy for forty-four years during the period 1660-1703 and was a contemporary of the more famous Robert Knox had this to say about the king in a brief reminiscence: “I have never appeared before the king in Court but I have known from evidence of the present Wimala Dharma Suriya Maha Raja to be able to say that he is of an exceptionally good nature, shows himself many times and very normally among the people, amuses himself often on horseback or goes to the river in a palanquin, on which occasion I have seen and saluted the King many times.”¹⁰³ He adds that the people loved the king and spoke of his goodness but hated and feared the chiefs. He claims that the king did not inflict heavy punishments and has not executed more than three or four persons, surely information that was part of public knowledge about the king. This is quite remarkable, given his warlike father’s reign and no-nonsense policy of executions. And we know of course that in Kandyan times it is only the king who could adjudicate and pass sentence on those who had committed murder and other serious crimes.¹⁰⁴ The king’s warrior-father Rājasinha II could not possibly have been his role model! His gentle nature must have been due to the nurture of his Nāyaka mother (or mothers) and his identification with his teachers who were in all likelihood monks and perhaps also Brahmin purōhitas. As we have seen this marriage of Hindu and Buddhist ways was true of most Sinhala kings with the proviso that Buddhism had to be recognized as the dominant religion and one geared to a

salvation ethic whereas Hindu gods and the many deified ancestors (known as Bandāra Gods) were propitiated for much more worldly aims and goals.

Virtually every Sri Lankan historian refers to Narēndrasinha, the son of Vimaladharmasūriya II, as the “last Sinhala king” which is of course true in the sense that he was the last of the line initiated by the first Vimaladharmasūriya. Given the fact that the Nāyakas in the court were close kinsmen of the king, it is not surprising that Vimaladharmasūriya II would want to continue these marital connections in respect of his son, Narēndrasinha, who like his father was socialized into Nāyaka ways by his mother. But unfortunately for this enterprise the fortunes of the Nāyakas of Madurai were on the wane. Dewaraja admirably documents the discontent of Sinhala nobles during the early reign of Narēndrasinha, yet it is clear from Dewaraja’s account that, except for the initial rebellion of 1709 (when the king was only nineteen years), most of Narēndrasinha’s long reign of thirty-two years was a peaceful one. In the same breath she denigrates this most interesting king for not being quite kosher in his practices.

Perhaps Dewaraja’s most astonishing statement is that the aristocratic discontent was due to the “king’s inadequate support of Buddhism,” something we have already discounted. We know that there were periods when there were no fully ordained (upasampadā) monks in Kandy and the first king to bring in monks to renew the ordination was Vimaladharmasūriya I. Thereafter during the long fifty-two year reign of Rājasinha the full ordination had totally lapsed and the king did not renew it. I suspect that this was partly because of his suspicion of the Dutch, the new denizens of the Maritime Provinces such that any mission to Arakan or

elsewhere in the Buddhist world would be impossible without the support of the Dutch ships. The proud king was not willing to accept this help which would underline his dependence on the Dutch. More significant perhaps was his dependence on powerful non-ordained monks known as ganinnānses, an issue I will take up later. Not so with his gentle son Vimaladharmasūriya II. Following the illustrious example of his “great grandfather” and namesake, he sent in 1697, with Dutch assistance, an embassy “to the country of Rakkhanga [Arakan] and invited the bhikkhu community with the thera [monk] Santana at the head.”¹⁰⁵ Thirty-three monks arrived from Burma who, on the king’s orders, conferred the higher ordination on thirty-three “sons of good family,” and initiated as novices (sāmanera) another one hundred and twenty sons, also of good family -- an unfortunate tradition of social exclusiveness that continued from early to later Kandyan times.¹⁰⁶

However a puzzle exists in respect on the next king Narēndrasinha whom Dewaraja as well as some Sinhala texts blame for not renewing the upasampadā ordination. It is a mistake to assume that the absence of fully ordained monks meant that there were no monks in the kingdom. There were powerful un-ordained monks or ganinnānses especially those who did not wear the yellow robe but instead wore white or some other sartorial marker. Many belonged to the aristocracy and owned large estates, some even contracted marriages. Actually in the time of Rājasinha an embassy to the Dutch was led by a ganinnānse cum aristocrat named Kobbākaḍuve Ganebandāra; in the time of Vimaladharmasūriya II this same monk was a member of an important Dutch delegation to Kandy in 1688. He had been appointed “the chief priest [monk]” by Vimaladharmasūriya II himself and was probably highly educated. There were other influential ganinnānses in the courts.¹⁰⁷ Their

knowledge of the doctrine was highly variable although in theory they were supposed to be proficient in the knowledge of the Ten Precepts (uposatha) obligatory for novices. Many did know the basics of Buddhist ethics and especially stories of the Buddha's births and legend of his life (jātaka) and could perform Buddhist rituals for lay folk.

What then occurred during the reign of Narēndrasinha? We know that the upasampadā or full ordination under Vimaladharamasuriya II was in 1696; but it is unclear when the order actually lapsed. However, the Cūlavamsa categorically states that Narēndrasinha at the start of his reign “showed care for the bhikkhus who had been admitted to the Order during his father's life” and also “had many sons of good family submitted in faith to the ceremony of world-renunciation ...”¹⁰⁸ This means that the upasampadā ordination was in force when Narēndrasinha became king in 1707 and to start with he even ordained sons of good family. Nevertheless, the evidence is also clear that it had lapsed a few years later. While this lapse cannot be precisely dated we know that when Narēndrasinha moved his palace from Kandy to Kuṇḍasāle he invited to his palace premises pious novices (sāmanera) who wore the yellow robe and were versed in the Ten Precepts. But who were they? One of the most famous of these sāmaneras was the junior novice of that time named Saranaṃkara who would later become the Sangharāja. Saranaṃkara was born in 1698 and became a novice monk sixteen years later in 1714 in the seventh regnal year of Narēndrasinha. By that time the ordination (upasampadā) had already lapsed. If the ordination was in force during Narēndrasinha's accession in 1707 and was defunct in 1714, we have to account for the dramatic demise of that institution in a time span of under seven years! If so why was the ordination aborted or discontinued or permitted to wither away?

I think we must seek the answer from the powerful class of ganinnānses who would not have permitted the thirty-three monks ordained by the Arankans (and the few re-ordained by Narēndrasinha) to control the vast estates and thereby erode power structure of the aristocracy, an important component of the ganinnānses. Note that the Arakan monks had also ordained a hundred and twenty novices or sāmaneras but novices had no rights to the monastic estates and therefore were no threat to the ganinnānses. It is these pious novices who were around in 1714 in the king's palace premises when Saranamkara became a novice monk. Surely these were the Arakanese leftovers.

We can now answer the question why Narēndrasinha did not restore the upasampadā ordination. In my view he had to yield to the power of the established ganinnānses. A hint of what occurred can be gleaned from an unexplained action of the king when he executed an important monk Sūriyagoḍa Rājasundara for treason in 1715, a year after Suriyagoḍa's pupil Saranamkara was inducted as a novice. This was in Narendrasinha's eighth regnal year when he was twenty-four, a relatively young man. The venerable Sūriyagoḍa was ordained by the Arakanese delegation in 1697. There is not enough evidence to explain the king's action but my guess is that Sūriyagoḍa had led the resistance against the power of the ganinnānses and his execution was under their instigation. It would seem that in order to retain his own power Narēndrasinha was compelled to yield to the ganinnānses. There is some indirect evidence that Narēndrasinha felt guilty for the execution of the monk. Sūriyagoḍa's pupil Saranamkara fled temporarily to a mountainous area and engaged in meditation. What is clear is the Narēndrasinha soon afterwards began to support Saranamkara and held him in high esteem and refused requests to muzzle him. But

while he supported Saranaṃkara and novices in his own palace premises there is not the slightest doubt that he was no longer inclined to renew the lapsed ordination. It seemed that for now the ganinnānses had won the war.

The Nāyaka marriages impel us to once again consider the role of women in history that has been near-totally ignored by historians. Remember that Vimaladharmasūriya II's mother was a Nāyaka princess of Madurai; and so was her son Narēndrasinha. These women had their kinfolk in the court and one must assume that their royal sons had good relationships with their mother's brothers, own or classificatory, because in terms of kin relations (known nowadays as the Dravidian kinship system) the mother's brother and sister's son relation could be, and often was, a close and affective one in both Madurai and Sri Lanka. From the kingly perspective at least the Nāyakas in the court were no strangers.

Unfortunately neither Sinhala nor Pali nor Portuguese and Dutch texts, with their overwhelming male prejudices, pay attention to the role of mothers in the socialization and education of children. Although Narēndrasinha is often designated as the last Sinhala king, this social inheritance must be qualified by his biological inheritance where he is more Nāyaka than Sinhala through his mother and grandmother. His wife or wives, mother and grandmother and the many classificatory kin were both Hindu and Buddhist and he would have been inevitably socialized in both ideological regimes. Mothers were key players in the dissemination of values to their children. This was of course also true of the children of Vimaladharmasūriya I and Senerat whose mother was an avowed Catholic, Dona Catherina, and as we showed earlier, also true of Vimaladharmasuriya II.

Śri Vijaya Rājasinha and the beginnings of the Buddhist, Catholic and Dutch discourses on intolerance.

I noted several problems with the imputation that Kandyans were hostile to the Nāyakas on account of their alien-ness. Kandyans were familiar with the presence of outsiders in their midst and these included the regiments sent by the Nāyaka kings. More explicitly Nāyakas became a presence in the courts when the Kandyan kings espoused Nāyaka women and their relatives who came with them. The Nāyaka kings of Madurai had broad and eclectic religious views; they were believers in Viṣṇu as they were of Śiva as well as other major gods and almost all worshiped powerful goddesses, especially Mīnaskṣī. After their arrival they could as easily worship Viṣṇu in Kandy in the shrine or dēvāle for that deity. The city also hosted a dēvāle for Skanda (aka Murugan or Kataragama). But what about Buddhism, one might ask? Surely from the view point of early Nāyaka immigrants the Buddha was the ninth avatar of Viṣṇu and hence neither they (nor other Hindus until very recently) had any problem worshipping the Buddha with devotion in the many temples in Kandy. Naturally the plurality of Sinhala would have been impressed by their devotion, even though some texts treated them as unbelievers. Gradually the Nāyakas or some of them, would become more and more Buddhist given the fact that their king (Rājasinha II or Vimaladharmasūriya II or Narēndrasinha) and fellow kinsmen were practicing Buddhists.

Consider the case of the first Nāyaka king Śri Vijaya Rājasinha who married from a very distinguished royal family from Madurai. Narēndrasinha had neither sons nor brothers and, while he could have chosen a successor from the local aristocracy, the choice of his queen's brother made sense, given the long

connection of the Kandyan kings with the Nāyakas. In this case the queen's father had borne a son after they arrived in Kandy and "he was a favorite of the late king [Narēndrasinha] who had brought him up in Court like his own son." Having grown up in Kandy from his very birth Śrī Vijaya was surely a Buddhist and knew his Sinhala and was familiar with the politics and culture of the court and the society at large.¹⁰⁹ Sri Vijaya himself contracted a marriage (or marriages) with an influential royal family from Madurai and his father-in-law Nārenappa Nāyaka later became a king-maker and one of the most powerful persons in the Court. And very impressively Śrī Vijaya's queens whom he had imported from Madurai became good Buddhists, just like the King himself and adopting his example. Like many new converts they became more addicted to Buddhism than most Sinhala Buddhists. According to the Cūlavamsa "they gave up the false faiths to which they had long being attached and adopted in the best manner possible the true [Buddhist] faith" and worshiped the Tooth Relic day by day with many offerings. And most strikingly "they kept constantly the five moral commandments and the uposatha vows [the ten precepts] even on days that were not uposathas." Among their acts of piety described in great detail, they also "had sacred books copied." Naturally "they were highly regarded in the whole of island of Lanka."¹¹⁰

This account of Nāyaka queens is the longest description of female Buddhist piety in the whole hundred chapters of the Mahāvamsa/Cūlavamsa. It seemed easy for the Nāyakas to slip from Vaishnavism to Buddhism as it is to slip from the Buddha as the ninth avatar of Viṣṇu to the established Sinhala belief of Viṣṇu being a kind of avatar of the Buddha.

The Cūlavamsa in chapter 98 has a long discussion on the piety and unequivocal Buddhist-ness of Śri Vijaya Rājasinha. What is striking in this account are two aspects of the king's religiosity: first, his attempt to reintroduce the upasampadā ordination that Narēndrasinha had failed to do and second, more disturbingly, his persecution of the Catholics. Let me tentatively deal with these two issues.

Regarding the king's attempt to reintroduce the full ordination we must recognize that he seemed to have had enough resource to defy the power of the ganinnānses and the entrenched aristocratic class. This must be surely due to the work and increasing popularity of Saramaṅkara and his disciples who also belonged to the traditional aristocracy. The two previous ordinations had espoused a social exclusiveness such that only "sons of good family" were permitted to be fully ordained monks or novices. Thus under the influence of Saramaṅkara, unsurprisingly, some of the ganinnānses also converted to his viewpoint. But this is not a sufficient interpretation. One must assume that by this time the Nāyaka relations of the king under his powerful father-in-law had become a political force to contend with and were willing to join the king and his supporters to challenge the power of the ganinnānses. In that sense Śri Vijaya Rājasinha in attempting to reintroduce the higher ordination accomplished what his predecessor, wittingly or unwillingly, failed to do.

Further, this task could not succeed without the help and cooperation of the Dutch. Following previous custom the first attempt was to restore the ordination from Pegu in Burma but this had to be abandoned owing to a shipwreck. And the second attempt to obtain the ordination from Ayutthaya in Thailand with

Dutch help in 1747 did meet the Thais but the death of the king later that year resulted in a cancellation of the trip. But the fact that it did succeed in the reign of KīrtiŚri Rājasinha, the next Nāyaka king, indicated quite clearly, it seemed to me, the growing power of the Nāyakas in the courts and that of Saranaṃkara among the Buddhist public at large.¹¹¹

The other side of Śri Vijaya Rājasinha is his persecution of the Portuguese and Catholics, as represented in the Cūlavam̃sa: “The infamous Parangis, the infidels, the impious ones who at the time of King Rajasiha [Rājasinha II] had still remained behind in the town and now dwelling here and there, rich in cunning, endeavored by gifts of money and the like to get their creed adopted by others, lead a life without reverence for the doctrine (of the Buddha). When the king heard thereof he became vehemently indignant, issued commands to the dignitaries, had their houses and their books destroyed and banished from the country those who did not give up their faith.”¹¹²I believe that the hostility to Catholics developed in the second phase of Catholic proselytism in Kandy after the death of Vaz in 1711 with the work of his successor Jacome Gonçalvez, another Konkani Brahmin who was brought into Kandy by Vaz in 1706 during the last year of Vimaladharmasūriya II. Gonçalvez died in 1742; and because Narēndrasinha had died in 1739 he was in Kandy during most of Narēndrasinha’s reign. The king was well disposed to Gonçalvez and treated him with kindness but there is no evidence that he favored the missionaries as against the Buddhists. Unfortunately Narēndrasinha according to Dutch sources was seriously ill by 1632, seven years before his death which meant that effective power was in the hands of his successor-to-be Śri Vijaya, the “crown prince” mentioned in Portuguese sources, for a considerable period.¹¹³

Gonçalvez was quite unlike Vaz. He was a militant type of missionary more in the spirit of Francis Xavier and the orthodox Catholicism of the time. He was especially hostile to Dutch Protestantism and Buddhism, both directly and indirectly, though his enormous theological corpus and his thorough familiarity with idiomatic Sinhala and Tamil.¹¹⁴ Father S.G. Perera puts it thus: “Seeing the number of conversions effected among Buddhists by his writings, he was even led to attempt the same among the Dutch. He studied Dutch, and composed a work in that language, confuting the errors of the Dutch Reformed Church” and of Calvinism and Protestantism in general.¹¹⁵ His was an enormous theological and polemic output that began with Upadesa (“advice” or “instructions”) in Sinhala and Tamil, a catechism of Catholic doctrine followed by a mass of popular and theological work in Sinhala (and Tamil) that made him the leading exponent of Sinhala Catholicism. “Perhaps his greatest achievement was that he enriched the Sinhalese language” replacing the stilted terminology operative at that time with idiomatic Sinhala “to convey the essentially Christian ideas of the one true God, Church, Sacrament, Eucharist, Gospel, Confession and the like¹¹⁶Consequently “for the first time in the history of Ceylon, Catholics were able to read explanations and vindication of their faith in their mother tongue, in compositions that vied with the Buddhist classics in elegance and purity of language.”¹¹⁷ Among Gonçalvez’s many works listed by Don Peter is *Vēda Kāvya* in 528 stanzas on the life of Christ and his teachings and modeled apparently on the great Sinhala Buddhist classic of *Vīdāgama*, the *Budugunāṅkārāya* dealing with the life of the Buddha. These are no doubt remarkable achievements but it is hard to believe that they did not produce negative reactions and hostility among Buddhists now being empowered by their own remarkable

resurgence of faith under Saranaṃkara and his sophisticated novice followers known as the silvat samāgama, “the pious community.” Gonçalvez also tried to influence Śri Vijaya Rājasinha while he was still a “crown prince” or Prince Asthāna by presenting him in 1737 a copy of Budumula (“The root of Buddhism”), a refutation of Buddhism, but “it failed to convert him.”¹¹⁸ Gonçalvez foolishly tried to expose the “errors of Buddhism,” condemn the theory of rebirth, expose the contradictions in Buddhism and the absurdity of Buddhist miracles.¹¹⁹ Śri Vijaya, owing to the serious illness of Narēndrasinha, was the de facto ruler and was also a good Buddhist fully under the influence of Saranaṃkara. It is almost certain that Gonçalvez’s venture would have backfired and provided ammunition to the Buddhists and also to the Dutch fearful of Portuguese reemergence. Meanwhile, Gonçalvez introduced popular Catholic music and psalms to both Kandyans and those in the low country, without doubt antagonizing Saranaṃkara and his followers. He was also an unrelenting polemicist and one of his most famous debates was with de la Nerolle, a French Calvinist in the court of Narēndrasinha. The Calvinist attacked the worship of images in Catholicism whereas Gonçalvez defended these practices which might have resonated well with Buddhist practices thereby actually enhancing Gonçalvez’s work of conversion among the Buddhist population.¹²⁰ What is certain is that Gonçalvez’s anti-Calvinist rhetoric and his railing against the Dutch Reformed Church would have further antagonized the latter. Dutch support was necessary for Śri Vijaya’s and Saranaṃkara’s attempt to revive the lapsed ordination. Thus there had to be collaboration between the Buddhists and the Dutch owing to their mutual interests and distrust of the emergent charismatic leader in Gonçalvez. We would know the reason why, if we accept S.G. Perera’s vision of

Gonçalvez on the Sinhala living in the areas controlled by the Dutch: “Many began to inquire into the Catholic religion, and conversions multiplied, especially from the ranks of the better classes of the people, from the high born and noble families, from pundits, vederālas or [ayurvedic] physicians, and most of all from the ranks of the schoolmasters employed by the Dutch to propagate the Reformed religion of Holland.”¹²¹

Thus there seemed a three-way antagonistic discourse, and further research is necessary to fully understand its dynamics. Some information is available in Portuguese sources but these are characterized by an almost virulent and hostile anti-Dutch and anti-Buddhist polemics by those missionaries who flocked to Kandy during the period of Gonçalvez and also after his death in 1742. This comes out beautifully in a document entitled “Report of the Mission of Ceylon, 1746” that must be read in full and very critically but here I shall briefly mention its implications.¹²² From the viewpoint of the Portuguese the villains were the heretical Dutch who were supported by Saranaṃkara and a couple of the ministers of the court and especially the governor (disāva) of the Four Korales, an area that already had seen considerable proselytization during Portuguese times. According to the “report” the Dutch, failing to incite the king, stirred up “commotion among the sangatares, or priests of the Budun, and the Chingala common people.”¹²³ They threatened Śri Vijaya with revolt if he favored the Christian community, namely the Catholics, and tried to win “Ganne Villivata” [Valivita Saranaṃkara] with “a good deal of money.” “Thus, the Chingalas, allied with the heretics [Dutch], demanded that as our Fathers were the authors of these books [that were] contrary to the doctrine of the Budum which they follow, the king should give a command to arrest them, confiscate their

properties, have them brought before him, and destroy the churches they had built in his kingdom.”¹²⁴ The ministers, whether or not with the king’s permission, did what the heretic Dutch requested and what their own passions dictated. Thus “each dissava sent order to his province where there were Christians, to seize the missionaries, bring them to the capital, confiscate their property and destroy the churches.”¹²⁵ One of the influential ministers (Adikārama or Adigar in popular usage) “ordered the church of Candia to be surrounded,” and had Father Mathias Rodrigues taken and all church property confiscated on 17 March 1744.¹²⁶

In effect wherever possible missionaries were pushed out of the areas under Kandyan and Dutch control. According to this report the Dutch ambassador (“the deadliest enemy”) instigated Saranamkara to threaten the king, and that his monks would “either kill themselves or quit the country of Ceylao if the king and his councilors allowed the missionaries to remain in the realms.”¹²⁷ The king then ordered the expulsion of the missions after consulting his ministers.¹²⁸ According to another Catholic report the King was sympathetic to Catholicism and so was another influential minister (Adigar) but both were compelled to withdraw their support of the missions. It does seem as if the king acted under political pressure or expediency. “The king did not make any clear statement. The Adigar did not give much hope and said that the Fathers themselves had been impudent since, not content to cherish their own religion, they had attacked the religion of other people and found fault with those who had done them no harm.”¹²⁹ The expulsion of the missions and the persecution of Catholics were a reality. However, the missionaries found support and succor in the vast and relatively uncharted area of the Vanni. Whether or not the Portuguese missionary account is true in its details, there is no

doubt that the expulsions did take place and that the Cūlavam̐sa statement though brief and brutal is for the most part correct. However, in spite of the persecution of Catholics in the time of Śri Vijaya there is no evidence that the Nāyaka kings who followed him evinced any hostility to Catholicism. Consequently, it is likely that Catholics continued as an important presence in the Kandyan kingdom.¹³⁰

PART II

THE DEMONIZATION

OF THE NĀYAKAS

The Dutch, the chiefs and the Nāyakas: a preliminary investigation

Whatever ambivalence might have existed among sections of the Sinhala aristocrats regarding the Nāyakas it is also clear, as Dewaraja rightly claims, that they were popular with most chiefs and the rank and file of the Sinhalas who supported them in the continuing wars with the Dutch during the period of KīrtiŚri Rājasinha's reign (1747-1782). The Dutch we shall see were hostile to the Nāyakas, and created the conditions for their even more radical demonization during the reign of Śri Vikrama in early British times. However, the Dutch hostility to the Nāyakas and especially KīrtiŚri began very early in the latter's reign before his actual wars with the Dutch during the period 1762-1765. To understand these wars one must I think see them in relation to Dutch policy prior to this period beginning with the regimes of the Governors Julius van Gollennesse (1743-1751) and that of his successor Joan Gideon Loten (1752-1757), with a brief but insignificant interlude with Governor Jan Vreelandt (1751-1752).

What is striking in all of the Dutch relations with KīrtiŚrī is the Hollanders' attempt to influence the chiefs to support them and this applied especially to the very prominent chiefs of the Three and Four Korales that bordered Dutch territory. In the period of van Gollennesse, the two Adigars were Āhālepola Rālāhami, “the State Adigar,” and his supposed conflicts with Leuke, the prominent Disāva of the Three and Four Korales.¹³² Then there was the second Adigar Samarakkoḍi who according to the Dutch was aligned with Leuke and other chiefs, and was later executed by KīrtiŚrī in 1760 for conspiring to kill the king. It seems at this time, even before the actual reign of that ruler, the Dutch Governor was not at all sure about the conflicts in court and the complex maneuverings in the devolution of authority among chiefs.

Leuke himself died on his way to the Court in 1751 and he was succeeded by Mīgastānne Disāva of Dumbara whom also the Dutch tried to curry favor. Van Gollennesse reports that the chiefs seem to favor the Dutch over other foreigners but significantly adds that “in matters of importance they are never disunited but follow the line.” And then a further admission: “it appears clear enough that they would much rather see us leave the island entirely to have a free trade carried on in their land, which they have made sufficiently clear since a scandalous rabble of Moors flocked in their land in such great number” with their headquarters in Puttalam.¹³³ Apparently the chiefs were encroaching on the Dutch East India Company property and giving protection to Muslim smugglers who use the strong winds of August and September to for this purpose. But, as Arasaratnam points out, the Muslim smuggling continued even during the regular season because their small boats or thonies could land in narrow inlets where the Dutch cruisers cannot reach them.¹³⁴ Additionally, to the discomfiture of

the Dutch, they then can move back and forth into the Ramnad contrary to the agreements between the Dutch and the Thevar.¹³⁵ The Thevars (Theuvars, Devars) were the chiefs or setupatis of the Ramnad who after the decline of Madurai had become an indisputable power in the land.

I think what is significant in the Governor's anxiety is that in addition to Muslim smuggling with its profits for the Kandyan chiefs and the Nāyakas is the latter claiming rights over the Company territory. The profits from smuggling for the Nāyakas and the chiefs come out nicely in van Gollennesse's account of the smuggling of cloth into Kandyan territory from the Ramnad. Apparently the Governor estimated that the Company could make a profit of a "ton of gold" (100,000 guilders) from this trade "if only the harmful smuggling of the people of Putulang is seriously prevented and opposed."¹³⁶ To complicate matters the Muslims in this area had their own practice of weaving and also planting "cotton gardens" and this has badly affected the "coarse cloth" industry of the Company which meant that the Company's cloth had few sales. So is it with the Salāgama caste (Chālias) who have been "weavers from time immemorial" and now have renewed that activity neglecting the peeling of cinnamon ("the fragrant bark"), thus, as with the Muslims, seriously affecting the Company's sources of profit.¹³⁷ And to add insult to injury the Kandyans have engaged in smuggling arecanuts from their territory to the Madurai coast where these nuts are in great demand and, it seems, ignoring the trading rights jointly agreed by the Company and the King.¹³⁸

It is easy to read between the lines of these statements. The cloth industry was indispensable to the Kandyans and thus smuggling cloth from the Ramnad, the area where the Nāyakas

had many contacts, not only produced profits for the King and his relatives but also for the chiefs on whose cooperation the Muslims traders were fully dependent. So with the other items, especially the trade in arecanuts sent to the Madurai coast and without doubt shipped further inland where the people, if you will permit my mild facetiousness, were nuts about these nuts. The Company recognized their dilemma when van Gollennesse suggested that one solution would be to legitimize their smuggling business by offering them a fixed price, something that was probably not followed through because the Dutch as well as the Kandyans knew it was doomed to fail.

It is therefore clear that this illicitly licit trade enhanced the profit of the King, his Nāyaka relatives and of course the Kandyan chiefs who were fortunate enough to be on the right side of the King. Hence the Dutch discourse on “greed” scattered in their texts. The Nāyakas, the King and the chiefs in engaging in such illegal activity by claiming the right to free trade, deliberately violating previous trade agreements, were inspired by “greed,” quite unlike the legitimate and rational motives of the Company, or so it seems. Thus, as Schreuder recognized a few years later, the Nāyakas and the chiefs “however unpolished and inexperienced they may be in other things, are exceedingly cunning in matters relating to policy and finance, and in that respect have always shown themselves our equals, and have also never deviated from their great ambition.” Unsurprisingly “the King will no longer allow himself to be appeased with fair words, but absolutely desired to participate in our trade in arecanuts and elephants.”¹³⁹

Van Gollennesse was followed by Governor Loten (1752-1757) whose comments were in line with his predecessor’s. They

only reinforce the political and economic bases for Kandyans expanding their area of control over the Company's territory such that even Matara during this period was effectively under their influence. Especially interesting is the negative attitude of the Adigars and other chiefs as well as the Nāyakas towards the Dutch while the latter in turn, through their spies and the temptation of economic favors, constantly attempted to influence the key districts bordering their own territory, namely, the Three and Four Korales and induce the current Disāva to spy on the Company's behalf against the King's interests. This complicated cat and mouse game appears in all these texts right up to the period of the Dutch conquest of Kandy in 1765. It might well have been that occasionally Leuke as well as Dumbara, the Disavas who succeeded to these two crucial districts, played the Dutch game, that is, they and their officials well aware of the Dutch spying on their territory reciprocated by spying on the Dutch, techniques that bore fruit during the Kandyan campaigns. The Kandyan chiefs were also past-masters in the cat and mouse game of political dissimulation.

Let us now consider Loten in some detail. He does speak as did all his predecessors of "the interests of the Company, which depend on its good relations with the Prince of this country," but regrettably not the present Prince.¹⁴⁰ What is significant here is that if one gets rid of KīrtiŚri, the Company's bête noire, it will significantly enhance the Company's economic and political interests. Hence it was seriously mooted that the Dutch should support the son of Narendrasinha's secondary queen Unambuve Bandāra hoping that it would remove from Kandy the "pernicious Coast Nāyakkars, Malabars and Moorish scum, who practice in every way imaginable, all manner of illicit trade entirely to the prejudice of the Company."¹⁴¹ Meanwhile, Leuke's successor

Dumbara, according to Loten, had informed the Company that the King's claim on "sea rights" were made on the instigation of the Nāyakas, but whether true or not Loten realizes that the Nāyakas are "most subversive of the Company's interests in this Island, and who for no other reason than their own advantage do nothing but attempt to wrest from the Company the profits which it has enjoyed since early times and divert them to themselves"¹⁴²

By contrast, underlying the political rationale of KīrtiŚri is the belief held by generations of Kōṭṭe and Kandyan kings that they were the rightful overlords of the whole Island, the Tri-Sinhala as it were. Early Dutch Governors from the time of Rājasinha II cynically endowed the king with grandiose titles in praśasti style that recognized the king as the overlord of Sri Lanka. However, what was cynicism to the Dutch was a political reality to the kings of Kandy. And praśasti whether invented by the Dutch or produced by the king's men were never viewed as empty rhetoric. They were formal praises of the king that many Sinhalas thought the king deserved, whether or not we scholars agree with that assessment. In the Kandyan conception, unrealistic though it might be, the Company was there on the sufferance of King who as bhūpati is the "lord of the land." All these actions further implied that the king is overlord of Sri Lanka, even though the traditional tripartite division of the Island had long ceased to be operative. Yet we know that the Tri Sinhala remained an ideal and was clearly expressed in the boundary books (kaḍaim pot) examined in my projected work.¹⁴³ In KīrtiŚri's reign that ideal was mooted as the practical reality which justified the King's economic policy of free trade and a political policy that entertained the idea of incorporating as much of Dutch territory as the King's right, rejecting the Dutch right of conquest or the legitimacy of their inheritance from the Portuguese. The

wars that followed reaffirmed these two contending and opposed polities, namely, that of the Dutch and of the Kandyan. The fueling of invasions were the inevitable result.

The Kandyan Resistance and the Dutch Wars with KīrtiŚri Rājasinha

I will develop these insights further by examining the Kandyan incursions into Dutch territory during the governorship of Jan Schreuder from 1757 to March 3, 1762 and then on to his successor Baron van Eck (1762-1765). It was van Eck who had to face the brunt of the Kandyan peraliya (rebellion, upsetting of the existing order) with considerable losses but later defeated the King's forces and carried out the invasion of the Kandy itself in a brutal action that was paralleled only by the British incursions of 1803 and after. I shall for the moment confine myself to the Kandyan incursions employing the account by J.H.O. Paulusz in his introduction to the Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council, 1792 and Schreuder's own memorandum to the on-coming governor van Eck but as always highlighting selected events relevant that helps us understand the King, the Nāyakas and the chiefs in their confrontation with the Dutch.¹⁴⁴Paulusz in general is favorable to the Dutch but in spite of his biases he has a good account of the King's invasion of territory claimed by the Company.

To fully comprehend these events one must also recognize the strong views many held, even those living in Dutch territory, regarding the rights of the Sinhala in respect of their land. Parallel with this concern was the Dutch fears that the King might seek the aid of the British forces stationed in Madras. Governor

Schreuder was also caught in a bind: on the one hand to continue the earlier Dutch policy of non-confrontation and at the same time the urgency of what they perceived as a rebellion complicated by real fears of a British take-over. Apparently the Company in Batavia, suffering from similar anxiety, agreed with Schreuder on the eventual necessity to invade Kandy. Hence the blunt assertion by the Governor that they “remain the sole masters of Ceylon to the exclusion of all other nations.”¹⁴⁵

Then follows an elaborate rationale on “how necessary it is that we alone should possess and retain Ceylon, not merely on account of its products but chiefly on account of its favorable situation as being the key position with relation to the West of the Indies.” Yet he is compelled to recognize the reality of the politics of the Kandyan kingdom. “I must confess to my regret that, although we style ourselves the sole masters of Ceylon, we are by no means well placed regarding the same.” And later adds that the Dutch are in no way in control of Kandy but also admits “how little we are indeed masters of our own territory.”¹⁴⁶ Schreuder goes on to lament the patronizing and insufferable way the King treats the Dutch as if the Kandyans were the real sovereigns of Sri Lanka and the Dutch simply servants of the king.

The King, we had already seen, had good financial sense and an eye for profit and would squeeze as much from the Dutch as he could. Schreuder recognizes that the King demands a share of everything and even though the Dutch have control of the ports the King would appropriate, if he could, “our sea rights.” Therefore the need to “decline to the King’s piping” because by Schreuder’s time the many Sinhalas even in Dutch territory “imagine they are not the Company’s but the King’s subjects” such that the “mere mention

of the King's name is sufficient to seduce them from their lawful masters," which is of course the Company. The whole discourse here implies that it is time to assert the Company's rights and not to play the role of "the crouching little dog."¹⁴⁷

Any qualms that Schreuder might have had were soon overcome by his successor van Eck under whose regime most of the subversive actions of the Kandyans under KīrtiŚri took place up to around the end of 1762. Thereafter the new Governor began another phase in the confrontation with Kandy culminating in the conquest of the Island in 1764 followed by the Kandyan reconquest after the death of van Eck the next year. For the present I shall deal with the Kandyan peraliya from March to November 1762 after which the fortunes of Kandy began to be reversed.

What one has to realize about the Kandyan peraliya is that it would not have succeeded this far without the central figure of the King and his loyal chiefs who could tap the prevailing discontent and mobilize popular support against the Dutch. These wars have been nicely documented by Paulusz. However what I find especially interesting in his account is that the civil administration was redistributed and this had to be on the orders of the King. Thus Siyanē Kōrale up to Nagalagam was given to Dumbara Rālāhami whose traditional base was the Three and Four Kōrales while that crucial region was given in charge of Galagoḍa, the First Adigar trusted by the King while the area of Hāpitigam, Alutkuru and Negombo districts were given to the Disāva of the Seven Kōrales which was north and west of that Disāva's traditional area of control. The crucial areas of Matara was also in Galagoḍa's charge along with control over other areas up to Hēvāgam. Because Matara was far removed from Galagoḍa's home territory one must assume

that in his case, as with others, minor officials were in the forefront of the rebellion. “Prominent low country chiefs, the Mudaliyars of Siyanē and Hēvāgam and in the south Kahandāva Senaratna, Master of the Hunt [sic], and Mudaliyar Ēkanāyaka were going over to the King,” in addition to large scale desertions.¹⁴⁸

Paulusz blames the Dutch misfortune on the delayed action of Schreuder, a “recluse among his theorems of peace” who was ultimately compelled to send for reinforcements. The fury of the Sinhalas, he says, “blazed up almost entirely in the upper and nether sectors of the Company’s corridor and along the border lands where Kandyan influence was strong.”¹⁴⁹ Dumbara, during the period when he was Disāva of the Three and Four Kōrales, was seen as friendly to the Dutch but now in charge of a different area he acted very effectively and loyally to the King. His forces captured much of the area around Negombo and came up close to Colombo. He took Hanvālla such that the Dutch troops were now reduced to about fifty but were given safe conduct although most of them except a few officers were later killed.

The Dutch naturally thought Dumbara was to blame but the Company foisted the blame on the King under whose orders Dumbara had to act. But it might well have been that the King was aware of the special favors granted by the Dutch to Dumbara and took no chances when he transferred him north and placed Galagoḍa in overall control of the war effort, including Matara and the districts of the north where Dumbara was now in effect a district commander. One hears little of the second Adigar Pilimatalāva, who was perhaps out of favor at this time whereas Galagoḍa received high honors and was additionally made Disāva of Puttalam and Sabaragamuva, both being areas that the Dutch

felt were favorably disposed towards them. “Accompanied by his brother, Disāva of Uva, as well as Disāva of Hanguranketa and a staff of sixty chiefs, he drove forward past Katuvana and set up his main headquarters at Mulkirigala”¹⁵⁰ But as Paulusz says Galagoḍa Adigar initially had few weapons to match the Dutch. But soon the Adigar with great skill managed to “equip a battalion of gunners” training them to handle the bombardment of the Matara fort. “From various sources he assembled mortars, culverins, petards, heavy and mobile cannon, numbering over a hundred pieces of the latest pattern and every caliber. Some were of home manufacture and some had been salvaged from wrecked ships while others came from the British, who further parted with small ammunition, bombs and grenades.”¹⁵¹ The siege and capture of Matara was a triumph of planning by Galagoḍa and well stated by Paulusz: “The partisans began to build and push their earthworks forward over the glacis, pressing nearer in daily stages. They made trenches and massive embankments, raised higher than the fort -- three half-moons, each capable of sheltering a thousand men. By tenacity and reckless disregard of losses in the face of concentrated fire they ... showed not only aggressiveness but also skill in seizing and exploiting every opportunity to gain ground. It was reported that their gabions [reinforced walls], sconces, fascines, and other contrivances rivaled in quality the best work of that kind produced in Europe.”¹⁵² This was around September 1762 when the new Governor van Eck was in control and he, with the encouragement of his superiors in Batavia, was determined to squash the peraliya and indeed succeeded in it soon afterwards.

The details of that story has been well dealt by Kotelawele, Dewaraja and others.¹⁵³ From my point of view the foregoing account confirms Kotelawele’s argument that the Nāyakas were

nowhere in the centers of power which were controlled by the King in cooperation with his chiefs.¹⁵⁴ It is also wrong to assume that the conduct of war was left entirely to the discretion of the Chief Adigar. On the contrary the Adigars and commanders were acting on the King's orders and behest. KīrtiŚri hardly ever took to the field but he was involved in planning the war. Hence his choice of the Chief Adigar Galagoḍa as against Pilimalava and so was his decision I think to remove Dumbara from the Three and Four Kōrales and place him in another front. These were political decisions that no chief, not even Galagoḍa could act without the King's orders. Dumbara was perhaps playing a double-game with the Dutch but the King could not take any chances. Once transferred to another front Dumbara remained loyal to the King and performed well as a local commander.

There is a Dutch account of May 28, 1762 where a Buddhist monk cum spy who knew of the Dutch interests in the Four Kōrales and was also familiar with the troubles brewing in Kandy attributes the following sentiment to KīrtiŚri. "The present king of Kandy will not quell the rebellion, even if he could -- indeed he has openly said in the presence of many greater and lesser chiefs from the Mātara disāva and the Four Kōralēs so long as the sun and moon stand in the firmament of heaven the said disāva and the Four Kōralēs would not be yielded back to the Hollanders or come under their rule and that he vowed most solemnly that he would keep his word."¹⁵⁵The preceding account suggests that the King was true to his word and no wonder the Dutch wanted to get rid of the monarch.

In this regard note a draft of a letter sent by a Dutch Disāva named Jan Bauert to Dumbara on May 31, 1762 aimed at

undermining Dumbara's allegiance to the King. "Is it not high time Your Honor and the other Lords of the Court, who from generation to generation have been the natural aristocracy of Ceylon and are still, in some degree, attached to the ancient form of Government [T]hat foreigners [Nāyakas] who are not lovers of the Buddhist Faith will suppress it [the ancient form of government] and, with it, Your Honor and all other right thinking noblemen and inhabitants of rank, and will at last exterminate them or their children from the land of the living" ¹⁵⁶ This horrendous statement then continues to indicate that the powerful Company will eventually win the conflict and hints that the Disāva would do well to join them. But while the Disāva expressed some sympathy with the Dutch regarding the Four Kōrales, he had a marvelous parable that clearly indicates his ultimate loyalty to the King. The parable mentions the case of a man whose wife had loyally borne him many children but then another woman enters the scene demanding the husband's attention. The upshot of the tale is that the husband ends up affirming his loyalty to his spouse and children. The significance of the parable is that the Dutch constitute the new woman while the King represents the older woman who had loyally served her husband. We now know why Kīrti Śrī might have been suspicious of Dumbara and why when push came to shove, Dumbara, like the tested wife of his parable, fought intrepidly on the side of his king. ¹⁵⁷

The political paranoia of Baron Van Eck

As with our previous discussion I will not produce a connected history of the events leading to the downfall of Kandy during the period 1764-1765. We have already noted Schreuder's memorandum to Governor van Eck in which he clearly indicated the need for a conquest of Kandy. But it was the authoritarian and arrogant van Eck who led the fateful and destructive attack on Kandy. For present purposes I shall focus on selected events (or vignettes) in the campaigns of van Eck and his military and civilian officers albeit bearing in mind the standpoint of the Kandyan resistance. The Dutch army from the very start were saddled with armies of coolies, slaves and native soldiers or lascarins who not only had to carry huge loads of baggage but had to satisfy the needs of Malay and European soldiers for large quantities of arrack and supplies of beef, both scarce commodities.

Let me now skip over some of the intervening details and get to the invasion to Kandy which was to begin with a success for van Eck and his officers. A European named Johannes Bruin in the King's employ as a surgeon gives us a striking picture of the last fateful days in Kandy. He stated that Buddhist monks "fasted and prayed for 3 days and 3 nights" and predicted that the king would win if he personally led his army.¹⁵⁸ Faced with impending defeat the King took whatever treasures he could gather, including the Tooth Relic and accompanied by his family members fled into the interior on 10 February, 1765. According to Bruin the king is said to have "crossed the hills at the head of 7000 men, with his uncle [father?], his brother and various high priests" and an impressive number of horses, palanquins and elephants.¹⁵⁹ All valuable papers were destroyed before the King abandoned his capital. The first

Adigar also fled to Galagedera and after its collapse back to Kandy and then “fled here and there” presumably to lead the resistance. Bruin adds “during the past 10 days “the King with tears in his eyes, had caused the most precious objects to be removed from the Palace, and had then given leave to his troops to take what they wished of the remainder.”¹⁶⁰ I take it that the idea was to prevent the expected looting by the Dutch.

That however was of limited avail. “The palace is plundered: it being impossible to restrain the troops from looting” and the booty itself “was considerable” but they were mostly expensive linens” and also “furniture, some silver-gilt articles, curiosities, and copper coins,” a huge number of the latter.¹⁶¹The looting was extensive and “continued for fully 5 or 6 days.”¹⁶² Perhaps the most precious object was stolen from the Palace of the Tooth Relic by van Eck himself. “Van Eck took possession of a large silver-gilt machine [sic] like a bell but closed below and in two pieces of which the upper can be removed, weighing 210 lbs, which served to contain the holiest Relic ...”¹⁶³This important item was restored after van Eck’s death by his successor Willem Falck in 1767.¹⁶⁴ There were also other important items stolen from the King and taken to the treasury in Batavia from van Eck’s executors.¹⁶⁵

Meanwhile the prejudice regarding the Nāyakas emerged in a piece of Dutch wish-fulfilment if not outright nonsense: “The present condition of the Kandyan Kingdom is as confused and unstable as could be imagined. The King, lazy by nature and as a foreigner having little knowledge of the affairs of his Kingdom, ruled by the CDs [chief Disāvas] each of whom seeks his own advantage, flattering him with all sorts of shows of respect and meanwhile doing as he pleases. Above all the King lets himself be

led blindly by his Malabar (sic) kinsfolk at the Court, who know the value of the trade and the products of this island too well not to hanker for it, and therefore persistently set the King against us.” And then adds purely on hearsay, that the Chief Adigar after his defeat at Galagedera is now a prisoner and “by now had been executed,” which is a wish rather than a reality because Galagoḍa was in active service much later.¹⁶⁶ But alongside this naïve characterization of the King and his chiefs, was the next step in the game, namely, to place the long lost Siamese prince on the throne. This had been mooted several times before because of the belief that “the Siamese Prince who is not hampered by a train of covetous relatives” would therefore be able to bridle the Disāvas so that “a secure peace could be concluded with him.” The idea was to offer him “the throne of Kandia, that is to say the Kingdom itself, Oeva, Matele and Bintane, but retaining to the Coy [Company] the lowlands, especially the three and four Korles, the Dissavoy of Saffregam” The cause of the Siamese prince was unhappily lost because the prince ended up in Bangkok minus his head.¹⁶⁷ These maneuvers indicated the desperate plight of the Dutch to find a substitute for KīrtiŚrī. Nevertheless it is the case that considerable disarray and some disunity must surely have prevailed in the King’s domain.¹⁶⁸

Meanwhile in their continuing military action Dutch troops reached Hanguranketa on 25-26 February. “It is set on fire: the troops began to plunder the storehouses, crammed with linen and other gear” ignoring the commands to move out so that the troops could be mobilized for further action. In order to get this done officer “Weezel set the Palace on fire,” a somewhat erratic solution for bringing their troops home.¹⁶⁹ But meanwhile the resistance

was as usual never idle such that the Dutch were “being constantly fired on with gingsals and muskets.”¹⁷⁰ The war took heavy toll on the Dutch such that van Eck himself died on April 1, 1765 and two days later his trusted officer Marten Rein.

What is impressive is the Kandyan defiance as they adopted what they were mostly familiar with, namely, deliberately retreating and then engaging in guerilla tactics and awaiting the rainy season, also the season of disease and with it the inevitability of the shortage of food for the enemy. Kandyan hit and run techniques were not quite what the Dutch and other colonial powers were familiar with and viewed them as an expression of cowardice whereas, from the Kandyan viewpoint, they were long accepted and experienced techniques intrinsic to armed resistance against an enemy. The onus of directing this kind of warfare was borne by the King’s officers. The Dutch reported in September 1765 that “the King’s army under the RA [Chief Adigar Galagoda] and various Dessaves was in force with artillery” and the King himself was in the ruined Palace of Hanguranketa, in a hut of leaves; and from there to another similar destination, perhaps directing the work of his chiefs.¹⁷¹ That period also showed the desperation of the Dutch. One report from Kandy in August gloomily concluded that “things have come to the worst, and we cannot hold out here beyond the end of this month. Come with all speed to our help.”¹⁷²

Right through the period of the resistance Europeans were dying of illness, sores from leeches and when hungry “Europeans went out to shoot cattle [they] were heavily fired upon.” Attacks by the Sinhalas were stopped only during their New Year celebrations, a sure sign that they had their priorities right! Meanwhile devastation

of crops and the resultant losses were heavy on the Kandyan side but the Dutch did not know that Sinhalese had alternate food supplies during emergencies: the lush hill country was replete with Jak and other kinds of food, coconuts, yams of all sorts and fruits. Another technique was a well-established one, namely, the beating of martial drums to indicate the obstinacy of the spirit. There was heavy fire all the time and the Dutch pointed out that it generally missed the mark and cynically noted: “much beating of tom-toms, and in the evening heavy fire on our outposts without effect.”¹⁷³ The Dutch did not realize that the Sinhalese were not foolishly wasting their scarce ammunition but rather the constant firing and the beating of drums and shouting was to erode the confidence of the enemy and to further frighten them into retreat; or at least force the enemy “to fire uncontrollably and at random, so that all their cartridges were expended.”¹⁷⁴

This kind of psychological warfare is rarely described in the Mahāvamsa texts except in the reign of Parakramabahu I who was a past master in psychological warfare. The techniques used to frighten the enemy was a vindication of the spirit of resistance, also intrinsic to the guerilla warfare the Kandyans conducted. So was it with the careful calculation of the rains which made the enemy sodden and sick with disease and leeches, the latter probably a more frightening experience than illness. On the Dutch side as expected the complaints about the shortages of arrack, cattle and food went on without a real solution during 25 May to around 22 June, 1765. “Things go from bad to worse, hunger and sickness rage everywhere, and the cost of food could not be higher”¹⁷⁵ And two months later: “Parties were sent out to capture cattle but these have been scared away by the fighting, and the rest so carefully hidden Indeed hunger brought us to the point where

horseflesh was eaten and even dogs, cats, snakes, and intestines and paunches of dead buffaloes -- nay even their stewed skins fetched high prices.”¹⁷⁶

Meanwhile “the Adigar attacked on the east, the King and various [sic] of the CDs [Chief Disāvas] and other Dessaves on the south.”¹⁷⁷ It should be remembered that kings after Rājasinha II rarely if ever fought in battle alongside their troops and hence it was inevitable that the strategy of warfare was the function of the Adigars and the chief Disāvas, and especially during this period the chiefs of the Three and Four Kōrales and the Seven Kōrales. Meanwhile Kandyans continued to rebuild their stockades and breastworks or batteries as soon as they were destroyed. It looks as if it was one thing to conquer and destroy Kandy but another to hold it. Thus a council of war where “it was unanimously considered both for our own preservation and for the greater service of the Coy, that we should delay no longer, but abandon Kandia.” Thus abandoning their own weaponry and ammunition and captured ones and “taking GOD, our conscience and the whole world to witness that we are forced to this by famine only, and have acted as honorable and loyal servants, and done all we could to hold Kandia until relief arrived.”¹⁷⁸ All this after “Kandia was set on fire and march [retreat] began in good order.”¹⁷⁹

It therefore seems clear that a feature of warfare during this period was the importance of local rulers, the Adigars and Disāvas who were both commanders and political leaders. To properly understand this feature of Kandyan politics we have to recognize that there was no professional commander-in-chief in the Sri Lankan army in Kandyan times. The founder Vimaladharmasūriya combined kingship with military command: the King was in effect

the commander-in-chief. So is it with his successor Senarat and especially so with Senarat's son Rājasinha II who like many kings were trained from late childhood in the rules and strategies of warfare, not only in the battlefield as in the battle of Randenivela but also in guerilla-type warfare as in the battle of Gannōruva in 1638. The people of the provinces rallied to the King cum commander. The real change occurred with Rājasinha's son Vimladharmasūriya II, a gentle man, and he was followed by his son Narēndrasinha who was also never a de facto commander. In fact there were no major wars against the Dutch at this time and in general a pax-Kandiana prevailed.

It is during this period that the power of the local aristocracy increased. The Nāyaka kings simply inherited this aristocratic class structure led by the two Adigars and the major Disāvas. It is true the king had considerable control over their chiefs but there were factions within the court contending for power, prestige and money. When war broke out with the Dutch during the regimes of Schreuder and van Eck, the conduct of the war was effectively with the Adigars and Disāvas. Direct participation in the battlefield engaged in by Rājasinha II and the kings of Kōṭṭe were replaced entirely by the kind of guerilla warfare I have described. KīrtiŚri was like a modern commander directing the warfare but rarely directly engaged in fighting. He was dependent on faithful commanders whose allegiance could not be taken for granted but had to be fostered in a variety of ways, especially land and offices and other perquisites plus of course income from other sources, such as the benefits from smuggling and that I have already mentioned.

PART III

MUSLIMS AND SINHALAS

A note on Muslims: some unresolved issues

“Your Honour must always see that the Moor and Muhammadan subjects of the Company receive less favour than the Christians and heathen [i.e. Buddhists], and that they are never allowed to occupy positions of superiority over the Christians, but that they are rather opposed in every way, so as to prevent this objectionable community from spreading in our midst.” (Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon, 1656-1665.)

The above epigraph was in the early period of Dutch rule and these pejorative attitudes to the Muslims we noted, were intensified during the period of the Nāyaka kings. Thus during the era of Dutch control both the Nāyakas and the Muslims were subject to disparagement although both peoples also served Dutch interests when necessary, as for example, their support of the Buddhist missions. And there was cooperation between Muslims and Dutch in both Sri Lanka and in Madurai and the Ramnad. Sad to say both Buddhists and Muslims also served as spies for payment or other perquisites both in the Dutch and British periods. I cannot go into

details of the Muslim presence in Sri Lanka but only sketch some general features that might interest my present readership.

Sri Lanka is not an island unto itself but was connected to many lands from ancient times and after 1506 with European powers. Muslims, pejoratively labeled as “Moors,” from South India and Bengal dominated the sea trade prior to Portuguese rule. Hence Tamil was the lingua franca of the whole region as was Portuguese later. Even after the Portuguese presence Muslims continued to be a major force in external and internal trade in South and Southeast Asia and, when it served their interests they were oft-times tolerated and actively sought by the colonial powers, witness the case of the Marikkars, a seafaring clan that entered into alliances with the rulers of the Ramnad.¹⁸⁰ Note that for most of this period Sri Lanka had no longer enough rice to feed its population, except for the East Coast which appears to have had a surplus. Rice (and also opium) was generally imported from Bengal and shipped to Sri Lanka by Muslim Bengali merchants. In colonial times the large Kandyan kingdom also depended on Muslim traders for consumer goods and, as I noted earlier, for key items such as salt and dried fish, both essential elements of cuisine for ordinary people. Muslim settlements including notables and physicians are mentioned in two popular boundary books of the Matale district (Matalē kaḍaim pot) during the time Rājasinha II and over a hundred years later during that of KīrtiŚrī Rājasinha but I cannot discuss these two important texts here.

Muslim physicians were sought by Kandyan kings and the general population. H.C.P Bell in his Kegalla report mentions a fascinating copper plate known as the gāṭabēriya sannasa given by KīrtiŚrī Rājasinha and written in Sinhala script in 1760 gifting

lands to his physician Gōpāla Mudaliya for having informed him of the conspiracy to kill him, the King, by some aristocrats aided by the prelate Saranaṃkara. For our purposes what is important is Bell's interviews with the present day descendants of Gōpāla.¹⁸¹ In a brief family history the Gōpāla Mudaliyas say they migrated from Goa and settled in the low country and were later sent by one of the Kandyan kings to treat his queen who was suffering from dropsy. The king devised an experiment to test their skills and this is described in the family history. The experiment was a success and the king honored the chief physician with the title of Vayidyatilaka Rājakaruna added to the clan name of Gōpāla Mudaliya and bestowed on him and presumably his descendants several maintenance villages listed in the text.¹⁸²

What is fascinating is that this clan of Muslim physicians had a Hindu name Gōpāla which is another term for Krishna. Apparently the Gōpāla Mudaliyas were also veterinarians and treated elephants and horses. They claim to have also played the vīna in the kavikāra maḍuva where songs, dances and other joyful events (sellam) were enacted in the palace premises of Kandyan kings. They were permitted a distinct sartorial marker that distinguished them from the generality of the Muslim and Sinhala population, namely to “wear the national dress of the chiefs of their own country” although the nature of this dress is unspecified. There were apparently twenty-four Muslim physicians in the court of Kīrti Sri. Long before Kīrti Śri Rājasinha's time a Gōpāla Mudaliya is listed as Vimaladharmasūriya II's favorite physician and as one who spoke favorably to the king regarding the Catholics in his kingdom.¹⁸³ Their original location in the Kandyan territory was in Gaṭaberiya near the present day Heṭṭimulla (“Muslim corner” or “Traders' quarters”). According to Bell the Gōpālas had

Sinhala titles but also Arabic names such as Usman.¹⁸⁴ We know that this was just one group of royal physicians but others also existed, notably near Gampola and Muslim physicians and their communities were scattered all over the Island as physicians for ordinary people, especially but not exclusively in the Kandyan kingdom.

Once again the role of women was a key to understanding the manner in which many, if not all, Muslim communities were organized. Unfortunately very little historical and sociological research has been done on this issue and I can only guess my way around. Peripatetic Muslim merchants did not bring their women folk from India but instead married local women as did other expatriates. I think this situation meant that the socialization of their offspring was strongly influenced by the culture of these in-marrying females. This accounts for the fact that while these communities were Muslim in religious affiliation they were very much like the Sinhala in their midst in terms of kinship and family relations. Many settlers had Muslim personal names (and sometimes Sinhala ones) but also Sinhala surnames, that is, *vāsagama* or *gē* names. Their kinship terms were identical with the Sinhala and like the latter they subscribed to preferential cross-cousin marriage, that is, between mother's brother's child and father's sister's child (in Sinhala between a *nāna* and a *massina*). This situation is not as culture-alien for Sri Lankan Muslim settlers because many of them came from South India which also shared a similar kinship terminology known in contemporary scholarship as "Dravidian kinship." Even in very urban settlements such as Matara similar marriage and kinship patterns prevailed until very recent times.

The most interesting forms of Muslim settlements existed in the East Coast and here we are fortunate to have the recently completed and detailed study of their social organization by Dennis McGilvray.¹⁸⁵ In this vast region both Hindu and Muslim societies were organized in terms of matrilineal kinship where inheritance and property rights flowed through the female line which gave women considerable freedom and influence. It is almost certain that these communities came from the Malabar region where matrilineal forms of descent and inheritance existed among both Hindu and Muslim communities. I can only refer the reader to McGilvray's important study but unfortunately we have little knowledge of the recent radicalization of Islam in this area, if indeed "radicalization" is the right word to use.

Muslims were integrated into Sinhala society in multiple ways that I cannot deal with here. Instead let me present their redefinition of Śrī Pāda as the place where Adam left his footprint and then consider the Buddhist reaction to this assertion which is not without its humor. The place to start is Ibn Battūta, the famous Moroccan traveler who visited Sri Lanka around late 1344 or soon thereafter and visited Śrī Pāda.¹⁸⁶ He called it the "mountain of Sarandib," one of the highest in the world, he thought, and here is found "the blessed Footprint, the Foot of our father Adam." By this time it seems that Muslims had already redefined the Peak and the Sacred Foot as Adam's and Battūta mentions two tracks to the mountain top, one named after Adam (Bābā track) and the other after Eve (Māmā track), meaning the father and mother tracks. The Bābā track was a tough climb and hence pilgrims preferred to return on the Māmā route (the latter being a "mother track" was I suppose the more relaxed place). Battūta took the tough Bābā

route where one has to climb with the aid of ten iron chains, and in Muslim terms the tenth was redefined as “Chain of the Profession of Faith.” I assume this difficult route was a kind of penance. From the tenth chain the pilgrim now goes to the grotto of Khidr, named after the Muslim mystic who lived during the time of Moses, a distance of seven miles (perhaps Moroccan miles). Here he noted the presence of dervishes, Sufi ecstatic dancers. It is likely therefore that there was a significant Sufi presence in Sri Lanka at that time. The Muslims leave their belongings at this grotto and ascend a further two miles to the Sacred Footprint. Following accepted convention Battuta stayed there for three days and descended via the Māmā route where he saw a different religious type, Hindu yogis. After this he came to Dinawar (Devinuvara) where he has a fabulous description of the great temple for Viṣṇu with about thousand Brahmins and yogis and about five hundred bare-breasted female temple dancers. And thence he journeyed to the “town of Kulambū [Colombo] which is one of the finest and largest towns in Ceylon.” In it resides Jālasti, the wazir (vizier), known as the “ruler of the sea” and who has with him about five hundred Abyssinians (Ethiopians).

What are the implications of this fascinating description of Adam’s Peak? For me the Muslim presence in the Peak meant that they were one of different kinds of religious specialists visiting Śrī Pāda, in addition to the large numbers of ordinary Buddhist and Hindu pilgrims. As with the Muslims, Hindus also redefined the Peak in their own terms because, as we noted earlier, for them the Buddha was the ninth avatar of Viṣṇu. Moreover, in recent times at least, Hindu pilgrims viewed the Footprint as that of Śiva and sometimes of Viṣṇu.¹⁸⁷ There is nothing unusual in such adaptations and we see this in the shrine for Skanda at Kataragama where all

communities congregate but they have their own interpretations of the gods and rituals enacted there. In such pilgrimage sites different religious groups rub shoulders with one another recognizing each others' presence without animosity. Indeed animosity would be considered out of place and immoral in the kind of "communitas" that probably prevailed there. I like to imagine a situation where at one time Buddhists ascended Śrī Pāda chanting karunāvayi and Muslims praising Adam and Hindus saying harōharā without any sense of animosity. Pilgrim sites in Sri Lanka were arenas where tolerance prevailed. I do not know whether the Muslims still make it to Adam's Peak but one can only wish they did and that the old interreligious tolerance continues to prevail. But, alas, my hopes of yesteryear may not be today's reality.

How did the Buddhists react to their perception of Muslim religiosity? In multiple ways I am sure but let me mention one such reaction that I noted during field work on communal rituals over fifty years ago and much later when I began to collect and examine popular palm leaf manuscripts (vitti pot). For example, in one such communal ritual the priest (kapurāla) implores a collectivity of demons known as Sanni to appear in the ritual arena, thus:

Heed the compassionate, beautiful
Muni, Teacher of the Three Worlds

Heed his command that appears on
Samanala Peak [Śrī Pāda] and Mecca

By the might of Gautama who quelled the demons

From the Southeast corner enter here O Sanni¹⁸⁸

If the Muslims believed that the Foot is that of Adam, popular Buddhism believed that there is a Footprint of the Buddha in the sands of Mecca and thus he appears in some texts as Makkama Muni! Additionally, ordinary Buddhists at one time thought that there was in Mecca a great stūpa enshrining Buddhist relics and a vihāra. I am sure that these interpretations were based on information on minarets and domes in the Arab world and in India after the Muslim invasions. When Muslims face the direction of Mecca during prayers Buddhists can now say that they are in reality worshipping the Buddha (without of course knowing it).

PART IV

CITIES AS SYMBOLS IN NĀYAKA AND

KANDYAN CEREMONIALISM

Symbolic Reordering: the Other Side of Nāyaka Kandyan rule (1739-1782)

The Nāyaka regime technically started with Śrī Vijaya Rājasinha in 1739 but the impact of the Nāyakas on the ceremonial life of the Kandyan court can be discerned much earlier in the latter part of the reign of Narēndrasinha. We have already mentioned the influence of women in the life of Narēndrasinha to show he was as much Nāyaka as he was Sinhala. While he supported the cults of the gods Viṣṇu and Nātha this was simply a continuation of Buddhist practice. Nātha was considered to be the next Buddha and Viṣṇu has been the most popular god in the pantheon for a long historical period and during this period at least Viṣṇu was considered to be the guardian of the Buddhist faith. There is no indication whatever that Narēndrasinha was a Viṣṇuite in the classical Hindu sense and neither was he a Śaivite. He remained a good Buddhist king, that is, a king who continued Buddhist practices, as we have seen.

Yet on another level he was without doubt given to both aesthetic and erotic activities. As far as his married life was concerned it seems to have been as complicated as his other lives. His first wife was a Nāyaka princess; later on he contacted two other Nāyaka princesses, all of whom were considered chief queens or mahēsis. Dutch sources employed by Arasaratnam indicated that his first queen died without heirs; the second committed suicide after a short marriage; the third remained his queen but it was rumored that he was living apart from her.¹⁸⁹ I do not know how reliable the Dutch accounts are but there is little doubt that he was, psychologically speaking, a complicated person. He had no children from any of them although, as we have seen, he had a son from a beautiful aristocratic woman who was Sinhala of the goyigama caste but clearly ineligible to be an heir. That heir had already been chosen. The King's life of erotic pleasures continued with its ups and downs, at least as from the evidence of the erotic poetry associated with him.

It is in Narēndrasinha's reign that we have the first clear example of Madurai ceremonialism and a version of cosmic kingship that closed the door on the earlier traditions of Kandyan kingship. The event was that of the visit of the Dutch governor Joan Wilhelm Schnee to Kandy in 1732 and recorded by a prominent Sinhala interpreter from the low country and translated by Paul E. Pieris.¹⁹⁰ The processional events from Colombo to Kandy were a marvelous display of Kandyan power and pageantry and worth reading and did not necessarily imply Madurai ceremonialism, except perhaps for the lavishness of scale. Instead I shall focus on the style in which the Ambassador was received in Narēndrasinha's court. Let us start with the embassy arriving in the proximity to the

city where it was met by four major Kandyan chiefs and thereupon it “moved on through two rows of armed lascorins with a line of tusked elephants on one side amidst the whirling of lighted flambeaux” until it reached the first gate of the palace (vāhalkaḍa). There the embassy officials were met by still higher echelons of the bureaucracy, the second Adigar (one of two chief ministers) and the Disāvas of three of the most powerful districts, namely, Sabaragamuva, the Seven Kōrales and Four Kōrales. The Adigar on the King’s orders informed the Ambassador to bring with him the letter of authorization while his secretary and interpreter would wait in the neighborhood of the king’s Audience Hall (dakina sālāva). After some time the Ambassador received the letter from the hands of several lesser officials (appuhāmis) who then placed the letter on his head and climbed up the stone steps to the audience hall. The interpreter took his position on the Ambassador’s right, while the two Adigars and the Disāvas grouped themselves on either side.

After a short pause the seven curtains were drawn aside and revealed His Gracious Majesty seated on his throne. Immediately the Ambassador sank on his knee, while the rest of the chiefs and I [the interpreter] prostrated ourselves six times; we then entered the Hall of Audience repeating the same salutation at three places. On reaching the edge of the carpet which was spread in front of the Throne, His Majesty commanded that the letter should be presented Thereupon the rest of the chiefs advanced with the Ambassador, and as he knelt on one of the steps leading to the throne, His Majesty took the letter in his own royal hand and commanded the chiefs to place it with its wrappings and the silver tray on his right, which they immediately did. The Ambassador

then immediately removed his hat and saluted according to custom, and moved backwards with the chiefs till he reached the middle of the carpet, where he remained kneeling on one knee.¹⁹¹

Much of this ceremonialism seems to be an exaggeration of Kandyan ritualism except for the greater development of abjection and especially the significance of the king emerging from seven curtains that surely indicated his divinity. From the evidence that I shall present later it seems that this ritual ceremonialism came from the Nāyaka influence that was already beginning to be developed in the Kandyan court and one can only speculate how this influence came about in the case of Narēndrasinha. The king now was forty-two years old and the Dutch Ambassadors had already noted that in 1732 that he was “in a weak condition and his voice feeble.”¹⁹² It seems that the king’s illness had begun to take its toll and very likely the important matters of state were in the hands of his designated successor, the future Śri Vijaya Rājasinha, the “crown prince” of Portuguese records. And it would not be surprising that state ceremonialism was by this time under the control of the king’s Nāyaka relatives, especially Śri Vijaya Rājasinha’s powerful father-in-law. The full development of this form of ceremonialism occurred, as far as our evidence suggests, in the reign of KīrtiŚri Rājasinha, the successor of Śri Vijaya, and afterwards.

One of the problems that I had to confront in dealing with Kandyan kingship after Narēndrasinha is the question of Nāyaka succession to Kandyan kingship. Unfortunately scholars have seen it as a black and white process with the Nāyakas as a kind of unalterable reality. Thus some using historical data argue that there was hostility to the Nāyakas as aliens, while others using other historical sources deny it. Whereas it seems to me that Nāyakas

could be both ambivalence and even open hostility towards rulers, be they Nāyaka or Kandyan (or anywhere else) was part of political life. As far as the first Nāyaka king, Śri Vijaya Rājasinha was concerned he was as much Sinhala and Buddhist as he was Telegu.

There is no doubt that the next Nāyaka king KīrtiŚri Rājasinha was certainly a great Buddhist monarch idealized in the Cūlavamaṃsa. But that there was hostility towards his regime by segments of the population is also an indubitable political reality. In my view the alien-ness of the Nāyaka developed or was accelerated during his regime. One must remember that it was KīrtiŚri Rājasinha who helped institute the Siamese fraternity, today's dominant monk order. Although he supported Saranaṃkara as the head of the newly instituted Siamese fraternity, the latter in conjunction with fellow conspirators unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate the king. It is to KīrtiŚri Rājasinha's credit that although he executed some of the conspirators he did not exact revenge on Saranaṃkara who under Kandyan law could have suffered the death penalty.

There is a sense in which some could have perceived him as an alien because Śri Vijaya had no children and the throne was inherited by Kīrti Śri Rājasinha, his wife's brother in 1747.¹⁹³ John Holt points out that he had strong Śaivite beliefs, as part of his own inherited tradition.¹⁹⁴ One of the criticisms made against him was that he daubed himself in sacred ash but whether this was fact or fiction is hard to disentangle. I do not know whether Kandyan kings occasionally engaged in that practice but surely it was a common practice for ordinary persons, especially when they worshiped at Skanda shrines, then and now. Nevertheless it is surprising that in spite of his enormous support of Buddhism, he would have been

perceived as an “alien” by segments of the population. Whether or not he knew Sinhala when he was selected to be king at age 16, it is almost certain that he picked up Sinhala and with his commitment to Buddhist orthodoxy he ended as a popular king for the generality of the Sinhala public as did his Nāyaka successors Rajadhi Rājasinha (1782-1798) and Śri Vikrama Rājasinha (1798-1815) both born and raised in Sri Lanka. But the pejorative labeling of Kīrti Śri must be due to complex and multiple political reasons that we have only partly highlighted.

My own take on KīrtiŚri Rājasinha and the later Nāyakas can only be briefly stated. During these regimes the model of sacred kingship that we noted earlier was now revitalized in which the divinity of the king was emphasized as never before and along with that a series of rules on public life designed to keep the ruler away from the public gaze and enhance his divinity. It is certainly true that the Kandyan and Sri Lankan kings were addressed as gods, the most common expression being “deity who will be future Buddha” or simply “Lord who will be a future Buddha,” the latter a term employed in respect of the gods of the pantheon, both minor and major gods. The public were the king’s “abjects” and many prostrated before kings as they did before the higher aristocracy. But these ideas were carried to an extreme degree in Nāyaka kingship, based on the conventions of Madurai, as the following excerpt from the reign of the able king Ranga Krisna Muttu Vīrappa (1682-1689) illustrates when he wanted to humiliate the representatives of Muslim ruler: “When they were ushered into the presence of the King, after some little delay and with an absence of deference on the part of the gentlemen ushers which astonished and angered them not a little; the Nabobs found the King seated on a gorgeous throne, splendidly arrayed and resplendent with jewels;

and surrounded by a brilliant staff of ministers and courtiers skillfully grouped together with a view to scenic effect, whilst the hall of audience had been magnificently furnished and decorated for the occasion.”¹⁹⁵

While it is true that the Nāyaka kingship was in steep decline during the period of their Sri Lankan counterparts, the latter adopted the Madurai model, perhaps even intensified it to impress not only the foreign envoys but also the Sri Lankan public. This comes out in the British embassy of John Pybus in 1762 in the fifteenth year of KīrtiŚrī’s reign where the envoy had to put up with abject ceremonials unthinkable among Kandyan kings in respect of foreign envoys.¹⁹⁶ The Nāyaka preoccupation with ceremonialism was put more succinctly by another British representative Robert Andrews who experienced these public ceremonials and gave a graphic account of them during 1795 and 1796. Andrews says that when he visited the palace of Rajadhi Rājasinha, KīrtiŚrī Rājasinha’s successor, seven curtains were drawn and then: “the Sovereign of Candia arrive in all his glory seated on a Throne of solid Gold studded with precious Stones of various Colors [A] Crown of Massy Gold adorned his brows and enriched with valuable and shining Gems the product of his native Sovereignty [T]he moment he blazed upon our sight Lieutenant Kingston and myself (with the salver on my head) were directed to kneel while Native Courtiers who attended us prostrated themselves on the ground.”¹⁹⁷ The Dutch ambassadors even at the time of Narēndrasinha had only to bend on one knee before the king but, as Dewaraja points, in 1782 in the time of Rajadhi Rājasinha even the Dutch had to perform ceremonies of prostration which they thoroughly resented.¹⁹⁸ She adds that during the Nāyaka regimes only the king could build a two-storey house and “in the vicinity of Kandy the use of tiles and lime

was prohibited except in the temples.” In the capital city, according to Dewaraja, only the king and the gods could be accompanied with drums and within the larger city the use of palanquins, horse or elephant or use of footwear was prohibited (although Kandyans did not wear footwear and even kings for the most part abstained using them). John Pybus had to get off his palanquin and “trudge ankle deep in mud through the miry paths of Kandy.”¹⁹⁹ There is no gainsaying the fact that these prohibitions were for the most part alien to the Kandyan kings. It would have been impossible for Vimaladharmasūriya II and Narēndrasinha to converse and entertain Catholic priests in this ethos of spiritual suffocation. One must assume that under the later Nāyakas Dutch embassies lost the support and preeminence they enjoyed under the Kandyan kings and had to conform to the increasing ritualism of the courts. And it was unthinkable that the kind of Kandyan towns described by Vimaladharmasūriya and indeed the whole cosmopolitan ethos of the Kandyan courts could survive the long reign of KīrtiŚrī Rājasinha and the two Nāyaka kings who followed him. I think that part of the resentment of the Nayakas by the monks and the aristocracy was not to their being foreign but their aping of divinity that was felt to be offensive to Kandyan sensibility.

Yet it is to the credit of KīrtiŚrī that while he was a staunch Hindu he was also staunchly Buddhist and did not tamper with the proceedings of the Palace of the Tooth Relic. It must also be remembered that in the early part of his reign, according to Dewaraja, one of the first acts of his reign “was to reclaim the Peak from the Śaivites (who had occupied it in the time of Rajasimha I), revive its rites and ceremonies, endow it with valuable lands and restore it to its pristine sanctity.”²⁰⁰ Strange behavior for a King characterized as an ash-daubing Śaivite! Nevertheless he made

some important changes in the annual procession associated with the Tooth Relic during the month of äsela, generally in July or August. We know that the gods were an important part of public worship in their shrines, some from very ancient times. Narēndrasinha had shrines for some of these deities but it was KīrtiŚri Rājasinha who for the first time incorporated the popular gods -- Viṣṇu, Skanda, Nātha and the goddess Pattini -- into the public ritual associated with the processional events at the Palace of the Tooth Relic, one of the most popular spectacles that the Sri Lankan public enjoys to this very day. These rituals with their wonderful displays of music and dance continue to be regarded, erroneously, as part of an ancient tradition by the Sinhala people. In this sense KīrtiŚri was a great inventor of tradition but even he did not introduce these gods into the inner sanctum of the Palace of the Tooth Relic. What we shall describe in the next section is that right up to the reign of Śri Vikrama Rājasinha, the last Kandyan king, the Tooth Relic was inextricably tied with kingship and all Nāyaka kings not only respected and worshiped it but also saw to its safe up-keep and maintenance.

Kingship and the cosmic city

The Tooth Relic brings us to another version of cosmic kingship, this time a phenomenon of the long run in Buddhist Sri Lanka. To begin with let us move once again to Narēndrasinha who left his capital city located in the precincts of the Palace of the Tooth Relic and moved to Kuṇḍasāle where he erected a magnificent palace on the bank of the Mahāvāli Gaṅga. The motive behind the king's action takes us to the significance of the Tooth Relic as the locus of "cosmic kingship." What we call "sovereignty" as far as Sri Lankan kings were concerned meant the following

ideational sets. First, the ruler has to be consecrated and the rituals of consecration involved the monks who would chant pirit followed by Brahmin purohitas who are the experts in formulating propitious times absolutely necessary for kingship and also for the consecration rites based on astrology and perhaps other Vedic rites.²⁰¹Second, the ruler is overlord of the Tri Sinhala, in effect the whole island whether or not that was a practical reality; the metaphor used is that the kings should bring the Tri Sinhala under a single canopy or umbrella (sesat).²⁰²We have already noticed the Dutch worrying about the Kirti Śri making that claim. Third, the ruler possesses the sword of state which is an iconic indication of his over-lordship of the Tri Sinhala. Fourth, he occupies the lion throne. Fifth: above all he must possess the Tooth Relic. A king may contract rituals of consecration with monks and purohitas on his assumption of office but no king is truly sovereign unless he possesses the sacred Tooth Relic. Kings ensured that the king's palace was within the sacred premises that housed the Relic; and rules regarding access to the Palace of the Relic were carefully regulated, just as the actual palaces of the kings were similarly regulated.²⁰³ Even though access to the premises of Palace of the Relic is nowadays open to all, in general the public worship the Relic from the outside premises, not the proximity of the inner shrine. However, at certain times of the day when pujas for the relic are held people are permitted to view the Relic casket (karañđuva) in the inner chamber and there worship the Relic. During the annual processions the Relic in its casket is paraded in the streets in the magnificent processions mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, the Relic itself is never exhibited except on very special occasions.

Open access to the Relic has never been the norm in Sinhala kingship. The care and protection of the Relic is the duty

and prerogative of the king. Visits by the public were certainly permitted but the occasions and times are minutely regulated. In times of drought and famine the Relic is paraded before the public in order to create rain owing to its magical power. That magical power is evident dramatically in the reign of Parakramabahu II when the king held the Relic in his hand and then “the Tooth Relic rose from the lotus of his hand [and then] assumed the glorious form of the Prince of the wise, diffused clusters of rays of light six-fold in hue, illumined the whole town” and the whole city joyously witnessed the miracle.

In my current research I discuss at length an important symbolic action by Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186) when he circumambulated the city in a right (clock-wise) or propitious movement known as *pradaṣṣina* where the right shoulder faces the sacred object. This king had twice performed rituals of consecration by monks and Brahmin *purohitas* but his main goal was to possess the Tooth Relic that was in the possession of the ruler of Ruhuna, the southern division of the Tri Sinhala.²⁰⁴ Only with the procurement of the Relic was he now a truly Buddhist ruler. The Tooth Relic represents the Buddha as *rājā*. This is recognized in our contemporary double reference to the Buddha as *budurajānamvahanse* and *buduhā muduruvo*, as the “exalted Buddha-king” and as the “exalted Buddha-monk.” The building that housed the Tooth Relic was known by various names such as *daladā gē* (tooth-relic house) and *vaṭadā gē* (circular relic house) and more grandiosely as *pāsāda* or *mandīra* (palace). It is because the Buddha is king that rulers built beautiful edifices to house the Tooth Relic. In contemporary usage the old ideas still continue to reign: the building that houses the Relic is referred to as *māligāva* or palace, not a *vihāra* or temple. In similar vein Parākramabāhu

II says: “I will dedicate to the Enlightened One the royal dignity of Sri Lanka” and he placed the “Tooth Relic of the Great Sage on a costly lion’s seat,” the lion’s seat being the throne of Sinhala and Indian kings.²⁰⁵ It is in reference to the kingly aspect of the Buddha that explains Parākramabāhu IV having women temple dancers in the Palace of the Tooth Relic, just as they would in Hindu temples and in the more prominent Buddhist shrines for *dēvas* (where the god is king) and in the royal palace itself. The king as *rājā* is empty of significance unless the “city” or the palace complex contains within its premises the Tooth Relic and also the Buddha’s begging-bowl relic, the bowl of plenty that magically ensures the prosperity of the kingdom and freedom from hunger for its citizens.²⁰⁶ If we go back to the time of Parākramabāhu I another feature of the sacred center hits us and that is the king’s palace is in general very small in comparison with the “palace” housing the Tooth Relic and its architectural outreach that included the magnificent relic depositories known as *dāgābas* or *stūpas* and of course the large monasteries in the vicinity of the capital that housed the monks. This smallness of scale of the king’s palace in contrast to the largeness of the relic palace and relic depositories is in complete contrast with Indian kingship, including Madurai, where palaces and temples were of magnificent proportions.²⁰⁷

In Kandyan times also the king’s residence was small in comparison with the buildings that housed the Tooth Relic. The reason why Hindu deities like Viṣṇu or Skanda were not incorporated into the Palace of the Tooth Relic is because they too are kings and would compete with the Buddha as the “god among gods” (*devāti deva*) and one who sanctifies the monarch. No royal palace could be made to outshine and outsize the Palace of the Buddha; nor could the shrines for the gods when they are housed

in a vihāra, even major gods such as Viṣṇu, Skanda, Vibhīṣaṇa, Saman, Nātha and Pattini.

If you look at the space allocated to Parākramabāhu I's palace you will notice the impossibility of housing his harem there. Harems were probably accommodated outside the sacred precincts and there is some evidence for this. The Cūlavam̐sa has this to say about the famed "sea of Parakrama" or Parākkamasamudda, the king's great complex of reservoirs. There he built "a vast canal called the Ākāsagaṅgā ...continually filled with water and known by the name of Parākkramasamudda in which there was an island resplendent with a royal palace and which was like to a second ocean." As Geiger rightly says the Ākāsagaṅgā is the sacred Ganges River that has its origin in the sky or ākāsa and the magnificent palace he had there must surely have had cosmic significance although its exact meaning must elude us.²⁰⁸In my thinking it is here that the king lived with his queens and his harem, not in the small palace in the sacred premises of his Palace of the Tooth Relic. This was also the strategy of Narēndrasinha. We have already shown how he decorated and renovated the Palace of the Tooth Relic but later moved to Kuṇḍasāle to create a space for secular activities, including song, dance, and erotic performances.

I assume this is true of the palace of Parakramabahu I. He would have had another palace outside the sacred premises for sellam. It is within the premises of the Tooth Relic that the king built his pattiruppuva or octagon, where the king sits at the center of the eight points of the universe as bhūpati, the lord of the earth, although the pattiruppuva could be built elsewhere, often as a temporary structure, to denote the presence of the monarch as, for example, in his alternative residences or when he is traveling in his gaman maligāva, "travel palace." It is the British who produced a

radical change in the cosmic significance of the Tooth Relic when they captured it and later redefined the office of the Diyavaḍana Nilame (“the water bearer”) as the guardian and sole custodian of the Palace of the Tooth Relic. In the time of the Nāyaka kings, if not earlier, the Diyavaḍana Nilame was the official who served the king with water and had to attend to the king in his bath, just as the parallel official who fanned the king with shawls was known as the Haluvaḍana Nilame (“the shawl-fanning official”). The Diyavaḍana Nilame might even have been, if I may be permitted a pun, the “privy” counselor.

With the British conquest of the Island and the deposition of Sri Vikrama Rajasinha, there was inevitably a radical reorientation of the significance of the Tooth Relic. Because kingship ended with the last king, the whole meaning and significance of the Tooth Relic had to change and the Palace of the Tooth Relic either had to close, an impossible idea, or it had to be redefined especially because the British probably defined the Palace of the Tooth Relic as a “temple.” For the first time in history the Maligāva in effect became a “temple” and like other temples providing an important degree of “open access.” It ceased to be a royal palace housing the Relic.

One of the sad events in Narēndrasinha’s reign is the fate of his palace in Kundasale housed way outside of the Palace of the Tooth Relic. To properly contextualize our dismay let us move into his Buddhist pilgrimages once again as the King goes to the great temple complex at Mahiyangana that expressed not only the piety of the ruler but also the continuing importance of Mahiyangana-Bintāna-Alutnuvara. The question we now pose is this: Alutnuvara as a grand city with its palace and many temples

was described in great detail in the Dutch account of 1602.²⁰⁹ It remained an important place not only for Senerat who sent his family to Alutnuvara during a time of Portuguese incursions but also for later kings including Narēndrasinha and KīrtiŚrī Rājasinha as late as the middle and late 18th century. It was not an abandoned city. Therefore one is obliged to ask what happened to this great city that was found in a ruinous state in the early 19th century, such that in British times nothing remained of its grand palace, its rich temples, and perhaps even its cloud capped towers (dāgābas).

I will let a modern British military historian provide the answer. When governor North was given charge of the territory wrested from the Dutch, he ordered an expedition to Kandy in 1800 under Major General Hay Macdowell that resulted in a ghastly failure and the massacre of British troops by “hordes” of Kandyans during the reign of the last Kandyan king Sri Vikrama Rājasinha (1798-1815). In retaliation North sent another expedition in charge of Captain Arthur Johnston in 1803 who took the route to Kandy via Kataragama and into Uva and then toward the Mahāvāli Gaṅga near Alutnuvara from where other embassies had also stopped on their way to Kandy. “While the stores were being ferried across the river on the rafts, Johnston sent Lieutenant Virgo (sic.), the company commander of the Malays, with his men to destroy the royal palace of Alutnuwara, seven miles downstream, which he had heard housed a depot of weapons and other military stores. Virgo carried out his task, but Johnston does not mention what the palace was found to contain.”²¹⁰

Nevertheless Powell has this to say about the British soldiers’ reaction to the prospect of the first British incursion to Kandy: “After three years of garrison duty in Colombo, the relief

from tedium and the prospect of loot, excitement and prize-money were heartening”²¹¹ Powell is right that the British army in Colombo at this time was an ill-disciplined lot and one of their explicit goals was plunder; and so was it with the better disciplined Malay regiment and the ill-trained Sinhala lascarins. What is unsaid in the account of the destruction of the Alutnuvara palace was plunder and it is hard to believe that the riches of Mahiyangana temples were spared. Whatever traces remained were overrun much later by Sinhala merchants who built a new town with its ghastly structures on the site of the old. After the destruction of Alutnuvara, Johnston’s forces came near Kandy and on to the river bank near Kunḍasāle, the seat of Narēndrasinha. “Two hundred yards away was the beautiful royal palace of Kunḍasāle, richly ornamented with treasures given the Kandyan kings by their several European enemies. Johnston, once again, finding that it contained large stocks of munitions, fired it in accordance with his orders, reluctant though he was to do so.”²¹² It is not difficult to guess the rationale for destroying the palace and the fate of its treasures even in Powell’s sanitized account.²¹³

Concluding Remarks: On Consciencism

Each reader should make her or his inference on the meaning and significance of the Kandyan period for the troubled times many of us now live in. Instead I would like to place on record my own “meditation” on the kind of moral and ecological disasters we are bound to face in Sri Lanka if we do not do something to avert them or modify their impact on those who would be living here during the next decade or two. This afterthought is a reflective piece based on a memorial I wrote for my friend Jacques Maquet who died

at age 93 after a productive life devoted to African ethnography and aesthetics. He was also a practicing Buddhist meditator. A wonderful human being and a dedicated scholar, he was Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the University of California, Los Angeles.

My meditation comes on the Full Moon day of Vesak 2014, now already past and people would have reverted to their normal routines, some good, some bad and, sad to say, all of us will be caught up in an economic system that puts such a heavy premium on an unfree free-market that spells of greed which lies at the root of economic activism. In our recent times then there is as it were a shadow over the moon because we all know that the fundamental ethical premise of Buddhism is *tanhā*, greed, the unprincipled attachment to desire as the root of suffering and human discontent. We also know from our fellow social science conspirators, such as Durkheim and Freud that “desire is a bottomless pit,” and that is why we have a variety of norms and rules to govern our lives. However, in our current existences, once hooked into *tanhā* there follows an incremental dialectic over which we creatures caught in the modern economy find it hard to escape. There is no morality and no real brake in the urge to make money in our contemporary world, be it Sri Lanka or China or the US or Anywhere where the global outreach has set its mark, not the mark of Cain but the mark of *tanhā*.

And that is what I want, now, to briefly comment on, namely, the spaces for hope in the world we are now fated to live in. Unhappily, I cannot talk of that world in general but can briefly philosophize about my world of Sri Lanka inspired by an important idea from the African philosopher and political thinker Kwame

Nkrumah who became the president of Ghana and then was forced into exile in 1966. His was the notion of “consciencism” based on what he thought was scientific Marxism and which included a radical critique of colonialism that hopefully will eventually lead to a moral and philosophical revolution in all of African societies. I doubt that this ideal will ever be realized even as a kind of critical theory or a commentary on our world. We are simply saddled with the detritus of Marxism in those societies such as Russia, China and Vietnam who have publicly and unashamedly rejected all of Marxism or even of any realistic and creative reappraisal of some form of democratic socialism.

I want to rethink the idea of “consciencism” in terms of the conventional notion of the workings of the conscience without being saddled by Marxist and post-colonial thought. In my usage consciencism cannot be divorced from the workings of the conscience that I define as the incorporation or introjection of our ethical ideals fostered by the great religions into our consciousness such that when we fail to abide by them we might be troubled by our “conscience.” For example, in forms of guilt or shame or, more powerfully by remorse. The word “remorse” does not appear in Buddhism but the idea does appear if we look at Buddhist texts such as the Dhammapada which tells us in Book 1, verse 15 about the wrong doer: he is “tormented, he is tormented hereafter in both worlds; the wrong doer is tormented at the thought ‘I have done wrong.’”

Consciencism as I use it is the way we can reactivate our consciences as a critique, not of neo-colonialism a la Nkrumah, but as a way of bringing about a criticism of the impersonality of the market economy and suggest ways of changing our world

in an ethically meaningful manner. This may sound impossible but even a little movement might eventually build up a storm of change. I suggest that meditation on consciencism is something we could practice irrespective of whether we are Buddhists or Christians or of any other ethical religion. Of course we all know that from an epistemological point of view the monotheisms are far removed from the radical atheism of Buddhist doctrine. But this is not true of ethics: it seems to me that on the ethical level there is considerable overlap between the multiple forms of Buddhism and the diverse forms of Christianity. Corinthians 13 which is on love or agape is very close to the Buddhist mettā and karunā combined, that is, compassion and loving kindness fused together. And time and change that happeneth to us all as Ecclesiastes 9: 11 tells us is very much in the spirit of the Buddhist ideas of impermanence and is also recognized by sensitive souls everywhere whatever their formal religious affiliations. They tell us that we cannot have Eros, the world of love and begetting without Thanatos, the world of change, impermanence, dying. In Thanatos we can speak of impermanence or human finitude without subscribing to any ontology of Being or Non-being in the orthodox epistemologies of particular religions.

Of course there are those who would argue, rightly, that concepts such as karunā and mettā cannot be identified with the Christian agape which speaks of love that is not inspired by Eros. I don't think the search for identity in meaning across languages is going to take us very far in comparative ethics. There is no identity of meaning anywhere and dictionaries are always misleading but what we can expect and hope are "similarities" or "family resemblances" between forms of life, just as I mentioned in the case of the Christian idea of "remorse." In that sense it does not matter

whether we are Buddhist or Christian or whether we are atheists or non-believers if we are still, hopefully, guided by ethical norms on the one hand and the meaning and significance of impermanence on the other, in spite of the epistemological meanings we impose on these terms. In this sense “consciencism” is with us irrespective of our formal allegiances. Hence while one can meditate on Buddhism we can also begin to “meditate” in a broader sense on “conscience” but of course there is no denying that vipassanā meditation or similar forms of life surely will have greater impact on our thinking and acting in terms of “consciencism.”

How should the spirit of consciencism interrogate me across the seas here in Sri Lanka? I read my newspaper on our full moon day of Vesak and we are told that the beautiful wild life sanctuary near Colombo covers a land area of about 1000 square acres and might contain something like 168 species of birds, 77 species of butterflies, 37 species of dragon flies and more than 44 species of fresh water fish, some endemic to Sri Lanka. We are told that these lands, along with other wetlands near Colombo, will have to be destroyed to make way “for development projects including the program to beautify Colombo city” so that the wealthy in Colombo and our wealthy neighbors across many seas might live there and enjoy life under the guidance of the pleasure principle, Eros, brushing aside or ignoring the shades of Thanatos. Concerned organizations will no doubt protest at the devastation of forests to make room for development but you can bet my bottom dollar their cries will fall on deaf ears most of the time. And who would know or heed Gerard Manley Hopkins’s moving lines written one hundred and twenty five years ago:

What would the world be, once bereft
Of wet and of wildness? Let them be left,
O let them be left, wildness and wet;
Long live the weeds and the wilderness yet.

I am afraid there is little hope that Hopkins's wish will ever be realized. Everywhere trees and forests are being felled for development which is another way of saying "greed" and the untrammelled ways of making money. When I was a child I remember wading into streams with small and beautiful colored fish, but alas no more, the flow of pesticides have killed them all. Brooks and streams were everywhere in the days of my youth and these small streams then linked up with the larger ones that then went to fill and replenish the major rivers. But now in many places the streams are being filled up by ordinary people scrambling to build houses and in some areas service stations (for motor vehicles) and other kinds of factories so that the effluvia from them, such as used oils and other wastes are being dumped into the water for easy disposal. I noted recently a long river that in old times helped navigate small ships from the dry zone to the ocean on the eastern shores of the Island is fast dying up. The river's edge is lined with small restaurants and some "service stations" even though in theory all such actions are illegal. And in Kandy where I live the great river Mahaveli is once again lined with hotels and no one questions their legality. What is sad is that with principled planning there is still some hope for streams to flow (because there are still so many of them left) and rivers to join them but this won't be for long. People here as everywhere else are worried about climate

change; but they don't seem to worry about preserving what we have for that possible eventuality.

This rich country can be spared of much of the ills of climate change if we can, beginning now, preserve and regulate the uses of our forests and our waters. But there is a larger problem and that is uncontrolled uses of pesticides by farmers and others. These have already polluted the waterways and wells and in the north central province where kidney diseases have become near endemic, costing lives, hospital and medical resources and money. We are now told that the effects of these poisons have begun to affect populations in the western parts of the nation and sure as hell they will soon encroach on us everywhere alongside accumulating plastics, radioactive wastes and looming mountains of garbage which then will deplete our soil of its erstwhile richness and further poison our lives. The wealthy will flee to other pastures but the poor and the less well-off will have few places to go. Of course this is a problem faced by all countries but in my view it cannot be divorced from the idea of scale and space. If one lives in a large land one can maybe postpone the disasters to come, shove them into a garbage can, metaphorically speaking.

Why the likelihood of a waste land in this beautiful little space we call Sri Lanka, a small nation of only twenty-four thousand square miles about the size of West Virginia with the population close to Australia? It seems to me that few of us speak of smallness of scale when we think of "development," the dangers of systematically shrinking that scale still further owing to the way we have despoiled the land and its resources. I am suggesting that activating ones conscience or consciencism, if it can be made to work, can in fact create conditions that might help avoid the impending death of a land.

How so? I think there are many in our society who can be made aware of the implications of what mindless development can do to us. It is a political problem but it has been a political problem for a long time with differing governments but exacerbated recently owing to the push to develop sponsored by supra local agencies fanned by bureaucrats who think only in one direction, namely marketing a market economy wherein ethics and cultural values have zero space. Consciencism is to create different conditions that might change the way people think about the economy. I am convinced that in Sri Lanka, whether Buddhist or Catholic or Hindu or Muslim it is possible to raise the consciousness and conscience of people who can be made to realize the significance of these issues raised above and many, many more related ones that I have omitted. I think most monks and priests irrespective of religious affiliation, and concerned individuals can be made aware of the need to mobilize consciencism to ward off an ecological catastrophe. The larger issues of income disparities or attempting to do something about the global economy and the greed enshrined in it is something that we in Sri Lanka can do little about. It must come with the dominant economies themselves, namely, the US and Europe and they will have to foster a new kind of economic theory. That is a hope of the long run, I am afraid. But one can and must do something when a small nation such as ours is faced with looming multiple disasters.

I can only speak of the necessity or the imperative to create a public consciousness for consciencism but I am not sure what someone like me can do for whom the shadow of Thanatos has fallen, as it has fallen on many other friends who have journeyed into the silent land. There is little I can do to bring about ethical change through consciencism except through writing –little use

in a society many do not read, even though everybody is literate. But that is small solace. Those who are younger and healthy and aware of these issues, and there are many in our land, must use the resources that the enemies of consciencism employ, namely, the varied forms of mass media and public talk to ensure its penetration to an ethically sensitive audience who in my view can react positively to the messages of consciencism. This might entail a long wait and a search for resources that might be difficult to mobilize but surely not an impossible task. But it has to begin somewhere and it must begin with you my twin, my sister and my brother.

Appendix : Sellam Rajjuruvo and the discourse on eroticism

In the Nāyaka kingdoms of South India eroticism combined with the commitment to Vaiṣṇava religiosity were intrinsic to the public expression and display of kingship in poetry, drama and art, beautifully documented by Narayana Rao et al in *Symbols of Substance*.²¹⁴ But beyond that are the conventional traditions of the woman's longing for the lover who sometimes reciprocates her love and is at other times dismissive of her. Ideal typically the longing of the woman is expressed in the Vaiṣṇava tradition of Krishna and the gopīs. Nothing could be more remote from the European conventions of the coy mistress. One must also caution against equating convention with pure formalism or stereotypy. There is realism to convention here and there and elsewhere. Those of us writing texts, whether they are poems or ethnographies or other literary forms, are also bound by conventions and rules but when convention becomes stale or sterile it compels us to infuse new vitality to old texts or break hallowed traditions and invent new forms.

Although erotic poetry was well known in Sri Lanka it is likely that the specific genre associated with such texts as the Śrungārāṅkārāya ("in praise of eroticism") blossomed as a result of the impact of Madurai on Sri Lankan culture. The poems belonging to this genre are full of the woman's longing for the love of the king. They also praise the king in the classic praśasti style. The first documented attempt to introduce this form of eroticism into kingly discourse comes from the Pārakumbā Sirita ("In praise of Parākramabāhu") by an unknown writer, a huge panegyric or praśasti on Parākramabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe (1411-1466). It extols the king and compares him with other great heroes of Sri Lanka

as shining ornaments of the lōka sāsana, the universal Buddhist dispensation. Stanza 47 says the king resides with Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning and because he does not associate with other women his prowess spreads everywhere. He rules in accordance with the dasa rāja dharma, the ten virtues of kingly morality, and thereby he pleases his subjects (verse 55). The only real concession to eroticism is towards the end in stanza 134 in which the woman says that the king is preparing for war and asks why he does not sleep with her. And in verses 138 and 139 the woman is ready for love and wants a message sent to the king but she is distraught because the king does not come. She implores whoever to bring the king to her. No wonder the king is not interested as verse 137 tells us:

The king observes the Buddha dharma in its purity

He has learned well the arts of war with horses and elephants

He is blessed with intelligence and with the power of energy
(diri bala)

If ever there was a sovereign it is surely Pārakum rajū

And the last stanza, 140, tells us that:

He is like king Rama he wears the crown with heroism (kiru lisa)

He is a good monarch in the line of Lanka's kings

At his feet the goddess Śrī Kanta resides

May Siri Pārakum live for five thousand years.²¹⁵

It might be that Pārakumbā Sirita was written after the author or authors became familiar with this particular genre of erotic poetry dealing with the woman's longing for the king and which came into prominence with Rājāsinha II. As I mentioned earlier there was a huge popular literature on Rājāsinha mostly in relation to two vital forms of popular poetry, as erotic poetry and as war poems or *haṭan kavi*. It is no accident that some stanzas in this genre of erotic poetry are in Tamil and Sanskrit. There is also nothing to suggest that Vimaladharmasūriya II, the pious son of Rājāsinha, encouraged eroticism in any shape or form. It is in the reign of his son Narēndrasinha that there was a flowering of *sellam* in the multiple senses of that term.

As Charles Godakumbura notes there are a huge number of praise poems or panegyrics on this king: "The verses in these collections are somewhat different from the eulogistical verses which refer to Rājāsinha II. In the verses which describe King Narēndrasinha, the erotic sentiment predominates, while the heroic sentiment is almost absent."²¹⁶ This is not entirely correct. Current research shows that there is considerable overlap between the erotic verses praising Rājāsinha and those associated with Narēndrasinha. If indeed Rājāsinha has many heroic poems associated with him, Narēndrasinha also has many verses in the erotic texts praising the king's greatness and prowess but not in the grand style of the war poetry. There is not a single independent war poem in the Narēndrasinha corpus. In Narēndrasinha *Varnanāva* ("In praise of Narēndrasinha") the king is compared to a lion king or *sinha rāja*, punning on his name; and he is compared with Rāma, son of Dasaratha in verse 44, a popular convention. But most verses compare him with Viṣṇu and Sūrya and as the lion king; and in many places with Indra as Purandara, destroyer of cities. (29, 53,

39). Though he is compared with the gods and is praised for valor (vīratvaya) there is little on warfare in these texts reminding us that this was a period of relative peace.

It is very likely that some of the erotic poetry of Rājasinha might well have originated in the later reign of Narēndrasinha, because unlike the heroic haṭan poems which have considerable contextual specificity, the erotic ones cannot be easily dated. Nevertheless it is certain that at least some of the poems attributed to Rājasinha date from his own reign and it alters our view of that king. He was not only a warrior but also a pleasure loving monarch. His grandson Narēndrasinha we noted had a special palace at Kuṇḍasāle for his erotic cum literary activities and I suspect that Rājasinha's two palaces in Nilambe and Diyatilakanuvara (Hanguranketa) served a similar purpose. In the case of Rājasinha the travails of war are softened by the work of Eros-Ananga, the wielder of a different kind of bow.

I will now focus on one of the better known texts known as Śrungaṛālankāraya (Śringāṛālankāraya), "in praise of eroticism" or "in praise of love poetry," that has sometimes been attributed to Narēndrasinha but probably written either by a single poet or more likely by several based on the earlier traditions in praise of Rājasinha II.²¹⁷ "It is a large collection of verses and songs put into the mouths of the dancing girls of the king's royal theatre" (kavikāra maḍuva). Godakumbura notes that some of the verses are composed in a "mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil words."²¹⁸ The songs or sindu have a complex structure but I lack the expertise to deal with them although they have been described by the traditional musicologist Sederaman in considerable technical detail.²¹⁹

The conclusion of the Śrungālankāraya deals with styles of drumming, again indicating that the woman or women danced to the beat of drums very likely by male drummers. Verse 192 mentions the king's support of "beautiful dancing girls [performing] according to the rhythms given in Bharata," the mythic originator of the Indian dance. The very next verse mentions the sound of drumming and various musical instruments which I cannot identify, except for the vīna.²²⁰ The next three verses clearly indicate these drumming styles or tāla played by accomplished drummers even today: "krakatat tat takkrataka," "krataka tat tat tak krataka jejjhem"; and a third style "krataka tat tat, tokra tat tat tat." Thus the women not only sang but they also danced to the tunes or tāla of the drummers. The text next moves to a final culminating praśasti on the king:

Indra, the moon, konda [white water-lily], pearls, sandalwood --having glory as white as these -- his Lordship Narēndrasinha occupying the Lion Throne, and lives according to the ten doctrines of a king, ruling as the sovereign of Lanka, making Śri Kanta to reside on his chest, seated on the lion throne as it were on the top of Mt. Meru, the moon-like King Narēndrasinha, the elephant among kings, may you live long!

At this point in our research it is difficult for us to reconstruct the manner in which the text was composed. I will only briefly deal with the standard praises of the king that abound here focusing instead on the woman pining for the loss of the love of the king and urging him to come renew his love. Although Śrungārālankāraya is about a single woman it is likely that she represents the other female dancers also and they might jointly or alternately sing these verses. Further, in addition to the drummers and singers-dancers there is the voice of an "interlocutor" known in Sri Lankan culture

as the potē gurā (“teacher of the book”) who acts as a commentator. The text does not make clear whether the singer is also the dancer or whether song and dance are by different women acting in unison.

Let me begin with the voice or voices of the pining woman, beginning with the very first verse followed by a selection from the 198 verses of the complete text, available in volume 3 of my forthcoming work. It was translated by Professor Udaya Meddegama on my behalf. I have however made several revisions of his text.

Moon beams, normally soothing, become a hot sun over
the eastern mountain

Gentle breezes feels like snake venom and the humming
bees emit a demonic roar.

Go bring me Lord Narēndrasinha, born of solar dynasty,
a lion shining in splendor

For today there’s going to be a battle with the Lord of Love

[The lord of love has a double meaning as the king and also as Ananga, the Cupid of the Sanskrit tradition who has a bow made of sugar cane and with a bow-string or vine made of bees. He is bodiless because his body was burnt by Śiva/Īśvara according to Hindu mythology. He is constantly invoked in Śrungārāṅkārāya. The “solar dynasty” or sūrya vaṃsa does not refer to the Mahāsammata line of the Buddha but rather to the line of the great Hindu lawgiver Manu, also born of the sun. This alternate view of the solar dynasty is well known and attested in other Sinhala texts sometimes conjointly with the Mahāsammata genealogy.]

7. By living together with King Narēndrasinha as if we are a single being

Enjoying love sports with him, games played by Ananga

To me who once seemed to win in the battle with Ananga,
have now become tear drops

Flowing down my cheeks, and they resemble the pearl
necklace you gifted me [O, king]

8. Holding the golden sword and displaying his strength of arms

Like the king of love well versed in erotic games

When the Lord of Lanka comes not to me

Friend, I cannot bear the pain, it's so deep, intense.

My friends warned me, you'll be disgraced by loving a
king of the Sūrya dynasty

Disregarding their words, I enjoyed love's play with him

But now I am being attacked by Ananga's five arrows and
suffer much

My only solace and pleasure would be to see King
Narēndrasinha again.

[What we have here is a reminiscence of the past where she enjoyed erotic pleasures with the king and her present pain of abandonment by him. In several poems the fourth line ends in a refrain “O, Indra in the world of humans,” where the king is compared to Indra as the “destroyer of cities” (purandara). Incidentally rarely do the well-known Buddhist deities such as Nātha, Saman, Pattini appear in the erotic texts.]

11. The moon rising over the eastern mountain became a hot sun

Even cool breezes burn me, tears flow in a great flood

King Narēndrasinha, possessed of great wealth

By waiting for you well decked [sensually], I suffer anguish as I do this day

---O Indra in the world of humans.

There follows a series of verses indicating the pain of separation from the beloved. She says that for some reason “my lord is displeased with me” and she has become the scorn of “young women of the world” who laugh at her plight (stanza 33). In the next verse we get an interesting take on the childhood games she used to play with the king.

I loved him madly ever since we played as children

He was in love, never leaving my side

But now, even under attack by Ananga’s arrows

He seems not to like me; have I lost my beauty that he doesn't love me?

And again, the rejection by the king in several verses, such as in stanza 36:

My blue [black] eyes are blue lotus petals pleasing the eye

The molded buds of my breasts are like golden geese

The brave king Narēndrasinha of the highest caste

Why did he reject a young girl like me?

She then complains that the king treats her as a servant.

Now we have an interesting feature of the text where the interlocutor enters the scene and one must actually visualize the entry of the new actor, the potē gurā into the dance arena. Though not given that designation in this text the potē gurā is a familiar figure in the Kandyan stage. He gives his own answer for the king's rejection of his not-so-coy mistress, in a dialogue with the aggrieved woman, in verses 38-45. The question and answer session here and in similar texts pertain to the violent foreplay in the erotic relationships beginning with the woman's disheveled locks, a standard feature of these kinds of interlocutions. This is followed by the woman's response, which is of course a denial of the truth. Her disheveled locks are innocence itself, the bees in this case being the culprits:

Ornamented as always with scented garlands

The bees reached them for nectar; and made my hair disheveled.

And then the more pointed accusation by the interlocutor.

If you did not engage in love-play with another man

How come your two golden bracelets were broken?

And her response:

While playing ‘flower balls’ with my friends in two groups

And clapping my hands they broke, speak not such harsh
words

Again the interlocutor tells the woman not to equivocate:

Don’t talk back to me in your arrogance

We too are familiar with erotic play (*rati keli*)

Your face that shines like the full moon in the middle of the
sky

Why lovely one, are your lips now seem reddened
vermillion?

And the woman’s answer is that while training a parrot to speak, the creature snipped her mouth thinking it was a delicious red *bimbu* fruit (*Cephalandra indica*). And so it goes on and I quote verses 42 and 43 as my final example of this genre of dialogue between a woman and her interlocutor:

You look an angel come down to earth from Indra’s city

Your radiant face shines like the full moon with its shadows

Young lady, so beautiful, hide not, tell me the truth

Why is it that your blue sapphires eyes have turned red?

In the vast sky, with thunder and lightning and heavy rains
That seemed like hills and rocks hurtling down uprooting
trees

I woke up from this dream with trembling body

My eyes are reddened because I couldn't sleep thereafter

And now after explaining the bruises on her body the woman admits that she had slept with “a fine lord who enjoyed the pleasures of sex with me.” There is deliberate ambiguity here because it is not clear whether the fine lord is the king or someone else as the interlocutor nastily implied. In popular poetry this kind of give and take are called *haṭan* not to be confused with war poetry also called *haṭan kavi*. The term *haṭan* is not used in the present text but later poems in the same tradition employ it in the sense of a conflict or debate between two people in an antagonist relationship. Many of them are stereotyped imitations of the *Narēndrasinha Śrungārāṅkārāya*.

One of the problems with *Śrungārāṅkārāya* which we cannot solve at this time pertains to the fact that the woman had at one time known erotic pleasures with the king but now the king seems to have rejected her. Perhaps this lament is related to the fact that the king has been seriously ill for a long time and hence in no condition to make love as before. If so, the rejected woman's lament makes considerable sense even if it is a conventional response of a woman rejected by her lover. A lot more research

and evidence is required before we fully can answer that question.

One of the finest examples of haṭan as conflictual dialogue comes from a late eighteenth or early nineteenth century erotic poem, *dunuṅṅa haṭana* between a woman and her daughter. The woman asks her daughter about the bruises and other marks on her body and, as in the previous text, she gives false answers. I shall quote in Sinhala two stanzas from this beautiful poem with its innovative stanza form and then my own somewhat permissive English translation beginning with the mother's query and the daughter's response:

Bālakāle siṭa mālaṅga tānilā -- dān

Venema basak gena situvak karalā

Soṅdada kiyana bas ekaṭeka gotalā -- tigē

Lāmade mokada geḍi nāgune tālilā

Raised by me from your very childhood -- now

You speak another voice, perverse as can be

Listen to your use fancy words, doling out excuses -- how

Did your breasts swell, bruised as they seem?

Semina vīdiyē yanakala bāsālā – maṭa

Gāsū bilindu panduva vāradīlā

Tadina ävit mā hadatala vädil – magē

Eyina tibehi lāmadē geḍi nāgilā

Strolling leisurely along the street -- when

A kid unaware threw his ball at me

And struck my chest so hard – and so

My breasts you see are bruised and swelled

And of course as always the dissimulation continues until the daughter admits having a sexual relation with the nobleman Dunuvila which of course delights the mother quick to realize its advantages.

Now let us go back to our lonely maiden. The discourse by the potē gurā is an unstated diacritical mark. Then the narration continues with another actor with another discourse on abandonment by the king who is also praised in praśasti style, extolling his greatness. In 113 the presence of another actor is explicitly recognized but it is impossible to figure out her role:

Friend, you and I, we were as close as the moon and its shadow

When I think of it, I cannot stop making myself attractive

By worshipping at the feet of King Narēndrasinha

Tell him to come today without cheating me any more

The moon's shadow, of course, refers to the popular sasa jātaka where the Bodhisattva creates a hare on the moon such

that the moon and the hare become an inseparable duo in popular lore. Nevertheless there is a shift in the narrative here. The woman continues her lament and senses abandonment by the king but at the same time she adores the king for his greatness. This comes out in various places in the text and especially in the refrain in verses 92, 94 and 95 where, as before, the last line of each verse emphasizes that the king is like the god himself: “God Indra in the world of humans.” In verse 94 the woman has “thick and lovely lips, pure and fragrant like nectar, a pretty face like a lotus, pendant ear lobes” and garlands round her neck. The next verse fully develops this female imagery:

Attractive pair of breasts like golden pots, forehead with
three bright lines, thin-waist line like the handle of a bow, hips like
cart wheels, fine pair of well-rounded thighs,

O Indra in the world of humans.

This discourse continues with the king as a lover as well as a god, a simultaneity of praise and pine, as a few select examples indicate.

47. In the lake of the dynasty of the sun, like the swan king of
excellent qualities

Like Mount Meru in strength pleasant to the eye, by prowess
like Ananga’s

Lord of the fourfold wealth like Indra, the king of gods, like a
lion, spreading the white glory [of his parasol]

King Narēndrasinha, destroyer of human foes, lord of kings,
isn’t coming to me

53. By bravery Rama, by courage Viṣṇu
Cheerful King Narēndrasinha like Purandara
Let him arrive, driving away all pangs of separation --
I'll bedeck the mansion of my body for the betrothal
61. Like a cool breeze coming from a lotus pond
Unable to sleep in the bed of manel and konḍa petals [blue and
white water lilies]
If King Narēndrasinha comes on time
I'll use the flower arrows to bedeck my hair
67. The son of Viṣṇu and Śrī, taking the moon for a parasol
Entered the battle carrying the bow made of a sugar cane
As King Narēndrasinha is not staying with me
I cannot lull the two young geese of my breasts
68. Enjoying my body, sleeping in the bed spread with konda buds
He does not care now, even for the breasts on my bosom
For this injustice committed by the Lord of Lanka
To whom shall I make my complaint?

114. Taking the moon for an umbrella, riding the wind for a horse

Hoisting the 'fish' flag, Viṣṇu's son advanced for the battle

O King Narēndrasinha, Lord of men

Why don't you come to this battle today with no hesitation?

Verse 115 anticipates a break in the narrative where the woman complains about being "abandoned in the ocean of separation" and then concludes with: "Hail your lordship, born of the Vaivasvata Manu dynasty, its adornment." With this refrain and the break in the narrative the voice of the woman or women no longer appears in any shape or form beginning with verse 116 until the conclusion in 197. However the refrain "Hail your lordship, born of the Vaivasvata Manu dynasty, its adornment" is repeated eight more times without any reference to the love-lorn woman. This last section of the poem is "unmarked" and we don't know who the speaker is. Hereafter the suffering woman disappears and instead we have a paean of praise of the king and a showering of blessings (*āsirvāda*, *āsiri*) constituting the longest part of the poem. It is here in verses 194-96 that we have reference to drumming as part of the dance. The dancing girls also cease to appear as individuals but are simply desirable women for the king, as verse 192 states: "His [the king's] pair of eyes like the petals of the blue lotus, his face like the moon in the summer, and [with] beautiful dancing girls, in accordance with the rhythms given by Bharata." It is certain that in this last section there is another speaking voice, probably that of the *potē gurā* or some kind of chorus singing the praises of the king and invoking blessings on him.

Endnotes

References cited

- 1 In this work I am greatly indebted to my friends and colleagues especially H.L. Seneviratne, Kitsiri Malalgoda, H.G. Dayasisira and the many scholars represented in this work, especially Lorna Dewaraja to whom all of us who work on the Kandy period are deeply indebted.
- 2 Jayavīra also took the name of his father Vikramabāhu and has this led to considerable confusion among both Sinhala and Portuguese commentators
- 3 There are dozens of texts entitled Rājāvaliya but here I use the standard text edited and translated by A.V. Suraweera, Rājāvaliya, Ratmalana: Sarvodaya Publication, 2000, 86; the English translation of another important Rājāvaliya is B. Gunasekara, Colombo: Government Printer, 1900 while his Sinhala edition is The Rājāvaliya, Colombo: Information Department, 1953: Suraweera's important Sinhala edition is Rājāvaliya, Colombo: Education Department Publication, 1997. 86. It should be remembered that there are dozens of texts entitled Rājāvaliya and they show considerable variation from the standard Rājāvaliya.
- 4 Both the Sinhala editions of the standard Rājāvaliya use the term kasāda for "marriage" which of course is based on the Portuguese. The marriage was conducted in Colombo in the court of Dharmapāla, a Catholic convert. All kasāda marriages had to be conducted by Catholic priests. It is likely that because Sembahap Perumal (deceased at that time) was a Catholic, his daughter living in Colombo was also a Catholic. All this is relevant

for understanding Vimaladharmasūriya's tolerant and "Catholic" attitude to religion.

- 5 During this time the dynasty of the Irugal Bandāra ruled the large area of the Seven Kōrales that stretched from the present day Kurunāgala to the southern coast of Mādampe, near Chilaw. It's ruler at this time was Edirmannasūriya whose fortified capital was known as Munḍukonḍapola, north of Kurunāgala. Irugals were also a power in the Four Korales, the home of Konappu Bandara.
- 6 Konappu's marriage was a strategic one that reinforced his connection with the powerful Irugal party.
- 7 Sinhala editions of the Rājāvaliya says that Tammittarālagēdoniyan kasāda bāṇḍalā kulavādī kolamba unnāha. What is doubtful is the meaning of kulavādī which has been translated by both Gunasekara and Suraweera as "baptized." However, Soratha's dictionary (p. 264) gives it the meaning of joining another caste (kula) or another faith or religion which of course might have meant "baptized."
- 8 Suraweera, Sinhala edition, 241 and Gunasekara, Sinhala edition, 79, used koṭāpu which cannot be translated as "attacking" that these editors employ in their English translations. In the context of the time koṭāpu meant "kill." It is unlikely that the Portuguese tribunal would have banished Konappu for just attacking Salappu.
- 9 Fernao de Queyroz, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, S.G. Perera, trans., New Delhi: Asia Educational Services, vol. 3, 708. Queyroz's hypothesis might be an error if indeed Konappu had already become a Catholic in Colombo but I don't have theological knowhow whether double baptisms were permitted.

- 10 Suraweera, English edition, 88. The term Gajabāhu (“elephant arm”) probably is used because the Sinhala sources did not know the name of Konappu’s antagonist.
- 11 Suraweera, English translation, 88
- 12 Phillipus Baldaeus, A True and Exact Description of the Great Island of Ceylon, translator, Pieter Brohier, Maharagama: Saman Press, 1960 (Ceylon Historical Journal, vol. VIII, nos. 1-4, July 1958 to April 1959, 11); Francois Valentijn’s Description of Ceylon, Sinnappah Arasaratnam, translator and editor, London: Hakluyt Society, 1978, 264. The latter says poison and the help of a “soothsayer” did the trick.
- 13 C.R. de Silva, “The rise and fall of the kingdom of Sītāvaka,” in K.M. de Silva, editor, University of Peradeniya, History of Sri Lanka, vol. 2, Peradeniya: University of Peradeniya, 1995, 101 (61-104)
- 14 The Mahāvamsa is the classic Pali chronicle composed by various monks at different periods beginning from around 6 CE and dealing with the foundations of Sri Lanka right down to our own times. The latter part of the Mahāvamsa from chapters 37-100 is re-designated by some scholars as the Cūlavamsa, or “lesser chronicle” without much justification. Because this usage is now accepted I shall also follow convention and use the term Cūlavamsa, The Pūjāvaliya is a 13th century chronicle in Sinhala. In general I use the well-known translations of Wilhelm Geiger. In this paper I will use the chapter and couplet or stanza references and not the page numbers so that anyone could use other translations other than Geiger’s.
- 15 Baldaeus, Ceylon, 27.

- 16 What eventually happened to his first wife, the daughter of Tammita Baṇḍāra (Sembahap Perumal) is not clearly known. The Rājāvaliya in the Suraweera translation, 95, says that after the death of Dharmapāla and when the Portuguese ruled the low country, the Portuguese Viceroy (perhaps the Portuguese Captain General in Colombo) “made arrangements to send the princess, the daughter of Tammitarāla whom Vimaladharmasūriya had married when he had come over to Kolamba [but] she was not allowed to go beyond Balana. She returned to Kolamba and got married to a Pratikal man called Don Puransikku [Francisco].” She was a powerful lady and in all likelihood married the Portuguese man in binna (virilocally) in order to keep her family name of Tammita. The internal politics of this scenario are not clear but what is clear is that she was not permitted to go beyond Balana by Vimaladharmasūriya or by his influential queen Dona Catherina.
- 17 Donald Ferguson, translator, *The Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1998 (1927-1930), 44, italics in the original. The same source adds that the king visits the temples in order to “please the Singales” but this is an extrapolation based on imperfect knowledge.
- 18 Kitsiri Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society, 1750-1900*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976, 30-33
- 19 *Cūlavamsa*, 94: 14
- 20 *Cūlavamsa*, 94:18-19
- 21 In Ferguson, *Earliest Dutch Visits*, 44. One Dutchman noted that “we drank the wine which was produced there” but this must refer to the king’s vineyards because ordinary people “are not allowed

- to eat bull's or cow's or buffalo meat nor can they drink any wine.”
(p. 42) Wine must surely be the king's habit learned in Goa.
- 22 K.D. Paranavitana, translator, *Journal of Spilbergen*, the first Dutch envoy to Ceylon, Dehiwela: Sridevi Press, 1997, 32
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 The preference for Western fashions is clear in Narēndrasinha, the last of the patrilineal line of Vimaladharmasūriya I, who, apparently, “used to wear white [blond?] wigs ... with the necessary powder and pomade the Dutch sent him ...” Paul E. Pieris, *Sinhale and the Patriots, 1815-1818*, Colombo: The Colombo Apothecaries Company, 1950, 115-16. For a modern view of this whole issue of clothes see Nira Wickramasinghe, *Dressing the Colonised Body: Politics, Clothing and Identity in Colonial Sri Lanka*, Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2003. The Sinhalese, then and now, were a fashion conscious group.
- 25 Paul E. Pieris, *Ceylon: The Portuguese Era*, 1, 365. Dravidian influences were present all the time in Sri Lanka, some periods more responsive to these influences than others. “Madurai influences” might have been a better term.
- 26 R. Raven-Hart, editor, *The Pybus Embassy to Kandy, 1762*, Colombo: National Museums, 1958
- 27 Donald Ferguson, *Earliest Dutch Visits*, 61, my italics
- 28 Paranavitana, *Journal of Spilbergen*, 39
- 29 Ibid., 41

- 30 We know that prisoners in the time of Knox and perhaps in Vimaladharmasūriya's time made a living by selling caps that they made and no doubt other items of popular clothing.
- 31 Ibid., 41-42
- 32 Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon*, second edition, J.H.O. Paulusz, editor, Dehiwala: Tisara Publications, 1989 (1681). Knox was nineteen when he his father and sixteen sailors were captured in 1660 and dispersed in various Kandyan villages. The senior Knox died a year later but Knox made his escape in 1679. For a contemporary critique and re-reading of Knox, see Sarojini Jayawickrama, Colombo: Social Scientists Association, 2004
- 33 Valentijn in Ceylon, 153, says of Bintänna-Alutnuvara that "here the old Emperors used to hold court as it is a beautiful city where there are many large streets, beautiful buildings and wonderful pagodas or heathen temples In it has also a beautiful and large palace of the Emperor full of beautiful buildings within. Here the best galleys and sampans of the Emperors are made. Here are also many shops but no market, stone monasteries and a great many bamboo houses which stretch for a mile or two in distance along the river." Part of Valentijn's source is the Spilbergen's visit but what I have quoted above must come from other sources.
- 34 Paranavitana, *Journal of Spilbergen*, 31
- 35 R.K. de Silva and W.G.M. Beumer, *Illustrations and Views of Dutch Ceylon, 1602-1796*, London: Serendib Publications, 1988,34
- 36 Ferguson, *Earliest Dutch Visits*, 65

- 37 Paul E. Pieris, translator, *Some Documents to the Rise of the Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1602-1670*, London: Curzon Press, 1973 (1929), 32
- 38 De Weert killing from Baldaeus's *Ceylon According to Baldaeus*, De Weert in his second trip to Sri Lanka landed in Batticaloa on 26 April 1603 in seven ships. Vimaladharmasūriya was invited by him to board the ship but the king declined. Then the Dutchman invited the king to come to the shore to have a "distant view of his ship from the beach" but that too was refused. The king was keen to get back to Kandy as the queen was by herself, his cousin (mother's sister's son) Senerat being in the frontier. De Weert had taken too much liquor and said, "Oh, as for the Empress, she never be at a loss for men," at which the incensed king said "Banda lapa mebal" [*bāṅdapalla mē balla*], tie up this dog. But his nobles not only tied him up but also severed his head but were afraid to inform the king, except through the Prince of Uva, his son. The king remonstrated with the Prince of Uva for his nobles not following his instructions but his son told him that there was no choice because De Weert drew his sword. The king then ordered "Well then, since he is dead dispatch the rest likewise that they might partake the same reward with their master." And all the Dutch on the shore were killed, except a youth who was spared and taken to the king's service. (Baldaeus, *Ceylon*, 36-37)
- 39 Baldaeus, *Ceylon*, 38-40
- 40 Rajasinha II lived for over fifty years and had to put up with internal threats as well as external ones from the Portuguese and later from the Dutch. It is a pity that we do not have a full and rounded study of this important monarch, except for Arasaratnam's which focuses

primarily on the king's relations with the Dutch. (See Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1658-1687*, Amsterdam: Djambatan, 1958. Here I only focus on his cosmopolitanism. He was popularly known as Rāsin Deviyo, the god Rajasinha but this is much stronger than the term deviyo that was often used in respect of important aristocrats.

- 41 L.S. Dewaraja in *The Kandyan Kingdom, 1707-1760*, Colombo: Lake House Investments, 1972, 17, says that Senerat married Dona Catherina's daughters from two marriages and these would be in Sinhala kinship his own daughters but this evidence comes from a footnote in Queyroz, *Ceylon*, vol. II, 788 and is a dubious source. I have not been able to find evidence for Dona Catherina's marriage prior to her nuptials with Vimaladharmasūriya I. My evidence comes from Phillipus Baldaeus, *Ceylon*, 80. Sinhala sources simply say that Senarat married Dona Catherina but make no mention of marrying his "daughters" or cohabiting with his wife's daughter.
- 42 Sinnappah Arasaratnam, "Oratorians and Pedicants: The Catholic Church in Ceylon under Dutch rule," in *Ceylon and the Dutch*, Aldershot, New Hampshire: Variorum, 1996, 221 (219-220).
- 43 Chandra Richard de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon, 1617-1638*, Colombo: H.W. Cave, 1972, 85
- 44 L.S. Dewaraja, "The Kandyan Kingdom, 183.
- 45 Additionally, I think we can trust the panegyric (praśasti) on the king known as Rājasiha Haṭana ("Rājasinha's war") when it mentions the education of the king, including training in arms, swordsmanship and the like and in stanza 32 his education in

languages:

Tamil and Sinhala letters

Sanskrit, Magadha and Nagara letters

And the Pratikal letters

And thus he learned many letters

Although akuru means “letters”, the text implies a broader idea of learning languages much like the English term “letters.”

- 46 Donald Ferguson, “Short account or history of what has happened in the island of Celon since the death of the King Ragu, and how the kingdom of Candy situated in the island of Celon freed itself from the Portuguese rule,” in *Earliest Dutch Visits*, 41 (33-53). The newer translation by Paranavitana rightly says that these were Brahmins, not monks as Ferguson thought. See Paranavitana, *Journal of Spilbergen*, 62, n. 121.
- 47 Paranavitana, *Journal of Spilbergen*, 29, translator’s parentheses.
- 48 Knox *Historical Relation*, 324 f., and *passim*.
- 49 Ryclof Van Goens, Jr, a Dutch governor (1675-1679) who generally wished Rājasinha dead put it thus: “However, as long as Rajia Singa is alive, it would be well to often send His Majesty presents, such as hawks, horses, and curiosities from Socratta [Socotra], Persia, and other places, with which he would be more pleased than if we evacuated ten Provinces.” *Memoir of Ryclof Van Goens, Jun. Governor of Ceylon, 1675-1679, to his successor Laurens Pyl. Translator, Sophia Pieters, Colombo: Government Printer, 1910*, 14. Among the foreigners in the Kandyan courts were truly prominent persons. There was “Daskon” who was

probably a member of a long established and vast English family of Gascoignes, originally from Gascony. Note that Daskon rose from stable boy to one of the most important positions in the Kandyan court, that of Adigar, that is, one of two “chief ministers.” In general he is identified as a native of Gascony, hence Gascon into Daskon. However, my guess is that he was a British citizen; the Gascoigne family produced many seamen and I suspect some were scouring the seas in the South Asia region. Daskon/Gascoigne (or probably a descendant of the original Gascoigne) had a love affair with one of Narēndrasinha’s queens (which one of the many is anybody’s guess) and while the king had considerable tolerance for eroticism, he drew the line when adultery came too close to home and Daskon had his head chopped off. Arasaratnam in the article on Hubbard says that the execution was because the king suspected him of treasonable correspondence with the Dutch. But I think the popular traditions are very strong on the theme of forbidden love and I am inclined to support it. One popular poem is unequivocal that it was his love for the queen that resulted in his head being severed.

Another important visitor was Nascar de la Nerolle, an influential Frenchman in the time of Rājasinha and his son Vimaladharmasūriya II, whose Sinhala descendants still retain his name mildly Sinhalized as *de Lānarōl*. And how could one forget the famous French court jester Andare (Andre) whose jokes are nowadays part of the Sinhala repertoire of funny stories, some of course later inventions foisted on that unsuspecting joker.

- 50 H.W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1994 (1929), 136

- 51 For a good discussion of the Dutch in Asia and their relations with the Portuguese see Markus Vink, "Introduction" in *Mission to Madurai: Dutch Embassies to the Nayaka Court of Madurai in the Seventeenth Century*, Delhi: Manohar, 2012, sections on "The Dutch perception of the Indian," and "The imperialist or Ceylon-centric vision," 86-106. See also his special distinction between the White Town and the Black Town in p, 96. I find especially fascinating is the "VOC passion for registration and accounting" including censuses and marriage registers and the codification of the Tesavalamai, "the customs of the land."
- 52 Sinnappa Arasaratnam, "Oratorians and Pedicants," in *Ceylon and the Dutch*, 221 (219-220).
- 53 In this essay I employ the very readable account of the life and work of this remarkable missionary by W.L.A. Don Peter in *Francis Xavier, Teacher of Nations*, Colombo: Evangel Press, 1987.
- 54 V. Vriddhagirisani, *The Nayaks of Tanjore*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1995 (1942) has this to say on the Parava conversions in 29-30, n. 22. According to this account the Paravas, the fisherfolk of the coast were being rapidly converted to Christianity and this entailed a shift of allegiance from their traditional rulers to the king of Portugal, largely owing to the work and influence of St. Francis Xavier. The proselytization of the fishery coast would have commenced long before Xavier. See also Sathianathaier, *Nayaks of Madura*, Appendix B, 228-29 and 252 for further details on the Parava conversions.

For an important discussion of the Paravas before and after their conversion to Catholicism see Markus Vink, "Introduction" in *Mission to Madurai*, section entitled "The vision of the Paravas

or Roman Catholic fishermen,” 81-86, that includes their social organization and what Vink calls “indigenous hierarchies.” Especially fascinating is their caste deity “Padre Periyar,” that is, St. Francis Xavier (1506-52). From the point of view of the Sri Lankan developments it is interesting to know that the Paravas, who were on the low rung of the South Indian hierarchy claimed “Kshatriya status, covering concepts of wealth, power, and prestige as governors and the de facto rulers of the territory, overseers and owners of the ports and the fisheries, warriors of indefatigable courage and valor, famed people and sponsors of religious causes. In 1684 when the Fishery Coast was temporarily controlled by the Maravar ruler Raghunatha Tevar, the latter attempted to farm out the tax collection of the region to Periya Tambi Marikkar and the latter’s attempt to collect taxes fanned violence among the Paravas. “To preserve their communal heritage the Paravas appealed for help to the only power in the area that could effectively extinguish such a threat. Portuguese power served Parava purposes and reinforced their corporate identity further by the imposition of Catholicism and a Portuguese administrative superstructure on the older basis of a common caste polity and a specialized corporate economy. In 1536 Vikrama Aditha Pandya, renamed Joao da Cruz, became the first Christian jati talaivan of the Paravas, bartering with Parava chieftans for their conversion to Roman Catholicism in return for the jatis economic interests. By the end of Portuguese rule, Catholicism had emerged as a new and pivotal base of Parava identity on a par with the corporate identity of the jati. In fact, the Paravas had become a ‘Christian caste in Hindu society,’ whose distinctive Catholic rites and doctrines came to reinforce their place in the Hindu caste structure.” (83-84)

55 Don Peter, Francis Xavier, 123

- 56 Ibid., 39. I borrow this phrase from my friend Arjun Appadurai's "fear of small numbers" and somewhat facetiously distort it! See Arjun Appadurai, *Fear of Small Numbers*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2006. Not so facetiously I think that exaggeration of numbers were a common phenomenon everywhere and this includes Sinhala as well as Portuguese sources.
- 57 Father S.G. Perera, *Life of the Venerable Father Joseph Vaz, Apostle of Ceylon*, Galle: Loyola Press, 1953, 88. Unfortunately, Father Perera's work reads like an apologia rather than a modern biography quite unlike Don Peter's book. I find this surprising given his work on Sri Lankan history and his impressive three-volume translation of Queyroz, *Conquest of Ceylon*.
- 58 Ibid., 52
- 59 Ibid., 52-53
- 60 Ibid., 48
- 61 Ibid., 74
- 62 Ibid., 62
- 63 Ibid., 220
- 64 Ibid., 161, 178. "Protestantism of the Dutch variety never seems to have caught on in Ceylon. Their strict opposition to image worship and ceremonialism took away much of the attraction from their Church. Fr. Boudens records an interesting discussion that was held in the Kandyan court between Fr. Goncalvez and an unnamed Calvinist in the presence of King Sri Vijaya Narendra Singha. The Calvinist attacked the use of images in Catholic worship which the priest defended with reference to Scriptures. Evidently, the King

was highly taken up with the arguments adduced by the Catholic priest in defense of image worship.” See p. 221 in Arasaratnam, “Oratorians and Pedicants.” See also Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society*, 34. Malalgoda thinks that the Calvinist was Nascar de la Nerolle. In this essay I accept that identification.

- 65 Ibid., 81. One of the most prominent settlements is Vahakōṭṭe; other settlements are mentioned in p. 78
- 66 Ibid., 24. Perera rightly points out on p. 173 that “Vimaladharmasūriya was one of the chief benefactors of the Church in Ceylon, for it is his tolerance and benevolence that enabled Father Joseph Vaz to effect the revival of the faith in the island.” Father Joseph Vaz died on 16 January, 1711 at age 60, after 35 years of grueling missionary activity.
- 67 Ibid., 174
- 68 See Valentijn, *Ceylon*, 322-24 for details. The treaty was so unfair to the Kandyans that it would have been impossible for the king to agree to its terms.
- 69 Perera, *Joseph Vaz*, 165
- 70 Ibid., 216
- 71 Ibid., 216-22. The few references to Vimaladharmasūriya II are in chapter XIV (173-87) and the detailed account of Narēndrasinha in chapter XVII (214-25). Both the ups and downs of the relationships with the Catholic Church have also been well documented by the classic nine volume work of Father V. Perniola on *The Catholic Church in Sri Lanka*, especially *The Catholic Church in Sri Lanka: The Dutch Period*, vol. 1, 1658-1711, Dehiwala: Tisara

Prakasakayo, 1983. About Narēndrasinha a missionary report says: “In the reign of that King our religions had every liberty and many churches were built and feasts were held [in the kingdom] with processions and other ceremonies without the least opposition but rather with all permission and favour” (vol. III, p. 24).

The other notable Konkani Brahmin was Father Jacome Gonçalvez. For a good account of his missionary work and scholarship, see W.A. Don Peter, *Studies in Ceylon Church History*, Colombo: The Catholic Press, 1963, 53-60. I have a detailed discussion of Gonçalvez and the problems his mission encountered in my discussion of the Nayakas. Father S.G. Perera’s study, *Life of Father Jacome Goncalvez*, Ottawa: Humanics Universal, 2006 (1942) is unfortunately a work that will only appeal to the faithful but of little use for scholarly purposes. Let me give one example of uncritical use of sources. In the 2006 foreword to the recent edition Bishop Vinney Fernando on p. XVII says that “within a short period, well tutored under Buddhist monks and reputed scholars in Kandy, he [Gonçalvez] excelled in the knowledge of Sinhala and Tamil.” Actually S.G. Perera says on p. 16 that “there is a persistent tradition in Ceylon that Father Jacome was schooled in Sinhalese by Buddhist monks.” Perera adds that this might well have been the case but “according to written records, Father Goncalvez consulted mostly Pedro Gascon, a well-known literary man and a friend of the Fathers.” What is presented as a tentative hypothesis by Father Perera is converted into truth by Father Fernando. Such I am afraid is the power of hagiography. I shall use this work very sparingly and rely for the most part on Don Peter.

- 72 S.G.Perera mentions an interesting example of Vimaladharmasūriya II asking Father Joseph Vaz to translate for him a Portuguese medical work into Sinhala but the actual translation was in Tamil! Ibid., 174, n. 4
- 73 The most dramatic case is that of Venerable Sūriyagoḍa who was ordained by the Arakan monks in 1697. Narēndrasinha executed him on a charge of treason in 1715. As far as Gonçalvez was concerned the king also ordered the destruction of a large Catholic complex in Pitigal Korale created by Gonçalvez because it was a threat to the Buddhist aristocracy, see Perera, *Life of Father Gonçalvez*, 65-66. This action clearly indicated that there were clear limits to Narēndrasinha's tolerance of Catholicism or his outreach of power and influence. As usual Father Perera puts the blame not on Narēndrasinha but rather on Saranamkara and on king's relatives. There is no doubt that the king had pressure from Saranamkara and from the king's relations and Kandyan aristocrats. Probably the strongest objection came from the Dutch because Pitigal Korale was divided between the Kandyan and Maritime provinces, according to John D'Oyly (*Diary of Mr. John D'Oyly*, Colombo: Lake House, 1917, index, LXVII). Thus Pitigal Korale where Gonçalvez had his church complex was in Kandyan territory but close enough to areas of Dutch control. What these sources do not recognize is that the destruction of the church complex at Pitigal Korale was because it was unauthorized and without the king's permission. Soon afterwards Narēndrasinha did permit the Catholics to build a church complex in Bolavatta in the Puttalam district that was also in Kandyan territory in an area that had a significant Catholic population already. But once authorized by the king the new Church could be built. This is what Gonçalvez failed to understand and he had to pay later for his

- political insensitivity.
- 74 Dewaraja, Kandyan Kingdom, 83
- 75 Cūlavamsa, 97:35-36
- 76 Ibid., 97:37-44
- 77 Ibid., 97: 30
- 78 Ibid., 97:31-32
- 79 For a discussion of the endowment to the Viṣṇu shrine see John Clifford Holt, *The Buddhist Viṣṇu: Religious Transformation, Politics, and Culture*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2004, 165-66; and Cūlavamsa, 97: 46-47
- 80 Codrington, *A Short History*, 138
- 81 Apparently there were several kinds of kavikāra maḍuva, such that ordinary folk also could have their own maḍuvas. Hocart in his account of the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy mentions a kavikāra maḍuva in the inner premises of the Palace presumably for singing the praises of the Buddha. See A. Hocart, *The Temple of the Tooth in Kandy*, London: Luzac and Co, 1931,10
- 82 My study of Protestant Buddhism was confined to the British colonial period and I focused primarily on the work of Colonel Olcott and his disciple the Anagārika Dharmāpala. John Clifford Holt in *The Religious World of Kīrti Śrī*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, 6-8, deals with the impact of the Protestant Ethic in Dutch times. “At the same time they [the Dutch] were intimidating or enticing low-country Sinhalese with the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, they contrived a coy political dance with

the kings of Kandy” Again: he says that “the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism were presented not simply with great confidence and conviction but as a unified package, as a serious and complete challenge to the Sinhalese Buddhist and Sinhalese Catholic ways of comprehending the meaning of existence” It is out of this context that a “privileged class of Western educated Sinhalese and Tamil entrepreneurs, professionals, and government servants who came to rival, in economic power and social prestige the traditional class of aristocratic Kandyans” He calls them “government Christians” or in my terminology “Protestant Buddhists” albeit a very early version.

- 83 Excerpt from the *Daladā Sirita* in Hocart, *The Temple of the Tooth*, 35. Hocart has the term *ātoran*, from the Sanskrit *antahpura*, “harem.” For the Sinhala see *Daladā Sirita*, V.D.S. Guṇavardhana, (Colombo: Samayavardhana, n.d.), 75, para 16. See also endnote 203
- 84 *Mahāvamsa*, XXVI, 10-11
- 85 There is a beautiful description of men and women sporting in the waters in a text known as *diya keli katāva* which describes the end of a famine that culminates with water sports or *diya keliya*. (see Obeyesekere, *The Cult of the Goddess Pattini*, 352-53) The most recent expression of *diya keliya* is at Kataragama where, at the conclusion of the water-cutting ritual, the assembled worshipers frolic in the river in joyous exuberance. See Richard Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988, 166.

- 86 Hamsasandēśaya editor, Christie de Silva, Colombo: Ratna Pot Prakāśakayō, 2009, stanzas 80-94, p.104-118. George Keyt in Poetry from the Sinhalese, Colombo: Apothecaries, 1938, 100, has translated four stanzas 82-84 that perhaps gives a brief sense of female fun:

In the sky of the town flags flutter and gleam:
Women in crowds on the banks of the stream;
In the water each woman indulges her whim;
To the heart and the eye so pleasant they seem!

The onlooker's longing swells and unlaces.
One to another in water [all] dashes
The women in sport whose bodies and faces
Resemble in depths forked lightning flashes.

On wave lengths like golden creepers they sway,
A descent as of heavenly nymphs in play,
They swim now hither now thither away,
In beauty more lovely than words can say.

A man to the other bank crosses and hies,
And a woman from there dives down and defies;
In passing she kicks at his head as he plies
And, across, a woman who sees that and cries.

- 87 Cūlavamsa, 90, 73-74
- 88 Dewaraja, Kandyan Kingdom, 73
- 89 Ibid., 75
- 90 John Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and of its Inhabitants with Travels in that Island*, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka: Tisara Press, 1969 (1821), 230
- 91 About Rājāsinha II Davy notes that he possessed “an enormous nose” but in addition to this bulbous protuberance he was given to “violent passions” and “a jealous temper.”
- 92 Militarized bands of Telegu warriors were a presence in the early Kākatīya regimes near Warangal in the Telegu country (Andhra Pradesh) and then by the 16th century they had descended into the Tamil country. The main Nāyaka territories were in Singi in the northern Tamil country; and Tanjavur (Tanjore), south of Senji and further south in Madurai, the main center of Nāyaka rule; the three areas formerly were under the control of the Chalukya and Chola and Pandya regimes. There were other Nāyaka regimes, the most prominent among these lesser regimes was Ikkeri whose origins were mostly from Karnataka. See K.D. Swaminathan, *The Nāyakas of Ikkeri*, Madras: P.Varadachary and Co., 1957. The kings of Vijayanagara known as rāyas employed Nāyaka warrior chiefs as “governors” to rule their extensive southern kingdoms. These Nāyaka kingdoms gradually become more and more independent and were fully independent after the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1565 when the combined forces of the Deccan Sultanates defeated the army of the Vijayanagara king, Aravidiḍu Rāma Rāya. The Madurai Nāyakas effectively controlled the southernmost part of India known as the Ramnad through their own district

representatives known as the *pālaiyakkārār* (aka poligar). During most of the Madurai period the local chiefs of the Ramnad were known as *sētupatis* (*cetupatis*), the lords of the bridge, Rama's bridge, and they in turn owed allegiance to Madurai, until that kingdom split up and disintegrated with the Muslim onslaughts during and after the late 17th century.

- 93 Lorna S. Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka: 1707-1782*, Colombo: Stamford Lake Publication, (second edition), 2008, 26, my italics.
- 94 Ibid. I think she is wrong about the last Nāyaka king Sri Vikrama Rājasinha. The unpopularity of this king is due to the nasty work of the British spy John D'Oyly but this hypothesis will constitute another chapter in my forthcoming work.
- 95 T.B.H. Abeyasinghe, "The kingdom of Kandy: Foundations and Foreign Relations to 1638," in K.M. de Silva, *History of Sri Lanka*, 150, (139-61). See also Knox, *Historical Relation*, 183; and L.S. Dewaraja, "Kandyan Kingdom 1638-1739: A survey of its political history," 183-209 (199-200)
- 96 Dewaraja, *Ibid.*, 200
- 97 Cūlavamsa, 96:41. This text and Sinhala text uses the term Madhurā but I shall favor the accepted designation Madurai. Geiger's better known translation has "king's daughters" but this usage might not be the best rendering of *kaññā* which means "young women" or "maidens" or "unmarried women." For L.C. Wijesinha's translation see his *The Mahāvamsa*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1996 (1889) 96: 42.

- 98 The literal meaning of *dōliya* is “palanquin” but it is not likely that the queens rode on golden and iron palanquins.
- 99 Wijesinha, *The Mahāvamsa*, 97: 3. I have chosen Wijesinha’s translation in preference to the better known translation of Wilhelm Geiger which is a bit unclear. I believe that Wijesinha’s is closer to the original Pali and the Sinhala translation of this text.
- 100 *Ibid.*, 33-36
- 101 *Cūlavamsa*, 97:24
- 102 This has gone into popular lore also, see P.M.P. Abhayasinha, *Uḍarata Vitti*,
(“Events from the Hill Country”), Colombo: Department of Cultural Affairs, 25
- 103 My italics . S.N. Arasaratnam “William Hubbard, fellow-prisoner of Knox in Kandy, 1660-1703,” *University of Ceylon Review*, XIX, 1, Colombo, 1961, 30-39. As Arasaratnam says he was a captive for 44 years and lived in the vicinity of Kandy, and like Knox was free to roam within circumscribed limits and like Knox earned money by trading and making caps. He tried to escape twice and was captured and put in chains and no doubt released perhaps owing to influential contacts through his married children. He had married a Sinhala woman and raised 5 boys and 5 girls. One of his sons Pieter who fled with him was 33 years old at the time of his flight. One daughter was married to the *Disāva* of Sabaragamuva; two married men of Appuhami rank, one married a Portuguese and one a Chetti and the last two must have been living in Kandy. Surely all these varied marriages of the sort we

are familiar nowadays represent once more the reality of Kandyan cosmopolitanism!

- 104 In contrast the Dutch of this period severely punished people for the slightest violations regarding cinnamon and laws pertaining to “capital punishment were passed forbidding the transport and sale of cinnamon, or even tampering with the cinnamon tree.” S. Arasaratnam, “Ceylon and the Indian Ocean Trade,” in Arasaratnam, *Ceylon and the Dutch*, 228 and also his “Baron Van Imhoff and Dutch Policy in Ceylon 1736-1740” on p. 464.
- 105 *Cūlavamsa*, 97: 10-11
- 106 *Ibid.*, 97:13-15
- 107 Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society*, 50. The name Ganebandāra indicates he was a ganinnsānse (ganē) and an aristocrat, bandāra. Arasaratnam says he was appointed chief priest, if so clearly indicating that some of the ganinnānses were held in high regard as monks, even if not fully ordained. The reference to the Dutch embassy in 1688 was one year after the reign of Vimaladharmasūriya II and long before his mission to Arakan. See Sinnappah Arasaratnam, “Ceylon and the Dutch,” 63.
- 108 *Cūlavamsa*, 97: 26
- 109 Sinnappah Arasaratnam, “Introduction: The Dutch in Ceylon and South India, 1700-1750” in his translation and edition of *Memoir of Julius Stein Van Gollennesse, Governor of Ceylon, 1743-1751*, Colombo: Department of National Archives, 1974, 13 (1-41)
- 110 *Cūlavamsa*, 98: 5-20

- 111 For succinct accounts of these two events, see Arasaratnam, “The Dutch in Ceylon,” 14-15 and Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom*, 89-90.
- 112 Sri Vijaya’s hostile attitude to Catholicism is found in the *Cūlavamsa*, 98: 80-83 and is worth quoting in full.
- 113 I have not yet been able to figure out the nature of his disease but he was attended by Dutch physicians. Portuguese sources say that he “died of an abscess in the lower parts” which might mean some kind of venereal disease that the Sinhala of this time labeled *parangi*, the Portuguese disease! Or it simply could be a way of demeaning the king. See Father V. Perniola, *The Catholic Church in Sri Lanka: The Dutch Period*, vol. 2, Dehiwala: Tisara Publishers, 1983, 310
- 114 For a brief account of Gonçalvez, see Don Peter, *Ceylon Church History*, 53-60. I refer the reader to Don Peter’s work but shall employ Father S.G. Perera’s chapter on Gonçalvez in *Historical Sketches (Ceylon Church History)*, Colombo: Catholic Book Depot, 1962, 110-20 that deals with Gonçalvez because its polemics help us understand the conflicts between Buddhists, Catholics and Dutch Calvinists during Gonçalvez’s dispensation. For a more problematic account see S.G. Perera, *Life of Father Gonsalves*.
- 115 Perera, *Historical Sketches*, 117
- 116 *Ibid.*, 116
- 117 *Ibid.*, 115

- 118 Ibid., 117. The date for the presentation of Budumula is from Perniola, *The Dutch Period*, vol. III, 24, n. 1
- 119 See Perera, *Life of Father Gonçalvez*, 105-06. This critique of Buddhism is listed by Perera as *Buddhabana Pratyakshaya* which is probably the Budumula.
- 120 A good discussion of this debate is in Perera, *Life of Father Gonçalvez*, chapter VII, 36-45
- 121 Perera, 115
- 122 “Report of the mission of Ceylon, 1746” in Perniola, *The Dutch Period*, II, 491-511.
- 123 Ibid., 492
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 Ibid., 493
- 126 Ibid. The date is my inference.
- 127 Ibid., 497
- 128 Perniola, *The Dutch Period*, II, 24. Perniola gives the accepted version of what transpired when he says that all the councilors except Āhālepola, the first Adigar in Kandy, favored the expulsion. Perniola as well as other Portuguese sources seemed to think that Sri Vijaya was the good guy but was swayed by his councilors. The fact is that he was a devoted Buddhist and was strongly influenced by Saranaṃkara.
- 129 “The triumph of the Catholic faith,” in V. Perniola, *The Dutch Period*, II, 422-38 (436)

- 130 Perhaps early British censuses might be able to supply demographic data on the spread and presence of Catholic populations in the Kandyan kingdom. It should be remembered however that owing to the power and prestige of British rule many Catholics would have switched to the Church of England in particular, especially owing to the family resemblances between Catholicism and the Anglican Church. But these are areas that other scholars ought to investigate.
- 131 There is an enormous confusion even among serious scholars regarding the Nāyakas. First: they are often labeled as “Tamils” or demala when in reality they were Telegu (and some Karnataka speakers) who had subjugated the Tamil country. Second: to complicate matters the Dutch and the British labeled the Tamil people as “Malabar” and this term was employed to characterize the Nāyakas when of course the Nāyaka home territories were quite remote from Kerala or Malabar, although they were familiar with Kerala rulers such as the Zamorins of Calicut. Madurai and other Nāyaka kingdoms were geographically speaking way outside of Malabar! I think it was D’Oyly who converted kumara ruppe vīdiya, “the shady grove of the princes,” into “Malabar Street.” Third: having mistakenly identified “Malabar” as the equivalent of Madurai and the Telegu kingdoms, then a further and grosser error arose when the Nāyars of Kerala/Malabar were believed to be related to the Nāyakas when there is no connection between the two except a vague assonance, Nāyar equals Nāyaka. Fourth: because Nāyars practiced matrilineal descent and because the Nāyakas were supposedly Nāyars, some scholars assumed that the Nāyakas of Madurai practiced the same form of descent.

- 132 Leuke's official title is: Vijesundara Rājakaruna Seneviratna Mudiyanse Rālahāmi
- 133 Sinnappah Arasaratnam, Memoir of Julius Van Gollenesse, For his successor Gerrit Joan Vreeland, Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka: National Archives, 1974, 45
- 134 Ibid., Sinnappah Arasaratnam, Memoir of Van Gollenesse, "Introduction," 30 (1-41)
- 135 Ibid., 31, 34-36
- 136 Arasaratnam, Memoir of Van Gollenesse, 67
- 137 Ibid., 67-68
- 138 Ibid., 67-70
- 139 Memorandum for the Information of his Excellency Lubbert Jan Baron Van Eck, Councillor Extraordinary of India and Governor Designate of Ceylon, to serve His Excellency according to the exigencies of circumstances in respect of the present state of this important establishment, together with a summary or brief recapitulation of the events that have just preceded his administration which is now handed over to His Excellency, by the Councillor Ordinary Jan Schreuder, retiring Governor of this Island, 18. This document is also simply listed as Selections from the Dutch Records of the Ceylon Government , n. 5, Memoir of Jan Schreuder , Delivered to his successor Lubbert Jan Baron Van Eck, on March 17, 1762, Translated by E. Reimers, Colombo: Government Press, 1946.
- 140 Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten, Governor of Ceylon, Delivered to his successor Jan Schreuder on February 28, 1757 in Selections of

- the Dutch Records of the Ceylon Government, no. 4, translated by E. Reimers, Colombo, Government Press, 1935, caption on p. 2
- 141 Ibid., 3
- 142 Ibid., 10
- 143 This is in volume 1 of my projected work
- 144 Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council, 1762, edited and translated by J.H.O. Paulusz, Colombo: Government Press, 1954; Memorandum for the Information of his Excellency Lubbert Jan Baron Van Eck, Councillor Extraordinary of India and Governor Designate of Ceylon, to serve His Excellency according to the exigencies of circumstances in respect of the present state of this important establishment, together with a summary or brief recapitulation of the events that have just preceded his administration which is now handed over to His Excellency, by the Councillor Ordinary Jan Schreuder, retiring Governor of this Island. This document is also simply listed as Selections from the Dutch Records of the Ceylon Government , n. 5, Memoir of Jan Schreuder , Delivered to his successor Lubbert Jan Baron Van Eck, on March 17, 1762, Translated by E. Reimers, Colombo: Government Press, 1946. It should be noted that the Dutch had at this time a good account of the Kandyan chiefly hierarchy but recognizes that the key figure was the Disāva of the Three and Four Kōrales, in this case Dumbara who succeeded Leuke. It was not however an in-depth knowledge. The governor lists the following: the first and second Adigars were Ähelepola Rālahāmi and Samarakkoḍi, the latter was also Disāva of Sabaragamuva. They are followed by four great Disāvas, namely, Disāva of Sabaragamuva, and Dumbara Rālahāmi of the Three and Four Korales, Galagoḍa of

Uva, and Kahandave Disāva of Matale, followed by the minor Disāvas of Dumbara, of Bintänna, and Hulangamuve Rālahāmi of Uḍapālata. Several are missing especially the Disāva of the Seven Korales. He calls the Adigars “ministers of state” but does not mention their traditional labels, the first Adigar Pallegampaha and the second Adigar Uḍagampaha. (Appendix 1 (a), p. 170).

- 145 Schreuder, Memorandum to van Eck, 9
- 146 Ibid., 10-11
- 147 Ibid., 11
- 148 Paulusz, Secret Minutes, 7
- 149 Ibid.
- 150 Ibid., 10
- 151 Ibid., 13
- 152 Ibid., 14
- 153 D.A. Kotelawele, “The VOC in Sri Lanka 1688-1766: Problems and Policies,” in University of Peradeniya, History of Sri Lanka, chapter X, 233-81; L.S. Dewaraja, “The Kandyan Kingdom and the Nāyakkars,” in University of Peradeniya, History of Sri Lanka, XI, 281-320
- 154 Kotelawele, “The VOC in Sri Lanka,” 254, rightly says the “greatest influence on the king were Sinhala notables, apart from the king’s own father.” He criticizes the idea that the Nāyakas monopolized the important offices. “Many lists of important office bearers are available in the Dutch records, and it is impossible to find in them any important offices being filled by a Malabar [sic].”

He adds that Saranamkara while in exile complained that the king was favoring the “Moors.” This is more likely owing to economic and political reasons but there is no evidence of Muslims appointed to positions of power in the Kandyan state. “From the foregoing account it is clear that the Nāyakas were neither monopolizing the important positions of the kingdom of Kandy, nor were they powerful influences in making policy decisions, especially on matters concerning the Dutch.”

- 155 Paulusz, Secret Minutes, 90
- 156 Ibid., 95
- 157 Ibid., 99
- 158 The Dutch Wars with Kandy, 1764-1766, translated and edited by R. Raven-Hart, Colombo: Government Press, 1964,98 (12 to 19 February, 1765)
- 159 Ibid., (19-2-1765)
- 160 Ibid., 99
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 Ibid., 113 (19-2 to 22-2-1765)
- 163 Ibid., 135 (8-11-1765)
- 164 Ibid., 13, comment by Raven-Hart
- 165 Ibid., 137
- 166 Ibid., 102 (13-3- 65)

- 167 Ibid., 103; see also 111 (29-6-1765). The reference is to the Siamese prince that some aristocrats and Saranamkara himself had planned to place on the throne after killing the King. But the plan collapsed and the Siamese prince was deported by the King's orders in 1760. The prince himself was executed by the new Siamese ruler in 1768 or 1769. I have a full discussion of this episode in a later chapter in my forthcoming volume.
- 168 One of the persons who deserted the king was the Disāva of the Seven Korales, much of which is close to Dutch territory and was once under Portuguese control. See p. 97, 17-2-1765
- 169 Raven-Hart, Dutch Wars, 101
- 170 Ibid.
- 171 Ibid., 114
- 172 Ibid.
- 173 Ibid., 119 on 26 April 1765
- 174 Ibid., 37. This was as early as 26 February, 1764.
- 175 Ibid.,121
- 176 Ibid., 125
- 177 Ibid., 119
- 178 Ibid., 128
- 179 Ibid., 128 during the period August 28-September 2, 1765
- 180 For the power and significance of the Marikkars I refer the reader to two important works. First, Velcheru Narayana Rao et al Symbols

of Substance: Court and State in Nāyaka Period Tamilnadu, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992 deals in chapter seven with the powerful Marrikar clans that were an influential presence in the sea trade well into Dutch times. They had distanced themselves from the Nāyakas and formed alliances with the local “kings” of the Ramnad known as the sētupatis, lords of the bridge (Rama’s bridge, Adam’s bridge). Rao et al focus on the “new hero” who was a leader of the Marikkars. While the Dutch had little choice but to forge alliances with the Setupati, they often were suspicious of Periyatambi Marikkar as he was called because his maritime trade was often in competition with the Dutch. In addition to Rao et al, see the pioneer study by S. Arasaratanam, “A note on Periathamby Marikkar: A seventeenth century commercial magnate,” *Tamil Culture*, II, 1964, 251-5. Even prior to Periathamby Marikkar, Sri Lankan kings had important relations with the Marikkars. When Mayadunne sought the aid of the Samorin of Calicut against the Portuguese, the Samorin sent a fleet under Paichi Marikkar, Kunjali Marikkar and Ali Ibrahim to help him. This fleet was intercepted and driven back by the Portuguese in 1537-38 “This obliged the king of Calecut to send thither Pate Marcar [Marikkar] with the fleet of forty seven sail of which have spoken, in which he carried more than two thousand men, with a great number of pieces of artillery, so well prepared in every way, and with such skillful and brave men, that the Turks of the sea of the Levant did not approach them in discipline and fighting spirit.” The preceding information comes from Donald Ferguson, *The history of Ceylon from the earliest times to 1600 AD as related by Joao De Barros and Diogo Do Couto*, New Delhi: Navrang, 1990 (1909), 93 and 95-97.

181 Bell, Kegalle Report, 99-100

- 182 These villages are listed as Gevilipitiya and Godigamuva in the Paranakuru Korale, Gabalagamboda and Bopititenna in Dumbara, Inigala in Matale, Moladanda and Malgamana in Yatinuvara. As for the Gopala Mudaliya's title, *vayidyatilaka* means "noble physician" and *rājakaruna* could be roughly rendered as "recipient of the king's generosity."
- 183 S.G. Perera, Joseph Vaz, 155. The *gātabēriya sannasa* mentions that they fell into disgrace during the regime of Narēndrasinha. The reason is not stated but I think this is because the king suffered from a very serious illness during the end of his reign and his own physicians failed to cure him. He had to summon Dutch physicians but their treatment also failed to cure the king who died of his illness in 1739
- 184 Bell, Kegalla Report, 100
- 185 Dennis B. McGilvray, *Crucible of Conflict: Tamil and Muslim Society on the East Coast of Sri Lanka*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008
- 186 W.A.R. Gibb, editor and translator, *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953 (1929), 259-60
- 187 For a good presentation of Hindu participation see Premakumara de Silva, "Hindu and Muslim connections to Sri Pada," in Jayadeva Uyangoda, editor, *Religion in Context: Buddhism and Socio-Political Change in Sri Lanka*, Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 2007, 136-46. For a fuller presentation of this issue we must await Premakumara de Silva's projected study of Sri Pada.

- 188 Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Cult of the Goddess Pattini*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984, 115-16
- 189 Arasaratnam, *Memoir of Van Gollennesse*, 13
- 190 “The Dutch Embassy to Kandy in 1731-32,” translated from the Sinhalese by Paul E. Pieris, *JRAS*, CB, vol. XXI., no. 62, 1-34
- 191 *Ibid.*, 19-20
- 192 Arasaratnam, “The Dutch in Ceylon,” 9
- 193 John Holt points out that Kirti Sri was brother in law of Sri Vijaya’s chief queen. He was selected to be king at age sixteen; he was formally consecrated four years later. Holt considers him to be a Tamil, but he was actually a Telegu speaker, hence labeled as *vaḍuga* meaning “northerner,” that is from the Telegu speaking north, in Andhra Pradesh. John Clifford Holt, *The Religious World of Kirti Sri*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, 11. .
- 194 John Holt, *Religious World of Kirti Sri*, 10
- 195 J.H. Nelson, *The Political History of the Madura Country, Ancient and Modern*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989 (1868), 211
- 196 R. Raven-Hart, transcriber, *The Pybus Embassy to Kandy, 1762*, Colombo: Government Press, 1958.
- 197 J.P. Lewis, “Journal of a tour to Candia in the year 1796,” *JRAS*, CB, 26, 95 (6- 31). The peculiar language use is that of Andrews.
- 198 Dewaraja, *Kandyan Kingdom*, 218
- 199 *Ibid.*, 215

- 200 Devaraja, “Kandyan Kingdom and the Nayakkars,” 310
- 201 Brahmin purohitas had a central role during the reign of Parakramabahu VI. This is clearly seen in the Oruvaḷa sannasa or grant with extensive land rights in the region of Oruvala, near the present Aturugiriya given by Parakramabahu VI to two Brahmin purohitas, Potā Ojjhalun and his nephew Avuhaḷa Ojjhalun. See H.W. Codrington, “The Oruvaḷa Sannasa” in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. III, 51-71.
- 202 Several texts have the term ekacachtra nanvā meaning raised the canopy, that is, established a single rule meaning the Tri Sinhala. “The slab inscription of Vijayabahu II” in *EZ*, II, 183-84 (mentions that the people of Lanka under Vijayabahu (the founder) “ruled under one canopy of dominion” (ekātapatra rājya kala) and mentions Parakramabahu I who is said to have brought the nation under a single sovereignty or single rule (ēkarā [jja] kala parākrambāhu vathimiyan vahanse). Maybe there is an important distinction between union and unification.
- 203 The most systematic description of the rules pertaining to the Tooth Relic is the Daladā Sirita written by a minister in the reign of Parakramabahu IV, edited by Guṇavardhana, and contains a series of 38 rules p. 74-77. I plan to discuss these rules in a later publication.
- 204 Tri Sinhala refers to the classic division of the Island into three regions, Rajaraṭa or the sovereign’s country in the north, Māyā Raṭa in the west and Ruhuna in the south. After the 13th century, owing to the decline of the Rajaraṭa, that region was renamed as Pihīṭi Raṭa, or the established country. The union of the three divisions was the ideal aspiration of kings.

- 205 Cūlavamsa, 2, trans. Wilhelm Geiger, Colombo: Government Press, 1953, 85:109-112
- 206 There is no reliable evidence for the existence of the begging bowl after the 14th century, that is, during the Kurunagala period. Its later fate is unknown.
- 207 The only exception is perhaps that of Kirti Sri who might have had a large palace that was based on Madurai examples but its size and location has yet to be determined
- 208 Cūlavamsa, 2, 24-27 (p. 116-18). Geiger on p. 117 note 5 seems to think that the Parākkamasamudda mentioned here is different from the famous reservoir of the same name but this seems unlikely. It is more likely that the term Parākkamasamudda refers to a whole complex of canals and lakes rather than a single reservoir.
- 209 For a wonderful description of the temple complex in Bintāna/Mahiyangana/Alutnuvara see the account in Paranavitana, *Journal of Spilbergen*, 28-29 and Ferguson, *Earliest Dutch Visits*, 22-24.
- 210 Geoffrey Powell, *The Kandyan Wars*, Kandy: K.V.G. de Silva and Sons, 1973, 161.
- 211 *Ibid.*, 78
- 212 *Ibid.*, 163
- 213 The Dutch expedition of 1664-1665 resulted in the destruction and spoliation of the King's palace and also the palace at Hanguranketa, but repairs for both were done soon after.
- 214 For a further discussion of eroticism, drama and poetry in Nāyaka kingship see Narayana Rao et al *Symbols of Substance: Court and*

- State in Nayaka Period of Tamil Nadu, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992, especially the chapter entitled “The Rhetoric of Kingship,” 169-219
- 215 The verse references are from Pārakumbā Sirita edited by Siri Tilakasiri, Colombo: Godage Brothers, 2003, my translation. Five thousand years is the duration of the Buddha sāšana in almost all accounts.
- 216 C.E. Godakumbura, Sinhalese Literature, Colombo: Apothecaries Co. Ltd., 1955, 136
- 217 This is a rare text and the only published version I know is Śrungārāṅkārāya, editor, M.D.D. Karunatilaka, Kegalla: Vidyakalpa Press, 1926. The stanza references in my paper is to this edition. My translation is from Professor Udaya Meddegama but I have made some revisions of his text.
- 218 Godakumbura, Sinhalese Literature, 237. For a sampling of the texts on Narēndrasinha in the British Library, see K.D. Somadasa, Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library, vol. 1, London: The British Library and the Pali Text Society, 1987, 405; and especially vol. 4, 1990, 105-116. I am hoping soon to fully translate some of these little known erotic poems.
- 219 Sederaman, Praśasti Kāvya Rasaya (“Appreciation of praise-poetry”), Colombo, 1970, 92-136
- 220 They are listed as “Mrudanga, Maddala, Pataha” and others. For a bizarre account of around thirty types of drums see Dalada Sirita, edited Gunavardhana, 74

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